By Mr. LINK:

H.R. 12376. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Army to convey certain lands originally acquired for the Garrison Dam and Reservoir project in the State of North Dakota to the Mountrail County Park Commission, Mountrail County, N. Dak.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. PURCELL:

H.R. 12377. A bill to amend the Sherman Antitrust Act (15 U.S.C. 1 et seq.) to provide that exclusive territorial franchises, under limited circumstances, shall not be deemed a restraint of trade or commerce or a monopoly or attempt to monopolize, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TIERNAN:

H.R. 12378. A bill to amend the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970, title 39, United States Code, to eliminate certain restrictions on the rights of officers and employees of the Postal Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI (for himself and Mr. RANGEL):

H. Res. 754. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives relative to the crisis in South Asia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

291. The Speaker presented a memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to administrative procedures in programs designed for the improvement of streets and highways in urban areas, which was referred to the Committee on Public Works.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

NEW METHODS OF BUILDING AND USING HIGHWAYS GREATLY INCREASE THEIR VALUE AND USEFULNESS

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the freedom, efficiency, and economy provided by motor vehicles have made them an important part of life in America. Cars, buses, and trucks, along with our excellent highway systems, have facilitated the growth of our country to an unparalleled degree. This reliance on motor vehicles is becoming increasingly apparent in other parts of the world as their value is recognized.

Our use of motor vehicles has increased with our population growth and the complexity of our society. At the same time, we are learning how to build better highways and how they can be made to serve better the people who depend on them. I have long been an ardent advocate of making highways an integral part of community life instead of a separate entity.

Mr. President, there is considerable evidence that the planning and use of highways has become a highly involved process and that it has been highly successful. We now know ways to obtain the maximum use of existing highways, and we know how to make highways best serve communities.

Our skill in these areas is told in two articles recently published in the Los Angeles Times. They describe a new electronic monitoring system that has been installed on a part of the Los Angeles freeway system and of the design of roads to serve a new town in England.

I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Los Angeles Times, Nov. 14, 1971]

"EYE-IN-SKY" GUARDING THREE-FREEWAY LOOP—TV-EQUIPPED COPTERS SEARCH FOR TROUBLE DURING RUSH HOURS

(By Ray Herbert)

Motorists traveling the busy Santa Monica-Harbor-San Diego Freeway triangle have someone watching over them.

An "eye in the sky" television-equipped helicopter is flying the commuter rush hours, looking for trouble on the crowded freeway loop.

Delicate sensors embedded in the freeways are ready to signal an alarm if a mishap occurs. Help would be on the way in seconds.

And a computer has been programmed to keep traffic off a normally jammed stretch of the freeway loop—or let it on if the lanes are clear.

Other sophisticated equipment and devices are being used to determine if space-age technology can make the freeways safer and help traffic move faster.

Still more devices—from changeable warning message signs to tiny roadside broadcasting transmitters—will be added to the unusual surveillance and control system within the next few months.

The project is being developed at a cost of $8 million as the first step toward automating the Los Angeles region's freeways.

It began operating on the 42-mile, three-freeway loop a few days ago and may be extended to the entire 500-mile-plus Los Angeles urban freeway network.

MAY INCLUDE SATELLITE

Eventually, in its most sophisticated form, it could include a satellite monitoring all Los Angeles freeways and advising motorists of traffic conditions.

For now, research laboratories have produced an assortment of new surveillance, warning and informational equipment for the Los Angeles freeway project.

It is said to be the most comprehensive program of its type ever undertaken.

Some of the new ideas have been tried individually in other cities. Houston, for example, has used closed circuit television to monitor traffic. Changeable message signs, on a limited scale and for limited purposes, are used on the New Jersey turnpike.

Other new surveillance devices, such as the freeway sensors which send electronic impulses to a control room computer, are having their first full-scale test here.

Old standbys are part of the project, as well, including equipment as familiar as the neighborhood garage tow truck. There are also roving service patrol vehicles.

Many drivers on the Santa Monica-Harbor-San Diego Freeway triangle already are benefitting from the surveillance system's first phase.

A woman whose car broke down the other day and was helped by the service patrol put it this way:

"I expected a ticket from an officer and a towing charge. To have it free was almost beyond belief . . . No one wants to be stranded on a freeway. It's very nerve-wracking."

Her car disabled, her problem had become an "incident" on the Santa Monica Freeway.

Sensors in the freeway detected it as traffic slowed down and stopped.

The problem was computer-analyzed—and help dispatched—when it showed up as a flashing red light on a panel layout of the freeway loop in the surveillance project's control center several miles away.

Later, another light flashed in the control room operated by the State Division of Highways' new Freeway Operation Department and this series of events occurred:

4:52 p.m.—System detects incident on northbound San Diego Freeway at Inglewood Ave.

4:53 p.m.—Helicopter dispatched.

5:02 p.m.—Helicopter on scene, televising four-car collision in number three lane.

5:03 p.m.—Control center notifies California Highway Patrol ground units.

5:08 p.m.—From television pictures, control room team determines that two vehicles are moveable, two are not. CHP notified two trucks are needed.

5:28 p.m.—From television picture, resumed after helicopter returns from another mission, control center determines that freeway lanes are clear. Disabled vehicles are on roadside shoulder.

BRAINS OF THE PROJECT

The surveillance system's control center is located at Vermont Ave. and 6th St. and serves as the brains of the project.

The sensors are its nerves and the helicopters, flashing closed circuit television pictures of rush hour traffic back to the control point, are its eyes.

Visual and oral aides for freeway motorists include a loudspeaker attached to the helicopters. It is used, for example, to warn drivers, walking around their stranded cars, to get off the freeway.

Other help is extended through service patrols, emergency freeway cleanup crews, computer-controlled on-ramps and additional devices.

In the planning stage for several years, the surveillance and control system is essentially an attempt to provide harried freeway motorists with as much information and assistance as possible.

The idea is to get them out of traffic jams, hazardous situations and other motoring problems—or help them steer clear of them.

Given information and help, their frustrations will be eased, safety will be improved and the freeways will function better, say highway researchers for the Freeway Operation Department.

This is a new approach for California's freeway builders and especially for those in the Los Angeles region where the planned network, when completed, would put no person more than four miles from a freeway.

Until recently, many of the freeway researchers' counterparts in other departments—highway planners and engineers, for example—cared more about constructing new freeways than improving those already built.

The Freeway Operation Department selected the 42-mile triangle (the short leg of the Santa Monica Freeway west of the San Diego Freeway is also included) for the project because it is representative of the entire Los Angeles metropolitan network.

A COMPLETE SYSTEM

Because it forms a loop, it is a complete system. A heavily traveled air corridor passes over it, posing a problem for the surveillance system's helicopters. It also includes 56 major interchanges.

No other comparable freeway stretch is busier. More than 700,000 cars and trucks—about one out of every seven in Los Angeles, Orange and Ventura Counties—travel some part of the loop every day.

The loop was wired with sensing devices to make the freeway lanes responsive to traffic moving over them or stopped.

Tiny wire squares—more than 700 sensors in all—were planted in the roadways.

Together with telemetering equipment linked to the Freeway Operation Department's control center computer, they provide a continuous record of the loop's changing traffic patterns.

DIGITAL COMPUTER USED

The digital computer, for example, scans each sensor 30 times a second, appraising traffic volume and movement at each sensing station.

This information is relayed to the control center's freeway panel where it is translated, for quick identification, into a series of colored lights.

A red flashing light for an accident or unusual incident. Solid red if traffic is stop and go, yellow if it is moving 35 to 55 m.p.h. and green if the freeways are wide open.

A team, including a traffic engineer, maintenance engineer, an information expert and a California Highway Patrol officer, is on hand to evaluate the situation.

The control center's picture wouldn't be complete, however, without the television-equipped helicopter.

CHP personnel, in addition to being part of the team, man ground patrol units and the system's "eye in the sky" helicopters.

FLYING AMBULANCES

Flying new turbine-powered craft that are convertible to two-stretcher ambulances, CHP officers make continuous television circuits of the freeway loop during morning and late afternoon commuter hours.

Dispatched to the scene of an accident, the CHP helicopter would send a picture back to the control center, enabling the team there to assess the problem and determine what is needed.

It could be an ambulance or tow truck. Or highway flares. Or it could be a State Division of Highways crew with a hand broom to sweep up broken glass—or a giant mechanical sweeper. There are no immediate plans to use the helicopters as ambulances.

"The television pictures give the control room the capability to decide, on the spot, what is needed without relying entirely on verbal information," says Larry Madsen, the Freeway Operation Department's special projects engineer. "Verbal data can sometimes be misinterpreted."

Television cameras in the helicopters are equipped with zoom lenses to zero in for closeups of an accident or unusual incident.

The helicopters, said Sgt. James Cox, the CHP's aerial supervisor, normally fly over the loop at 500 feet, traveling at 75 to 80 m.p.h.

But they can drop down as low as 50 feet for a closer look, he says.

"You can almost set your watch by the buildup of congestion during the peak hours," he explained after many flights over the 42-mile loop.

"Sometimes we can help in normal congestion by spotting something that is making it worse. But we're most effective dealing with the unpredictable—the accidents and unusual occurrences."

RECURRING BOTTLENECKS

Estimates are that congestion on the three-freeway triangle, and most other freeways, is caused equally by recurring bottlenecks and random events such as accidents, fires, stalled vehicles and—as Cox put it—"unpredictable acts."

The computer is already helping to free some normal congestion on a section of the Harbor Freeway by controlling traffic signals at eight southbound on-ramps to keep cars off the freeway if it is jammed.

The computer is also letting cars on if the sensors pick up an accident or sudden traffic tieup and the lanes downstream are clear.

This phase of the system will be extended later to other on-ramps.

Rapid removal of damaged and disabled cars, trucks and other congestion-producing objects from the freeways is a key part of the project.

At present, service patrol vehicles operate on a limited basis, as will state-owned tow trucks starting Monday. But by June a full complement of 10 emergency vehicles will be on duty on the 42-mile loop to haul disabled cars—free—to the nearest surface street.

By then, 35 changeable message signs, also computer controlled, will be advising Santa Monica Freeway motorists what to expect—from "Slow Down" to "Accident Ahead—Take Next Off-Ramp."

Emergency broadcasts from restricted range radio transmitters will be available at the same time for motorists on the San Diego Freeway section of the loop. Roadside signs would alert drivers to turn their car radios to an emergency station to hear messages broadcast from the transmitters.

Cox and the CHP's other helicopter pilots believe that they will be busier than ever flying the 42-mile loop triangle once all the system's elements are put together.

MORE DATA NEEDED

"As the operation gears up, they're going to need more and more information on what's happening on the freeways," Cox says.

The project's operation is financed through July 1973, with the funds included as part of the overall $8 million cost.

Evaluations of the system's effectiveness, said David Roper, assistant district engineer in charge of the Freeway Operation Department, will determine how much of it will be extended to other Los Angeles freeways.

During the evaluation period researchers will be looking for the system's impact on reducing traffic slowdowns and its effect on the accident rate. Currently there are 4,000 reported accidents on the 42-mile loop every year.

Analysis will also show how much the system has improved the motorists' welfare "by lowering his anxiety rate."

After only a few days, the project has passed one of its toughest tests. As one member of the Freeway Operation Department put it, watching the control center panel with its changing red, green and yellow lights:

"Some people wondered whether it would work. They're surprised it does."

[From the Los Angeles Times, Dec. 5, 1971]

ENGLISH TOWN DESIGNED WITH BUS-ONLY SYSTEM—$6 MILLION "BUSWAY" TRACES FIGURE-EIGHT PATTERN THROUGH HOUSING, INDUSTRIAL AREAS

LONDON.—A radical experiment in public transport has just begun in the north of England.

A whole town has been designed around a "busway"—a system of roads reserved for buses only. The scheme is being closely watched by urban planners in many countries.

Runcorn New Town, rising next to the old town of Runcorn beside the Mersey River estuary, is traversed today by two kinds of buses: the regional buses coming in from outlying areas, which have to use the ordinary roads—and the busway buses.

TWICE AS FAST

The latter travel on the $6-million busway at speeds twice as fast as ordinary bus services. They don't have to contend with traffic jams or even traffic lights. Where the busway crosses an ordinary road, special lights automatically give the buses preference.

The busway, at first sight an ordinary two-way road, has had a bearing on the design of practically every part of the new town. It traces a seven-mile-long figure-eight pattern, linking housing areas and industrial estates, schools and parks. At its core is "Shopping City," a huge shopping precinct under one roof which was opened to the public recently.

Everything is done to encourage people to hop on a bus. In most cases bus stops are closer to factory gates than car parks.

WALK TO HOMES

In residential areas, cars and people are segregated. Cars usually cannot run to the front doors of individual houses, but have to be parked a short walk away. The man who comes back from work in a bus is no worse off than his motoring neighbor.

The estates have been laid out so that even the extreme edges are no more than 500 yards or five minutes' walk away from a bus stop—and usually much closer.

So far, only a section of the new town housing has been built. But the planners were determined to have the busway at the start.

"We felt that unless it was a basis for the new town, and unless it worked from the word go, it wouldn't have got off the ground," says Ken Wight, leader of the busway project team.

AT 6-MINUTE INTERVALS

"It will be 10 years before it is operating at full stretch, when buses will run at six-minute intervals over 12 miles of busway. But because we've got seven miles open now, in the right places, we have a good chance of getting most people to use the bus from his house to work and leave the car at home.

"Most of the traffic problems in a town like this would be caused by journeys to work," Wight says. "We hope that if even half the population takes a bus to work, the busway will have proved itself."

The master plan for the new Runcorn was produced in 1967 by Arthur Ling. He had alternative transport systems priced from monorails to tramways and computer-controlled automatic systems on concrete rails. It was found that the humble single-deck bus was the best system; it cost only a fifth as much as its closest rival.

FAST AND REGULAR

Last year, the British Ministry of Transport gave the busway its blessing, in the form of an agreement to pay three-quarters of its cost.

The people of new Runcorn seem pleased with the regularity and speed of the buses. Runcorn's planners themselves see the busway as a gesture of confidence in public transport.

If this system does not work, then it is difficult to envisage circumstances under which public transport can work," says Runcorn Development Corp.'s general manager, Derick Banwell.

TOLERATING THE INTOLERABLE

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, every one of our congressional districts has felt the costly effects of national transportation and dock strikes. Seven times in the last 8 years Congress has been forced to enact emergency legislation to avoid railroad strikes. Dock strikes this year have largely closed off potential foreign markets for the bumper crops our farmers have produced.

A recent editorial in the Hutchinson, Kans., News expressed understandable objection to further congressional delay in enacting meaningful and effective legislation to prevent such strikes in the future. I joined with 70 of my colleagues in the House last June in introducing a bill providing for a flexible and workable approach to this problem. Extensive hearings have been held on this bill by the Transportation and Aeronautics Subcommittee of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. We have been assured that a vote will be taken on this legislation soon after the second session convenes.

The editorial follows:

TOLERATING THE INTOLERABLE

Our Congressmen have been firm in deploring the dock strikes and their effect on national and world economy—particularly as it concerns farm exports.

Other than the wringing of hands, though, what has been accomplished?

Little that is visible to the reader's eye.

Since July 1, most of our seaports have been closed at one time or another.

In early October, the strike hit all the major seaports—East and West coasts, Gulf coast, and Chicago. President Nixon then ordered the West Coast longshoremen back to work for an 80-day cooling period as provided by Taft-Hartley. He tried to invoke it in Chicago, but the U.S. District Court ruled that evidence did not prove this single strike is a threat to national safety and health.

On the Gulf, shippers secured a court order directing longshoremen back to work in late October, but they got into an argument of their own, followed by a new strike. This port is of vital importance to Kansas grain exports.

The President now is going the Taft-Hartley route again on the East and Gulf coasts.

This law has been used seven times against strikes at East and Gulf ports since World War II. Obviously, we need something better.

So far, we don't have it. Congress is too busy bewailing the problem and not busy enough trying to solve it.

At the least, Mr. Nixon's proposal for settling rail disputes should be considered for seaports. The plan sets up a neutral board to receive the final offers from management and/or labor, and order a settlement. It puts pressure on both to quit grandstanding and get reasonable.

Without some re-writing of labor laws, these strikes will go on. And we will all suffer as a result.

MARRIAGE "AMERICAN STYLE" AND ILLEGAL ALIENS

HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, thousands of aliens coming into the country illegally each year are able to gain permanent residence via the marriage racket.

In many instances, they have a sweetheart at home or a wife they have divorced temporarily in order to get into the United States and remain.

The marriage racket is quite simple, and extremely profitable to those immigration lawyers who make it a specialty. And it is highly successful, because the Immigration and Naturalization Service must prove fraud.

For the sake of illustration, let us say a Greek seaman jumps ship in New York. He arranges through an unethical immigration lawyer to marry an American citizen. I am told there is a wide spread in fees—anything from $250 paid a prostitute picked off the street to fees of $1,000 to $1,500 to women who are professionals in the racket. The alien may pay as much as $2,500 to $3,000 because of the legal fees involved.

After the marriage, the American spouse files a petition asking that the alien be given the privilege of applying for permanent residence. Depending upon the volume of work in a particular immigration office, and the merit of a case, this entire process may take from 1 to 3 months.

As soon as the alien receives his little "green card," entitling him to remain as a permanent resident and get a job, the happy couple can part.

The alien gets an annulment or a divorce—and he is home free.

Immigration must prove fraud, and I am advised that while there are cases that actually stick, the INS batting average is pretty poor in this area because it is extremely difficult to prove.

If the alien is from a Western Hemisphere country and the "marriage" breaks up within 2 years, fraud must also be proved. Here, the alien who has achieved permanent residence status must return to his native country and then reenter.

I understand that the principal ethnic groups involved in this racket are from Europe, the Caribbean and Latin America.

The southern European who wins permanent residence this way often has a sweetheart at home waiting for him to return and marry her so she can be brought to America. Or he may have gone through a divorce charade with his wife before coming to America, and remarries her.

TRIBUTE TO LATE DAVID SARNOFF

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, the story of the life of David Sarnoff, written by the highly respected columnist, David Lawrence, is so inspiring that I am today including it in the RECORD for perusal of the readers. His success story was proof of Shakespeare's words:

"Sweet are the uses of adversity;
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head;"

[From the *Evening Star* Dec. 14, 1971]

DAVID SARNOFF WAS MODEL OF U.S. DREAM

(By David Lawrence)

Front-page stories in most newspapers yesterday told of the death of David Sarnoff, retired chairman of the board of the Radio Corporation of America, at age 80. The record of his leadership in the development of radio and television is remarkable, but the story of what an "underprivileged" individual can accomplish constitutes an even more significant lesson for so many of the younger generation of today who fail to perceive what responsible individualism can do for America.

At the age of 9, David Sarnoff was brought to this country from Russia by his immigrant father, and grew up in a tenement in the ghettos of New York. He had to learn English, and, before and after going to public school each day, he helped to support his family by selling newspapers and working at other jobs.

He was only 15 when his father died, and he found it necessary to leave school and get full-time employment. This happened to be as a messenger boy, at $5 a week, with a small commercial telegraph company. Young Sarnoff used his first week's salary to buy a dummy telegraph "key" and instruction book, and started to learn the Morse code. His next step was as office boy at the Marconi wireless Telegraph Co. of America, where he soon qualified as an operator.

Sarnoff came to national attention on April 14, 1912, when, at the age of 21, he was on duty as manager of an experimental wireless station atop the Wanamaker Building. He picked up distress signals from the Titanic, which had collided with an iceberg in the Atlantic and was sinking.

He stuck to his instruments continuously for 72 hours straining to pick up the messages coming faintly from rescue ships while President Taft ordered all other wireless stations in the country to shut down in order to eliminate possible interference.

Only when Sarnoff had the name of the last of the 706 survivors of the sinking—1,517 others had gone down with the ship—did he leave his post.

Out of this incident came widespread recognition of the importance of this new means of communication. In its development, Sarnoff, who had foreseen the possibilities long before anyone else, became a leader as his creative genius and driving force pushed the industry forward.

When the Radio Corporation of America was formed in 1919, Mr. Sarnoff was named commercial manager, became general manager three years later, and took over as president in 1930. Meantime, he had pressed the idea of broadcasting programs to radio receivers in homes, and in 1926 RCA formed the National Broadcasting Company, the first radio network in the country. After World War II, he put the same drive behind television and the introduction of color sets.

Sarnoff came to be recognized as perhaps the foremost of America's executives in the field of communications. He, more than any other individual, is responsible for the fact that radio and television sets, including color, are so widely distributed today.

The late Winston Churchill, prime minister of Great Britain, once paid him high tribute.

What was the secret of Sarnoff's success? It may be found in his own words in a talk to a group of young men.

"The boy who believes that his parents, or or the government, or anyone else owes him his livelihood and that he can collect it without labor will wake up one day and find himself working for another boy who did not have that belief and, therefore, earned the right to have others work for him."

David Sarnoff's illness for the past several years kept him from continuing the active pace of his earlier life, but he did not retire until he passed the age of 79. A determination to remain in touch with his company's affairs as long as his health permitted was typical of his dedication to what he considered a public duty.

Those who have been talking lately about the "generation gap" and giving the impression that there are few lessons to be learned from the past would do well to study the career of David Sarnoff and how he helped to create a revolution in communications that has benefited mankind.

WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, each year about this time the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and other Government publications are replete with calendars for the new year. It is a good thing, too, because they are useful as well as appropriate. Members of Congress are allowed several hundred of what has become known as the Capitol Calendar for distribution in their districts. Unfortunately that quantity does not go far in relation to the many thousands of people who reside in each of these districts.

At the beginning of each year it has been my custom to contact the households and business firms in my own congressional district by a postal patron mailing reminder as to where and how to contact me to express either views on issues or to request help on problems with Government departments and agencies. This year, as for 18 years past, I have combined that message with a calendar picture card for the upcoming year and advised "save this card as a year-round reminder to write Congressman HOSMER."

I believe that an annual communication in this form has, in fact, been saved for that purpose and has been found to be an effective communications tool during the entire 12-month period by the many, many people who write me at the Rayburn Building each year.

Together with a 1972 calendar, the upcoming card contains this message:

A MESSAGE FROM CRAIG HOSMER—"YOUR MAN IN WASHINGTON"

As your Representative in the United States Congress I respectfully invite your views on the issues facing this Nation which are of special concern to you.

In addition to legislative duties, much of my effort is devoted to assisting with the difficult problems of our area which must be solved at the Nation's Capitol.

It also is my pleasure to be of help to you when you encounter a personal problem with a Department or Agency of the Federal Government.

Your letters will reach me for prompt attention when addressed as follows:
Congressman CRAIG HOSMER,
Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

PEARL HARBOR DAY—PLUS 30 YEARS

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, often overlooked and all too frequently not accorded the tribute they deserve are those individuals who are tirelessly working to protect Americans from disasters of every type. The marking of the 30th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor this month serves as a reminder of the suffering which may result from being unprepared for unexpected tragedy.

The Army's Office of Civil Defense is one of the Federal agencies which has made great strides in preparing local governments and individuals for unexpected disasters. I am especially pleased with the creative direction which has been demonstrated in New England by that region's Director of the Office of Civil Defense—Mr. Allan R. Zenowitz. It is with pleasure that I bring to the attention of my colleagues the following article from the Lowell, Mass., Sun of December 7, which, I feel, is a cogent analysis of the quiet, but vigilant role of emergency protection for all Americans.

The article follows:

[From the Lowell (Mass.) Sun, Dec. 7, 1971]

PEARL HARBOR DAY—PLUS 30 YEARS

(By Ralph J. Jacobs)

LOWELL.—"It is a day which will live in infamy," and it has. And it will continue that way, although it is doubtful America will ever again be found with its defenses down.

In fact, it is probably not just by accident that Civil Defense Week—which started Sunday—falls during the same week Americans observe the 30th anniversary of the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor.

In the words of Allan R. Zenowitz, who is director of Region I, of the U.S. Office of Civil Defense, "civil defense in America, three decades after Pearl Harbor is alive and well."

Describing civil defense as a "deterrent to war," the director whose region extends over New England, New York, New Jersey, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, says "it is a vital component of the nation's strategic defenses, and any weakness in the total defense invites aggression."

Zenowitz also commented on the strategic balance between the United States and the Communist powers. According to Director Zenowitz, "the United States has deployed no new weapons system in a decade; cut back and delayed a proposed anti-ballistic missile system; reduced conventional forces and cut the defense budget significantly."

Millions of Americans will never forget the one tragic incident which sparked the civil defense setup in this nation.

For most of us, word came as an interruption to a casual radio broadcast: "We interrupt this program for a special news bulletin from Honolulu. . .

LIFE ENDED FOR 2,341

For 2,341 Americans, serving at America's most important island base in the Pacific, it was to be the last day of their lives.

To the thousands of others who were on duty there with the armed forces of the United States "it just had to be a bad dream."

. . . and for Raymond Viditol of Lowell and Steve Young of Methuen, "it was the beginning of a nightmare, which was to last for more than 24 hours.

It was the first Sunday in December, 1941 and although it is reported the Japanese attack was launched at 6 a.m. (Honolulu time) the first bombs fell just prior to 8 a.m. and two hours later, the bulk of America's naval might in the mid-Pacific was incapacitated.

The attack was launched from six Jap aircraft carriers, 200 miles northworth of Oahu.

According to one eye-witness, the tragedy in his terms was "grotesque." From Battleship Row, he said, flames licked the base of the towering wall of black oil smoke that bellowed upward.

Looking across the harbor, he saw smoke and flames boiling upwards from the exploding ammunition and fuel stores located on Ford Island. He said "twisted wreckage that had once been planes was burning on the field."

LOWELL MEN CASUALTIES

It was apparent at this field, where one of Lowell's first casualties of the war was reported. He was Arthur F. Boyle, 23, son of Mr. and Mrs. Francis J. Boyle of 28 Ralph St.

Reports indicate there were more than 50 Lowell natives stationed in the Honolulu area on that fateful Sunday.

Back at Battleship Row, rescue parties had arrived at the scene and one person after another was being plucked from the littered and buring harbor water. As pieced together later by the eyewitness, small boats of every description were being used for the rescue operation. They carried their cargo—the dead and the injured—to the pier where the wounded and the dead were loaded on any kind of a vehicle available. They used bread, laundry and milk trucks. A final count of the wounded tallied 1,143 bringing the total number of casualties to 3,484 dead and wounded.

Most of the casualties came from the far end of Battleship Row, where the 36,600 ton USS Arizona lay on the bottom of the harbor. The ship's charred superstructure was still erect and visible above the surface.

Naval officials say more than half of the 2,113 Navy and Marine Corps forces killed that day were aboard the Arizona. There were only 289 survivors out of the ship's more than 1,500 crew members.

Among the Lowell men entombed in that great hulk was John Targ, who prior to entering the service resided wtih his parents on Forestview Avenue in Centralville. One of his brothers, Theodore Targ now resides in Westford and a sister, Mrs. Kay Griffin, lives in Lowell.

Other early reports from the war front had Myron W. Charles, son of Mr. and Mrs. James Charles of 137 Shaw Street as a possible prisoner of war.

Another Lowell man known to be in the harbor that day was James Turcotte, who was aboard the cruiser, North Hampton, which was later sunk during the battle of Guadalcanal.

Besides the Arizona, there were six other battleships tied up along Battleship Row. They included the USS West Virginia, the USS California, the USS Maryland, the USS Oklahoma, the USS Nevada and the USS Tennessee.

The topside area of the USS West Virginia was a shambles, and it too, soon settled to the bottom. The USS Tennessee was not badly damaged but it did become temporarily immobilized when, as the West Virginia settled it wedged the Tennessee against a concrete quay.

Navy officials say the Nevada did get under way under its own power, during the height of the attack, but the Japan dive bombers had evidently caused more damage than at first realized. She had to be beached before she entered the harbor channel.

The California was engulfed in flames, even as she settled to the bottom of the shallow harbor. Oil had erupted and had spilled over the entire ship.

The Maryland was the first of the 18 ships reportedly sunk or damaged to return to action. It rejoined the fleet, three months after the attack.

The Oklahoma, the ship in which Viditol and Steve Young were assigned, was one of three major ships which did not see any further action. It was on this ship, these two men and 40 others were trapped for more than 24 hours.

While unable to contact Viditol, now believed to be a chief petty officer in the Navy, Steven Young, now a publisher in Boston, was able to provide a play by play description of what he and the other men went through aboard the Oklahoma. Both he and Viditol were 19 at the time. Both were seaman first class. Their ship had rolled over and like the other men still alive in the compartment, both soon found themselves swimming in total darkness. The men had to re-orient themselves as the ship was upside down and all normal escape routes led down into the water. According to Young, some men did attempt to escape, but only a few returned. Others, who tried, he said, "I never saw or heard from again." There were 10 other men in an adjacent compartment.

FINALLY RESCUED

It was during their 24th hour when the men heard pounding, and heard workmen cutting through the bulkhead. It was 9 a.m. Monday morning when Young and others walked out through the bottom of the overturned ship.

And that is how it was on that first Sunday in December, 1941. It was the day that launched Americans into a new era. On that day, the number of men in the armed forces was 1,600,000. At the peak of World War II in 1945, there were no less than 12,300,000 Americans in uniform. During five years of war, at one time or another, 15 per cent of the entire population of Americans served in the armed forces.

It also launched America on one of its greatest manufacturing efforts. In a single year, 1942, Americans produced more than eight million tons of ships, 48,000 planes, 50,000 tanks and in 1943, that output was doubled. So it was not unusual to hear Americans say the war against the axis powers, was in part won in the American shipyards, in the steel mills, the mines and factories.

WAR BRINGS NEW FEAR

But the era also brought about a new kind of fear, one still prevalent today. Science too went to war, not only from America but against it. In fact, it was the outset of World War II, which brought the threat of large-scale aerial attacks on cities and industrial centers. It was at this point that civil defense planning in the United States gained impetus as an organized governmental responsibility.

In our history there were countless times when individuals, or groups of individuals or even communities did something to protect itself against famine, flood, fire and the effects of war. Today civil defense is a joint responsibility of the federal government and the state and local governments.

"We live in an uneasy age," says John E. Davis, the national director of civil defense.

"Strife abounds in many troubled corners of the world. And the weapons of modern warfare have become increasingly numerous and powerful."

Davis also takes special note that nuclear warheads, "can be delivered accurately by potential aggressors on targets up to 10,000 miles away."

NEED FOR CIVIL DEFENSE

While a nuclear attack is considered the ultimate disaster (it could affect much of the nation within a short time, and Davis says millions of Americans would die) Davis and other CD officials take great pride in the redirection of their activities in planning for any emergency.

While interviewing Director Zenowitz at his Region I headquarters, it became perfectly clear that "the primary role of civil defense today is protecting people." Advising Americans to "take a backward look," Zenowitz takes note of the recent floods, the hurricanes, the power blackouts or even the winter storms and says "you'll find a definite need for civil defense emergency planning and action in peacetime."

Such peacetime disasters, a nuclear attack and environmental problems are considered the three major dangers of today's world, said Zenowitz. He says his headquarters has evolved into a coordinating agency for all resources within the community so the citizens can cope with them.

So it is, the face-lifting, as it were, "the redirection of effort," is designed "to improve state and local governments' civil defense emergency programs." Zenowitz termed it an effort by the federal office of civil defense to tailor its financial, technical and administrative assistance to the specific situations and needs of each state.

"What it really boils down to," asserts Zenowitz, "is that any local government capable of coping with peacetime emergencies is a long way down the road in its ability to deal with the effects of nuclear attack."

And that is what civil defense is all about—Pearl Harbor plus 30 years—and Zenowitz concludes "we need it, as an additional deterrent, as an insurance for national survival."

TOUCH FOOTBALL TITLISTS

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, though there were no whirring cameras to cover the play by play, no reporters to record the candid comments of the combatants, a big game was played in the Nation's Capitol this weekend—a game which served to perpetuate the rich tradition of Ohio football.

If you recall, this summer the Budmen of my office were successful in capturing the Capitol Hill Softball Championship. Today, I would like to salute my fellow Ohioan and colleague CLARENCE MILLER and his football team, the Miller Mashers, who Sunday sustained our State's reputation of athletic excellence.

Playing their "Buckeye" best the Mashers from southeastern Ohio bested the office of California Congressman JERRY PETTIS 19 to 13 to capture the Capitol Hill Touch Football Super Bowl honors. Spotting their competitors an average of 3 to 5 years per player, the "over the hill gang" compiled an impressive 8–0–1 record, leaving in their wake the football fortunes of Congressman BROYHILL—26 to 0—Congressman MATSUNAGA—6 to 0—Congressman DENT—19 to 6—Senator PERCY—19 to 6—Congressman TORBERT MACDONALD—0 to 0—Senator MONTOYA—26 to 18—Congressman KEMP—32 to 6—Senator BUCKLEY—24 to 14—and Congressman PETTIS—19 to 13.

The team's roster was made up of Miller staffers, their wives, husbands, and associates. The offensive unit, quarterbacked by "Battling Bob" Boncyzk, included running backs "Hurrying Henry" Herlong, "Eager Ed" Rector, and "Bullet Bill" Lomax, and ends "Rambling Robert" Reintsema and "Mad Dog" Joe Gosnell. The heart of the offensive line was made up of a bevy of belles, Center Beckie Straw, and guards, Betty Herlong and Nancy Brown.

On defense, Dandy Dave Brown called signals for a contingent composed of the aging but able Pete Allen, "Tiny" Bob McConnell, Phil "the Flash" Straw, Dana Burden, Robert "The Ref" Turner, Nimble Nancy Hancock, "Mean Maureen" Keeley, and Bruising Barb Zeph.

NELLO FALASCHI—HALL OF FAMER

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, recently several all-time football greats were inducted into the Football Hall of Fame in ceremonies in New York City. Among those football stars was Nello Falaschi, the Santa Clara great of the late 1930's, who now resides in Oakland, but is an adopted son of Contra Costa County, Calif., and the 14th Congressional District.

During the past few years Nello has given unselfishly of his time to many benefits raising funds for schools, boys clubs, and the handicapped.

His weekly visits to Martinez and the Amato family's restaurant have brightened the days of many Contra Costans and sportswriters in particular.

Nello is a Hall-of-Famer in many ways. He is humble and thoughtful. He is generous to a fault. And if you ask the sportswriters, they will give you the highest accolade in their books, "Nello is a good copy."

Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD one of the stories written about Nello in the Oakland Tribune by Ed Shoenfeld:

FOOTBALL'S SHRINE TO INDUCT FALASCHI

(By Ed Schoenfeld)

Nello Falaschi is about to be inducted into the Football Hall of Fame 35 years after he quarterbacked the University of Santa Clara to a great Sugar Bowl triumph over LSU, at the time rated No. 1 in the nation.

A couple of years later, Flash, as they called the Broncos' All-American, played a key role in the New York Giants beating the Green Bay Packers for the National Football League championship.

When Falaschi, now a 57-year-old general contractor in Oakland, is inducted Tuesday night in New York, he will be the first player so honored from a catholic university west of Notre Dame.

"It's the height of any football player's dream," Nello says. Dan McMillan, University of California tackle in 1921, also will be one of eight inducted at a Waldorf-Astoria banquet.

Falaschi was a 6-foot-1, 195-pound blocking quarterback in the old Notre Dame system. He ran and passed in the ball control style of play. But blocking was Nello's forte. Knocking guys down, not the brush blocking they have today.

Nello could wipe out one whole side of a line. He did it against TCU in 1936.

Falaschi used to go out and set as a flanker and then go in motion toward the defensive end. He'd call the signals and when the end came across, he'd dive in and block him.

On the first play of that TCU game, Don DeRosa, the Broncos' left half, had a free ride when he turned the corner. Falaschi had knocked that whole side of the line down. DeRosa ran 60 yards with the ball.

Falaschi quarterbacked Santa Clara from 1934 through 1936, but that New Year's Day 1937 Sugar Bowl game with LSU was the high point of his collegiate career.

Santa Clara was a 4 to 1 underdog. Huey Long, the dictatorial governor of Louisiana, had tailored the LSU team to be the finest in the land.

"They had three teams and subbed full

teams every 7½ minutes," Nello recalls. "We were a much smaller team and didn't have as many players. Practically all our first team played the full 60 minutes."

Before the game, Falaschi and Gano Tinsley, the great LSU end, were presented All-American awards. "I was all geared up to play a hulluva game," Nello said.

Santa Clara upset LSU, 21 to 14, and Falaschi had a hand in two of the three Broncos' touchdowns. He threw a 25-yard pass to halfback Manny Gomez for one.

The deciding score was on a broken play, an end around in which Frank Smith was stopped but lateralled off to Falaschi, who crossed the goal line from the one.

Buck Shaw coached that winning team captained by Falaschi, who had been picked by Pop Warner, Bob Zuppke, Howard Jones and other great coaches as an All-American, and to Grantland Rice's All-American and another one selected by the New York Sun.

This might sound ridiculous nowadays, but when Nello went with the pros in 1938, he got a whopping bonus of $1,000 and was guaranteed $5,000 to play 11 games. Sammy Baugh was being paid $8,500 at the time.

Falaschi has never lost his interest in football. A 16-year-old boy has something to do with it.

That's Donn Falaschi, 5-foot-9½, 150-pound quarterback at Skyline High, who completed 60 of 105 passes for 1,141 yards and nine touchdowns this year.

"I think he is a better player than his father;" the proud Nello says about his son.

There will be a thousand people at the Hall of Fame banquet.

"You know," Falaschi remarked, "I'm indebted to my teammates at Santa Clara, especially the 1937 Sugar Bowl team. And I'm mostly appreciative of Buck Shaw for his help and guidance and overwhelming confidence in me when he made me the quarterback of one of his finest teams."

FRANK C. PORTER, GREAT REPORTER, WILL BE MISSED

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the death of Frank C. Porter last week came as a shock to all of us who knew him.

Those who dealt with him in his pursuit of the news recognized him as a craftsman in his profession. He had that skill which is perhaps most valuable to a reporter—the ability to get into a complex issue and to present it accurately in terms that the layman can understand. Such a talent is all the more needed—and all the rarer—in an area like economic coverage, and it was here that Frank Porter specialized. The wage-price story and related economic matters have dominated the news in recent months, and Frank brought the potentially esoteric news to readers of the Washington Post in straightforward, comprehensible form. As Benjamin Bradlee, the Post's executive editor, rightly put it:

You could read his stories and understand what the hell it was all about.

Just as important as being a model reporter, Frank Porter was a thoroughgoing gentleman. As much as any man, he earned the respect of his colleagues and his news sources alike. He remained generous and concerned literally to his untimely death at age 53, donating his eyes and kidneys to aid others.

Frank Porter will be missed.

CONGRESSMAN W. B. POAGE ADDRESSES THE CONVENTION OF NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL AVIATION ASSOCIATION

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, last week, on December 6, 1971, the gentleman from Texas and distinguished chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, Mr. POAGE, was invited to address the convention of the National Agricultural Aviation Association in Dallas, Texas.

In his remarks, Chairman POAGE outlined the recently passed Federal Environmental Pesticide Control Act of 1971. During the speech he assured the association that the bill "protects the industry, the trade and the farmer from arbitrary denial of the use of needed chemicals; and at the same time it protects the public from unnecessary impairment of the ecology and from any serious threat to the life or health of human beings."

Mr. Speaker, since the thoughts of BOB POAGE—on whatever subject they are voiced—command the respect of this House, I insert in the RECORD at this point that other Members may have the benefit of the chairman's analysis of the recently enacted law and what it means for America:

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN W. R. POAGE BEFORE THE AGRICULTURE AVIATION ASSOCIATION, DALLAS, TEX., DECEMBER 6, 1971

Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to meet with you, because you are a vital segment of agriculture—America's number one industry.

Besides, I am one of your customers—Marvin Tuttle sprays some mesquite for me almost every year. He never has killed many, but he does a good job of control and I am optimistic enough to believe that some day we will get something better than 2-4-5-T. That's one of the things I want to see the new forage and grasslands research center at Temple work on.

I am sure a good many of you here represent companies and enterprises with interests which are only allied to the National Agricultural Aviation Association, and, as it is with me, I expect that the very name of our host organization conjures up visions to you of devil-may-care pilots who zoom down over crops and dart up over telephone wires. That's alright so long as they miss the wires.

I know there have been great changes in the aerial spraying business as in every other phase of agricultural economics. But as with agricultural operations as a whole, I suppose there is still nothing much more important in planning a day's activity than the ingredient called weather. You folks here who have come from outside Texas no doubt have heard many tales about our weather—such as the remark that if you don't like it at a particular moment, "Just stick around a little while and you'll get what you want." Or, maybe, you have heard of the "snow digger" who went down to the Rio Grande Valley with a W. E. Stewart Landseeker's train. He wanted to be sure that he got out of the snow, but he had some doubts about the stories the high pressure salesmen told him so he got an old boy about 14 years old and took him out behind the house and asked: "Son, did you ever see it snow?" The boy looked sheepish and said, "No, mister, I never did see it snow, but I have seen it rain *twice*."

Then there was another new comer who went out in the Abilene country. He inquired of an old man—"Do you know just exactly how much it rained here last year?" The native said: "Yes sir, it rained exactly 13¾ inches." The stranger said: "Just how can you be so sure that you know to the exact fraction of an inch?" The native replied: "Hell, I was here the night it fell."

And possibly, you have heard about the panhandle farmer who was seen driving his combine down the highway at a high rate of speed. It was right in the middle of a terrific dust storm. A state policeman with red lights flashing on his cruiser and the siren screaming, managed to pull the farmer over to the side of the road and ask him where he was headed and what the hurry was.

"I planted wheat," he replied, "and I'm gonna harvest it if I have to chase it all the way down to the Gulf of Mexico."

There is much more which might be said about Texas weather, but I don't know anything we can do about it. Besides I know you are interested in the pesticide legislation, which we worked out in the agriculture committee. It has passed the House, as you know, and is now pending in the Senate.

It directly affects you and your business more than it does any other segment of our entire population. I say "entire population" because this bill we have passed in the House will affect, directly or indirectly, every man, woman and child in the United States. The bill was approved by our committee only after many months of study, and I think that it will still be substantially the same bill when it has gone through the Senate and been sent to the White House. We didn't pass it because we thought it was entirely good—everyone of us disagreed with some provision or another—but I am sure it was the best bill which could be passed and it was clear that some kind of bill should be passed and was going to be passed.

This far-reaching measure is entitled "the Federal Environmental Pesticide Control Act of 1971." It is a complete revision and updating of the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act of 1947 which is sometimes called "FIFRA." It should always be kept in mind that when we speak of "pesticides" for purposes of this bill, we are including chemicals for the control of plant life, and of animals of all kinds, as well as of insects.

Fundamentally, the legislation changes FIFRA from a labeling to a regulatory program. For the first time, the Government is given control over the manufacture, distribution and use of pesticides. Heretofore, the act has largely been restricted to enforcement of regulations requiring that labels on pesticides set forth the ingredients and instructions as to their use.

The bill, as most bills on controversial subjects do, represents a compromise of views. Witnesses who came before the committee included the very top authorities throughout the country in the fields of science, agriculture, conservation, ecology and environment. Everyone who asked was given an opportunity to testify. I might point out, that even among the recognized experts, there were often sharp differences of opinion. We heard witnesses who felt that the continued use of D-D-T posed a terrible threat to the world and to its people. Other witnesses pointed out that there was no evidence that D-D-T had ever been fatal to one single human.

Among the statements which were put into the committee's record was one by Dr.

Norman Bourlaug, the Nobel Prize Winner who developed the Mexican wheat strain which has increased yields per acre and alleviated hunger in much of the world. I think his views are most interesting because they are so different from what we read. Here are Dr. Bourlaug's words:

"Today everybody talks about the environment. I'm horrified by what I read and listen to on the radio and television about some of the theories of the purists—who are suddenly going to shut off the use of chemical products that we need to continue the improvement of our agricultural production, and I say broadly—fertilizers and pesticides. Sometimes we have had accidents with pesticides, but think of the good they have done. Without them where would our agricultural production be today?"

But let me briefly outline the major provisions of this new pesticide legislation, because it will definitely influence your business either for good or bad.

First, it establishes a coordinated Federal-State administrative system to carry out the new program. It says that the States are given prime responsibility for the certification and supervision of pesticide applicators. But that doesn't mean much. The Federal Government sets the program standards the States must meet. As reported by our committee and sent to the house floor the new legislation would have authorized the Federal law to pre-empt State and local laws in regard to all labeling and packaging requirements. On the House floor the bill was amended to give the States the right to impose special and additional requirements in regard to general use of pesticides, so long as their regulations are at least as strict as those required by the Federal Government. This means that any State can, for practical purposes, make it impossible to use any particular chemical within its borders—even though the federal government has found that chemical perfectly safe. I feel this is probably the most impractical provision in the bill.

The second important provision in the bill is that the environmental protection agency must call on the National Academy of Science to render opinions on relevant scientific issues which arise in the hearing process. I think this is a significant protection against arbitrary decisions by the agency.

Third, pesticides will be grouped into two categories—those for "general use" and those for "restricted use." The latter are those of a more toxic character and could be applied only by or under the direct supervision of licensed pesticide applicators. The "general use" pesticides include those such as the housewife may buy at the store to rid her home of ants and cockroaches and other insects.

Fourth, there will be two types of pesticide applicators—commercial and private. The bulk of private applicators are expected to be farmers. Your group will probably constitute the largest segment of commercial applicators. This class will include not only agricultural but also industrial and commercial types such as termite exterminators working at residences within the cities.

Fifth, the EPA administrator may issue experimental permits for the safe testing of new compounds. The EPA is given enforcement powers to, first, issue warnings, second, bring court injunctions, third, seize pesticides or devices, fourth, impose civil penalties, and fifth, bring criminal charges where chemicals are being used contrary to law.

Sixth, the Government must pay indemnities when the use of a legally produced product is suddenly banned, and the holder of such product may at his opinion turn such condemned pesticides over to the EPA for disposition. This is important to you, and although I am sure you will feel as I do that this is nothing but simple justice, you may be surprised to learn that this item was subject to the most violent attack at the hands of some of those who claimed that their paramount interest was the protection of the environment. I have never been able to see how it improved the environment to make someone lose money on something he has bought in good faith.

Seventh, judicial review of administrative actions is guaranteed, much as it is in most cases of departmental proceedings. In the final analysis this is assurance that no administrator can impose unreasonable or arbitrary regulations.

Eighth, the EPA is given authority to do expanded research and monitoring in order to find new and better methods and materials for controlling pests. I thnik we all recognize the necessity for this work, but few of us realize how expensive it can become. It is entirely unrealistic to expect the chemical companies to do any of this work which does not relate to products which they produce or expect to produce.

These are the basic mechanics of the bill, but why do we need legislation? Indeed, why do we need the use of pesticides: Many sincere and well intentioned people feel that the world does not need to use chemicals either to kill insects, weeds or varmints, on the one hand, or to fertilize or defoliate plants on the other hand. Indeed there is a substantial business in producing so-called "natural" foods—foods grown without fertilizers or pesticides. Such farming is not impractical on its present scale, but what would happen if we undertook to feed the entire world without the aid of any chemicals in our fight against weeds, rodents and insects: I am afraid that all the world would go hungry as much of it does today. Isn't it significant that those areas of the world which use the least chemicals in agriculture are the very ones where hunger exists. Can you name one major user of agricultural chemicals where the people don't get enough to eat? I can't think of one. The fact is that chemicals intelligently applied are a very vital and essential part of our food production process just as the use of chemicals or insecticides is a vital part of our fight against disease. We were told that three hundred million human beings are living today just because we have used D-D-T to control mosquitos, and, therefore, to eliminate malaria.

If these figures are remotely accurate, it does not seem to me that we can afford to abandon the use of chemicals or that we can seriously think of eliminating your business of applying these chemicals in the most efficient manner.

I think that it would be foolhardy to contend that pesticides are an unmixed blessing. I am sure that many pesticides do injure some kinds of plants or animals—so do natural predators, but the most ardent environmentalist will insist that predators are a part of the "balance of nature." Indeed they are, but man simply can't live with the "balance of nature." Just as soon as man began to cut trees either for shelter or to provide growing space for his food and fiber he began to upset this balance. As agriculture became specialized with great stretches of cotton, wheat or corn in any given area, the food supply for certain insects was multiplied a million fold. Nature did not plant corn all the way from the Mississippi to the Missouri rivers and there were no corn borers or corn blight in Iowa 200 years ago.

But we are not dealing with the insect food supplies of 200 years ago. We are dealing with an environment man himself has created and to stabilize it, we must use the tools man has developed. If the "purist" would frankly accept these alternatives, I could not criticize if he decided to turn back the clock of human progress. While I want the benefit of science, I will not fall out with those who think we pay too high a price for an effective chemically supported agriculture. The one I cannot understand is the individual who wants to take away all of the tools of agriculture and who still refuses to recognize the limitations which he is placing on production.

Certainly, we must pay a price for the use of agricultural chemicals. Sometimes the price is too high. In those cases we should simply forego the use, but just as truly we must pay a price for our failure to use these tools of production and in many cases this price is too high. When that is the situation, we should use the chemicals and frankly pay the price. It all boils down to a question of values. What do we most want? We can go either way, but we can't go both ways at the same time.

This bill pretty well leaves it up to the administrator of EPA to decide what uses of chemicals are harmful to man and to the environment of man, and to prohibit uses which he finds harmful, unless he also finds that the benefits outweigh the harm.

Of course, this gives the administrator lots of power, but someone must have this power. Certainly, the Congress does not have the technical knowledge to make these decisions, nor would we want to give any administrator unlimited power in this respect. We have, therefore, tried to establish reasonable guide lines for the administrator and have subjected him to both scientific and legal review should he be inclined to ignore those guide lines. I think this is about as much protection as we can hope to provide. It protects the industry, the trade and the farmer from arbitrary denial of use of needed chemicals. At the same time it protects the public from unnecessary impairment of the ecology and from any serious threat to the life or health of human beings.

VETERANS DAY

HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, on November 11 of this year, I introduced a joint resolution with 36 cosponsors to return the Nation's official commemoration of Veterans Day to November 11. Since that time, I have reintroduced this measure with additional cosponsors, and I have noticed several of my colleagues have either introduced similar legislation or have expressed their support of such legislation.

Also, I have received letters from such outstanding and patriotic organizations as the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, pledging their full support of this legislation.

On November 11 in 1918, an armistice was signed ending the hostilities on the Western front during the First World War. November 11 was chosen by Congress as the most appropriate day to honor all veterans whose great sacrifices over the years have made it possible for us to enjoy the freedoms we have today. However, because of the new Monday Holiday Act, Veterans Day 1971 was celebrated on October 25 in order to allow for an additional 3-day weekend.

Veterans Day is an important national holiday, a time to pause and honor those who have sacrificed so much to preserve our precious freedom and heritage. It must stand out in our minds, and not be made the tail end of a 3-day holiday weekend. Because of the significance of this issue, I plan on reintroducing my resolution with additional cosponsors when the Congress reconvenes in January and I urge my colleagues to join our efforts. Any who wish to cosponsor this legislation should advise my legislative assistant, Mrs. Barbara Miller, as soon as possible.

POLICE ARE LOSING THE FIGHT AGAINST CRIME

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, today I received a letter from a good friend who is a trooper with the Arkansas State Police

The letter, though personal to me, is a realistic statement of the actual facts that confront our policemen.

I sincerely recommend this letter to each of my colleagues:

OSCEOLA, ARK.,
December 6, 1971.

Congressman BILL ALEXANDER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Haven't seen you on any of your tours, but I know you have been around because I read of it in the papers. I do hope to see you sometimes when you are in the area.

Billy, I have thought of writing you for a long time, but then the thought always seems to come to mind, like I am sure it does to a lot of other policemen, "Oh, what's the use."

Billy, I don't know if this thought has ever come to you or your colleagues' attention, a policeman has a hell of a life, and by that I mean—long hours and a salary, particularly in the south, that is slightly above the poverty level. I have always felt that a policeman should be one of the highest paid people of any profession, but as it stands thus far, they are the lowest. Arkansas ranks number 51 in the pay bracket, and yet, over the nation 70 to 100 policemen a year lose their lives, leaving a wife and two or three children to make it the best way they can. I have read in the papers many times about the grants the Federal Government has made to improve law enforcement, which has some value, but it always amazes me how the most important phase of enforcement is left out, and that is salaries. Nothing is ever said about that and a policeman will never be paid until a grant by the Federal Government is made solely for the purpose of the raising of the salaries of the police. These various grants that have been made for better equipment, etc., thinking this would bring about a decrease in crime, is about like thinking a field of cotton would produce a greater yield if it were to be plowed with new equipment. Ex-chief, Henry Lux, of the Memphis Police Department, stated recently that the police were losing the fight against crime, which everyone must know. He gave no reason, but in my opinion, the ridiculously low salaries they are paid is the main reason. Why should a policeman care? He is told every month when he gets his check how much he is appreciated. The starting salary of a city policeman in the south, is something like $400.00 a month. After taxes and other deductions, having met his obligations from what is left, he may have cigarette money, if he is a light smoker. Of course, he has his wife's $40 or $50 check per week. She has to work and pay a babysitter out of this, but he will still have approximately $25.00 per week from her pay, so, they struggle on and on to what seems like a hopeless cause. An Arkansas trooper's starting salary is $508.00 per month, so you can see we are envied by the local police.

F.B.I. Agents' starting salary is $14,000 per year, which isn't too much, but there is quite a difference, and yet you seldom ever hear of an agent being killed which the answer is very obvious. They do not deal with violence on the streets and campuses. They do not deal with the riots and all the troubles that are occurring in our prisons, and 95% of all other major crimes are solved and the accused in jail, when the F.B.I. is called in. Then, a day or so later, you read in the paper how the F.B.I. solved this crime.

Billy, every State, local and county police across the country would like to write you just what I have written, but they are afraid their superiors would find out about it. You might wonder why they would be afraid with salaries being what they are. Many are in the same boat as I, too much time with the department to lose and many who have reached the age I am, which would make it very difficult to find other employment.

So, until good men like you and other members of our government help us to earn a decent living for our families, it just may continue to be like Ex-chief Henry Lux stated—Police are losing the fight against Crime—.

Yours very truly,
Cpl. RAYMON BISHOP,
Arkansas State Police.

"CHRIS" CHRISTIANSON

HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is always a rather sad occasion when a fine friend and faithful employee arrives at the time of retirement. While for the person retiring it is the beginning of a new and different life, and opens up new horizons, to those of us left behind in the shop there is always a void and a longing to see and visit with the retiree. A person who has now reached the retirement stage is our dear friend, C. A. "Christ" Christianson who leaves the employ of the House of Representatives after 42 years of service.

As for myself, "Chris" is a special person as we are both of Scandinavian descent and speak the Swedish language and frequently enjoyed conversing together in this native tongue. Because of his ability to speak Scandinavian languages fluently, "Chris" during World War II was assigned to a special mission in Norway and Sweden, where he performed with distinction.

In the House of Representatives "Chris" was a valuable member of the staff at the Speaker's desk and had a vast knowledge of procedure and record keeping which made him a valuable asset to the Congress and the Nation.

As "Chris" leaves the Hall of the House of Representatives he will take with him the love and admiration of Members on both sides of the aisle, and I personally want to wish him a long and happy retirement.

UNDP CONFERENCE PLEDGES

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, it is with considerable sadness that I introduce into the RECORD the lead story from the November 1971 issue of "Pre-Investment," a publication of the United Nations Development Programme—UNDP. The optimism of this article, headlined "UNDP Conference Pledges Boosted for 1972—Funds of $265 Million Anticipated," does not square with action this House took December 8. We refused to appropriate any money as the 1972 U.S. contribution to UNDP.

The $265 million figure the "Pre-Investment" editors anticipated was arrived at by assuming that donors which did not announce contributions at the November 1 UNDP pledging conference would match at least their 1971 contributions. There is a serious question whether the United States will reach this target.

The chart following my remarks indicates the 1971 pledges and the 1972 possibilities. The United States failure to contribute means fewer dollars in 1972 than in 1971 for UNDP work. If we should fail to contribute or contribute less than we did last year, other nations may follow our lead and reduce or omit their 1972 contributions.

The United States should be leading the UNDP pledging process rather than inhibiting it. Hopefully, the House will be rescued from the ignoble position it placed itself in with regard to the UNDP.

The publication follows:

[From the Pre-Investment, November 1971]

UNDP CONFERENCE PLEDGES BOOSTED FOR 1972—FUNDS OF $265 MILLION ANTICIPATED

Increased voluntary contributions from sixty-eight industrial and developing countries have raised the anticipated level of financing available to the UNDP for its 1972 programme to $265 million, $25 million more than last year's total.

Taking into account counterpart contributions of participating countries, which average 56 per cent of project costs, the UNDP could have a programme of $600 million in 1972 as against the 1971 programme of $534.9 million, according to UNDP Administrator Paul G. Hoffman.

The financial estimates for 1972 take into account contributions at last year's level from the United States, the single largest donor to the UNDP ($86 million), and Japan ($5.8 million), which did not announce their contributions at the Pledging Conference held at the United Nations Headquarters on 1 November.

20 PERCENT MORE

According to Mr. Hoffman, the total contributions could be higher than $265 million. Japan has indicated that it would increase its contributions for 1972. The United States Government has recommended to the Congress a sum of $100 million as its contribution to the UNDP for the coming year.

Of the 141 countries invited to participate in the joint Pledging Conference for the UNDP and the Capital Development Fund, 119 countries pledged contributions totalling $172.7 million, representing an increase of 20 per cent over their contributions last year.

The United Kingdom pledged $19.8 million, an increase of $5.4 million over its 1971 contribution, while Denmark increased its contribution by $3.7 million to $20.6 million. Norway also increased its contribution by more than one-third to $9.97 million.

Other major donors who increase their contributions substantially ($1 million or more) were: Canada, the Netherlands and Sweden. Major increases were also announced by Belgium, Finland, Iran, Germany, France and Switzerland.

Several developing countries, despite their budgetary restrictions, also announced substantial contributions. These contributions are in addition to the significant amount furnished by these countries in cash and kind as "counterpart support" for UNDP activities in the countries concerned.

In 1971, the UNDP has some 4,000 large and small projects in 130 countries. These include 931 approved or on-going Special Fund projects, with a total cost of $2,381 million, of which UNDP is to provide $949 million and the recipient countries the rest. A sum of $78.4 million is earmarked for technical assistance during the current year.

SUPPORT FOR 1973

Invited to the Conference were 131 Member States of the United Nations and 10 other states which are members of related agencies, namely the Federal Republic of Germany, the Holy See, Lichtenstein, Monaco, Nauru, Republic of Korea, Republic of Viet-Nam, San Marino, Switzerland and Western Samoa.

Four countries, Bahrain, Bhutan, Oman and Qatar, which joined the family of the United Nations in September, participated in the Pledging Conference for the first time. The Republic of Nauru, making its first contribution, pledged $500.

In order to assist the UNDP in long-term forward planning, Nicaragua, Sweden and the United Kingdom announced the level of contributions which would be available from their respective countries for 1973, and Switzerland for 1973 and 1974. Cuba announced its pledges through 1976.

Opening the Conference, the Secretary-General U Thant, said that the UNDP had restructured itself in response to the new and changing demands of the development process and this flexibility in adapting to change showed that it was capable of meeting the great challenges that lie ahead.

The Secretary-General noted that since 1959, voluntary contributions to the UNDP and its predecessor programmes had increased more than four-fold. The annually approved UNDP programme of development work had grown from some $115 million twelve years ago to well over $530 million in 1971.

"It is difficult to think of any field of economic or social development that is not now affected by some of the many thousands of UNDP-supported projects. In virtually every key field of human endeavour . . . UNDP is marshalling the expertise of the United Nations family of agencies to help shape and sustain a healthier, happier and more enlightened world."

Reliable projections, he continued, indicated that by 1976 the low-income countries would be capable of mounting a UNDP-supported programme of $1,000 million. Keeping this in mind, the UNDP Administrator had set a target of $500 million in voluntary contributions for 1976.

TRIBUTE TO HOFFMAN

U Thant paid warm tribute to the "inspired leadership" of Mr. Hoffman, who will be retiring as chief executive of the UNDP in January 1972.

In his brief remarks, Mr. Hoffman said it was ironic that the world's wealthiest nations were devoting some $200,000 million a year to military expenditures and less than $15,000 million to development cooperation.

In addition to the age-old plagues of hunger, ignorance and disease, there were new and equally urgent challenges—massive unemployment and underemployment, inequitable distribution of economic wealth, urban decay and rural stagnation, environmental pollution and spiraling population growth—that must be met without delay.

The four-fold growth in the financial support of the fully-international UNDP partnership reflected the growing recognition of the need to cooperate in dealing with economic and social challenges, Mr. Hoffman said. He expressed the hope that this trend would not be reversed or retarded under any circumstances, or for any reasons, whatsoever.

Mr. Simon Ake, Permanent Representative of the Ivory Coast to the United Nations, who presided over the Conference, called for susbtantial increases in UNDP's funds, a rational distribution of its resources, competent management and reciprocal collaboration between the developed and the developing countries.

UNITED NATIONS CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT FUND

Twenty-nine countries have pledged $832,060 to the United Nations Capital Development Fund, raising this total of the Fund's pledged resources to more than $5.2 million.

The Fund, set up in 1966 by the General Assembly to provide capital assistance to developing countries, has been administered by the UNDP Administrator since 1968.

The contributions for 1972, announced at a joint Pledging Conference for the UNDP and the Fund held at the United Nations Headquarters on 1 November, were 15 per cent less than the $973,364 pledged by 30 countries last year.

CONTRIBUTIONS PLEDGED TO UNDP FOR 1972

[Expressed in U.S. dollars]

Country	Pledge for 1971	Pledge for 1972	Increase (decrease)	Country	Pledge for 1971	Pledge for 1972	Increase (decrease)
Afghanistan	119,000	[1] 119,000		El Salvador	9,700	15,000	5,300
Albania	4,000	4,000		Ethiopia	90,000	95,000	5,000
Algeria	300,000	310,000	10,000	Fiji	10,000	10,000	
Argentina	700,000	850,000	150,000	Finland	3,000,000	3,500,000	500,000
Australia	2,000,000	2,000,000		France	5,036,232	5,552,030	515,798
Austria	1,600,000	1,800,000	200,000	Gabon	43,165	43,165	
Bahrain				Gambia		3,120	3,120
Barbados	12,000	15,000	3,000	Germany, Federal Republic of	13,714,286	14,457,831	743,545
Belgium	2,800,000	3,723,404	923,404	Ghana		260,000	260,000
Bhutan				Greece	400,000	400,000	
Bolivia	30,000	30,000		Guatemala	27,000	27,000	
Botswana	8,400	[1] 8,400		Guyana	100,000	105,000	5,000
Brazil	1,050,000	1,300,000	250,000	Haiti	1,000	1,000	
Bulgaria	80,000	88,000	8,000	Holy See	5,000	5,000	
Burma	100,000	100,000		Honduras	5,000	7,500	2,500
Burundi				Hungary	100,000	116,667	16,667
Byelorussian S.S.R	150,000	150,000		Iceland	31,818	45,455	13,637
Cameroon	35,000	35,000		India	3,750,000	3,750,000	
Canada	16,000,000	18,000,000	2,000,000	Indonesia	120,000	120,000	
Central African Republic	3,597	4,317	720	Iran	585,000	1,000,000	415,000
Ceylon	180,000	180,000		Iraq	220,000	300,000	80,000
Chad	2,000	[1] 2,000		Ireland	285,000	[1] 285,000	
Chile	300,000	320,000	20,000	Israel	218,000	218,000	
China, People's Republic of				Italy	3,500,000	3,500,000	
Colombia	400,000	400,000		Ivory Coast	90,000	90,000	
Congo, People's Republic of	7,194	7,194		Jamaica	90,000	100,000	10,000
Costa Rica	4,000	10,000	6,000	Japan	5,760,000	[1] 5,760,000	
Cook Islands (NZ)	560	[1] 560		Jordan		54,102	54,102
Cuba	95,000	100,000	5,000	Kenya	75,000	90,000	15,000
Cyprus	18,720	21,600	2,880	Khmer Republic	21,622	21,622	
Czechoslovakia	692,521	761,773	69,252	Kuwait	325,000	350,000	25,000
Dahomey				Laos	12,000	13,000	1,000
Denmark	16,933,333	20,604,396	3,671,063	Lebanon	104,000	123,006	19,006
Dominican Republic	18,000	18,000		Lesotho	8,500	10,000	1,500
Ecuador	115,000	133,000	18,000	Liberia	75,000	75,000	
Egypt	459,982	459,982		Lybian Arab Republic		310,000	310,000

Footnotes at end of table.

CONTRIBUTIONS PLEDGED TO UNDP FOR 1972—Continued

[Expressed in U.S. dollars]

Country	Pledge for 1971	Pledge for 1972	Increase (decrease)
Luxembourg	40,000	42,553	2,553
Madagascar	24,490	24,490	
Malawi	7,000	7,000	
Malaysia	100,000	100,000	
Maldives	1,000	[1] 1,000	
Mali	18,018	10,000	(8,018)
Malta	8,400	8,400	
Mauritania		15,000	15,000
Mauritius	3,022	3,500	478
Mexico	500,000	500,000	
Monaco	4,022	4,096	74
Mongolia	12,000	13,000	1,000
Morocco	250,000	249,004	(996)
Nauru		500	500
Nepal	20,000	23,000	3,000
Netherlands	11,111,111	13,056,379	1,945,268
New Zealand	560,036	690,449	130,413
Nicaragua	28,000	28,000	
Niger	25,180	25,180	
Nigeria	140,017	140,000	(17)
Norway	6,579,868	9,970,803	3,390,935
Oman		50,000	50,000
Pakistan	1,067,000	1,067,000	
Panama	100,000	115,000	15,000
Paraguay	3,000	3,048	48
Peru	200,000	200,000	
Philippines	500,000	500,000	
Poland	552,000	579,600	27,600
Qatar		200,000	200,000
Republic of Korea	220,000	220,000	
Romania	201,667	221,833	20,166
Rwanda	6,655	7,320	665
Saudi Arabia	300,000	350,000	50,000
Senegal	65,000	17,896	(47,014)
Sierra Leone	75,000	75,000	
Singapore	100,000	100,000	
Somalia	3,500	4,020	520
Spain	475,000	475,000	
Sudan	170,000	170,000	
Swaziland	4,200	5,601	1,401
Sweden	23,000,000	26,0000,00	3,000,000
Switzerland	3,750,000	4,250,000	500,000
Syrian Arab Republic		28,178	26,178
Thailand	355,500	355,500	
Togo	5,000	6,000	1,000
Trinidad/Tobago	90,000	90,000	
Tunisia	180,000	180,000	
Turkey	663,000	663,000	
Uganda	28,011	28,011	
Ukranian S.S.R	375,000	375,000	
U.S.S.R	3,000,000	3,000,000	
United Kingdom	14,400,000	19,801,980	5,401,980
United Republic of Tanzania	84,034	84,034	
United States	86,268,000	[1,2] 86,268,000	
Upper Volta	5,000	[1] 5,000	
Uruguay	172,500	179,500	7,000
Venezuela	870,000	920,000	50,000
Vietnam	22,000	22,000	
Western Samoa	1,000	1,390	390
Yemen	2,000	[1] 2,000	
Yemen, People's Republic of	1,650	1,650	
Yugoslavia	825,990	908,589	82,599
Zaire Republic		200,000	200,000
Zambia	94,500	109,000	14,500
Total	[3] 239,899,001	265,119,718	25,220,717

[1] Has not pledged for 1972, amount shown reflects 1971 contribution.
[2] The U.S. Administration has recommended an amount of $100,000,000.
[3] Includes $200,000 pledged by the Republic of China (Taiwan).

THE HONORABLE DAVID PACKARD—SOLID CITIZEN

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, our former Deputy Secretary of Defense, Mr. David Packard, is a gentleman whom all Americans, regardless of party affiliation, can regard with genuine respect and admiration. The record of his achievements, both in the private sector and in government, is truly remarkable. He has demonstrated in an important way, the qualities and characteristics that are summed up in the phrase, a solid citizen. Mr. Packard would certainly not be out of place at a board meeting of any of our largest corporations, but even more important, he would be equally at home meeting with the leadership of our smallest communities. He has expressed himself most candidly about his relationship with the Congress and I am delighted that he did give us a passing mark, and I believe we should accept his summation as a helpful suggestion for the future, and as an incentive for improvement. Our House, in my opinion, is the greatest legislative body in the world, but even so we may, in all honesty, respond agreeably and with humility to Mr. Packard's farewell remarks as reported in the following guest editorial, from today's issue of the New York Daily News:

GUEST EDITORIAL

By just-resigned Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard, at his farewell press conference Monday in Washington:

I can't say I believe [Congress] is the most efficient, the most rational decision-making process. Nor does the legislative process always come out with the right answer.

But after the shouing and fussing is over, the Senate and the House, either separately or collectively, come out with a good solution most of the time . . .

The vast majority of all senators and representatives are fine, capable people, dedicated to the welfare of their country . . .

APOLOGIST SHARES BLAME FOR CRIME WAVE

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, when it comes to dealing with the criminal offender today, there seems to be at least two schools of thought. One believes that a crime is a crime no matter who commits the unlawful act and that punishment must be meted out accordingly. The other believes that the criminal is the product of his society and that his apprehension affords society the opportunity to "rehabilitate" him so as to make up for his social and economic deficiencies in order to be able to return him to society as a productive citizen. Most regrettably, however, our streets are full or "rehabilitated" criminals whose only productivity is the inflation of criminal statistics. In short, rehabilitation as a social goal cannot and should not be substituted for the punishment that any criminal act would surely evoke were the average John Doe citizen to be convicted as the perpetrator.

In this connection, Joseph McCaffrey's recent commentary on crime, broadcast over WMAL-TV on November 29, points the finger at the "apologist" whose permissiveness must surely be high on the list of factors in any evaluation of the reasons for the high incidence of crime in any of our major urban areas. To be sure, the truism that has long been lost sight of by the apologists is that a crime is a crime is a crime. As McCaffrey states:

When they (the apologists) are hit, either by a robbery or a rape, they'll find out that their concern for the poor bum who did them in isn't going to save them.

The commentary follows:

COMMENTARY OF JOSEPH MCCAFFREY

We blame the present crime wave on the criminals.

Perhaps we should shift a little of that blame to the apologists for the criminals.

A week ago I talked about the criminals who establish their manhood by pistol whipping their victims, by pumping a few bullets into their robbery victims for kicks. Years ago, I pointed out, no one thought that to establish one's manhood he had to destroy another human being.

Well, believe it or not, there were some citizens who called up to protest what one of them called "my attitude." There were others who left their phone numbers for me to call back to discuss "my attitude." I haven't.

It may well be that this accounts for the crime wave sweeping this city, and every other large metropolitan city today:

The apologists who think that this is good therapy for the maladjusted. They really have little concern for the victim—whether she is raped, robbed, or beaten.

They think we have to consider the poor offender. Just an unfortunate kid who resorted to violence to let the people know that he was not being treated right.

We'll have a lower crime rate in this, and every other city, when the apologists wake up to the facts of life.

When they are hit, either by a robbery or a rape, they'll find out that their concern for the poor bum who did them in isn't going to save them.

They keep crying on the side lines, while victim after victim is laid low. They share the blame for the nation's shame.

TURNER ROBERTSON

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 9, 1971

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, there are many people around us who fill important position of responsibility and whose work is essential to the proper discharge of the congressional process. We know of the value of their work and we appreciate their services yet in only rare instances do we publicly recognize these individuals until we are about to lose their services.

In large measure, that is the case with the retirement of Turner N. Robertson who is about to leave his post after 32 years of dedicated and faithful service to the Congress.

Since assuming his duties as majority chief page in 1947, after having served first as an elevator operator, then as a member of the Capitol Police, doorman, assistant librarian, and librarian, Turner Robertson has truly become a legend in his own time.

His years of patience and helpful service is evidenced in the outstanding manner in which the page service is operated. Turner now supervises 51 helpful young men in the performance of their duties and seldom a day goes by when a Member of Congress does not find himself using those services.

Only history could disclose how many documents, pieces of legislation, messages, and ideas for the betterment of our Nation have been carried through these halls by the pages who have served under Turner's guidance. This, in a sense is a tribute to Turner for we each are confident we can trust him and his band of young men to deliver whatever it is they are assigned to deliver.

Now that Turner Robertson is about to take leave of us, I am pleased indeed that he will live in Florida while he enjoys his well earned retirement. I assure him he will be most welcome there and that it will be our honor to play host to him.

To share in his retirement will be Turner's lovely wife, Ernestine, who, like Turner, is a native of North Carolina. She, too, deserves the high regard each of us holds for Turner.

I know I express the sentiments of every Member of this Congress and every Member of every Congress served by Turner when I say that he will be missed. But most of all, he will be remembered as one of those public servants who did every job he was called upon to do, and then he went beyond duty to truly serve the Congress and the United States in a manner which should serve as an example to us all.

FROM CONFRONTATION TO COOPERATION

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the status of public employees in this country, as I am sure my colleagues know as well as I, is not what it should be, and it is not what it could be. Both wages and standard of living for employees of private business and industry have risen greatly over the course of the past several years. The same is not true for public employees. It is unfortunate that some States still refuse to recognize the right of State and local employees to organize and bargain with their employers. It is just as unfortunate that other States accord public employees representation of only the most token and condescending kind.

I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a most intelligent and pertinent speech on this matter given by Mr. Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, at a conference called by the Secretary of Labor on "State and Local Government Relations," on November 22, 1971.

I am sure my colleagues are all aware of the progressive record of the AFSCME, one of the fastest growing unions in the country. I think that this speech is a good example of both the high caliber of its leadership and their dedication to providing for our public employees the same dignity and security that their counterparts in the private sector have considered a basic right for so long.

The speech follows:

FROM CONFRONTATION TO COOPERATION

We have come a long way in labor relations in state and local government when the United States Department of Labor calls a conference on the subject. I appreciate being invited as a spokesman for state and local government employees.

The union I represent—the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO—is probably well known to most of you. We are big. We had 525,000 members paying dues last month. We are growing faster than any other union, adding more than 1,000 new members a week. When we sit down at the bargaining table, we are dealing with wages and conditions of employment affecting more than one million persons. It is also important for you to know that nearly all of our members pay dues on a purely voluntary basis. Union security provisions are very rare in the public sector.

We are known as a militant union. Some of that is deserved; some of it is not. Up until now militancy has often been needed to deal with employers who would not listen, deal fairly, or allow their employees to peaceably organize into unions for the purpose of dealing as equals with their employer.

We are entering a new and different stage in the development of labor relations in state and local government. Our union is very aware of the new situation that is developing. We are responding to it by consciously moving from confrontation to cooperation, wherever it is feasible.

Times are changing. There are now mechanisms established in many states for the conduct of labor-management relations in the public sector. There is bargaining taking place in many states and localities. Employees are well organized. Despite the legal frustrations, a greater percentage of the state and local government work force is organized than in the private sector. Many employees are in AFL-CIO unions; many others are not. All utilize to one degree or another the practices that are traditional in the American trade union movement.

The experimental and revolutionary phase of public employee unionism is over. We now need to address ourselves to cooperatively bringing reasonableness into our relationship. It is with that concern that I am speaking to you today.

Collective bargaining exists in the private sector because it was needed to deal with a potentially explosive labor-management relationship. Problems still occur, but they are minimized by firmly established and uniform procedures for dealing with the situation.

Collective bargaining exists in some places in the public sector, but even where it exists it is inferior to that found in business and industry. The general nature of public sector labor relations is chaos. The problems are numerous and frequently explosive.

There is no way to guarantee peace in public sector labor relations. Even the best laws or good will on all sides will not always produce serenity. Free societies breed and allow for conflict. That is their strength. They aim not to end conflict, but to achieve machinery which can deal with it and minimize its explosiveness. Collective bargaining is the vehicle for achieving these ends in the public sector, just as it is in the private sector.

We find that government employers, many of whom approve or defend collective bargaining in the private sector, are reluctant or even hostile to the idea of their own employees having these rights.

Government employers go even further than denying collective bargaining. They lobby in the Congress against a minimum wage or overtime pay for public workers. They lobby against applying to themselves the same federal standards of equal employment opportunity that are applied to business and industry. They are irresponsible about health and safety on the job and they are sanguine about retirement plans. Advocating these rights for most workers in America while denying them to the one worker in every six who is employed in government is hypocrisy.

Central to this hypocrisy on the issue of rights and protections for public employees is the concept of sovereignty—sovereignty with a lower case "s." When you strip it down, the concept of sovereignty means only one thing as far as labor relations are concerned, and that is that the boss will call the shots. That concept is unacceptable to the employees of government.

More than one government official has contended that because he was elected to office he was speaking in labor relations matters not for himself but for the whole community. In my experience, a public official speaks for himself as boss and not as public protector. Being elected to political office is not equal to being endowed by God with unbounded wisdom and unbridled power. Unfortunately, many elected officials believe that it is. The concept of sovereignty may be the genesis of that belief.

Let me hasten to add that being elected a trade union official does not mean being endowed with unbounded wisdom and unbridled power either. Trade union officials are no more immune to self-righteousness than are public officials. We, too, can be short-sighted advocates. Our credentials for reasonableness may be no better than those of public officials.

The concept of sovereignty is regularly used as an excuse to unilaterally dispense largesse on matters of employee wages and conditions of employment.

In the struggle for monopoly of power by the public employer and the resulting counter response by the public employee, we may end up with a lot of unreasonableness on both sides. We get phoney rhetoric instead of fair dealing.

The current defense against rational bilateral relationships is premised on the fear of the acquisition of political power by public workers to the detriment of the community. This was a theorem first enunciated about the time Lincoln Steffens was authoring the Shame of the Cities at the turn of the century.

There is a point of view that "collective bargaining" serves as a back drop to a power broker relationship between "union leaders" and "political bosses." The needs of the workers and the community, of course, are just incidental.

Others are concerned about protecting the political process from a pressure group of public employees. This view assumes the political process is already free of pressure groups, and that a public employee pressure group would taint an otherwise saintly environment. Those with this view would protect the participatory electoral process in this free society by depriving the 13.5 million Americans who work for the government of their citizenship in that society.

What needs to be understood is that it is possible to accommodate to both the dignity of workers and the sovereignty of government. This can be done by rejecting the old courthouse "fix" in an up-to-date costume. It can be done by refusing to consign to power brokers problems that need solution with equity, participation and accommodation, including fiscal responsibility.

The concept of sovereignty is a critical reason why we are at an impasse over impasse procedures. We need to get this out of our way. It is inhibiting the development of reasonable relationships.

The position of most employers is clear. You say there should be no right to strike. Many agree with you. We are concerned about compulsory arbitration. Many think it would be a simple and easy way to solve problems in the public sector, although many employers have clearly said they prefer the right to strike to compulsory arbitration. Someday, the unions might horrify you by lobbying for compulsory arbitration.

Rather than arguing over whether the right to strike is a principle or a tactic, or whether arbitration is reasonable or unreasonable, we should be agreeing on one thing. We should be agreeing that repressive laws on strikes don't work. There is more trouble where there is repression, as in New York, than where there is no repression, as in Connecticut and Wisconsin.

The public is anxious to eliminate chaos in the public sector. That public pressure may be more in the direction of compulsory arbitration than the right to strike. Some of you have discovered first hand how unhappy a mechanism compulsory arbitration can be. It is not what you want. It is not what we want.

The public is inclined toward compulsory arbitration. It appears an easy way of eliminating strikes. As long as we cannot agree on appropriate impasse procedures, the public may be totally justified in demanding a third-party neutral. Let me add that in spite of our concern about compulsory arbitration, we have been impressed with the awards it has produced for employees and the hostilities it has brought from employers.

It is contingent upon us to move jointly toward the provision of universally and mutually acceptable impasse procedures. The realistic option available may be something that would be abhorrent to both of us. Moving together, we may achieve agreement on appropriate impasse procedures without having to resort to strike, compulsory arbitration, or repressive laws on either of these mechanisms.

We are pushing hard for a national law governing labor relations in the public sector. Secretary of Labor Hodgson says we need to use state and local governments as "research and demonstration" laboratories for labor relations in the public sector. We disagree. There have been enough studies and experiments. We're tired of that. There have been enough confrontations. It is time for responsible change.

I have trouble understanding those who support collective bargaining for public employees but oppose a national law providing for it. There should be no more difference between the job rights of a public works employee in Wisconsin and Virginia than there is between an aerospace worker in California and New York. The labor relations situation of public employees today is different in every city, county, and state—not just between states, but between cities and counties within the same state. There is no more reason to justify fragmentation of labor relations between states and their cities and counties than there is to fragment any other system of dealing with problems on a national level.

We are not asking for a federal takeover. It would be outrageous to take away from local units of government their rights and concerns. We are advocating a federal law that leaves to state and local governments the authority to conduct labor relations.

We also believe it is outrageous to conduct labor relations without a set of uniform rules. We are advocating uniformity of law on this matter for the same reason we advocate government by law rather than by force.

You can say what you want about labor relations in business and industry, but a free society could not get along without the mechanisms that exist there. The mechanisms are firmly established and clearly understood. They have a history of legal precedents applicable to almost every work place in America. Contrast that with the public sector where you can go from one city to the next and find a different mechanism and a different set of precedents and procedures.

What we see very clearly is the need for uniformity of law in the public sector, so that a body of law and tradition and practice can be developed. This will only occur under federal legislation, much like that which governs labor relations in business and industry.

There is no question of constitutional authority on national legislation. It exists and there are court decisions to verify it.

The real question here is not so much that of the federal government moving in. The real question is the desire of the states to continue to guard their right to generally repress legitimate employee aspirations. I know that federal intervention is repulsive to you. But we're talking about a federally-established mechanism that will be operated at the local level.

Our union's proposal for national legislation would permit a state to be the master of its own fate and destiny, so long as it provided rights substantially equal to those included in the national law. If a state wanted to control its own arena of public sector labor relations, it could do so. The legislation provides for a uniformity of application of law; not a transfer of power.

Our reasoning has been this: We know what you have to offer us in the way of state legislation. We know what the needs are. The two just don't fit and probably never will. We are not turning our backs on the new laws in Hawaii and Pennsylvania. They are good laws, although we have serious points of difference with them. If we continue to rely on state legislation, we will continue to face a crazy quilt-work pattern of law. The needs of public employees do not differ across state lines. They are one and the same throughout the nation. A national approach is the only answer to meeting them uniformly and fairly.

As a spokesman for organized labor at this Conference, let me clear up some misunderstandings about labor's position on the wage-price freeze and Phase II.

Labor's support of economic controls such as those proposed by the President is grounded in the concept of equity. Labor has said since 1966 that if controls were needed, it would sacrifice its fair share, but only if other segments of the economy were sacrificing as well.

Labor also rightfully expects that in a free society such a sweeping program of economic controls will be carried out in full consultation with the parties involved and, most importantly, the program will be honestly administered.

Labor's concerns in each area have been ignored by the Nixon Administration.

Rigid controls were placed on wages and loose controls on prices. The boss controls both. Tax bonanzas were prescribed for business while cuts in government services were prescribed for other Americans. Interest rates, profits, and dividends were exempted from controls during the freeze.

As far as the wage-price freeze is concerned, labor was not consulted in advance in a way that would have indicated its support and advice were desired. On Phase II, labor was consulted but deceived.

George Meany and other labor representatives were advised that Phase II of wage controls would be regulated by an autonomous, tripartite Pay Board. The President's announcement indicated the Pay Board would be subject to the veto of the Cost of Living Council. Secretary of the Treasury John Connally affirmed that veto power the next day.

It took a major confrontation with the Administration for labor to keep the Pay Board free from government veto.

The President then loaded the Pay Board. Although he had given labor assurances that the five public members of the Pay Board would be non-labor, non-management, and non-governmental, four of the five did not meet those specifications.

Arnold Webber was named to the Board as a supposedly neutral public member. He is not neutral. He was on the government payroll from January of 1969 to October 21st of this year. He was the top government official for the 90-day wage-price freeze. He drew his last federal government paycheck on October 21 and went to work October 22 as a supposedly neutral public member of the Pay Board.

William Caples is a public member of the Board. He spent all his life but the past two years in industry. He was an executive vice president of Inland Steel for 20 years and a former vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Neal Jacoby, a public member of the Board, is a man who has spent the past 12 years as a director of the Occidental Petroleum Company. Prior to that he was a conservative economist with the Council of Economic Advisers under Arthur Burns in the Eisenhower Administration.

Kermit Gordon, another public member of the Board, is a man with whom I might quarrel, but he is a man of integrity. I have no quarrel with his sitting on the Board as a public representative. He is the only one who meets the criteria.

The fifth public member and Chairman of the Board is George Boldt. He is on the government payroll as a federal judge. Secretary of Labor Hodgson described him to George Meany as, and I quote, "totally and completely unfit for this job."

The Administration is now trying to cock the dice against working men and women in another way. They sent an individual public member to see every labor member to try to tell that particular labor leader not to worry. I. W. Abel of the United Steelworkers of America was given the word there would be no interference in the Steelworkers' contract. Leonard Woodcock of the United Automobile Workers, Floyd Smith of the International Association of Machinists, and Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters received similar assurance.

It is a credit to George Meany and his colleagues that they would not go along with this kind of "courthouse fix" to the detriment of workers who are not in high-image "critical" industries, whether they pay union dues or not.

Labor thus views the Administration's program of wage and price controls as something manipulated in favor of business and finance and opposed to workers and, therefore, inconsistent with the prerequisite equal treatment.

Our union has faced similar difficulties on state and local government employee coverage under the freeze and Phase II.

The National Education Association, the International Association of Fire Fighters, and our union have been working as a coalition on the wage-price freeze and Phase II. We have shared with several persons inside the Nixon Administration our thinking on the need for a separate mechanism for state and local government employees under Phase II. We were encouraged to think that some separate machinery would be put into effect. Discussions had reached the stage of debating whether it would be a tripartite mechanism with autonomous jurisdiction over non-federal public employee salaries or subject to the final authority of the private sector Pay Board.

The Committee described in President Nixon's Executive Order did not figure in the discussions. This clearly indicated to us that a separate mechanism was in the works. We were certain that if the Construction Wage Stabilization Committee were operative under Phase II as a separate mechanism for that industry, that there would also be a separate machinery for non-federal public employees.

What has developed is a Committee on State and Local Government Cooperation. It is purely advisory. All authority on wages and benefits rests with the Pay Board.

Few members of the Committee have stature or knowledge of state and local government employment. Don Morrison, president of the National Education Association, is an exception. He is a man of integrity and an excellent representative of public employee interests.

In its first meeting, members of the State and Local Government Cooperation Committee were encouraged to make the inequities faced by teachers the first order of business. The encouragement came from Cost of Living Council Director Donald Rumsfield, Vice President Spiro Agnew, and Pay Board Chairman George Boldt. There appeared nearly unanimous support for this among members of the Committee.

At its next meeting, the Committee voted overwhelmingly against a proposal to discuss—just discuss, that's all—with the Pay Board the inequities of teachers and other non-federal public employees. The "Advisory" board had voted against advising.

We suspect the Administration is doing the same thing with the Committee it has done with the Pay Board. That is to make people think they are on their side but then apply pressure to divide them and keep them from getting a fair hearing, let alone fair treatment.

The position of our union and other public employee unions on Phase II in the non-federal public sector is that the wage machinery needs to be different and separate from that for business and industry.

They are not in a runaway situation. Generally speaking, they still lag behind business and industry.

There is a separate mechanism under Phase II for the construction industry, which has 3.3 million workers. We believe there should be one for the 10 million workers of state and local government. Separate machinery is needed to deal with the diversity of law and wage-setting mechanisms that exist in the public sector as opposed to the private sector, where law and wage-setting mechanisms are pretty much uniform. This is particularly true in view of the fact that 14 of the 15 members of the Pay Board have no knowledge or experience, let alone expertise, with public employment.

We were pleased by the support the National League of Cities/U.S. Conference of Mayors and the National Association of Counties gave to our position that there should be a separate mechanism in Phase II for dealing with non-federal public employee wages. We would like to persuade you to join us in continuing to pursue a separate mechanism. Without it, there will be chaos. And, if our expectations that wage controls will be with us for a very long time are correct, that chaos will get worse with each passing week.

Public management and labor are natural adversaries at the collective bargaining table, and while we might be able to work together on many things, that adversary relationship in labor relations will remain unchanged. We represent employees—policemen, social workers, employees in hospitals, schools, public works, recreation. You represent management. The interests are different at the bargaining table. But we are both interested in good government, viable institutions, and livable communities. In that cause we are natural allies.

The government service is being challenged today. The demands for service are enormous. Revenues are limited. Pressures from community groups are in conflict. The value of our institutions is in doubt.

We are concerned for the system. There is clear evidence the people don't trust the system. It's clear that it can be preserved only by facing up to its faults. The old notion that rhetoric and slogans were substitutes for action is no longer acceptable. There is a very large gap in belief in the system.

We are reaching out on all sides for allies to preserve the integrity of useful institutions, which have been undermined by irresponsibility, greed, and negligence.

We (labor) have established the fact that we are here to stay. You (management) have demonstrated that you can cope with us. The time has arrived when we should put equity in the labor-management relationship and move from there to being allies in meeting the problems of the public service—problems like taxes, productivity, and duplication of service in such matters as retirement plans, job specifications, and bargaining.

This would be a productive conference, for example, if it marked the time at which we—management and labor in the states and the cities—ganged up on the federal government to get a fair share of the federal pie for state and local government.

Last December I started a new course. I addressed the annual meeting of the National League of Cities in Atlanta. It was a rare speech for me. Virtually nothing was said about collective bargaining or public employee unionism. The speech was devoted to the question of financing state and local government.

Some elected officials and professional management people let me know they were pleased. So was I. While I had a lot more fun waving my fist at public employers, I am getting a lot more satisfaction moving our union from confrontation to meaningful efforts at mutual problem-solving.

One of the biggest problems we face is that once-great urban centers have been subjected to a cruel form of systematic financial starvation. Many states have not responded to this need. The minor victories that have been won in Washington have been taken away by federal administrations—administrations plural—that unquestioningly pour billions into war abroad and consciously impound billions in appropriated funds at home. And local and state governments rot.

We need more federal aid. We need more revenue to and from state governments. We need action in the cities, too, and we are not getting it.

We need to take the albatross of regressive tax systems off our necks. To do that we need political leadership that rests its record on educating people on the way we are choking ourselves with bad tax systems. Dealing with this tax problem is the only way out of the fiscal bind that exists.

I think people will respond to leadership on this question. They are making clear their desire to respond on critical issues. I think that's what is behind the success of undertakings like Common Cause and the many activities of Ralph Nader. The problem is that these people cannot get political leadership to rely on their desire to respond.

Public employees can play a major role in educating the community, particularly the labor community, about this dilemma—and we will. We have formed a coalition of public employee organizations in and out of the AFL-CIO and we are moving together on a variety of problems. That coalition is available as your ally in this and other causes.

Clearly, we cannot cooperate on such problems if you come to us and say you have the answer and that if we disagree with you we are your enemy. For example, if we did not buy your brand of revenue sharing, and put forward an alternative, this should not be a signal for hostility or dismissal. There is no monopoly on wisdom. We are going to genuinely seek your cooperation. We are willing to give and take on a reciprocal basis, which is the normal problem-solving process in a society like ours.

I am one who believes there is a public profit; that dollars invested in public services produce a profit for the citizens of the community, a profit that cannot be achieved in any other way. There is profit in rational and accessible transportation. There is profit in good health care, well-educated citizens, safe streets and homes, recreation, and so on. All profit from public services. All lose when they are absent.

We need to begin viewing public service as an objective in its own right, rather than as a substitute or subsidizer for the private sector.

The public service employment program under the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 should not be viewed as merely a means of dealing with the private sector's jobless mess, but as a means of making life more meaningful and satisfying through provision of more and improved public services.

Neither should the public sector carry the major burden of combatting inflation, as it does under the President's program of economic controls. It should not be asked to subsidize the private sector with reduced revenues, layoffs, and the impounding of funds appropriated for specific public purposes.

If we are not getting the dollars required to fund adequate public services, nor producing the kind of services necessary, there is no public profit.

We believe in a democratic society. We are opposed to dictatorship and totalitarianism. We believe in equality of opportunity and individual control over one's destiny. We should be distressed by the gap between rhetoric and reality. Some who have power in our society would limit or deny others access to decency and dignity. As far as the public employee is concerned, where a public employer exercises unilateral control over wages and conditions of employment, the America we believe in does not exist.

Government does not belong to you as employers any more than it belongs to us as employees. The institution really exists to serve people, and not the other way around.

We could debate endlessly about who is the villain or the nature of the villainy in our relationship. We could dwell on the unfairness of government as an employer. You could recite the limitations on government's ability to cope with our demands. I'm bored with that kind of debate. I am a pragmatic, biased representative of public employees. I think that the needs of our membership are best served by joining with you in dealing with not only the problems of the employer-employee relationship but in the very basic capacity of government to serve and thereby protect a free and prosperous America.

EULOGY OF THE LATE MRS. HARRIET McCORMACK

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, there is no greater sorrow than the passing of a loved one, and so our sympathy goes out to our former Speaker, John McCormack, who recently lost his beloved wife, Harriet. No one who knew of their lifelong devotion and joy in each other could fail to be moved by their final parting. They were a couple who might have inspired the greatest poets, for their life together was an example that most of us can only aspire to as an ideal.

In our current era marked by disintegrating marriages and the tragedy of broken homes, their abiding love and great faith in each other shone forth with the warmth of firelight. In Washington, their example was a constant reminder of the old truth that "all that glitters is not gold," for they found a greater wealth by far in each other's company than in the surface glamor of the Capital's circuit. Theirs was a love affair that stayed young through half a century of married life, ever renewing itself in harmony and trust.

Harriet McCormack was a lovely young contralto with a contract at the Metropolitan Opera when she met John, the earnest and hard-working young veteran and lawyer. For him she gave up her singing to become his chief adviser, confidant, and helpmeet. During their years together, she never looked back, but was fulfilled with the knowledge of the crucial role she played in the rising success of her husband's political career.

The values and the cherished ideals affirmed in the marriage of Harriet and John McCormack represent all that is finest and most beautiful in our Judeo-Christian ethical heritage. They are the rock and the foundation upon which our society rests. If we are guilty of sometimes taking them for granted, the example of men and women such as the McCormacks bring these alive in a very real sense.

Thus, it is with gratitude as well as grief that I extend my heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. McCormack's bereaved family, and wish them comfort in the knowledge that those who knew them both were touched and warmed by the living flame that bound their marriage and their lives.

DISTRICT 37 SEEKS DISCLOSURE OF PRICE VIOLATORS

HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, as I have said repeatedly, the success of the phase II economic program depends in a very large way on public confidence in its fairness to all groups throughout our economic structure.

That confidence, in my judgment, can only be achieved if the veil of secrecy which has surrounded violations of the price control program is stripped away. Unfortunately, the Internal Revenue Service has refused to make public the names of merchants or companies who have been found to be in violation.

This week, Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, filed suit in U.S. District Court in Manhattan to force the IRS to make such disclosure under the Freedom of Information Act.

Mr. Gotbaum and his union have been in the forefront of efforts to protect workers and consumers under the price control program. This week's suit represents a landmark attempt to force the kind of disclosure that will be necessary if the American people are ever to have confidence that the economic controls program is fair and equitable.

I have every hope that Mr. Gotbaum's suit will be successful and I present for inclusion in the RECORD today's New York Times story on the legal action.

The article follows:

GOTBAUM TO FILE SUIT TO GET PRICE VIOLATORS' NAMES

(By Grace Lichtenstein)

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of the city's largest public employe union, filed suit yesterday against the Internal Revenue Service over its refusal to make public the name of merchants or companies who have violated the Federal price-control program.

The suit, filed in United States District Court in Manhattan, is the first legal test of the revenue service's policy of keeping almost all such violations confidential, according to I.R.S. officials in Washington.

Mr. Gotbaum contends in the suit that under the 1966 Freedom of Information Act, the public has the right to know which companies may have raised prices under Phase Two and what action the revenue service took against them.

SEVEN SUITS FILED

Mr. Gotbaum's union, District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes, was the first to set up its own "price watch" to monitor price increases under the 90-day freeze and the Phase Two stabilization.

Throughout the freeze, which ended Nov. 13, the revenue service, charged with enforcing the program, refused to make public the names of companies that had raised prices but then rolled them back after being contacted by I.R.S. agents.

The only names the Government would disclose were those of allegedly recalcitrant companies against whom Federal lawsuits were filed. There were a total of seven suits filed nationally during the freeze. In the first month of Phase Two, the I.R.S. has obtained one injunction nationally, on a rent-control violation.

In a telegram to local revenue officials, on Nov. 30, Mr. Gotbaum demanded the disclosure of "any information, records, rulings and determinations showing violations of Price commission regulations" under the stabilization program.

The request was forwarded to Washington. In a telephone interview, Herbert A. Seidman, director of the stabilization program, acknowledged that until now the revenue service had been "conservative in its approach" to disclosures.

POLICY "UNDER REVIEW"

But he said that the policy was "still under review" and might be "re-evaluated" after Congress completed action on stabilization legislation.

The suit by Mr. Gotbaum is the climax of a dispute that began soon after the union started its own monitoring of the price freeze.

The union has contended all along that local stores were flouting the price regulations and that the revenue service was doing little to curb the violations.

Publicly, the revenue service said it welcomed the union's price watch because it was in line with President Nixon's request for the public to help gain voluntary compliance with price controls. Officials of the union and the Government have met several times in an effort to set up a system for relaying information about violations to the Federal authorities.

But privately, revenue officials complained that the union seemed more interested in disclosing their findings to the press than to the Government.

THE YEAR 1971 MARKS 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF FIRST FORD

HON. J. IRVING WHALLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, the year 1971 marks the 75th anniversary of Henry Ford's first automobile.

Henry Ford has probably done more than any other man in the field of transportation. It started 75 years ago and was revolutionized by the famous Model T, using assembly lines for the first time in the production of automobiles and reducing the cost of an auto to within the reach of most Americans.

Since 1903, when the Ford Motor Co. was incorporated, Ford has produced 81 million cars and trucks. In 1970 the Ford Motor Co. produced approximately 5 million new units and did $16 billion worth of business.

In 1914, Henry Ford raised his company wages from $1.85 to $5.00 a day—an unheard of increase at that time.

Henry Ford II has been in charge of the Ford Motor Co. for a quarter of a century and has made outstanding progress. He has just announced an $800 million capital investment.

Mr. Speaker, on this 75th anniversary of Henry Ford's first auto, we should pause to reflect on his life and what it has meant to all Americans. We owe him a debt of thanks that can never be repaid.

A BANKER LOOKS AT THE BUSINESSMAN'S FUTURE

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, we have all been acutely aware in recent months of the serious plight of many American citizens, caught in the midst of economic, social, and cultural changes. The continuing rise in prices, growing social consciousness and unrest, and complex and confusing international developments have affected the lives of us all.

The dramatic changes which have occurred and inevitably will continue to occur, however, have also exerted a vast impact on the business community, and have led many people to question what the future role of the businessman will be. For the business community, like the rest of society, is faced with uncertainties and hazards more disturbing and more profound in their implications than ever before. Not only is business faced with an inflationary spiral which persists in this country and in every industrial economy of the world, but is also confronted with the spread of governmental regulations into the conduct of business affairs, the absence of uniformity and clarity in the rules by which it is expected to be governed, and increasing demands that it share the responsibility for meeting pressing social needs which formerly were regarded as being in the public domain. These and many other pressures have created widespread problems for business, both large and small, and I think we might all benefit from an increased understanding of their influence.

I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues, therefore, the recent remarks of Mr. Edmund F. Ebert, executive vice president of the Bankers Trust Co., and a director of the Bankers International Corp. and the Downtown Lower Manhattan Association. Mr. Ebert started out with Bankers Trust Co. in 1928, at the age of 16, and has gained the opportunity to witness firsthand the many challenges to and changes within our society and the business community itself. His extremely thoughtful and cogent analysis of the issues facing the businessman today, and the many possibilities which these changing conditions hold for tomorrow offer, in my opinion, a realistic appraisal of the future role which business can play in society, and the areas where legislative change is needed if business is to be able to meet the demands of the future.

I include Mr. Ebert's address at this point in the RECORD:

A BANKER'S LOOK AT THE BUSINESSMAN'S FUTURE

(Address by Edmund F. Ebert)

When considering the subject of my talk with you tonight, I was conscious of the fact that Phase II of the new economic policy would be launched just ten days earlier. This seemed to be too short a time to permit a meaningful analysis of its implications and I have, therefore, opted for a more fundamental examination of the businessman's future.

It is not my purpose to provide you with answers but rather to delineate some of the issues facing us today, trace their history and offer some hope that there will still be a place in society for the businessman in the future. I trust you will find this conclusion reassuring even if the rest of what I have to say is not comforting.

A DISCONCERTING PERIOD

It is probably axiomatic for business, including the banking business, at all times to regard its contemporary problems as being more difficult than any it has weathered in the past. This characteristic hardly needs explanation; we know the one course taken by the past but never which of many possibilities will unfold in the future.

Having paid my respects to this human trait, I nevertheless do not hesitate to say that the uncertainties and hazards that confront us today are more disturbing and more profound in their implications than in a generation.

The confidence in solid economic growth and expanding affluence with which business entered the 1960s has given way to a host of challenges that seem to come, simultaneously, from every direction—from government, from the economy, from society and from the forces of nature itself. Moreover, while businessmen ordinarily thrive on challenge, the present issues have produced an ominous new threat. For the first time since the start of the Industrial Revolution, the question is being raised whether an even higher standard of national affluence, which is the basic justification of all business enterprise, is a feasible goal—and if feasible, whether it is a proper one.

The catalog of pressures is long and varied. One conspicuous development is the spread of government authority into the conduct of business affairs; beginning with the regulation of banking and railroads in the nineteenth century, the role of government has expanded, irregularly but inexorably, to touch upon relevant aspects of production and distribution of every business in the nation.

Laws and regulations govern business in its use and compensation of labor, in the manufacture, marketing and pricing of its products, in its endeavors to expand or diversify. Many lines are further regulated in their financing activities and in the extent to which they may increase or reduce their operations. All this is compounded by a tax structure which is burdensome not merely because of the tax bite as such but, and perhaps more importantly, because of its great and demanding complexity.

Even more frustrating to business management, I am sure, is the absence of uniformity and clarity in the rules by which it is expected to abide, and the confusion, instead of being resolved with time, is manifestly growing worse. Differing governmental agencies with overlapping jurisdictions apply conflicting standards, and years of judicial or administrative litigation are often required before final decisions are reached. And while our economy calls for the cost reductions which mass production and mass distribution make feasible, our populist and agrarian heritage expresses itself in antitrust practices by government which tend to make size itself a transgression and frequently inhibit the competition they ostensibly seek to promote.

In the past few years, moreover, a host of new forces has emerged which add further complications. Inflation, at first deemed to be a corollary of the war in Vietnam, has taken on a life and momentum of its own which is all the more frightening for its international character, sweeping through every industrial economy of the world. Its sources are varied and debatable—excessive monetary expansion, lack of fiscal discipline, the growing power of organized labor, and a changing social structure. The conflict in the United States between certain national goals and the free market system as a contributor to inflation, was recently described by Al Sommers of the Conference Board:

"We set our target at full employment, and chase the ensuing inflation with restraints that can only induce unemployment; then we chase the unemployment with stimuli that can only produce inflation.

"We commit ourselves as a nation to a public guarantee of jobs for all, and then leave wages to be resolved by private parties whose legitimate private responsibilities prevent them from consulting the public interest.

"We exalt consumption while we decry the deterioration of our cities, as though we had infinite resources for both consumption and public investment.

"We will not ask ourselves to accept the tax rates necessary to meet our own insatiable demands for public services and social spending.

"We attempt to remove the risk and uncertainty which were the controlling disciplines of the free market, but we are reluctant to put anything in their place to serve the purposes of allocation and control."

I think these quotations set forth very accurately the inconsistencies under which we are operating. Their impact upon business is almost uniformly adverse. Costs rise faster than prices, profit margins are squeezed and the return on invested capital is diminished.

In the United States, inflation has led to the imposition, for the first time, of comprehensive wage and price controls upon what is essentially a peacetime economy. The specifics of these controls are still in the process of evolution, but the fact that a President who was firmly committed to the principles of the free market has finally been compelled to resort to compulsion is a strong demonstration not merely of the staying power of inflation, but also of our inability, in our day and age, to apply the conventional fiscal and monetary policies to the point where they can become effective. Good fortune may bring the control program to a speedy and successful conclusion, but the realistic businessman will prepare himself for the greater probability that controls will be with us for a long time, and may become more complex and more comprehensive as they are applied.

Beyond these economic difficulties, there has burst upon the business scene an array of forces which are even more threatening to the assurance and confidence of business enterprise. After decades of research and development, and with a record of continuous product improvement, American industry is confronted with a wave of consumerism which fiercely and vociferously challenges the safety and utility of industrial output virtually across the board.

Also, having taken the natural environment for granted without much thought or question, we are suddenly faced with the dismaying realization that the material affluence which we regarded as the proud attainment of our industrial world may be creating dangers to life beyond our present comprehension. The belching smokestacks which adorn so many typical stock certificates have almost overnight changed from respected emblems of prosperity and success to embarrassing symbols of ecological irresponsibility. Only gradually are we growing aware of the magnitude and cost of the clean-up job ahead.

And not only the natural environment but also the social environment has thrust upon corporate enterprise new commitments hitherto deemed only remotely related to the firm's specific business purpose. The provision of employment opportunities for minorities, the institution of training programs, the involvement in community improvements of many kinds have also become relevant activities, routinely associated with the operation of a business in the 1970s. In a sense, our society is shifting to, or sharing with, the business corporation certain responsibilities which hitherto have been regarded as being in the public domain.

Finally, there is the profoundest challenge of all—the challenge, primarily from young people, to the values of the business establishment as such, which expresses itself in a rejection of the industrial and technological economy as we know it. The consequences so far have shown up largely in damage to people and property as the result of occasional acts of violence, and in the shift of occupational preferences, among recent graduates, away from the business world. The revolutionary implications if this movement should gain in size and intensity, and should acquire political influence, are obvious.

Under the circumstances, businessmen may be forgiven if they experience an occasional faltering of that drive, zest and initiative which characterizes the successful entrepreneur in every age and society. Against the conceptual background of a business world built by private enterprise and operating most efficiently in a free market, the trends of the present seem to lead us inexorably downhill. This, however, is not the final answer; the realism which is another essential characteristic of the businessman requires that the future of business be appraised not by the standards of the past but in the light of the new conditions we see evolving in the world of today and tomorrow.

WORLD IN TRANSITION

Viewed in historical perspective, many of the problems which beset and discourage business at this time appear as the consequences—and perhaps even the predictable consequences—of the dramatic changes that have occurred and continue to occur in every facet of the world in which we live—technical, economic, social, political and cultural changes. And if these manifestations affect business with greater speed and impact than ever before, it is probably because the underlying developments are themselves taking place at an accelerating pace.

To an important extent, the growing economic power and domination of government appears as the paradoxical outcome of the successful operation of private enterprise and free markets. It can reasonably be argued that when the development of commerce and industry some two centuries ago generated that vast economic expansion and technological innovation which is still under way, it also led to an economic system of such size and complexity that new economic and social conditions, new reactions and new ways of doing things, new goals, and new priorities, all became an almost automatic result.

For example, as increasing industrialization brought greater human dependence on sustained industrial employment, the downbeat of the business cycle acquired the capacity for considerably greater mischief than in a predominantly agricultural economy, where the hardships of industrial unemployment could more readily be cushioned by a temporary return to the farm. By the same token, it probably was merely a question of time, hastened by the Great Depression, before governments everywhere sought ways and means to achieve greater control over business fluctuations, and through governmental action stimulate employment. In this context, let us remember that the hardships of a business recession, in the days when government action was at a minimum, fell not merely upon labor but also, and severely, upon capital, as evidenced by the crop of business, bank and insurance company failures which were the accepted accompaniments of "hard times" in the 19th and early 20th century. The growth of government intervention did not lack business encouragement.

Economic growth and development brought a variety of other consequences which necessarily broadened the sphere of government action in the business world. The increasing division and specialization of economic functions gradually created an interdependence of activities which conveyed characteristics of a public utility to an ever greater range of business enterprises.

The conflict of interests which is so evident in the contradictory policies of our regulatory agencies is another outgrowth of a diversified and technologically complex economy, as is the accelerated trend toward consumerism; no one who has ever experienced the shunting of product responsibility from dealer to manufacturer, and vice versa, or who has suffered the major irritations that can accompany a minor repair job, can suppress a twinge of sympathy for the advocates of the consumer's cause. And while a careless village blacksmith might once upon a time have caused minor inconvenience to horse and rider, the hazards of defective design or workmanship in mass produced automobiles are too obvious to deny legitimacy to the safety issue in principle.

It is for the historians of the future to trace the links between the increasing affluence of an industrialized economy and the political and social issues of our times. The tremendous changes in our way of life that have accompanied two centuries of economic development in the Western World have already had a far-reaching impact upon our political institutions, our social structure and our cultural values, but we may be merely at the beginning of a more profound transition, and this, too, inevitably bears upon the future of business enterprise.

BUSINESS IN DEFAULT

If we extrapolate from the past into the future, business as we know it seems to be moving gradually toward extinction. It is not at all difficult to visualize private enterprise becoming ever more closely identified with the public interest, so that the functions of business managements and of the market place eventually are merged into the institutions and responsibilities of government. And if the current defamation of business spreads to a sizeable proportion of the electorate, this trend toward a socialist or socialized economy may readily escalate.

This is a very real possibility; it could easily become reality. However, this outcome is not inevitable, and whether it happens or not depends, to an appreciable extent, upon the businessman himself.

During our generation, business has been woefully and indefensibly negligent of its responsibility to participate in public affairs and in the development of public policy, leaving the field to its opponents virtually by default. The critics of business enterprise—some of them responsible and thoughtful, but many of them irresponsible and destructive—have for decades been industrious and vocal in popularizing their views with the Congress, the Administration, the press and the public; they actively take part in civic affairs at every level, and their spokesmen are usually sharp, convincing and altogether competent in impressing their position upon the policy makers.

Business, by contrast, has in the main taken a defensive posture and has been content to leave its defenses with the trade associations, which provide helpful assistance in many ways but which infrequently have personalities with the same skill, experience and forcefulness of the successful businessman and these are the qualities that are required to present the case of business. Corporate managements, where these qualities may be found, are usually far too absorbed in the executive, administrative and operating functions within their own firm to dedicate the time and energy to the broader issues that threaten not only their company but business at large.

The individual businessman, conscientiously tending to the affairs of his corporation, will indignantly reject the charge that he is failing to meet his duty to his employees, his customers and his shareholders, but the fact remains that tending one's own backyard is no longer enough; there is a compelling necessity that businessmen directly involve themselves in the great issues of our times and that they participate in the formulation of national policy by every means at their disposal.

Specifically, since no one else is doing this, it is the businessman who must demonstrate to government and the public the costs and consequences of our ambitious national aspirations. We are all mindful of the plight of the poor, the urgency of health and safety issues, the need to halt and reverse the ecological deterioration, the desirability of improving urban life, and so forth. However, all of us—and this includes the business community—are poorly informed regarding the tremendous economic and social costs of progressing towards these goals, and we have no clear awareness of the imperative necessity to establish priorities, make choices, and do with less in some areas if we are to do more in others.

Even our educators and educational institutions appear largely insensitive to costs of current social programs—costs not only in terms of dollars or economic resources, but in terms of the implications for society as a whole. We can scarcely blame young people for their indifference to, or rejection of, the entrepreneurial system if they have been surfeited with teaching that stress the shortcomings of private enterprise and the market economy, but have never been made aware of the efficiencies, benefits, and contributions of this system.

I am not suggesting that even the most dedicated participation of businessmen in our academic, civic and national affairs will guarantee our survival. It is conceivable that the nation will still prefer to pursue its social and other objectives at the expense of the free enterprise system, and to emasculate or eliminate private business in favor of another economic and social structure. If that is to be the choice, however, it should be made deliberately and in full consciousness of all this involves, and not as the byproduct of ignorance, apathy and drift.

A PLAUSIBLE BLUEPRINT

Moreover, I doubt that an educated and informed public opinion will vote to expel the businessman from our midst. Admittedly, the clock of history cannot and will not be turned back, and it would be foolish to think otherwise. Indeed, it is unrealistic to visualize even a transition to a static way of life; our world is in a slow-burning revolution which will probably persist indefinitely, with change heaped upon change, and the values of today and tomorrow being challenged by those of the following day. This makes the future a fascinating conjecture, with wide uncertainty on every point. Within these nebulous limits, a few general reflections may nonetheless be worthwhile.

One fairly safe prediction is that our society will continue to insist, probably more forcefully than ever, on full employment, on relatively high minimal standards of living for everyone, on repression of the business cycle and on a host of other aims which are not completely compatible with the operations of free markets and free enterprise in general. Nor, in our complex world, will the problems of the natural environment, of health and safety standards and similar issues be left to the individual firm.

These ambitious public demands, however, have some favorable implications for the future of business. If we are to come to grips with the problems of poverty, or of the ecology, or with the health issue and others, we shall have to produce not less but much more, and we shall need to stimulate the investment of the capital resources through which greater output is attained. This inevitable requirement for more production as a solution, at least in part, to many of our present problems appears to me as one of the strongest guarantors of business survival.

Furthermore, in such a world the scope of business enterprise stands to remain broad and demanding. In addition to meeting the requirements of what is called a changing life style, there are still new frontiers to be conquered. The growth of productivity, which has been the key to American economic progress throughout our history, has so far been limited to manufacturing and agriculture, and to some extent the distribution process. The development of greater productivity in the service industries is still in an early stage, and the field for inventiveness and ingenuity is wide open.

To me, these are powerful arguments for private and against public enterprise. What is more relevant and more encouraging is that these arguments seem to be acquiring persuasive force also in places where the trend has hitherto been running in the opposite direction.

At home, in a conspicuous shift away from past patterns, the Federal Government has divested itself of the postal service and has "privatized" other activities previously conducted by public agencies. Abroad, we see a trend toward returning some nationalized enterprises to the private sphere; this includes various Eastern European countries, where private enterprise has not only managed to retain a foothold but in some cases is being permitted to return to sectors where public operation has failed, or has been unsatisfactory. Even the Soviet Union has for many years been seeking ways to develop production incentives akin to those of the profit system and methods for resources allocation comparable to the workings of the marketplace.

Thus, there are good grounds for hoping that neither our society nor our system of business enterprise will fall into the maw of the all-powerful state but that, instead, both business and society will seek to develop new forms and new institutions, designed to accommodate new objectives and new priorities with fewer of the conflicts, tensions and inconsistencies of the present. This points not to nationalization, which is contrary to our history and traditions, but very emphatically to greater regulation, which is distinctly within our tradition and runs like a red thread through the development of modern American business.

We must, therefore, anticipate further growth in controls over business operations and over the marketplace. In view of the great demands for capital resources, it would not be surprising for government eventually to take upon itself also the task of allocating savings and capital flows to assure the priority of socially favored borrowers, such as the residential building area and public authorities. Down the road, all businesses may by definition be endowed with the character of a public utility, with operation for the public welfare the prime consideration. But this is not an altogether alien notion; as a practical matter, it already applies to, and is already applied by, large enterprise within considerably broader limits than conventional folklore appreciates.

Moreover, if these general premises prove reasonably valid, the profit outlook may not be as dismal as some long-term thinkers and planners anticipate. Admittedly, the costs of social change, ecological improvement, and related responsibilities now being assigned to business will probably retard profit growth, whether borne directly by corporate enterprise or indirectly through taxation. Even so, modern business has shouldered a long sequence of costly reforms, ranging from the abolition of child labor to the introduction of the 40-hour week, without fatally afflicting its earning power; eventually, the cost of social reform, as other costs, must be carried by the ultimate consumer.

Indeed, since controls tend to shelter the less efficient producer, some companies will find life in a regulated world less competitive, more pleasant and more rewarding. This of course adds to the cost to our society, but this again seems to be one of the many hidden burdens which society is more or less willing to accept—although the situation might be different if the true costs were directly stated and fully recognized.

A related consideration arguing against too dismal an earnings outlook is the role of profits in attracting new capital. Recent experience (e.g., Penn-Central, Lockheed) has emphatically demonstrated the importance of adequate earning power as an alternative to massive financial support by government if essential industries are to be kept alive; in an age of huge government deficits, it seems reasonable to assume that legislators and regulators will prefer that business be permitted to retain its solvency under its own steam instead of becoming the financial ward of an already overstrained public treasury.

Finally, we should not dismiss the very real and visible strengths of American business. Despite the growing catalog of costs and handicaps, business has completed a decade of enormous capital investment. Ownership of corporate enterprise is more widely distributed among small savers and investors, directly and indirectly, than ever before, which may be a testimonial of public confidence and may also, conceivably, provide some buffer against political extremism. American managerial talent and technological knowhow are highly prized throughout the world, including the Communist world, and our business schools are immeasurably ahead of those abroad.

These are formidable assets. They provide a reasonable chance that private enterprise, although curtailed and restricted by regulation and controls of many kinds, will nevertheless continue to survive and to play an essential part in the economic and social order of the future as far ahead as we can see.

A reasonable chance is the most that the businessman has ever requested and the most he has ever received. It is all that he needs to assure that he will function as a constructive member of any society in which he finds himself. I believe you can assure it for yourself.

BIG BUS BILL

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the following excerpt from the December issue of the magazine, Heavy Duty Trucking, speaks for itself:

TRUCKING BRIEFS: WIDER BUSES

"I'm not against improving the movement of men and goods on our highways," said Rep. Fred Schwengel (R-Iowa), "But I want to protect the public interests and one of them is safety." Despite Fred's warnings about safety hazards and road damage, the bill which would increase allowable width of buses on the Interstate system from 96" to 102" passed the House by a 213–178 vote. The measure has not yet come to a vote in the Senate, but is getting strong backing from bus associations—and the ATA, which of course sees any relaxation of bus restrictions as a plus for trucking in its pleas for increased sizes and weights. Buses 102" wide are now operating in some urban areas of 23 states, but are not allowed on the Interstate.

THE UNSOLVED PROBLEM OF DIVIDED REFUGEE FAMILIES

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a memorandum concerning the unsolved problem of divided refugee families was passed by the United Organizations of Women From Central and Eastern Europe in conjunction with meetings held by this organization which has its headquarters in Philadelphia. It also has active units in New York, Chicago, and other major cities.

The Soviet veto in the United Nations obviously keeps the world body from taking any steps to end the denial of civil rights which is the standard procedure behind the Iron Curtain. Yet, world leaders such as the women in this organization will not be muzzled.

The material follows:

UNITED ORGANIZATIONS OF WOMEN FROM CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE,
Brooklyn, N.Y., December 8, 1971.

Hon. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI,
c/o U.S. Mission to United Nations,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR ED: Enclosed is a Memorandum from our group concerning the unsolved problem of divided refugee families.

We trust that on the occasion of Human Rights Week, commencing December 10, you will give your full support to a discussion in the United Nations of this vital problem.

Thank you for your kind cooperation and all best wishes.

Sincerely,

MARY DUSHNYCK
(For UOWCEE).

P.S.—Will you kindly arrange to have this Memorandum printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with all groups listed. Thank you.

UNITED ORGANIZATIONS OF WOMEN FROM CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

MEMORANDUM

To Representatives of the Member States of the United Nations

We, women of Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Ukraine and Yugoslavia, organized in the associations listed below, look to the United Nations "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights" as stated in the Preamble of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We wish to call your attention to the tragic plight of thousands of refugee families that are divided because members of these families who remained in their native land have been denied the right to join those who sought asylum and established homes in other countries. In some cases it is the wife, children or aged parents who, for various reasons, have remained behind. In others, existing conditions prevented the husband or father from escaping with the rest of the family. The sorrow grows with each additional day of separation.

The United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries that drafted the Convention on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons adopted unanimously the following recommendations, among others: "Considering that the unity of the family, the natural and fundamental group unit of society, is an essential right of the refugee and that such unity is constantly threatened . . . Recommends Governments to take the necessary measures for the protection of the refugee's family especially with the view to ensuring that the unity of the refugee's family is maintained." The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees quoted this recommendation again in his report to the 26th session of the General Assembly.

On the basis of these United Nations documents, we request that the Governments of the member states of the United Nations carry out their obligations to ensure the uniting of separated refugee families, end this injustice, and live up to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

American Romanian Committee for Assistance to Refugees.

Baltic Women's Council.

Byelorussian American Association, Women's Division Council of European Women in Exile, representing women from Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia.

Federal Estonian Women's Clubs.

Federation of Lithuanian Women's Clubs.

Georgian National Alliance.

Latvian Women's Association in New York.

National Council of Women of Free Czechoslovakia.

Polish American Congress, Women's Division.

Women for Freedom, Inc.

World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations, representing Ukrainian women's organizations in Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Venezuela and the United States of America.

World Union of Lithuanian Catholic Women's Organizations.

JOHNNY HORIZON PROGRAM

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, the most recent volunteer to the Johnny Horizon program for a cleaner America is the well-known and loved comic character Snoopy. The Department of the Interior is to be commended for the initiation and development of the Johnny Horizon environmental program. This program is outstanding among many Federal efforts to enlist the people of this Nation in the cause of the environment. It is outstanding because it has successfully stimulated hundreds of thousands of people throughout the Nation to take action, to get out and do something personally about improving the land they live in.

The Johnny Horizon program was begun in June 1968 by Interior's Bureau of Land Management as a Bureau-citizen effort to clean the public lands of litter. In the brief time since then, the program has been developed by the Bureau and the Department into a nationwide effort to improve and to protect the environment.

The success of the program and its strength arise from its simplicity. Its one purpose is to improve the environment. Its one means of doing so is to get as many people as possible to help.

A number of Federal agencies such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Corps of Engineers, and the Postal Service are active in the program. Entertainment personalities such as Burl Ives, David Frost, Henry Gibson, and Dinah Shore have donated time and talent worth many thousands of dollars. But more important, people—men, women, and children—individually or in groups representing their school or their community, their social organization or the place they work, have also given of their time and of themselves. Through the Johnny Horizon program, people everywhere are becoming aware that environmental improvement is their responsibility, and they are responding to the challenge.

As to how well they are responding, I can think of no better example than the latest Johnny Horizon recruit. Snoopy, one of the stars of Charles M. Schulz' famous comic strip, "Peanuts," has joined the program. Along with his flying secretary, Woodstock, Snoopy appears in a new brochure that suggests ways in which all of us can become involved in this nationwide commitment to a better land.

Johnny Horizon's message is: "This land is your land—keep it clean."

And Snoopy adds that by working together "we can help clean up the pollution of our land."

PROMINENT PERSONALITY JOINS FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAM

Snoopy—fighter pilot, former Head Beagle, and illustrious star of Charles M. Schulz's comic strip, "Peanuts"—announced today that he has become a full partner in the Johnny Horizon environmental program led by the U.S. Department of the Interior.

Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton immediately responded to the announcement which, presumedly, was delivered by Snoopy's flying secretary, Woodstock.

"We are proud to have Snoopy as a Johnny Horizon partner," the Secretary said. "He is one of the Nation's most celebrated adventurers and is easily one of the finest infielders ever to wear a baseball uniform in any league. Now, as he seeks even greater accomplishments, I am confident that Snoopy will distinguish himself as a peerless and faithful leader in the Federal Government's efforts to halt pollution and improve the environment."

In a small brochure titled "Hi! I'm Johnny Horizon's New Partner," Snoopy urges other Americans to join the Johnny Horizon team. Woodstock, Snoopy's feathered friend, asks people to "Bend a little—pick up a lot!"

The brochure contains drawings of Snoopy and Woodstock and folds out to a 10½ by 16 inch poster depicting a vulture Snoopy who demands, "Pounce on pollution!" The publication also suggests ways in which citizens can work to improve the environment.

Snoopy's brochure and details on the Johnny Horizon environmental program can be obtained from any local office of the Department of the Interior, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the U.S. Corps of Engineers, or by writing the Johnny Horizon Coordinator, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C. 20240.

PROTECTING AMERICAN JOBS

HON. JOHN F. SEIBERLING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, I am about to offer for the RECORD the third set of materials relating to the problem of imports using the situation in the tire industry as, perhaps, a typical example of what is happening in many industries. Previous materials inserted into the RECORD included statements by Peter Bommarito, president of the United Rubber Workers Union, and Raymond Firestone, president of one of the largest companies in the industry.

Some of the complexities of the problem, particularly as they relate to the role of multinational corporations, are well illustrated by the statements I offer today.

The first is from the Akron Beacon Journal of December 8 and contains the comments of Mr. Bommarito and Mr. John H. Campbell, assistant general counsel of the United Rubber Workers. They make an estimate that imports of tires from American-owned foreign plants in 1971 will represent over 914 jobs which could have been held by American workers if the imported tires had been made in this country.

The second article, reprinted from the Akron Beacon Journal of December 9, contains a statement by the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. Goodyear points out that American tire manufacturers were net exporters of 710,000 tires in the first 9 months of 1971, whereas foreign manufacturers shipped 6.5 million tires into the United States in the same period.

The United Rubber Workers Union also points out that American tire technology has been exported by American companies to many foreign competitors. On the other hand, the Goodyear statement emphasizes that some of the most important materials and inventions used in modern tiremaking are based on patents originated in foreign countries.

I believe these materials will again emphasize in the minds of Members of Congress the importance of having early hearings on all aspects of the import question. Until that is done, the Congress will lack much of the information essential to legislate on this critical problem.

[From the Akron Beacon Journal, Dec. 8, 1971]

TIRE IMPORTS COSTING 914 U.S. JOBS, URW SAYS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—United Rubber Workers President Peter Bommarito challenges recent statements of major tire companies that imports of tires from their overseas plants are not a factor in the cause of unemployment in U.S. rubber plants. The comments of Bommarito and John H. Campbell, URW's assistant general counsel, follow. Goodyear will present its views on the import-export problem Thursday and Firestone's are to be offered Friday.)

The tire import problem is no "myth." It is here, it is real and it must be reckoned with if we are truly endeavoring to keep jobs in the United States, and more specifically, in the Akron area.

Two articles, the first of which appeared in the Goodyear Wingfoot Clan, Oct. 28, issue titled "Exploding a Myth," and the second one in the Beacon Journal, Nov. 4, issue title "Tire Import Threat Myth," went to great lengths to establish the fact that imports from domestic corporations' overseas plants are so minute that they cannot be said to be the cause of unemployment in the domestic rubber plants.

Goodyear reported that in 1971 it will bring in about 170,000 tires; Goodrich called their imports "virtually insignificant," but also added that imports were less than exports.

The Beacon Journal article quoted a Firestone spokesman who said that the number of replacement tires imported into the United States by foreign corporations would be agout 82 pct. of the passenger tires and 88 pct. of the truck tires in 1971.

We must assume then, that the remaining 18 and 12 pct. are imported by American-owned foreign subsidiaries or by foreign corporations in which they have a substantial interest.

If this is the fact, then let us look at the import figures for 1970 and see what happens.

According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, 7,394,000 passenger and car replacement tires and 1,313,000 truck and bus tires were imported into the United States during that year.

Eighteen pct. of the imported auto tires would be 1.3 million, while imported truck tires would amount to about 156,000 units to be credited to overseas operations of American owned subsidiaries.

Goodyear says we can expect a 34 pct. increase in 1971 in passenger tire imports and a whopping 59 pct. increase in truck and bus tires or, by units, 9.8 million passenger tires and approximately 2.1 million truck and bus tires.

U.S. Department of Commerce figures for pneumatic tire imports for the months of January through September, already show passenger tires at 6,242,677 and truck and bus tires at 1,107,507, with a combined monetary value of $149,114,261, so the estimates are fairly accurate.

Projecting this increase to the percentages previously credited to American owned foreign plants, we can project their estimated share of the imports to 1.7 million auto tires and 252,000 truck tires.

Using Goodyear labor loss figures of 457 workers per million units, then we will lose over 914 American jobs which are directly traceable to imports from American owned foreign plants.

Who imports the balance? Well, they are attributed to foreign manufacturers supposedly not associated with American multinational rubber corporations, such as Michelin, Continental, Bridgestone, Dunlop-Pirelli, Simperit, Toyo etc., to name only a few, who are challenging Firestone's $2.3 billion sales and Goodyear's 3.2 billion sales market in foreign markets.

Many of these companies have effected mergers (Dunlop-Pirelli), or secured favorable concessions from foreign nations to erect and maintain tire plants whose production is geared mainly for imports (Michelin).

Or they have sold out their interests to American firms who bid millions for the acquisitions such as Goodrich-Goodyear-N.V. Rubberfabriek Vredestein.

Business Week, April 24, quotes the companies mentioned as having spent $45 million in bids for the Dutch company.

This tug of war followed a somewhat earlier attempt of Goodyear to acquire Reid Rubber Ltd. of New Zealand. Goodrich already had a 15 pct. interest in the company and had endowed it with much of its technology.

Unfortunately, U.S. consumers are not told the whole truth. They are only exposed to the "holier than thou" attitudes of the rubber giants who finger-point at American labor as being the real culprit in world trade.

United States labor, they intimate, assists foreign companies because foreign workers work at cheaper wage levels and produce more goods, thereby enabling them to overcome any freight charges or tariffs to compete with American goods.

"Our unit costs per goods produced are too high," laments one rubber official, "we cannot compete with foreign goods."

However, the companies never submit or relate the unit costs for analysis of those of foreign corporations' products.

Perhaps therein lies the real myth.

One other item should be mentioned at this point and that is the exportation of American technology to foreign companies, who presumably are completely independent of U.S. corporate influence.

We know that Bridgestone (Japan) has received technological assistance and has a working agreement with Goodyear. To what extent we don't know exactly, nor will Goodyear tell us.

We do know that Goodyear, Bridgestone Tire and Japan Synthetic Rubber Co. formed the Japan Polyisoprene Co. We also know that Japan Geon and Kurashiki Rayon have joined B. F. Goodrich, while Asaki Chemical and Firestone have joined in similar ventures. (Rubber World, Oct., 1970 and June, 1970). Goodyear and Toyobo Co. are also enlarging their facilities in Tsuruga, Japan, by $5 million.

The growth of Japan's second largest tire producer, Yokohama Rubber, also involved an American company's alliance with a Japanese company.

B. F. Goodrich and Furukawa Electric Company Ltd. rebuilt and opened the new facility in 1949, which now exports goods to 100 different nations with total sales in excess of $200 million—$140 million of that amount in tires. Many of these tires appear in the United States as the original equipment on imported Japanese cars.

The import problem is similar to an iceberg.

Some may see the tip and call it a myth, but when we go below the surface and find multinationals engaging in mergers, favored tariff treatment, exportation of technology, international arrangements and secret deals the problem becomes a reality.

Regardless of how American multinationals try to hide the fact that American jobs are being exported under the guise of calling it a myth or what have you, the name of the game is still "profits at any price," with labor once again receiving the brunt of the side effects.

[From the Akron Beacon Journal, Dec. 9, 1971]

FOREIGN TIRE FIRMS THE PROBLEM, GOODYEAR SAYS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—United Rubber Workers President Peter Bommarito contends tires imported from U.S.-owned plants overseas are costing American jobs. Goodyear notes that tire exports of U.S. companies are nearly double the number they import and that the great bulk of all tires shipped into this country are made by foreign-owned competitors. The Goodyear statement follows:)

Wednesday's URW statement on the subject of tire imports does not take account of up-to-date facts about the source of these imports.

The facts are that in 1971, Auto and Truck tire imports by foreign-owned manufacturers through September are up 34 pct., while imports by American manufacturers are down 59 pct.

Through the first nine months, the gross imports by U.S.-owned tire manufacturers were only 12 pct. of total imports, or 864,000 units.

But U.S. manufacturers exported 1.6 million tires.

So American tire manufacturers were net exporters of 710,000 tires; whereas foreign manufacturers shipped 6.5 million tires into the U.S.A.

Conclusion: Net imports of tires into the U.S.A. this year do not come from foreign operations of U.S. companies, but rather from foreign-owned competitors.

The latest instance of this is the announcement by the U.S. distributors of Delta Tires that they will import $45 million worth of tires from the German-Phoenix Tire Co. over the next five years.

Phoenix is a foreign company, not a U.S.-owned company.

Shutting down the foreign operations of U.S. tire companies would not add jobs in Akron or the U.S. On the contrary, the effect would be to eliminate U.S. jobs provided by the shipment of U.S. tires, raw materials, and machinery to foreign subsidiaries of U.S. tire companies.

Shutting down foreign operations would eliminate earnings from abroad which help to pay for plant and machinery built in the U.S. which make jobs here. Earnings from abroad also help the U.S. balance of payments and help pay U.S. taxes.

U.S. companies were forced to import some tires due to U.S. capacity shortages in 1968, '69 and particularly 1970 when work stoppages drastically curtailed U.S. productive ability.

Employment and income lost in the rubber industry in 1970 were not due to imports, but to other reasons with which Mr. Bommarito is completely familiar.

Mr. Bommarito also claims jobs are lost by export of technology.

The flow of technology is a two-way street. The argument that we would not have an import problem if American companies had not shown foreigners how to design and make products ignores the fact that the U.S. has no monopoly on invention.

The latest year for which data are available, shows that more patent applications were filed in Japan than in the U.S. Japan, Germany, France, and England together recorded several times the number of patent applications that were filed in the U. S.

The main synthetic rubbers used in the tire industry—SBR, polybutadiene, and polyisoprene rubber—are all based on German patents.

Polyester cord is based on the English invention of Polyester. Polyurethane materials were invented in Germany. The radial tire was invented in France.

If technology transfer were to stop, the U.S. might lose more jobs than it gains.

It is interesting to note that Japan accounts for the largest increase in tire imports, yet Japan happens to be the one major country where no American tire company has been allowed to own and operate a plant.

A minority share in Japanese-controlled companies is the only means for U.S. firms to participate in those markets. U.S. firms have no control of these Japanese companies.

Japanese ability to penetrate foreign markets is based on their rapidly improving productivity. In the most recent five years for which data are available, Japan had the highest annual productivity growth of all the major countries. The U.S. had the lowest.

Attempting to blame the international operations of U.S. tire companies for imports ignores the statistics, and glosses over the real reasons why the import of tires and other products from foreign producers have been growing.

The real answer to the import problem is for business, labor and government to work together, as they do in other countries, to accomplish those things which will make our products better able to compete in the world market.

Among those things which business, labor and government between them must do are:

Keep developing new and better products.

Insist on the highest quality design and workmanship.

Keep our facilities modern and efficient with the help of investment.

Operate our facilities in the highest feasible rate of utilization.

Keep costs down by avoiding waste of manpower and materials.

Market skillfully and efficiently.

Maintain trade, tax and monetary policies that do not put U.S. labor and industry at a competitive disadvantage.

Cooperation—not confrontation—is the way to keep our productivity high and our economy strong.

BECAUSE JAMES V. EDMUNDSON EARNED THE RANK OF EAGLE SCOUT

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, the Boy Scouts of America is an organization that deserves frequent commendation for the goals and philosophy it represents and furthers.

We all recognize the accomplishments signified by receipt of the rank of Eagle Scout.

Less often noted, however, is the award of Distinguished Eagle Scout, an honor conferred upon members of the "older generation," if I may use that phrase, for continued outstanding service to the Boy Scouts and to the Nation.

This rank was awarded Lt. Gen. James V. Edmundson, USAF, Deputy Chief, U.S. Strike Command, at the 1971 Annual Recognition Dinner of the Crescent Bay Area Council, Boy Scouts of America.

As an added tribute to General Edmundson's fine record, I submit the text of the citation he received:

BECAUSE JAMES V. EDMUNDSON EARNED THE RANK OF EAGLE SCOUT

As a member of the Boy Scouts of America more than twenty-five years ago on April 4, 1929, and

Because as an Eagle Scout he has continued to serve his God, Country and fellow men following the principles of the Scout Oath and Law, and

Because he has achieved distinction through service to Scouting as troop committeeman, ship committeeman, local council executive board member and vice-president, district vice-chairman, and council commissioner, and

Beause he has given distinguished service to his Nation as U.S. Air Force Lieutenant General, Deputy Commander in Chief, U.S. Strike Command; veteran of 107 combat missions during World War II, including one in which he was credited with one of the first sinkings of an enemy's submarine, and of 32 combat missions during the Korean conflict; holder of many command positions during more than 33 years as an Air Force officer, and recipient of the Distinguished Service Medal, Silver Star, Legion of Merit and two Oak Leaf clusters, Distinguished Flying Cross with six Oak Leaf clusters, Bronze Star, Air Medal and seven Oak Leaf clusters, and the Purple Heart;

Because of these and other achievements and the desire of the Boy Scouts of America, upon the nomination of his local council and the recommendation of a committee of Distinguished Eagle Scouts to the National Court of Honor, acting on behalf of the Executive Board of the Boy Scouts of America, the Honor and Rank of Distinguished Eagle Scout are awarded to and conferred upon him.

In testimony whereof, the Boy Scouts of America has caused these presents to be signed by its Officers and its Corporate Seal to be hereto affixed.

LADY FLEMING'S ORDEAL

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the saga of Lady Amalia Fleming is still being written, but that portion of the saga dealing with her ordeal at the hands of the present Greek Government is now being told and very well by Lady Fleming herself. I commend to my colleagues the following articles which I am inserting in the RECORD and which they may not have been able to see:

[From the Manchester Guardian, Nov. 20, 1971]

WHY GREECE EXPELLED LADY FLEMING

(By David Tonge)

If the Greek regime were less clumsy, people would soon forget how much it depends on martial law, fear, and propaganda. Only the occasional affair, such as the ordeal of Lady Fleming, brings this out.

The regime has never behaved more reprehensibly than today, when it took her from her flat, stripped her of Greek nationality, and deported her. In doing this the regime was directly endangering her health. Apart from the complications which led to her release from prison, on Friday she had trouble with her heart. Her doctor ordered her not to go out.

But visitors to her flat this morning found only one plainclothes policeman who resorted to violence when one tried to enter. The regime had chosen to act today—the one day when Greek newspapers are not working—and to send her abroad, in spite of her total lack of means of support.

She receives virtually no income apart from that from a flat which she lets in Athens. In 1955 she was offered a pension but refused.

Today's developments are the latest, but not the last that can be expected. Lady Fleming's lawyer, Mr. George Mangakis intends to appeal to the Council of State over the decree used to justify her expulsion. The application of this decree is becoming monotonously frequent as the regime strives to produce a totally orthodox, featureless society.

Friends had advised Lady Fleming to drop her British nationality, so as to fall outside the scope of the decree. She had refused this, thinking such a move would be misunderstood abroad and used as propaganda here. The regime had already tried to float the rumour that she had become a collaborator.

More significant will be the way her name will probably be used in the trial of the 17 former Deputies, lawyers, and other leading Athenians who remain from the 100 Centrists arrested a year ago. The military police, for all the time that has passed, and for all the torture alleged to have been used, have failed to produce evidence for a detailed indictment.

But, through persistently trying to link Lady Fleming with this group, they have put themselves in the position of not being able to hold a trial without involving her, but also of not having rigged sufficient to inculpate her. Now that she is abroad, this difficulty hardly arises, and the blame, if any, can be shifted to her.

This, more than anything she may have said since her release, is thought to explain the eagerness to deport her and to incur the inevitable international criticism. The British Embassy, which has been keen to foster relations with the colonels, was not even informed of the deportation. The conspiracy charges never disturbed Lady Fleming in the way the idea of separation from her country did—even, if, as she has said, Greece was becoming degraded by a small group of torturers.

The whole episode could hardly be more unfortunate for her, not least because the plans to free Alexander Panagoulis, the soldier sentenced to death, nearly succeeded. Even after the plans became known the regime had no idea Lady Fleming was involved. They may have claimed that their 13-hour interrogation, four days before the attempt was aimed at warning her against it. But the fact is that they discovered her connection with the plan only after arresting four others.

But in attempting to justify the deportation the regime alleges a series of vague "anti-national" activities which Lady Fleming is supposed recently to have undertaken. The more specific of these activities is the giving to the Guardian of a letter explaining her reasons for involving herself in the escape attempts. This letter alleged that Panagoulis had been ill-treated in beastly fashion for over three years, and had suffered "appalling tortures" during questioning.

The letter added: "A cement tomb without window was specially built for him at the military camp of Boyati and there he has been detained.

"If the sacrifice of my own happiness, health, and freedom can help, even to the slightest extent, a human being who has been so unfortunate, I will be satisfied."

The regime describes this letter as anti-Hellenic. Its failure to investigate the claims in it implies that its particular sensitivity may be because the truth is equally anti-Hellenic. Certainly, as it stands, the only thing justified by this letter seems Lady Fleming's action, not the Government deportation.

Now Lady Fleming faces her most severe challenge. During the war-time occupation, she ran a network which saved many Allied soldiers from imprisonment. Under the present regime she has been accused of similar activities.

Her courage has never been in doubt. What now has to be seen is how she will adapt herself to deportation, the latest example of how the regime treats opponents, even if their only crime has been to concern themselves with the continuation of excesses which led to Greece's being forced out of the Council of Europe.

As for the British Government, what can it do? Its impotence in influencing the Greek

Government has been shown by its ignorance of today's events.

DEMOCRATS IN EXILE

In the end the presence of a sick, elderly, but courageous woman has proved too much for Mr. Papadopoulos. He has taken Lady Fleming's Greek nationality away, had her dragged against doctor's orders to an airport at dawn, and put on a plane leaving the country. The manner of her going has been clumsy, intolerant, and abrupt. Angered presumably that on health grounds the Greek court decided to release her from prison and suspend her sentence, Mr. Papadopoulos had to have his revenge some other way. Her popularity in Athens was too embarrassing for him.

The one thing Lady Fleming did not want to do was leave the country. During the Axis occupation of Greece she defended democracy vigorously and joined the underground. Thirty years later, a much less healthy woman, she fought against a second military occupation. This time she tried to free Alexander Panagoulis from the torture he was undergoing. She did not condone his attempted assassination of Mr. Papadopoulos, but said she wanted to see him escape for humanitarian reasons. He had suffered enough.

The plot failed, and she was sentenced to 18 months in prison. There seems little doubt that her health has become worse since she was put in prison. Her release on medical grounds may have helped her towards recovery, but she was told not to travel. The warning was unnecessary. She preferred to stay in Greece. But with that warped outlook which says that all opposition is by definition unpatriotic Mr. Papadopoulos has now hustled her out. The long line of Greek democrats in exile becomes a little longer. The place they leave behind becomes less Greek.

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 30, 1971]

LADY AMALIA FLEMING: ANGRY EXILE

(By Henry Allen)

Lady Amalia Vourekas Fleming wore black, like most 59-year-old Greek widows. Sipping the dark, sugary concoction Greeks call Turkish coffee but claim as a national drink, she vowed she is not "a political person," and, like a lot of Greeks, she talked mostly politics, her angry fists floating out from her chest to flare into pleading fingers.

"I have a morbid love of Greece," she said on Sunday afternoon in a living room in Northwest Washington. "To be born a Greek is an incurable disease."

Lady Fleming has been in exile since Greece's military-backed government deported her to London on Nov. 14. She flew into Washington Saturday to meet Mrs. Andreas Papandreou, wife of the Toronto-based leader of exiled Greek opposition. She was scheduled to talk with various senators and representatives about U.S. support of the regime.

Both the Senate and House have passed foreign aid bills banning future aid to the Greek government, except in case of overriding national security reasons.

"It was a real kidnapping," she said of her deportation. "It was the greatest blow they would give me and they did. I would return even if only to go back to prison. Gladly. They'll pay for this. When I speak, people will believe me.

Lady Fleming is the widow of Sir Alexander Fleming, Scottish discoverer of penicillin. During World War II, she was jailed for partisan activities. In September, she pleaded not guilty to a charge of conspiring to aid the prison escape of Alexander Panagoulis, who is serving a life sentence for attempting, in August, 1968, to blow up the car of Premier George Papadopoulos.

This September she was convicted, sentenced to 16 months in prison, and released the next month for treatment of diabetes, chronic abdominal ailments and a suspected heart condition. On Nov. 14, she was taken without warning from her apartment, she said, jammed into a car with five policemen, and hustled, Balkan-intrigue style, to the airport.

"As to why, I'm not very clear," she said. "When I was released from prison the foreign press paid a lot of attention. People came up to me on the street to give me flowers, to congratulate me. Maybe the congratulations annoyed the junta.

"At the airport I said to them, 'Abroad I can talk, you know, and of course I will.' But they are backward, unintelligent men. They are not a government, not even a dictorship. They are just a group of dishonest people. They are not Greece. But my offer stands to return to prison."

In 1967, shortly before a scheduled election in which the party of George Papandreou and his son Andreas was said to be a favorite, a junta of colonels seized power. Later in the year, they squashed a countercoup led by the now-exiled King Constantine.

Severe but nervous, with a man's wristwatch that seemed an accent of her former career as a bacteriologist, Lady Fleming repeated the charges of torture, betrayals and incompetence that other highly publicized exiles, such as Melina Mercouri, have made.

"I was not tortured, like others around me, but it was an ordeal. Because of my physical condition I must have water, constantly. The police wouldn't give me any for 20 hours. I was passing pure blood. The lights stayed on all night in my cell, and constant banging on the door. They threatened to pull my nails out, which I did not believe, and they threatened to torture others, in front of me, which I did believe. I don't know what I would do if they pulled my nails out."

She repeated with ferocious pride her plea of not guilty to charges of conspiring to help Panagoulis escape, and lambasted the junta for claiming it had caught her at the scene when actually they picked her up in the garage next to her apartment building in Kolonaki, a fashionable part of Athens.

But she admitted with equally ferocious pride that she had asked one of the four people convicted with her to help in stationing a getaway car outside Panagoulis' prison.

The trial was marked by her statement that she indeed wished Panagoulis free, and was prepared to offer him a hiding place.

"When he escaped once before, the junta put a huge price on his head. One of his relatives betrayed him. It was a shame on the Greek nation," she said on Sunday. "A shame. The night of his betrayal I was in a nightclub in Athens and I said to a friend, 'Look at these fools, out celebrating on a night of shame for this country. Of course, I was there too, but I felt differently. It doesn't help to stay home and cry."

Asked about the fact that approximately 10 military governments have ruled Greece in this century, Lady Fleming said she thought the number was less than 10, and added that "they lasted very little time because they had no foreign support. If this one stays, it's because of American support. If we have a civil war, will it be the fault of the Greek people?"

Warming up, Lady Fleming strode around the living room flicking her fingers along a string of worry beads while Greek friends listened, and a very grave young girl kept watch over the tape recorder that was taking everything down.

Despite her references to the government's possible staying power, indignation stopped Lady Fleming in mid-stride when she was asked what she predicted if the regime lasted another 10 years.

"Ten years, what are you saying? Months! Months! The junta is defeated now. It has totally failed to win the support of the people."

People ask her, of course, why she doesn't want to live near her friends in London, where she lived from 1946 to 1968 as student, wife, and then widow of Fleming, who died in 1955. Abroad, it would seem, she could work more effectively against the government. Her answer, she says, is: "I am a Greek."

[From the San Jose Mercury, Dec. 7, 1971]

EXPATRIATED MARTYR FIGHTS FOR DEMOCRACY IN GREECE

(By Ed Zuckerman)

WASHINGTON.—She is the newest of the expatriated martyrs, a Greek freedom fighter whose main weapons are words and an inbred determination to see her homeland returned to democracy.

She is Lady Amalia Vourekas Fleming, known throughout the world as the 59-year-old widow of Sir Alexander Fleming, the Scottish discoverer of penicillin who received the 1945 Nobel Peace Prize for Medicine.

She is also a symbol of civilian resistance against the Greek colonels who wrested control of the Mediterranean nation 4½ years ago.

After being held a political captive of the military regime for 31 days, she was temporarily released from a 16-month sentence for reasons of poor health. Three weeks ago, she was kidnapped from her suburban Athens apartment and forced onto a London-bound plane without a penny and with only a single, quickly packed suitcase.

"I'm a Greek to start with," Lady Fleming began in an interview. "They have taken my nationality away but no one can stop me from being Greek, no one in the world."

She came here to urge defeat of foreign aid legislation that keeps the door open to future financial and military assistance to the junta rulers. After a few days, the marathon of discussions with lawmakers had claimed their toll. She frequently sipped from a glass of water, trying to soothe a dry throat, but it could not halt the coughing that kept interrupting her remarks.

(Congress has taken a partial step to cut off aid to Greece, approving a ban which could be restored if the President determines that continuing aid is in the interest of national security. It was part of the foreign aid bill that was voted down by the Senate. While the Senate is rewriting the bill, efforts are in progress to strip the President's provisional authority from the final version.)

"Unless America stops helping the junta financially and militarily, its not the Greek people they're helping," the exiled matriarch said. "We must emphasize that the Greek nation, the Greek people and Greece are one thing—the junta is another."

The military leaders have drawn strength from U.S. aid in terms of seeking popular support in the country.

She repeated the typical argument which was implored to her while in prison by Major Theophiloyannikas (whom she described as "one of the great torturers" and whose name, incidentally, translates as "God-loving Little John").

"Who do you think you are fighting, us?" he questioned. "You are fighting America. We are America. America is behind us, this is our strength."

She accused the junta of exploiting U.S. aid in that fashion "and making the Greek people resent and hate Americans" in the process.

Lady Fleming lived in London from 1946 to 1967—first as a microbiology student, then as wife and later as widow of Sir Alexander who died in 1955.

Her return to Greece was five weeks before the palace guard revolt. The coup came shortly before a scheduled election in which the political party of Premier George Papandreou was heavily favored. His son, Andreas, regarded as the leader of the exiled opposition, was jailed by the junta in 1967 on treason charges but was released and is now living in Toronto.

"I took it as sort of a personal insult that as soon as I settled in Greece we would have a coup," Lady Fleming mused. "From the first moment, I considered it a shame to have a dictatorship for a free people. We like to have elections and democracy and parliament. It is not the absolute, perfect thing in the world but certainly it is the next best thing."

The Greeks, she continued, have always kept faith the principles of democracy.

"That is why, during World War II, we fought with the Western people against fascism. We fought with all our power. We had 14,000 villages destroyed, one-tenth of the population killed and we went through immeasurable miseries.

"So I don't see why, in the middle of the blue skies, we would have these dictators who are—unfortunately, now that we know them and based on my own experience—dishonest, lying on their word of honor as soldiers with the greatest facility, torturers, keeping us down through oppression," she said.

Lady Fleming was an early, outspoken critic of the junta which had quietly inflicted a reign of terror on the country's political and intellectual leaders.

"I knew that in all the suburbs of Athens they arrested 10 or 15 people every day, just like that. They beat them for five or six days and then threw them out with broken ribs and arms and ordered them not to go to a doctor. Some came to me so I knew what was happening from the beginning," she said.

Earlier this year, she was arrested on charges of conspiring to aid the prison escape of Alexander Panagoulis, a man whom she has never met. Panagoulis was sentenced to death for his 1968 attempt to dynamite the car of Premier George Papadopoulis. Panagoulis had escaped once before, aided by a sympathetic prison guard, but was recaptured when a relative provided information for reward money.

When Panagoulis sought through friends to arrange a second escape. Lady Fleming learned of his wishes to have a car parked outside the prison and a driver to take him to a hiding place.

"I wish him to be free because this man was tortured tremendously for three years, on and off, whenever they liked. He's just a slave. He lives in a cement tomb and all his letters which have been smuggled out have been printed in the Congressional Record," she said.

Lady Fleming couldn't participate in the escape plot for several reasons. She had been interrogated a few days earlier concerning some imprisoned friends and felt she was under surveillance. And, "at my age and not being well, I don't see myself with a gun and a car outside the camp."

She asked a 24-year-old American to wait for Panagoulis in the event he was able to get outside the prison. But, police had earlier uncovered the plot through a guard's confession and they were waiting to arrest whoever was waiting. When arrested, the American implicated Lady Fleming.

"At my trial, I said if I could be there, I would be there . . . if I could put Panagoulis in my car, I would . . . and I described his tortures which they didn't want to hear. I was sentenced because I admitted helping—financially and with food and clothing—families of political enemies. And this is also a crime," she said.

On the third day of her incarceration, she refused an opportunity to secure her freedom by relinquishing her claim to Greek nationality and departing for England. Her captors feared she would invoke her status of British nobility to gain release.

"I won't ask for protection from the British government," she told them. "You have a Greek woman here and I will stay."

But her health rapidly deteriorated. "There is a very nice law which says if you are very low, you get suspension of sentence, you get well and you come back to resume your sentence," she said. Ten doctors examined her and all said she was not physically fit to remain in detention.

On Nov. 14, six plainclothesmen and a woman came to her apartment and, using the pretext they were taking her to police headquarters, drove her to the airport.

"The last minute at the airport I offered to return to prison . . . to say that now I'm well and ready to resume my sentence," she said. "It didn't work."

Lady Fleming was forced to end the interview to keep another appointment. She found her mission displeasing, she said.

"I don't care about politics," she explained. "But I care about people being tortured and about human dignity and rights. They have crushed all that. They are uneducated and narrow-minded and they are trying to push us back to the Black Age."

Asked who "they" were, she responded: "They is them . . . and we are Greece."

EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED CHILD

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, in my district, several agencies have been laboring with insufficient funds, an overburdened staff, and little public awareness to fight the problems facing emotionally disturbed children. An unfortunate and unnecessary stigma still persists for the parents of these children. As Dr. Philip D. Cutter, of the Cape Ann Children and Family Center notes in an article by Judith Castle in the Amesbury News, less than 10 percent of the children who need psychological help receive it.

In testimony prepared for the Ways and Means Committee, I argued that it is important to realize the emotionally disturbed person is no less worthy of protection under the various health insurance proposals than are people with broken legs.

This is the year of the child in Massachusetts, but there are too many children who are unable to enjoy even the simplest pleasures of childhood. These children are retarded or autistic or suffering from any number of other emotional problems. The time has come for Congress to face its commitment and help these children. At this time, I insert the Amesbury News article into the RECORD.

[From the Amesbury (Mass.) News, Dec. 9, 1971]

EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED CHILD

(By Judith Castle)

If a child has a bad cold or a broken leg, most parents wouldn't hesitate to take him to a doctor. But if he's running his parents ragged at home, picking fights with other children, and sassing his teachers many parents don't know quite what to do and just hope he'll grow out of it.

Temper tantrums, answering back, picking fights may, however, according to child guidance experts, be as much a symptom that something is wrong as a fever or a runny nose.

"The emotionally disturbed child is in a pretty tough situation," said Ralph H. Golding, 54, executive director of the Mental Health Association of the North Shore with offices at 1 Cambridge street, Salem. "He's helpless. He gives signs of asking for help though it may not seem that way. He's loud, he's disruptive, but no one hears him."

For many families, taking the child to a child guidance clinic, to a psychologist or a psychiatrist carries a stigma. A physical illness is okay. A mental disturbance is still something many people feel slightly ashamed about.

10 PERCENT GET HELP

According to Dr. Philip D. Cutter, 35, director of the Cape Ann Children and Family Center, located at the Addison Gilbert Hospital in Gloucester, a report made by the Joint Commission on Mental Health stated that less than 10 percent of the children who need some kind of psychological help get it.

"I don't think it's that bad on the North Shore but there are many kids that could use some kind of intervention that don't get it," said Dr. Cutter.

The North Shore Guidance Center, for which the Mental Health Association of the North Shore is currently the administrative arm, and the Cape Ann Center are the only two state-supported child guidance facilities for the North Shore.

The Cape Ann Center serves Beverly, Hamilton, Wenham, Ipswich, Manchester, Gloucester, Essex and Rockport. With a staff of four state-supported people plus some part-time help, the Center "is expected to provide comprehensive child services to a population of 110,000 which borders on being ludicrous," said Dr. Cutter.

The North Shore Guidance Center also feels the pressure of too few staff and too little money with six full-time staff members to serve Peabody, Salem, Marblehead, Topsfield, Middleton, Boxford and Danvers.

PRIVATE CARE COSTLY

The alternative for North Shore families is private care which, according to Dr. Mary LaBella, a child psychologist at the North Shore Guidance Center, costs anywhere from $20 to $60 for children per session.

Services are free at the state-supported clinics for families who can't afford to pay anything. For others there's a sliding fee scale which takes into account the size of the family and income.

What kinds of children come to the clinics and what can the clinics do to help?

Dr. LaBella cited the hypothetical case of a boy whose mother had had very bad experiences with men. Her husband was very abusive and aggressive. The mother was afraid that her son would grow up to be like his father and, though not openly hostile, she transmitted these feelings to her son "non-verbally." Her son, whose self-esteem was hurt because his mother didn't think much of him, had fantasies about being very destructive and fought a lot.

TUTORING THERAPY ARRANGED

The clinic in such a case might try to get tutoring for the child to help him with his academic work and would probably see the child both by himself and with his family for therapy.

Another couple brought their 10-year old son to the Cape Ann center because he wasn't doing well in school, was getting into a lot of fights, and spending a lot of time in the principal's office.

Mr. Cutter found the parents disagreed on how their son should be brought up. The father believed in the frequent use of discipline, the mother tended to be more permissive.

"As a result the boy was never quite clear as to whether what he was doing was right or wrong, or whether he would be rewarded or punished for what he did," Dr. Cutter said.

Short-term therapy was arranged for the boy to help him deal with some of his feelings of helplessness and worthlessness, as well as tutoring to help him with his school work. A conference was held with the teacher and the principal to discuss with them ways of helping the boy. The parents were seen jointly by a therapist who tried to help them work out a more consistent pattern of dealing with the child.

MORE BOYS THAN GIRLS

According to Dr. Cutter, the Cape Ann Center sees far more boys than girls. Below the age of 13, the ratio tends to be about five to one, Dr. Cutter said.

"It's a well known statistic, but I'm not sure why it is so," said Dr. Cutter "Some people postulate that the different stages of development are more complicated for a boy. Then there are a number of our cases where the father is not active in the family. And also kids often get referred to us when they make trouble. When boys have problems they tend to cause trouble at school and at home. Girls tend to get anxious, depressed and withdrawn."

A number of depressed adolescent girls have been to the clinic, however, among them a 13-year old who'd stayed at home for three days with a great deal of crying and tears. She said she couldn't stand going back to school and "expressed considerable guilt about some rather innocent kinds of adolescent activities," Dr. Cutter said. The mother had had a number of unwanted pregnancies and was disturbed by her daughter's developing sexuality.

In this case, mother and daughter were seen jointly in an attempt to help them deal with the situation.

PARENTS ANXIOUS TO HELP

Dr. LaBella said that most parents are willing to try to make changes to help their child "if they see someone is around to support them."

"Often just the fact that parents come in here makes a young person feel his parents do care about him," Dr. LaBella said. "Occasionally we do get a parent who just doesn't believe in psychiatry or who have such insurmountable problems themselves, it's unrealistic to ask anything else of them.

"We had one mother with 11 children and the father was making $90 a week. We're talking about building up her child's self-esteem and she's worrying about where the next meal is coming from."

Dr. LaBella said that the North Shore Guidance Center has worked with North Shore Community Action Programs to try and prove a family's day-to-day living.

"It's a rarity to find a parent that's not trying to do the best job they can," said Mr. Golding. "If they're doing something wrong, it's usually unconscious."

For the family that brings their child to the Cape Ann Center, the first thing that happens is a "diagnostic evaluation" of the child. Dr. Cutter explained that this enables the staff to "assess the severity of the disturbance" and to work out what will be the best kind of treatment.

The treatment may include one or more of several alternatives—case work with the parents, group therapy for the parents, marital counseling, individual or group psychotherapy for the child, or a change in the child's situation, such as moving him to another school. Staff at the center may also talk to the school adjustment counselor and the teacher, may suggest a tutor or that the child join anything from the Boy Scouts to an athletic program.

A similar procedure is followed at the North Shore Guidance Center.

EMPHASIS ON PREVENTION

Both the North Shore Guidance Center and the Cape Ann Children's and Family Center believe that prevention and early diagnosis of emotional disturbance is half the battle. They spend about 50 percent of their time working with people in the community who spend a lot of time with children—guidance and administrative personnel in the schools, clergy, welfare workers, physicians and people who work in the courts.

Dr. LaBella would like to see more programs for emotionally disturbed children in every school system. The small towns, she suggests, could cooperate with other communities to cut down the cost.

She said that some schools believe in providing special classes for emotionally disturbed children, others prefer to provide tutoring and allow the child to go to his usual classes.

"Some of these children may be disruptive which makes it difficult to keep them in their regular class," Dr. LaBella said. "On the other hand, other children may be disruptive and frightening to the emotionally disturbed child."

SMALLER CLASSES HELP

Just the fact of being in a smaller class, usually with a teacher aide as well as a teacher, helps many of these children, Dr. LaBella said, because they require much more attention.

Dr. LaBella also believes a greater number of vocational programs would help children who are not doing well in school "and whose self-esteem really suffers in consequence." She said that at the moment many schools require good grades before a child is accepted for vocational training while many of the children who really need this training have unresolved problems which adversely affects their school work.

"The community could get more involved in providing activities for children in general," said Dr. LaBella, "more recreation, some type of half-way house where teenagers could stay for a couple of days or longer. Children need a rest from their parents sometimes, especially where there are emotional problems."

Dr. Cutter believes that for political and economic reasons the North Shore has been short-changed of its fair share of the Department of Mental Health budget, with a resulting dearth of both public and private services.

MORE PROGRAMS NEEDED

"There's a desperate need for pre-school programs for emotionally disturbed kids. That may take the form of specialized nursery and day care programs for kids between the ages of 3 and 7," Dr. Cutter said.

"Then there are a number of autistic children on the North Shore and it's impossible to find a program for them. Very few get the intensive treatment they need.

"There need to be more programs for the emotionally disturbed kid within the public school systems especially at the junior high and high school level. There need to be programs for kids with multiple handicaps (for example, children who are retarded and emotionally disturbed), and there need to be, especially for the adolescent, an in-patient facility."

Dr. LaBella said that some children are so seriously disturbed that they need treatment 24 hours a day. She also mentioned that to keep some emotionally disturbed children at home may cause even bigger problems—other children in the family may become disturbed or it may lead the parents to divorce.

Both the North Shore Guidance Center and the Cape Ann center have internship programs for students, and both would like to expand the program but are unable to because of a shortage of space.

Salaries of professional staff members at both centers are paid for through the state Department of Mental Health. In addition, the centers receive contributions from the towns they serve. The cost to the towns is 37 cents per capita and Mr. Golding estimates that it cost one community $2.50 per interview for the people in that town.

Contributions from area towns last year were: Boxford, $783; Danvers $5,400; Hamilton, $1,250; Ipswich, $2,400; Middleton, $800; Topsfield, $1,000; and Wenham, $600.

CONTRACT PAROLE REFORM

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, everybody is talking about reform of our outdated correctional systems, but little action is taken.

Minnesota seems to be an exception. The following article from the New York Times of Sunday, December 12, 1971, should be pondered by all those who see our jails and prisons today as crime breeders:

CONTRACT YIELDS PAROLE IN MINNESOTA

(By Seth S. King)

STILLWATER, MINN., DEC. 12.—Prisoner X, like most of the inmates at Stillwater Prison, is about 32 years old, white, unskilled, and has a ninth-grade education. He has probably been a burglar and, like 80 per cent of his fellow inmates, he has been convicted at least twice and probably has a drug or an alcohol problem.

All felons in Minnesota except first-degree murderers receive indeterminate sentences, and Prisoner X may be confined at Stillwater for a period of up to 10 years.

In the past, the time Prisoner X spent inside the walls depended on the parole board, which could release him when it decided he should go. Most prisoners are spending about 34 months at Stillwater, situated in eastern Minnesota, 16 miles northeast of St. Paul.

Now, under a new system prepared by the Minnesota Department of Corrections, Prisoner X can automatically walk out at the end of whatever time it takes him to fulfill the terms of a contract he has signed with prison officials. He may commit himself in the contract to completing courses for a high school diploma while he spends a year or two completing a keypunch apprenticeship course.

He would agree to spend a specific number of hours in group therapy sessions as well as undertake to demonstrate his ability to discipline himself and observe prison work and living rules.

If he had any record of violence, he would have to agree to prove exceptionally good behavior during the contract period. He might also have to commit himself to participate in Alcoholics Anonymous or drug therapy meetings and, if he is married, to complete a 12-week marriage-relations course at the prison.

It may take Prisoner X two or three years or longer to meet the provisions of his contract; or he might speed up his work and fulfill them sooner. The amount of time he spends completing his agreed obligations will not be a factor in securing his release.

David Fogel, Minnesota's new Commissioner of Corrections, believes this is the first time that such a formal contract system has been tried anywhere in the United States with adult prisoners.

"It's no panacea and it may not work at all with the type of repeated offender for whom prison is a permanent life style," he said. "But it can give two highly desirable results—it may reduce some of the caprice in parole decisions and it should give an inmate a sense of purpose and some hope."

Minnesota already has an extensive probation and release system. While the rate of reported crimes has not declined, only 19 per cent of those convicted of felonies are now sent to prison.

The total inmate population of 839 at Stillwater Prison and 570 at the St. Cloud Reformatory, Minnesota's two maximum-security institutions, is about half what it was 10 years ago.

Both prisons are comparatively well equipped and neither is crowded. Less than 20 per cent at either institution are black. While there have been racial tensions at both, they have been minor compared with those in prisons in New York, Illinois, California and Michigan.

But neary half the prisoners who serve sentences at Stillwater or St. Cloud commit new crimes once they are released and are soon back in aagin.

"It's obvious that what we're doing now hasn't been very successful in correcting them," said Charles Gadbois, assistant superintendent for training and treatment at St. Cloud, which is in central Minnesota, about 60 miles northwest of Minneapolis.

"And today we're getting a new type of prisoner everywhere," he went on. "The old cons used to come to do their time and try to get themselves back into society. Today prisoners come in bitter and alienated, believing it's society and not them that's to blame. They're really an immature generation. But many of them, underneath, want to be somebody, to do something and see an effect. Fulfilling a contract could be the way to do that."

CONTRACTS OPTIONAL

Only those prisoners who want to sign contracts will be offered them, Mr. Gadbois said, adding that it was possible that an inmate might spend more time in prison fulfilling a contract than the parole board would require of him without it.

"The inmate code requires them to do everything to con their way out, and some of them may think they can use the contract to do that," he said. "We're saying fine, because the game is going to be rigged so that, if they play it, they'll come out of prison less likely to commit a crime again."

"The key," he said, "is the obvious one of drawing a contract that will require a prisoner to do the things that will result in behavioral changes—changes that will keep him from committing that same crime again. We have been able to diagnose the causes of his behavior. It's the therapy and treatment that have failed."

SGT. THOMAS FIKE, OF MARYLAND, KILLED

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, a fine young man from Maryland, Sgt. Thomas Fike, was recently killed in action in Vietnam. I would like to commend his courage and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

FRIENDSVILLE MAN DIES IN BATTLE

Sgt. Thomas Fike, son of Mr. and Mrs. Emerson T. Fike, of Friendsville, Garrett county, was killed in a helicopter crash in Vietnam December 4 the Department of Defense reported yesterday.

The 23-year-old aerial gunner was attached to the 101st Airborne Division, and was shot down by ground fire during a mission, the Army said.

Sergeant Fike, who was to have been discharged after a 4-year tour of duty in January, had been expected home for Christmas.

A 1966 graduate of Northern Junior-Senior High School in Accident, Md. (the small Friendsville community of nearly 600 residents has no high school), Sergeant Fike enlisted in the Army at Fort Holabird. He had been in that area as a construction worker and decided to enlist, the member of the family said.

Besides his parents, his survivors include four sisters, Jolene, Kathy, Nancy and Laura Fike, and three brothers, Lynn Allen, Kenneth and Daniel Fike, all of Friendsville.

A LOOK AT THE TAX CHECKOFF

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, admitting some minor problems to the tax checkoff system, the maneuverings chronicled by Washington Post reporter Don Oberdorfer reveal several weaknesses in our political system.

The presidential elections require vast sums of money to pay for television advertising, transportation, a publishing operation which dwarfs many daily newspapers in sheer bulk and staffing. And that may only be the tip of the iceberg. To pay for that, businesses and major contributors are called upon to donate. Some, to hedge their bets, contribute to both the Democratic and the Republican candidate.

But what about the vast majority of the American people who are unable to contribute? This checkoff system would have made their voice louder by diminishing the role of the major contributor, and for that reason was welcomed. The checkoff system would have permitted candidates to run without worrying about the extent of their debt after election or defeat. Money tends to flow to the party in power, a situation which demands that candidates from the opposition must either be wealthy themselves or possess enough wealthy friends to rectify the situation. Already one candidate has had to withdraw from the presidential election because of the tremendous financial burden imposed on anyone who wishes to run seriously.

Congressional leadership during the checkoff debate was unable to sustain the support which would have corrected the imbalance existing between the two parties. As a Democrat, I naturally am in the position of believing the party has been under considerable strain because of its financial difficulty. But if there were still a Democrat in the White House, I would push for reform in campaign spending and funding.

The need for a fair and equitable method to finance our national campaigns is vital and should not have been put off. At this time, I wish to insert the Post article into the RECORD:

POLITICAL POKER WITH A $1 BILL—CHECKOFF BATTLE FOUGHT FOR HIGHEST STAKES

(By Don Oberdorfer)

It was after 8 p.m. on Nov. 15 and the end of a long and busy day in the U.S. Senate. Eleven votes had been taken that day on amendments to President Nixon's highest priority legislation—the tax cut bill—and the chamber was deserted except for a handful of senators, some clerks and two or three newsmen preparing to go home.

Democratic whip (or assistant floor leader), Robert Byrd of West Virginia, standing near the front of the chamber and holding a sheaf of papers in his hand, called for unanimous consent to limit Senate debate in the days ahead on five additional tax amendments. The last of the five was described only as "an amendment which may be identified as the tax deduction for political contributions amendment, to be offered by Mr. (Alan) Cranston (of California) for himself and others, or by others."

Sen. Robert Griffin, Byrd's counterpart on the other side of the aisle, was charged with protecting the interests of Republicans after the rest had gone home or off to dinner. Griffin had heard nothing of such a "political contributions amendment," but some instinct told him to be cautious. Before agreeing to the debate limitation of six hours on the Cranston plan, he made certain that any change in it which might be proposed would be entitled to an additional hour of consideration—thus giving Republicans time to stall should the need arise.

This brief transaction seemed utterly routine but it was not. In fact, the "Cranston" amendment turned out to be the $1 tax checkoff plan to allot up to $20.4 million in public funds to each major party's presidential candidate, a drive conceived in lengthy private conferences over many months by the Democratic leaders of Congress.

The Byrd-Griffin agreement on limiting debate was the curtain raiser on 17 days of intense maneuvering involving the most powerful politicians in both parties, pitting President Nixon and his supporters against the Democrats who would supplant him in the White House, pitting titans of labor against titans of industry.

This "poker" game was played for the very highest stakes: The 1972 presidential election, the fate of the nation's economy, the future of the financial underpinnings of the American political system. Before the battle ended—in defeat for the Democrats—President Nixon had mobilized members of his Cabinet as lobbyists for his cause, agents of Attorney General John N. Mitchell and Democratic Party Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien had moved into competing offices in the Capitol, and the Republicans offered, in vain, to finance $19 million worth of political broadcast time with general funds of the U.S. Treasury in 1972.

Bits and pieces of this drama have come to light piece meal, and some others are still disputed or obscure. But most of the story can now be obtained from the infighters and outriders in the opposing camps. Seen in the round—from both sides of the battle lines—the history of maneuver and countermove in the tax checkoff battle is an extraordinary case study in big time politics, circa 1971.

It is also a damning chapter in the continuing inability of the American political system to deal effectively with its Achilles' heel—the insistent need for ever-larger sums of money to finance campaigns for high office.

Back in 1966, Sen. Russell Long (D-La.) conceived and put through Congress a plan to finance presidential campaigns by a tax checkoff plan. Each taxpayer would be able to say on his annual return whether he wished $1 of his tax to go for this purpose. In election years, the Long plan would have provided $30 million or more to the Presidential war chests of the major parties, thus freeing the candidates from the rigors of fund raising.

The Long plan was signed into law by President Johnson, but before it could take effect its implementation was blocked by another act of Congress. The anti-checkoff drive led by Sen. Robert Kennedy (D-N.Y.), who feared that public financing would give too much power to the incumbent President.

In the spring of 1971, Sen. Long had a visit from Andrew Biemiller, chief Capitol lobbyist of the AFL-CIO, who suggested that the checkoff proposal be resurrected. With the Democratic Party still $9 million in debt from 1968 and facing a well-helped Republican President in 1972, the urgency of some new financing mechanism was clear.

Long's first step was to confer with Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, the last of the famous brothers, and to obtain his approval on a revised version of the checkoff.

Next, Long took his proposal to Senate and House Democratic leaders, who agreed to add it to a comprehensive package of campaign reforms pending on Capitol Hill. One of those who was party to this agreement, in a June 29 meeting in Speaker Carl Albert's office, was Chairman Wilbur Mills of the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee.

In a July 19 meeting, senior Democrats agreed to separate the controversial checkoff plan from the other reform proposals (many of which had bipartisan support). Wilbur Mills suggested that checkoff be passed later as an amendment to the Nixon welfare reform bill "or a similarly significant measure" which the President would find it hard to veto.

Meanwhile, Democratic National Chairman O'Brien convened a dinner meeting July 14 with his party's leading presidential contenders and Congressional leaders. Late in the meeting, O'Brien suggested the checkoff as the solution to the growing problem of presidential campaign finance and, specifically, the extreme financial disadvantage facing the Democrats in 1972.

His checkoff suggestion was immediately endorsed by Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield and Speaker Albert, and all the Democratic Presidential contenders present agreed. Mills, who was present for part of the meeting, had left by this point.

After President Nixon proposed a tax cut to spur the economy as part of his Aug. 15 New Economic Program, Democrats selected the Nixon tax bill as the vehicle for the checkoff amendment to be added in the Senate. Only a handful of leaders, including Mansfield, Albert, Mills, and Long were privy to this strategy.

But after Russell Long spoke enthusiastically about it at a luncheon meeting of Senate Democrats on Nov. 10, the word was out. Three days later, news of the checkoff strategy broke into print on page one of both The Washington Post and The New York Times.

Throughout this gestation period of nearly six months the Senate Republican leaders and the political chiefs in the White House were unaware of the coming birth of the checkoff plan. Even the disclosures in the newspapers of November 13 somehow failed to awaken the GOP.

Late on Monday, Nov. 15, Griffin agreed to the debate limitation on the unseen and unexplained political amendment—without realizing it was the Democratic checkoff plan.

Late the next day, Tuesday, an aide of Senate GOP leader Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania telephoned chief presidential lobbyist Clark MacGregor at the White House to spread the news that the Democrats were trying to resurrect the checkoff, and that this was serious.

Just before the amendment was ready to be unveiled, Russell Long decided he would not sponsor the checkoff; he explained it seemed improper to spring such a surprise as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. At a meeting Nov. 16 in Mansfield's office, the strategists chose John Pastore of Rhode Island as chief sponsor and floor leader of the amendment.

Pastore is an earthy five-foot-four Italian-American, a scrappy debater and a strong leader. With the help of Herman Talmadge of Georgia to work with the Southern wing of the party, Pastore plunged into the drive to pass the campaign financing amendment.

On Nov. 18 the Democrats won a first test vote, 49 to 46, with no Republican help. Only two Democrats—Sam Ervin and John McClellan—voted against the proposal. Harry Byrd, the Virginia independent, also joined the GOP ranks.

Senate GOP leader Hugh Scott from the beginning was determined that the Republican Party should fight back with every weapon at its command. Scott is a former national chairman of his party, and a canny politician. The first and most obvious weapon was the threat of a presidential veto of the tax bill, and he asked the White House for authority to make strong suggestions of a possible veto ahead.

At 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, MacGregor briefed Mr. Nixon for the first time on the problem posed by the checkoff. The President did not seem familiar with the situation or with the substance of the proposal, but he was quick to grasp its significance.

MacGregor suggested a statement to be given to Hugh Scott and his deputy, Bob Griffin, for their use on Capitol Hill. Mr. Nixon asked if Attorney General Mitchell, his political manager, had been informed; he had not, but MacGregor agreed to do so.

As composed by MacGregor and cleared by Mitchell, the paper for the senators said: "Sen. Scott and Sen. Griffin have conferred with the President. The President expressed grave concern with the Pastore amendment (the checkoff plan); he feels that it is an irresponsible piece of legislation and if it remains in the bill, the President will necessarily have to consider the prospects of a veto."

On Capitol Hill, Scott took the veto talk to the Senate Press Gallery and the Senate Radio-TV Gallery. Since a chief executive cannot veto a particular item on a bill without rejecting the entire measure, there were grave doubts in the press galleries that the veto threat was anything more than psychological warfare.

It did not seem likely that Mr. Nixon would reject the tax cut bill which he had urgently requested to spur the economy. His re-election chances in 1972 appeared to hang at least as much on the condition of the economy as on his campaign financial advantage over the debt-ridden Democrats.

During the day on Thursday, Scott began stalling for time to concoct a counterstrategy against the Democrats and to bring public opinion to bear against the checkoff. The Senate GOP leader recommended that the White House alert corporate leaders to the peril to the tax cut bill, which included large benefits for business and industry.

The automobile industry, particularly, had a great deal at stake because the tax bill contained the repeal of the 7 per cent auto excise tax. Nearly 3,000,000 new cars had been sold since the new tax plan was announced Aug. 15 and the purchasers expected to receive a tax rebate—averaging $200 per car—when the tax bill passed.

Scott suggested that these citizens should be alerted that the Democratic "treasury grab" (as he called it) and the resulting veto would endanger the auto tax rebates. Scott had visions of Democrats in Congress besieged by protests from angry car buyers.

Scott's device for stalling the final checkoff vote was a seemingly endless series of major and minor amendments to the plan, each of which was entitled to one hour's debate under the agreement reached the first night by Byrd and Griffin. Aides to several Republican senators moved into a corner of Scott's Capitol office down the hall from the Senate chamber. There William Nichols, a Justice Department lawyer dispatched by Mitchell, helped them draw up amendment after amendment to consume time.

One floor below, another outsider was a coordinator of the forces in the procheckoff camp. William B. Welsh, a senior aide to Democratic National Chairman O'Brien, was in and out of the Capitol offices of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee, coordinating the activities of party operatives, labor lobbyists and senatorial aides.

He was also the link to O'Brien's headquarters in the Watergate Office Building.

On Friday morning (Nov. 19) President Nixon was in Key Biscayne, Fla., preparing to address a hostile AFL-CIO convention at Miami Beach. Most of the senior men on the White House staff, however, remained in Washington and they met as usual in the early morning to discuss the problems of the moment.

That morning, one of the major topics was the Democratic drive for public financing of presidential campaigns and someone suggested a White House briefing for the press to get the GOP view into the Sunday papers.

Later in the day Mr. Nixon's chief of staff, H. R. Haldeman, telephoned lobbyist Clark MacGregor with the assignment. Newsmen were summoned to a late afternoon press conference with MacGregor in the office of Herbert G. Klein, Mr. Nixon's director of communications.

Reading from hastily-composed notes, MacGregor gave the GOP reasons for opposing the tax checkoff. He also repeated the language which Scott and Griffin had been using for several days—the checkoff plan is "irresponsible" and if it remained in the tax bill, the President "would necessarily have to consider the prospects of a veto."

Reporters were told that the Friday afternoon MacGregor press conference could not be used until Sunday morning (to keep the story out of the relatively thin but newsy Saturday papers and angle for better news play in the thick and relatively newsless Sunday papers). Newsmen abided by this rule without argument. Despite the fact that the MacGregor statement was an exact replay of the Capitol Hill language, many newspapers made the "veto threat" a big story on Sunday morning.

Shortly after the first test vote on Thursday, Democratic Senators John Stennis and James Eastland of Mississippi let Democratic leaders know they would have to vote against final passage of the checkoff plan (though they could and often did help sustain their party's position in preliminary votes).

With the loss of Stennis and Eastland added to that of Ervin and McClellan, John Pastore had exactly 50 Democrats remaining. There were 49 votes on the other side of the issue. (The remaining vote in the 100-member Senate was that of Republican Karl Mundt, who has had a stroke and does not participate.) Thus the head count was 50 to 49; one more Democratic defection or a single Democratic absentee would kill the checkoff.

Pastore was most concerned about the possible defection of Allen Ellender of Louisiana, an unpredictable individualist, and Everett Jordan of North Carolina, whose colleague Ervin was strongly against the plan. He nervously kept a close watch on both men.

Pastore's other worry was that some of his stalwarts might be absent while the GOP produced all of theirs. The Democratic presidential contenders—Henry Jackson, Hubert Humphrey, George McGovern and Edmund Muskie—all had extensive out-of-town speaking schedules, and all were persuaded to cancel important engagements Friday and Saturday to be available to vote.

Birch Bayh, a presidential contender until recently, insisted on going to Indiana to the funeral of Mike Sperling, one of his important political sponsors. Larry O'Brien thought Bayh's vote might be so important that he authorized use of hard-pressed Democratic Party funds to charter an airplane to speed the senator. (According to Bayh's office, the charter plane was not used.)

The President suddenly cut short his weekend in Florida on Friday afternoon and flew back to Washington under the mysterious circumstances, ostensibly to attend a performance of Cambodian dancers at the John F. Kennedy Center. Political reporters, bemused by this sudden presidential affection for the arts, suspected there was another reason. At 12:15 p.m. Saturday, as he was boarding a helicopter to Camp David, Md., Mr. Nixon received a detailed written report on the checkoff crisis written by William Timmons, deputy chief of the White House lobbying team.

The Timmons report stated that Stennis and Eastland would vote with the administration on final passage of the checkoff, but that the Democrats would still win it, 50 to 49. Only one vote was needed, and some possible targets were listed: Virginia Democrat William Spong, who had missed Thursday's key vote and who voted against the checkoff plan in 1967; Everett Jordan of North Carolina; several Democratic freshmen with no previous record on the checkoff issue.

Timmons suggested a presidential statement to make clear that he was absolutely serious about a veto of the tax bill and a draft of such a statement was appended for the President's inspection. He also recommended that White House aide Charles Colson immediately arrange for outside interest groups to be alerted to the veto threat.

Mr. Nixon read the Timmons report at Camp David and telephoned MacGregor at the White House. The President would not issue a statement at the moment but he authorized an "all-out effort" by MacGregor to secure the single Democratic defector needed to win.

With Mr. Nixon's approval, MacGregor began calling members of the Cabinet to use their influence with Democrats with whom they have close relationships. It was the first time since MacGregor joined the White House this January that he had mobilized Cabinet members for a lobby effort unrelated to their departments.

Transportation Secretary John Volpe telephoned William Spong, who has shown particular interest in transportation (so much so that Virginia Republicans complain Spong gets politically-attractive announcements first). Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney called John Sparkman of Alabama, chairman of the committee that works with Romney on the Hill.

Treasury Secretary John Connally, while still nominally a Democrat, was assigned to woo his fellow Texas, Lloyd Bentsen, away from the Democratic fold. Attorney General Mitchell called Judiciary Committee James Eastland who was already on the team for the final vote.

Defense Secretary Melvin Laird—who was reached on a parade field in California where he was reviewing troops—was assigned to shore up the resolve of Armed Services Committee Chairman John Stennis. The answers were quick in coming; no net gain for the Republican Party.

Early in the proceedings, GOP Sen. Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland had offered Pastore a deal authorized by high-level Republican sources: Postponement of the implementation of the checkoff until after the 1972 election, plus a "free choice" amendment permitting a taxpayer to specify the political party which was to receive his dollar. If these changes were accepted, Mathias said, a substantial number of Senate Republicans would vote to approve the checkoff.

At this stage, Pastore had no thought of postponing the checkoff until 1973, and he flatly rejected the proposal.

Jittery about the one-vote margin for their cause, Pastore decided a little later to seek Mathias' defection to the Democratic ranks by accepting a small part of his package.

The acceptable portion was Mathias' free choice idea. When Mathias returned to this subject in debate, Pastore grabbed the ball and offered to work out an accommodation. Meetings were held and Mathias—convinced that the Democrats would win anyway—agreed to vote for the checkoff if his free choice amendment were accepted.

Word of the Mathias arrangement caused alarm at the White House and among GOP Senate leaders, who were still seeking Democratic defections. At White House urging, Mathias withheld his free choice amendment while the effort to woo the Democrats continued. As the final vote approached on Monday (Nov. 22) the White House reluctantly informed Mathias that it still lacked enough strength to win.

After this assurance, the Maryland senator offered his amendment and, after its approval, voted for the checkoff plan on final passage. To the Democrats' surprise, New Jersey's Clifford Case, a Republican, shifted sides along with Mathias.

The final Senate vote on the political finance provisions—including the checkoff and tax credits and deductions for small contributions—was 52 in favor and 47 against.

Immediately after the vote, Clark MacGregor telephoned the President to give him the bad news. Mr. Nixon was unhappy but philosophical about it; he has become accustomed to difficulties with Congress.

The two men agreed that the focus of attention now would be the Senate-House conference committee, headed by Wilbur Mills, which would either accept or reject the checkoff amendment as a part of the tax reduction bill. MacGregor said he would go to work on it right away.

CHECKMATING THE CHECKOFF—NIXON'S DILEMMA BECOMES DEMOCRATS' DEFEAT

(By Don Oberdorfer)

On Nov. 23, the day after the Senate passed the Democratic-sponsored amendment to finance presidential election campaigns with public funds, Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien telephoned Rep. Wilbur Mills, the key figure in deciding the fate of the measure in the House of Representatives. "Well, Wilbur, here we are," said O'Brien. "How do you feel about the prospects?"

Mills replied that he was totally committed to the approval of the $1 per tax return checkoff plan to furnish up to $20.4 million for major party presidential nominees, and predicted that a Senate-House conference committee would approve the plan as an amendment to President Nixon's tax cut bill. Once attached to the agreed Senate-House version of the tax bill, it could only be dislodged by a majority vote of the House membership under difficult conditions.

A commitment and prediction by Wilbur Mills counts for a great deal in such matters. As chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, he would lead the House delegation to the Senate-House conference committee. On tax questions, he is the most powerful figure in the Congress.

Just about the time of the O'Brien-Mills conversation, President Nixon was having breakfast in the family quarters of the White House with his Senate GOP leaders, Hugh Scott and Robert Griffin, to discuss strategy and tactics for the continuing fight against the checkoff plan.

Scott strongly urged the President to announce a firm decision to veto the tax cut bill if the Democrats insisted on the checkoff amendment. If this were done, the senator was convinced, public opinion and business pressures would force the Democrats to back down.

Mr. Nixon was in an agonizing dilemma. He was adamantly opposed to the checkoff but he kept asking his advisers, "What about my tax bill?" He authorized Scott to say that he was "seriously considering" a veto, but made no firm decision. Presidential Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler, reflecting the official caution, told reports, "I'm not going to predict what the President would do with a piece of legislation still in the legislative process."

In a strategy meeting in the nearly-deserted Capitol the following day (Nov. 24, the day before Thanksgiving), Rep. William Springer of Illinois succinctly captured the intensity of GOP fears about the checkoff. "The Democrats feel they could beat Nixon with this $20 million from the Treasury and they might be right," Springer told assembled White House aides and House Republican leaders. "This issue will decide the 1972 election. After all, (Hubert) Humphrey almost turned it around with only $2 million in television commercials during the last 10 days of the 1968 campaign."

CONCERN OVER HIGH COST

Even so, some of the GOP leaders were deeply concerned about the high cost of a veto. John Byrnes, the senior Republican in the Ways and Means Committee and a member of the Senate-House tax bill conference, suggested that the President sign the bill when it reached his desk but refuse to implement the checkoff provision on constitutional or other legal grounds. White House and Justice Department officials were investigating this idea but it, too, held substantial risks. A court test might go against the President. In any case, he would seem to be defying a law for his own political gain.

After the meeting at the Capitol, Presidential assistants John Ehrlichman and Clark MacGregor returned to the White House to brief Mr. Nixon before his departure for San Clemente, Calif., for the Thanksgiving weekend. Included in the discussion was a recommendation from William Timmons, the deputy to MacGregor for congressional relations. Timmons recommended that the President summon Wilbur Mills and John Byrnes to the White House at 11 a.m. the following Monday (Nov. 29) along with their counterparts from the Senate, Russell Long and Wallace Bennett. There would be no publicity and no presidential aides present except for Treasury Secretary John Connally. The purpose of the meeting would be to announce to the Democrats in convincing fashion that the tax bill would definitely be vetoed if the campaign checkoff provision should survive.

ANOTHER HUDDLE SET

Over the weekend in California, Mr. Nixon decided against such a personal confrontation with Mills and Long, on the grounds that it might be resented. But as Air Force One roared back toward Washington Sunday night, the President summoned Ehrlichman, MacGregor and Timmons—and Attorney General John Mitchell—to a Monday morning meeting at the White House. It would be among the most crucial conferences in four days of intense maneuvering which followed.

MONDAY

Riding to work in their staff limousines early that morning of Nov. 29, White House aides were dismayed to read two political columns side-by-side on the opposite editorial page of the Washington Post. Rowland Evans and Robert Novak were saying the President might shrink from a veto of the tax bill because of the economic consequences, but seek to nullify the checkoff by administrative action. And Joseph Alsop declared Mr. Nixon was being told that the checkoff could actually help him in 1972—by financing George Wallace and siphoning votes from the Democrats. Evans and Novak and Alsop are established oracles often used by high officials to transmit signals to political Washington. The doubts raised in those Monday morning columns would make it difficult to convince the Democrats that Mr. Nixon's veto threat was real.

At 8:30 a.m. Mr. Nixon met with Mitchell, Ehrichman, MacGregor and Timmons.

Mr. Nixon seemed to have made up his mind to make the big veto gamble but he kept going over and over the consequences, circling the question and coming back again.

At one point he remarked that there really was a serious problem with campaign finance in this country, and observed that other democratic countries had state-owned television networks which supplied free time to bring national candidates before the public.

Perhaps one way to solve the problem without resort to the checkoff, he mused, was to require the American networks to supply time for candidates. (A similar recommendation had been made by a Twentieth Century Fund study several years ago. The study commission, headed by former FCC Chairman Newton Minow, called its proposal "voters' time.")

After 2 hours and 20 minutes of discussion, the President decided he would go all the way. He would definitely veto the tax bill if the checkoff plan should be a part of it in its present form. For maximum effect on Congress, he directed MacGregor to announce the decision right away. Working with chief Presidential writer Ray Price, MacGregor drew up a statement, cleared it with Mr. Nixon and made the announcement in the White House press room.

On Capitol Hill Wilbur Mills was preparing for the first meeting of the Senate-House conference committee that day, and he was becoming concerned about the situation in the House as a whole. Rep. Joe Waggonner of Plain Dealing, La., a conservative Democrat who often works with Republicans on major issues, had begun lobbying Dixie Democrats to oppose the checkoff plan.

Faced with the possibility that Republicans and Southern Democrats might unite to defeat the checkoff plan on the House floor—even if it were approved by the conference committee—Mills telephoned Waggonner and asked him to dissent. Waggonner refused. He told Mills the checkoff was a bad idea, and predicted that the House would repudiate Mills if he tried to push it.

TUESDAY

On direct instructions of the President, White House operatives had been alerting business and financial leaders to the danger that the tax bill would be delayed or even killed as a result of the confrontation over the checkoff. The business world was asked to mount a campaign to convince Congress to back down on the presidential financing plan and thus avert a veto.

Former Republican National Chairman and Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield, now an automobile dealer in Flint, Mich., was a key man in contacts with the automobile industry. A program was underway to have major auto dealers inform recent automobile buyers that the Democrats' political funds plan might kill the $200 per car tax rebate contained in the tax bill.

Tuesday morning, Summerfield was in Washington putting his case to Wilbur Mills and to Rep. Martha Griffiths of Detroit, a Democratic member of the Senate-House conference committee. It is also rumored that the heads of the major automobile companies telephoned Mills direct (he denies this); Mrs. Griffiths was visited by officials of General Motors and Ford.

After his Capitol conference, Summerfield came to the White House to see MacGregor, and the conversation turned to the idea of mandating the television industry to provide free time for the national candidates.

With MacGregor's help, Summerfield drew up a memo headed "A Possible Compromise" (MacGregor changed this to "A Possible Alternative") suggesting that the major presidential candidates be given $8.4 million each in free broadcast time and George Wallace a smaller amount in keeping with his 1968 vote. Summerfield took it immediately to Mills. The Democratic chairman took it out of his pocket just before the meeting of the conference committee that day and astounded his senior GOP colleague, John Byrnes, by announcing it was a White House approved plan.

Late Tuesday afternoon MacGregor went to the Capitol to meet House GOP leader Ford, Byrnes and other Republicans on the conference committee. The lawmakers were anxious to find a counter-offer to avert the collision between the President and the Democrats, feeling that Mr. Nixon would be hurt in the process, but they objected that the television industry should not be expected to supply free time. They felt the TV lobby, one of the most powerful in the nation, would surely stymie such a proposal.

Byrnes suggested that if television time for presidential candidates was a good idea, it should be paid for with public funds. Byrnes had worked with Mills for many years, and he sensed that his Democratic colleague was beginning to back away from the checkoff and search for an alternative.

MacGregor took the Byrnes idea to the oval office. The President indicated he would approve the plan as a last resort alternative to the checkoff.

Larry O'Brien was preparing to leave his office at the Watergate about 8 p.m. when the telephone rang. It was Mills, and he said the checkoff might be in trouble on the House floor. The congressman then reported that the Republicans were offering an alternative—an authorization of $8.4 million per major party to finance broadcast time in 1972. O'Brien scoffed. At that point he was convinced the $20.4 million checkoff would be approved.

WEDNESDAY

First thing in the morning, Mills met in his office with Andrew Biemiller, the AFL–CIO lobbyist, and O'Brien. Nothing was said about the Republican proposal for federal purchase of time. Mills seemed optimistic about the chances of the checkoff plan.

At Mill's request, Biemiller called his 15 top labor lobbyists to a meeting to begin a full head count for House support for the checkoff. Mills earlier had asked House Democratic Whip Thomas O'Neill to begin a separate whip check of members' positions. After the count was well along, Mills passed along the word to call it off; he asserted that Joe Waggonner had lined up 80 Democratic votes against the checkoff, far more than enough to kill it. Then another reversal: Mills asked the whips to begin counting once more.

House Republicans had completed a head count of their own members on the checkoff, and found only two likely defectors. Allowing for absentees and these two losses, the Republicans calculated they could count on 162 votes against the plan in a House floor test. Joe Waggonner, who had been conferring several times per day with GOP leaders, reported he had lined up 35 to 45 Democratic votes (far fewer than Mills had claimed). The Republican-Southern Democratic coalition would need about 205 votes * * * the total attendance was particularly heavy. Clearly, from the Republican count, the contest would be very, very close.

The Democratic whips found the same thing. By Wednesday night they had counted about 110 sure votes for the checkoff and nearly 30 Democratic defectors.

It was clear that an all-out lobbying effort by Speaker Albert, Chairman Mills, labor and party officials would be needed to win—and even then it would be touch and go.

Mills was still publicly predicting victory for the checkoff in the conference committee, and the White House had reason to believe that he was still not convinced Mr. Nixon would cast a veto of the tax bill. In the White House view, it became urgent to convince him that the President was not bluffing.

Evans and Novak, who had reported Monday that the President might not veto the bill, were fed an inside version of the Monday morning meeting. Press Secretary Ziegler declared for the third day in a row that the President would certainly veto the tax bill should the checkoff survive.

The best way to convince Mills, presidential aides decided, was to send him messages through trusted associates. The White House contacted several Mills intimates of long standing. The message: Mr. Nixon is absolutely serious. He is ready to cast a veto, and blame the Democrats for playing politics with the economy.

THURSDAY

Sen. John Pastore, the man who led the checkoff forces in the Senate, rose early at his home in suburban Kensington and read The Washington Post as an aide drove him to the Capitol. On page one Senate correspondent Spencer Rich reported the latest White House declaration that the President would cast his veto, and set forth the likely scenario: the Democrats will insist that Mr. Nixon vetoed the tax bill out of a greater concern for his 1972 campaign than for the economy; the White House will respond that the Democrats were the ones playing politics with the economy. Inside the paper, Evans and Novak reported the Monday meeting at the White House, and the conclusion that a veto was coming.

Pastore was very much disturbed. He had led the battle and believed in it but now, he recalled later, "it was a moment of conscience-searching." If Mr. Nixon did get to the tax bill, the Democrats could not override his action. The checkoff would die anyway, and the country would be left with a political controversy instead of a tax bill.

Whoever was right and whoever was wrong about campaign financing, the country would blame both sets of politicians. The citizenry, the business leaders, the auto buyers, the people unemployed and waiting for the economy to revive, would condemn both sides.

The Rhode Island senator went to Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield and expressed his misgivings. With Mansfield sitting by, he telephoned Wilbur Mills. The House leader was in his office preparing for the showdown meeting of the Senate-House conference committee.

"How does it look?" asked Pastore. Mills replied that certain changes would have to be made in the plan, evidently referring to a court test and appropriations requirements he had been prepared to add.

TOUCH AND GO OUTLOOK

"What are the chances in the House?" the senator asked. Mills said House floor approval of the plan was doubtful. It would be touch and go. He was not certain he could hold it.

"Do you think the President is serious about a veto?" asked Pastore. Mills was now convinced he was.

Pastore expressed his misgivings about what would happen, and quickly established that Mills had strong misgivings, too. Pastore and Mills discussed action to preserve the principle of the checkoff but to delay its application until after the 1972 election.

It appeared likely that the Republicans would agree to this and thus avert a veto and the resulting head-on collision. Pastore told Mills that if postponing the checkoff until 1973 was necessary to preserve the concept, the House leader would not have his criticism but his support. Mills seemed very relieved.

Mansfield and Pastore quickly convened a meeting of Senate Democratic elders, and Pastore reported that Mills did not have the votes to sustain the plan in the House. The senators agreed, with hardly a murmur, to approve the postponement until 1973.

Mills said later, in explanation of his change in plans, that "I didn't have the votes" to pass the checkoff as originally conceived. This is a matter of judgment which nobody can prove or disprove. Neither the labor head count nor the Democratic whip check in the House was ever completed. Asked why he didn't fight it out even if he lacked the votes to win, Mills replied, "I don't do that." Part of his power stems from his reputation for rarely losing a major test on the floor of the House.

Larry O'Brien, who had not been consulted up to this point, learned through an aide that the conference committee was about to abandon the checkoff so far as the 1972 campaign was concerned. Alarmed and dismayed, he and his aides began a series of 11th-hour calls. Hubert Humphrey and Edmund Muskie were asked to contact Mills to stiffen his resolve. Labor was asked to have George Meany call Mills. But it was too late. The Senate-House committee was in session. With Senate Democratic approval—and to the astonishment of the Republicans—Mills amended the checkoff plan to take effect beginning 1973.

Clark MacGregor was having lunch in his office when Under Secretary of the Treasury Charls Walker called to report the surprise action of the conference committee. Walker had to know within five minutes whether the President would accept the modified checkoff, effective 1973.

Mr. Nixon was dictating to his secretary, Rose Mary Woods, in the Oval Office, when MacGregor walked in with the news. The President expressed surprise and asked what happened to the television financing plan; MacGregor replied the Democrats had turned it down.

MacGregor said the $1 tax return checkoff was still in the bill but—as in the 1966 battle—it was doubtful that it would ever take effect.

DECIDES TO SIGN

"They've killed the monster," he said. The President quickly interjected, "And they ought to have the decency to bury it." Nonetheless, Mr. Nixon said he would sign the bill with the postponed checkoff, though he would object to the provision in his signing statement and seek to block its future implementation. (Mr. Nixon signed the tax bill last Friday, Dec. 10, with a blast at the checkoff provision).

Declining the company of friends and staff aides, O'Brien went home alone that night and sat for a long time alone in his apartment. He thought of the appalling prospect of his debt-ridden party facing President Nixon's heavily-financed campaign in 1972, and of the system under which vast sums of money are an essential element in the election of a President.

O'Brien was dumbfounded by the sudden turnaround and dismayed that a public financing plan had come so far over so many months, only to be jettisoned in the end.

Pastore, on the other hand, was not depressed but proud that Congress had again approved the principle of the checkoff. Despite the vast public importance and supposed public interest in the issue, he had received only seven letters about it during the 17 days of the battle. One of them, an anonymous note approving the plan, contained a $1 bill to start the presidential election fund.

Pastore didn't know what to do with the dollar, since there was no return address. Finally he decided he would send it to John Connally to be held in the treasury for the presidential campaign financing plan if it ever should become effective. It was a small thing, and he hoped Connally wouldn't think he was being facetious—$1 to start a $20.4 million per party campaign fund to elect a President who superintends a $100-billion federal budget and a $1-trillion American economy.

NROTC AT UCLA—THE COLORS STILL FLY

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, in the December 1971 issue of U.S. Naval Institute publication there appears a remarkable article written by Midshipman 1/C Lawrence M. Kryske, U.S. Naval Reserve. It relates to his experience while enrolled in the Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps at the University of California at Los Angeles.

This is an article that every American should read. It helps renew one's faith in our country and its future. The article follows:

NROTC AT UCLA—THE COLORS STILL FLY

(By Midshipman 1/C Lawrence M. Kryske, U.S. Naval Reserve)

Standing amid the charred debris that had been the NROTC wardroom at UCLA, the midshipman looked about him at the bomb-gutter room, at the scorched walls that had once been crowded with paintings of heroic naval exploits, at the blackened, broken trophies, hard-won over the preceding 32 years. Yet, despite—or, perhaps, because of—the bombing, and the month-long frenzy that had precipitated it, the midshipman knew that his side had won. Clearly, the cabal of revolutionaries and anarchists had lost. UCLA'S NROTC Unit was still on campus, it still received credit for all courses; and it would still hold its dress parade and commissioning ceremony on campus.

Unlike many other ROTC units across the nation, UCLA's NROTC Unit had not yielded either to the threat of violence or to violence itself. On a small piece of paper, tacked to the bulletin board outside the ruined wardroom were the words, "We have not struck our colors."

The ROTC at UCLA has grown with the University. In May 1920, one year after the opening of UCLA, Army ROTC was established on the campus. It was not until June 1938 that the Department of Naval Science arrived to offer students a second military option. The Air Force ROTC became a department 12 years later. Since the inception of the three units, almost six thousand officers have been commissioned. Many have served with great distinction some lost their lives in World War II, in Korea, and in Vietnam.

The case for the continued existence of ROTC at UCLA is based on sound legal and academic arguments. The Morrill Act of 1862 requires that land-grant institutions, such as UCLA, shall provide military training. It was further stipulated that the university would grant appropriate academic credit for such courses and would make available both classroom and office space. Hence, the university is legally bound to uphold this contract with the fedreal government. California's State Constitution (Art. IX, Sec. 9) has reaffirmed the provisions set down by the Morrill Act. In September 1965, the Congress of the United States passed the ROTC Vitalization Act which modernized ROTC as well as restated the university's obligation to honor its contract with the federal government.

The academic argument for the existence of ROTC has as its bedrock the idea of an open campus. The university has always believed that the policy of an open campus is paramount to the true preservation of academic and intellectual freedom of thought and expression. It is the university's policy that no special interest group will impose its point of view on the university. In particular, it maintains that educational institutions must be free from political domination of any persuasion. That the NROTC offers courses for those students who desire to become officers in the service of the country is not inconsistent with the idea of academic freedom. Naval history, naval engineering, and navigation are legitimate academic discourses because the university encourages the pursuit of knowledge.

It has been suggested that the elimination of mandatory ROTC and physical education classes at the University of California in the early 1960s may be partly responsible for the vast increase in student radicalism. Granting a phase delay of two years from the elimination of those classes, one finds the emergence of the free speech movement at Berkeley. The subsequent student movements, which continue to the present, all embrace the idea of downgrading the establishment and the military which supports it.

At UCLA, the fall of 1968 brought the first organized activity against ROTC. The pattern of physical violence and mob action against many of the nation's ROTC units prompted the unit's commanding officer, a colonel of the Marine Corps, to strengthen the security arrangement of the unit's offices and classrooms. Double doors were added so that the Naval and Military Science departments could be isolated and locked. Metal bars and asbestos blast protectors were installed in every window. The CO prepared an administrative course of action designed to counter any eventual emergency. Nothing was to be left to chance.

UCLA, which consistently has been less radical than other campuses, nonetheless has a hard core element of the New Left which often exploits legitimate student grievances to achieve radical goals. The *modus operandi* of its members involves essentially three stages. The first stage centers around a small group of devoted professional revoluntionaries. Just as Marx noted that only a revolutionary elite could manipulate the masses, it is the campus cadre which seeks the best means of inciting mob action among the students. Most often, the cadre leadership prepares a list of initial demands to appeal to a wide segment of the academic community. It is necessary to ensure that many of these demands directly involve the students (e.g., high parking fees, high book prices, and free speech areas). Other demands of a more nebulous variety attempt to center attention on some "moral issue" (e.g., war, repression, or racism).

The second stage involves enlisting support for the cause. The cadre appoints several members to work directly on the student level. These lieutenants, although sympathetic to the revolutionary cause, are not necessarily dedicated revolutionaries. The lieutenants arrange meetings, collect funds, pases out leaflets and posters, and organize public gatherings to sound out the magnitude of popular support.

The third stage is the confrontation between the radicals and the target of their campaign. In most cases a catalyst is needed to ignite the confrontation (e.g., the President's initiation of a new offensive in Indochina). In order to create a volatile atmosphere, the cadre's lieutenants organize rallies—a most efficient means of stimulating student emotionalism. Professors who are sympathetic to the radicals' causes often become the featured speakers since they add dignity and respectability to the campaign. The lieutenants are strategically placed so that they can control the rally.

Many of those attending such a rally do so because they desire a solution to legitimate grievances. Others attend because rallies provide excitement and a break from the sometimes monotonous routine of school. However, most of those who attend are sympathetic to the campaign. All, nonetheless, are being used by the unseen cadre to create havoc or achieve whatever the goal may be. At some point during the rally when the lieutenants believe that the emotionalism of the crowd has reached a peak, the unsuspecting students are herded towards the intended target (e.g., the administration building). As the crowd nears the target and the possibility of student-police interaction seems imminent, the lieutenants carefully exit to the sides and rear and leave the potential battleground.

The confrontation stage can greatly reinforce the effectiveness of the campaign if physical violence occurs. Wide exposure in the news media benefits the revolutionary cause. Martyrs also play significant role. The confrontation stage is not an end in itself, it is merely a means to a more intensive campaign. New Left tactics hence become an iterative process. One can invariably expect to see a new set of demands after the confrontation. However, the target of the original grievances may be replaced by some new target (e.g., police reaction during the confrontation).

Until 1969, most of the activities directed against ROTC at UCLA involved the attempt to garner student sentiment opposing military training on campus. It was cited that the ROTC program lacked academic quality that the qualifications of the military instructors were poor, and, most important, that ROTC was "repugnant to the fundamental principles of a liberal education." The tactic used by the campus cadre involved a student and faculty referendum to demonstrate the University's supposed dislike of ROTC. The catalyst was the Berkeley's "People's Park" confrontation. ROTC was alleged to be the force that repressed the "brothers and sisters of Berkeley."

UCLA's battalion commander and several senior students initiated an educational campaign to provide the campus community with the facts about ROTC. They sought to destroy the myth that ROTC received credit for drilling and instructions in killing. To the credit of the hard-working midshipmen, as well as to the majority of students who studied the facts without emotionalism, both the student and faculty referendum taken in May 1969 approved the ROTC program. Of the 30,000 UCLA students, only one-third voted, but, of these, 42.5% favored the program with academic credit, 31.8% favored the program without academic credit, and 24.8% believed that the program should not be permitted on campus. The faculty vote in the Academic Senate revealed even greater support for the program. Abolition of ROTC was defeated by 76.5% of those voting (624 to 191), and withdrawal of credit for ROTC courses was defeated by 63% of those voting (509 to 297). Thus the anti-ROTC campaign suffered a temporary setback. However, efforts for a more extensive campaign were already being planned.

All through the summer of 1969 the revolutionary cadre worked covertly to remove ROTC from campus. A memorandum prepared by the UCLA SDS titled "The Case for Abolishing ROTC" revealed their plans. "Students for a Democratic Society has launched a nation-wide campaign to eliminate ROTC from all campuses. We cannot abolish ROTC once and for all unless there is a massive mobilization of the campuse. SDS will try to convince thousands of students of the necessity of eliminating ROTC and for demonstrating that support by shutting down the University of California campuses . . ."

The gathering storm was not ignored by the NROTC unit. The commanding officer and his staff sought aid from staunch supporters. The late Donald D. Stone, President of the Beverly Hills Council of the Navy League, condemned "those actions and programs set to destroy ROTC" and he called for "all Navy League Councils and other patriotic organizations to take steps to nullify dissident activities." An uneventful fall and winter of the new school year (1970) found both the anti-ROTC and ROTC Forces waiting, planning, and preparing. Beneath the surface, considerable efforts were being taken by the radicals. The militants were, in effect, attempting to add fuel to the political fire in anticipation of mass student demonstrations in the spring. All the symptoms of a confrontation loomed ahead, merely waiting for some incendiary event to terminate the uneasy calm.

The allied operation into Cambodia and the subsequent events at Kent State University in Ohio exploded the pent-up emotions of certain elements of the academic community. On Tuesday, 5 May, the midshipman battalion was readying to "fall in with arms on the drill field at 1200." The freshman naval engineering class had departed the campus at 0800 for a tour of the Point Mugu Pacific Missile Range. Sometime after 1000 it became apparent that the campus radicals intended to march on the Men's Gym which housed the physical education departments as well as the offices and classrooms of the Navy and Army ROTC Units.

At 1020, drill was cancelled. At approximately 1130, after attending a rally marked by unabated emotionalism, 1,500 people converged on the gym. About 50 people in the mob commenced throwing rocks and lighting small fires. Owing to poor intelligence, most of the destruction centered around the Physical Education wing of the building. Windows were broken. Using a bench as a battering ram, the militants forced open the gym's large solid oak doors. Five University police struggled to stop a group of radicals who broke in. The police officer in charge, suffered broken ribs and internal injuries and his service revolver was stolen. However, the dissidents were repulsed. One midshipman discovered a faculty teaching assistant trying to break in a side entrance to the gym. According to the midshipman "He was in a dazed, somewhat hypnotic state. I didn't have to use any force to convince him to leave."

The University Administration requested that the Los Angeles Police Department restore order. The resultant arrests of 83 demonstrators, many of whom were not students at UCLA, later provided the radicals with a new target at which to direct their venom. A report issued by the Chancellor's Commission investigating the 5 May attack blamed the police for the violence on campus. In fact, the Commission condemned the police for their "brutality and alleged overreaction." It was indeed strange that the report did not deem the partial destruction of the Men's Gym and the injury of six campus policemen by an angry mob as legitimate grounds for calling in the Los Angeles Police Department. Even more unbelievable was the fact that, although the police entered the campus after the violence had taken place, they were charged with responsibility for its origin.

On 19 May, the CO received the following letter from the Vice Chancellor, "I regret that it is necessary for the UCLA administration to request that you cancel any planned dress parade on campus for the balance of the school year . . ." The letter pointed out that the events that had transpired on other campuses throughout the country, as well as those at UCLA, necessitated this action. The Navy ROTC Unit had intended to hold its dress parade on 28 May at the UCLA track facility. Traditionally the parade had been held since 1938. The CO protested the cancellation of the parade, "'The midshipmen can't understand how the Chancellor can fight to keep a Communist like Angela Davis on the faculty under the guise of academic freedom and then tell them they, as students first and midshipmen second, can't hold their review. They don't understand why they are being discriminated against and treated like second-class citizens." The University did, however, grant permission to an anti-war group to use the track facility to hold a demonstration.

To the casual observer it might appear as if the CO's response to the University's action was an example of cause and effect. Actually, the cancellation of the parade had been anticipated because it followed naturally from a sequence of previous events. The CO's prompt response was based on his determination that "a single anarchist was not going to upset the officially sanctioned contract between the University and the federal government." He correctly perceived that what was at stake was not simply the holding of the dress parade, but rather the more fundamental issue of the existence of ROTC on campus.

The Navy ROTC Unit responded on three levels to the actions of the radical left. These included the student, faculty, and greater society level. On the student level it was necessary to educate the members of the academic community of both the merits and the necessity of ROTC. This was accomplished by the distribution of fact sheets about ROTC, by the promotion of dialogue between members of the ROTC and other students, and by the placement of both editorials and advertisements (information articles) in the school newspaper. However, since the newspaper tended to be one-sided on the ROTC issue, the NROTC could not reach many students. Moreover, because two-thirds of UCLA's student body was indifferent to the ROTC question (as reflected in the student referendum), very little was accomplished on the student level.

Unseen by most of the midshipmen were the actions that occurred on the faculty level. The summer of 1969 found the University re-evaluating its position on many issues. The Chancellor formed a committee to investigate ROTC. This task force was supposed to look into the merits of the academic content of ROTC, as well as into other facets of the program. On 12 May, one week after the campus unrest, a resoution was submitted to the Academic Senate calling for "the suspension of ROTC activities until the U.S. had terminated its military operations in Indo-China."

The Undegraduate Course Committee of the Academic Senate inquired into the concept of credit for ROTC courses. The obvious thrust of the committee was to demonstrate that such credit previously alloted to ROTC courses be discontinued. This tactic, although defeated countless times, continues to dominate all anti-ROTC strategy. As noted previously, however, to eliminate academic credit at UCLA would be a violation of both state and federal law.

It was the Kivelson Committee through which some radical faculty members expressed their distaste for ROTC. This committee was an extension of a more general committee which was investigating war-related activities at the University of California. The Committee inquired into the propriety of ROTC, e.g., "Does the University have the moral right to train killers?" In addition, the ROTC program was once again considered on the basis of its academic structure. The Unit's freshman instructor represented the NROTC Unit on both the Undergraduate Course Committee as well as on the Kivelson Committee. His goals were twofold. First he hoped to educate the faculty with regard to the ROTC program. This meant that the faculty would have to develop and recognize certain attitudes about the program. Whenever the NROTC representative believed that emotion rather than reason dominated the committee meeting, he raised a point of order. Only by evaluating the facts, he asserted, could the real merits of the program be established. His second goal was to buy time. The emotional status of the faculty reached a peak during the Cambodian operation. The NROTC Unit preferred to have the faculty investigate ROTC rather than to have them passing spontaneous resolutions against ROTC. As the emotional outpouring calmed down and reason returned, ROTC fared better. Time ushered in moderation. The final report of the Kivelson Committee was essentially that the ROTC programs must be studied in greater detail.

It was on the greater society level that NROTC's efforts were most effective. In essence, the Unit sought to inform both the political leaders and the private citizens of the nature of the problem. As the CO observed, "There is nothing better than to have the midshipmen speaking, communicating, and illustrating their own thoughts, ideas, and views." The Unit made extensive use of television, radio, and the press. The Midshipman Battalion Commander appealed for equal justice regarding the use of University facilities. As he recounted to a CBS reporter the events leading to the parade cancellation, he stated, "Why is it that we as students are denied the rights extended to other students?" One of the midshipmen emphasized the Unit's desire for fairness in a letter circulated to Congressmen, educators, veterans' organizations, and supporters of ROTC.

He put his finger on the raw nerve that tortures all state-operated educational institutions when he opined that "The true patrons of the University, the tax-paying citizens, not political groups on campus, have the right to determine how such institutions ought to be operated. Furthermore, the University is to provide an education for the students, it is not to become a political sanctuary." Another midshipman, writing in the letters to the editor section of the *Los Angeles Times*, asked two disturbing questions, "Does academic freedom on college campuses belong only to the radical groups? Does the administration now feel that the only relevant activities for UCLA students are demonstrations and strikes?" As the public interest in the plight of NROTC grew, the midshipmen, the Anchors (the women's auxiliary to the Unit), and the staff intensified their efforts.

The public reaction to the cancellation of the parade was widespread. California's Governor Ronald Reagan decried the Chancellor's appeasement to a vocal minority. Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty said, "If a University requests it, we will see to it that the parade goes through." A local construction union said it would guarantee 10,000 hardhats waving the American Flag to line the track facility to protect the midshipmen. The Los Angeles City Council offered the Unit the Memorial Coliseum to hold its parade. A local television newscaster said he would get enough people (200,000 persons) to fill the stadium for two performances of the parade. Behind the scenes, the Marine Officer Instructor was able to elicit great support from veterans' organizations, military personnel both on active duty and retired, and from private citizens. As he observed, "We feel we have a winning cause and the good people want to see that we are treated fairly."

College professors, students, housewives, and workers of every occupation voiced their support of NROTC's right to hold its parade. Not only did local citizens rush to the Unit's aid, but also throughout the state and even across the nation concerned Americans pledged their support of the cause. The Unit's offices were deluged with telephone calls, telegrams, and letters. The Unit received wide news coverage by television, radio, and newspapers. As a result of the public furore, the Chancellor rescinded the previous order on 22 May and allowed the parade to take place on campus. The only change was the rescheduling of the event from 28 May to Sunday 7 June, when students would be studying for finals. The CO summed up his reaction to the Chancellor's decision, "We're very pleased. Our 200 young midshipmen are especially pleased. For them it was a first-hand experience of democracy in action."

Although much of the interest in the parade subsided, the Unit was still inundated with calls from private citizens wanting to know when and where the review would take place. The tremendous public reaction necessitated re-evaluating the preparation for the parade. On 4 June, the CO called this writer into his office to inform him that he would become the new Battalion Commander for the next school term and briefed him about the present campus situation. In conclusion, the CO noted, "the militants and left-wingers must do something since they are losing the battle. It is unfortunate we cannot secure the wardroom and restrict the people who enter it; however, the free society that exists within the University precludes that."

At 0101 on Friday, 5 June, a bomb exploded in the NROTC Wardroom on the UCLA campus. The heat of the subsequent fire was so intense that the oil-based paint on the walls of the outside hallway vaporized. The new Battalion Commander, who awoke early to study for finals, heard the news on the radio. His first thought was that the report was mistaken since the wardroom had no windows and was accessible only by two doors which were locked at 1600 every day. Also, the hallway to the ROTC wing was secured by locked double doors every evening. However, upon arriving at the Men's Gym, it became apparent that the report was true. A torrent of water flowed down the entrance to the gym. The wardroom was in a shambles. The room was illuminated by the eerie glow from flashlights and a mechanic's trouble light. Even though it was 0500, the water-soaked room was still warm and smoldering. The acrid smell of burnt plastic and wood still hung in the air. The force of the blast had blown a crater in the reinforced concrete floor.

Investigations later that morning revealed that the bomb was apparently a delayed time device which was placed in the wardroom between 1300 and 1600 the previous day. Apparently the bomb had been left beneath a couch for its metal springs were imbedded in the ceiling.

Had the fuze been faulty, many persons could have been killed, since the average attendance in the wardroom in the afternoon is between 10 and 20. Equally chilling was the fact that the custodians who work in the gym usually come to the wardroom during their break at 0100 for a Coke. Fortunately, the Coke machines were inoperative, or the custodians surely would have been killed by the explosion.

Even though the bombing raised the fear that the Chancellor might once again cancel the dress parade, the event took place as scheduled. Among the many dignitaries attending the parade was Governor Reagan.

About 35 radicals, who shouted chants and obscenities, were drowned out by the applause of the 4,000 spectators. Governor Reagan told the midshipmen battalion: "The thousands of people who have applauded you here today are only a tiny fraction of your fellow citizens who are saying to you that they are proudly grateful for the course that you have taken."

The overall reaction to the culmination of the NROTC Unit's efforts during the school year were prophesied by Donald Stone in a letter to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Chapman: "The victory at UCLA may well prove to be the turning point in the struggle between the anarchists and those of us who believe our country is worth defending."

The midshipmen were praised in a letter to the late Dr. Frank Nolan of the Beverly Hills Navy League from Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Thomas Moorer: "I was pleased and heartened by the dignified and decisive manner in which our young people conducted themselves in the face of the protestors. It is this type of backbone and character which makes the clear distinction between those who know what they believe in and those who know only what they do not believe in."

DR. RALPH BUNCHE

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Ralph Bunche was a diplomat and a scholar. His illustrious career of service to the Nation and to the cause of world peace is truly a model for all Americans. His life personifies the great Horatio Alger tradition.

He came from what might be called a disadvantaged background. He was, however, determined and resolute. He worked his way through UCLA and obtained a masters degree and a Ph. D. from Harvard University. Later he did postdoctoral work at Northwestern University and at the world famous London School of Economics.

The whole world knows of his later distinguished career as a U.S. diplomat and as Under Secretary General of the United Nations.

In 1950 Dr. Bunche received the Nobel Peace Prize and in 1963 the Presidential Freedom. These are two of the highest distinctions that can be awarded by the Nation or by the international community.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Bunche was truly a credit to his Nation and to his people. He was statesman, scholar, and patriot who constantly worked for world peace. I join others in the Congress and throughout the world in paying tribute to his memory.

BOWERMAN CHOSEN OLYMPIC TRACK COACH

HON. MARK O. HATFIELD

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, for many people, the premier events in the Olympics are the track and field events. It is in this area that the spirit of ancient Greece is most evident, and that most of the public attention is focused.

You can imagine the pride I felt, Mr. President, along with all Oregonians, when the U.S. Olympic Committee selected Mr. Bill Bowerman as the head coach for the American Track and Field team. I refer to him as "Bill," as does everyone that knows him, even though he is "William" officially. Bill Bowerman is as excellent a coach as has coached in the United States; in addition, he is as fine as a man as I have known in the coaching profession. In his home town of Eugene, Bill Bowerman is as popular as is Redskin Coach George Allen here in Washington.

I could extoll the various team championships that have come to the University of Oregon under Bill's tutorage; I could discuss the number of NCAA and world record holders from the University of Oregon. Bill's record speaks for itself. I ask unanimous consent that two examples of the articles appearing in the Oregon press appear at the conclusion of these remarks. Both give a flavor of the man.

During my years as Secretary of State and Governor of Oregon, I used to assist in judging track meets in Eugene and Salem. I came to know Bill Bowerman as a person and as a builder not just of fine athletes, but of fine young men who happened to be athletes.

I ask unanimous consent that the two articles be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Oregon Journal, Oct. 19, 1971]

A BIG MAN IN TRACK, FIELD

The naming of Bill Bowerman, track coach at the University of Oregon, as head coach of the U.S. track and field team which will compete in the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich follows closely on the announcement that Eugene will be the site of the U.S. Olympic track and field trials next summer. The latter choice is the result of a bid by the Oregon Track Club.

While this two-pronged recognition of Bowerman and of the university city is a great honor, it is surprising only in the sense that Bowerman has often been at odds with the national AAU organization, which in the past has dominated the U.S. Olympic Committee.

There has never been any question that Bowerman is a man of towering stature in the world of track and field.

This is measured by any number of criteria, including the world class performers he has developed, the foreign athletes who come to the university because they want to train under Bowerman, his influence in other countries, the national championships the university has won or shared under his tutelage (four) and the fact that the university is nearly always a contender in national competition.

The fact that Eugene, under Bowerman, has become a sort of capital of track and field has sparked renewed interest in the sport throughout the state, extending to the high schools.

The nation at large, in fact the world, is experiencing a boom in track and field. Just one of the signs was the first head-to-head competition last summer at Durham, N.C., between Pan-African and U.S. teams. American coaches, through the Peace Corps, have been working with African countries in the development of Olympic performers.

Bowerman's place in the world revival of track and field is secure. The honors which have just come to him and Eugene only add to the luster that was already there.

[From the Oregonian, Oct. 24, 1971]

USOC RECOGNIZES BOWERMAN SERVICE

(By Leo Davis)

Modesty forbids Oregon's Bill Bowerman a review of credentials, but friends will point out his selection as coach of the 1972 United States Olympic track and field team was hardly pork barrel politics.

To know Bill Bowerman is not necessarily to love him. His contributions to the sport have not gone unnoticed but it has taken these many years for his colleagues to acclimatize to an unbending credo; to the charms of truth and purpose.

Smoke-filled rooms and snake oil are not Bowerman's style. He comes on in Hush Puppies and sweat shirts and his campaign—if that's the word—took momentum from four NCAA team titles and 23 individual gold medal winners; from unceasing pursuit of excellence.

Took strength from his record of achievement as coordinator o fthe U.S. high altitude testing and training program in 1968 at Lake Tahoe.

And it was enough and about time.

Bowerman has never made a secret of his Olympic ambitions. Insisted only the choice be free of compromise. Nor does he disguise his elation over the USOC's decision. It's the crowning touch to a long and distinguished career.

But truth will out and Bill's celebration is tempered by what lies ahead. "Remember," he said, "I was at Tahoe and I know the problems. I don't think there's much from a coaching standpoint that I haven't encountered and can't handle. But I know from experience there are other problems—very trying ones that will call for everything I can deliver."

MORE CONFIDANTE THAN COACH

Theory limits Bowerman's function to coaching. But practice proves he will be involved in administration, in logistics. And that's an overwhelming job. Like catering a small war.

Even in official capacity Bowerman may be more confidante than coach.

"In the past three Olympics our teams have gone from 90 per cent collegian to 90 per cent post-collegian," he explained. "And like our undergraduates these great athletes have kept a log on their development. They know the principles of their events.

"They may recognize a need and ask for help—the kind we can provide with sequence cameras and playback machines. They may want somebody to watch a particular phase of technique and comment.

"But we (staff) will function more as a helper than a teacher."

Stan Wright, who coached sprinters in 1968 and was runnerup for the 1972 appointment, will serve as one of four assistants. The others are Bill McClure, Abilene Christian; Ted Hayden, University of Chicago and Hoover Wright of Prairie View.

In addition, Bowerman can pick the brains of a managerial staff that includes George Wilson of the Armed Forces special services division; Bill Exum of Western Kentucky, Duke University's Al Buehler, Roy Griak of Minnesota and Alex McDonald, Long Island, whom Bill calls "the best walking coach in the country."

It's highly unlikely there'll be questions that group can't answer.

"We think it's a good staff," Bowerman said, "and we think it will be a good team.

"And it had better be good," he added softly. "All you have to do is look at the results of the European championships to know the United States has its work cut out."

USOC ALTERS TRIALS FORMAT

Whether in deference to that threat or in answer to its critics, the USOC changed its format for the trials in Eugene. Instead of limiting each event to 18 qualifiers, the trials will be open to any man who has met the Olympic standards.

"We are going to ask Track & Field News to act as a clearinghouse for applications," Bowerman explained. "They will make available a list of men who have met the standards and in the event there aren't enough—say we need 24 and they have 15—we'll ask for names of the next best nine to fill our quotas."

The trials will be staged on a split weekend basis—Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday—with a break between.

"Our criteria is to match the individual with his competitive situation at Munich," Bill said. "Take the 10,000 meters for example, it's the first of the long races. We'll have a preliminary on Thursday and the final on Sunday. And the man who can't run two races in four days will be in trouble—just as he would be in Munich."

Even in Eugene which has a great track record, the trials are an ambitious undertaking. But Bowerman considers the sponsoring Oregon Track Club and friends equal to the challenge.

"We won't have trouble getting help," he predicted. "In addition to our own competent officials there is an abundance of equally competent people all over the state.

"It isn't a matter of who will work. I can't imagine anybody who won't want to work an event of this stature."

COORDINATING THE DRUG FIGHT IN EAST HARLEM

HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, in perhaps no other area of New York City is the problem of drug abuse and narcotics addiction more serious than in East Harlem. It is an issue that ranks high on my own list of priorities and it has been the subject of continuing effort by the East Harlem Congressional Planning Council I established earlier this year.

I am proud to announce a Temporary Committee to Develop an Agenda for an East Harlem Meeting of Drug Abuse Agencies. This committee stems directly from the work of the congressional planning council and I am hopeful it will be just a first step toward the coordination of many community groups working in this field.

Great credit must be accorded the committee members, Jack Austin, Dave Hutson, Jewel Johnson, Luis Vega, and Tom Karp. I present for inclusion in the RECORD, some initial materials prepared by the committee, including a report on the initial meeting, the announcement of today's planning session, a tentative agenda, and a directory of drug abuse services in East Harlem:

TEMPORARY COMMITTEE TO DEVELOP AN AGENDA FOR EAST HARLEM MEETING OF DRUG ABUSE AGENCIES

To All Agency & Program Directors:

As you recall there was a meeting on Monday,. November 22, at the District Legislative Offices, 219 East 116th Street. One result of this meeting is the Temporary Committee, which met on December 1st. The following persons made up the committee:

Jack Austin, REVIVE.

Dave Hutson, N.Y. Medical College.

Jewel Johnson, East Harlem S.P.A.N.

Luis Vega, E.H. Youth Services Center.

Tom Karp, Mt. Sinai Adolescent Program.

The committee worked with many of the ideas brought up at the November 22 meeting, and has outlined an Agenda which we feel include the kinds of issues that all our agencies might consider organizing around. We have also selected a date for our next meeting, which we hope will be attended by Directors or representatives of ALL programs. Due to the fact that we are not yet an organization, we felt that there should be no specific speakers or "guests", but that all participants would contribute to the development of common concerns and goal.

Next meeting: Wednesday, December 15, 1971, 2:00 P.M. District Leglislative Offices, 219 East 116th Street. Tel. 831-9286.

For further information or details, please contact: Jack Austin, Director, REVIVE, 1982 Third Avenue (cor. 109th St.), New York, New York 10029. Tel. 860-3262.

AGENDA

Part I—Possible Activities—Goals of a Coalition.

(A) Program Issues:

1. Identify additional program services needed in the community, such as vocational services; and possible new proposals.

2. Improve the functional coordination of services among programs for more systematic care. Possible development of a Central Referral system.

3. Development of technical assistance and cooperation among programs.

4. Development of Real Estate information, available space, and resources; get priority access to unused City buildings.

(B)—The Funding Situation:

1. What are the problems?

2. What are the alternatives, and other resources?

3. How can we utilize political support?

(C)—Directories of East Harlem Drug Abuse Services:

1. Copies of a brief Directory will be distributed at meeting.

2. Another directory should be developed, that will provide a description of services of each program. Please *bring* a description of your program.

Part II—What roles can we define for Political Leaders in a community-wide organization.

A. Possible special, emergency message to State Legislature.

B. Possible Press Conference with Political Leaders.

Part III—Development of a Coalition:

A. "Statement of Purpose."

B. Some type of on-going structure.

DIRECTORY OF DRUG ABUSE SERVICES IN EAST HARLEM

(Compiled by REVIVE, December 1, 1971)

Addiction Research & Treatment Corp., Multi-Modality Treatment: *Proposed.* Sponsor: N.I.M.H., 937 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11238. Tel. 636-1228 or 636-1000. Program Dir.: Dr. Beny J. Primm. Staff: Al MacQueen, Frank Graves.

Children's Aid Society, Drug Abuse Prevention, East Harlem Center, 130 East 101st Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 348-2343. Exec. Dir. Ray Sanchez. Prog. Dir. Sue Cohen.

Corps Outreach Program, Sponsor: Salvation Army, 1991 Lexington Ave. (at E. 121 St.), New York, N.Y. 10035. Tel. 427-7083. Director: Rev. Joe Gagos. Asst. Dir. Jerry Kaufman.

East End Welfare Center, NYC-D.O.S.S., 312 East 94th Street, New York, N.Y. 10028. Tel. 360-8637 or 360-8356. Contact: Julius Stancher, Barbara Sirkin.

East Harlem Health Center, N.Y.C. Dept. of Health, 158 East 115th Street, Rm. 209, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 876-0300 or 876-0622. District Health Officer: Dr. Anthony Mustalish.

Addiction Services Agency, N.Y.C., c/o Harlem Y.M.C.A., 180 West 135th Street, Rm. 212, New York, N.Y. 10031. Tel. 690-2902, 03. North Manhattan District, Mr. Robert Taylor, District Director. Annie Laurie Chestnut, East Harlem Liaison.

Children's Aid Society, Drug Abuse Prevention, Rheinlander Center, 356 East 88th Street, New York, N.Y. 10028. Tel. 876-0500. Director; Margaret Leahy.

Crossroads Center, Drug Abuse Prevention, 230 East 105th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 427-0700. Director: Rev. Robert Santilli.

East Harlem Community Corporation, 105 East 106th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 427-0500. Prog. Dir.: Robert DeLeon.

E. H. Community Relations Center, 217 East 106th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 831-2800. Director: Elsie (Jackson) Gil de Rubio.

East Harlem Health Council, Inc., c/o E.H. Community Relations Center, 217 East 106th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 831-2800. Chairlady: Ruth Atkins

East Harlem S.P.A.N. Community Orientation Center, 1 East 131st Street, New York, N.Y. 10037. Tel. 234-4143. Dir. Willie Horton, Jewel Johnson.

E.S.P.A.D.A., 217 East 115th Street, Sponsor: E. H. Youth Employment Service, 2037 Third Ave. (nr. 112 St.), New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 876-2687 or 348-5626. Director: Selvio Morales.

Franklin Welfare Center, N.Y.C.—D.O.S.S., 309 East 108th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 369-3500. Contact: Mr. Bernard Brecher.

H.A.V.E.N., Inc, 222 East 116th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel 534-1970. Director: Dr. Robert Baird.

East Harlem Protestant Parish, Interfaith City-Wide Coordination Comm., 2050 Second Ave. (nr. 106 St.), New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 427-1500. Staff: Rev. Norman Eddy, Lydia Lopez.

East Harlem Youth Services Center, Contract: A.S.A. & Y.S.A., 2303 Second Ave. (nr. 118 St.), New York, N.Y. 10035. Tel. EN9-8185. Dir. Lino Acevedo. Asst. Dir. Luis Vega.

Exodus House, Inc., 304 East 103rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 876-8775. Director: Lynn Hageman.

Harlem Hospital & Beth Israel Med. Ctr., Methadone Maintenance Program. A) Outpatient Dept. No. 2, 110 East 125th Street, New York, N.Y. 10035. Tel. 427-5800. Director: James L. Thomas. B) Holding Clinic, 173 East 125th Street, New York, N.Y. 10035. Tel. 876-5544.

Hospital for Joint Diseases & Med. Ctr., Methadone Detox Clinic, 1919 Madison Ave. (nr. 123 St.) Rm. 311-A, New York, N.Y. 10035. Tel. 876-7000. Director: Dr. Stanley Reichman—ext. 512, James Lewis—348-9810, Manny Alvarez.

Hot Line—Telephone Asst. for Drug Abusers, c/o Union Settlement, 237 East 104th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 831-7050. Director: Ralph Flores.

James Weldon Johnson Community Ctr. Inc., 2205 First Ave. (nr. 113 St.), New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel 876-8800. Exec. Dir. Rafael Ferrer.

Mt. Sinai Hospital, Adolescent Drug Abuse Program, 19 East 101st Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 876-1000, ext. 6488. Director: Joan E. Morgenthau, MD, Staff: Klaus Kracht, Admin., Henry Berman, MD. Community Liaison: Tom Karp, Renae Stalmaker, RN, Pat Pekrol, RN.

Mt. Sinai Hospital, Methadone Maintenance Clinic, 11 East 100th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 876-2466 or 876-1165. Director: Dr. Hillel Tobias, Dr. Barry Stimmel, Carol Engel, Clinic Coord., Sy Dempsey, Admin.

New York Medical College—Amb. Detox, Div. of Community Mental Health, Dept. of Psych., 5 East 102nd Street—8th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 369-7900. Director: Dr. Richard Brotman, Harrison Lightfoot, Dave Hutson.

I am Free—No Dope for Me, Adolescent Program, 1896 Third Avenue (105 St.), New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 876-4740. Chairman: Morris Wittenberg.

Metropolitan Hospital, Methadone Maintenance & Detox Clinic, 1901 First Ave. (at 97 St.) 15th Fl., New York, N.Y. 10029. Rm. 15B10 Tel. 360-6262, ext. 6769. Director: Max Fink, MD, Miss Greene, RN.

Mt. Sinai Hospital, Methadone Maintenance Clinic, Social Services Center, 1407 Madison Ave. (bet. 97-98 Sts.), New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 289-8701. Director: Carie Silverstein, Bob Carr, Miss Tota.

N.Y.C. Methadone Maintenance—*proposed*, Health Services Administration, NYC, 377 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Tel. 966-6312. Director: Robert G. Newman, MD. Staff: Stewart Steiner.

N.Y.S. Narcotic Addiction Control Comm., Community Narcotic Education Center #2, 2127 Third Ave. (nr. 116 St.), New York, N.Y. 10035. Tel. 427-6868. Staff: Carlos Sotomayor, Felix Ortiz, Oscar Rivera.

Operation Survival—Addiction Service Center, Jefferson Sub—Community of MEND, 210 East 115th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 348-4033. Director: Johnnie Bobbitt.

Phoenix House, Therapeutic Community, 205 East 116th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 348-4961. Director: Ray Colon. Staff: Stan Hughes, Allan Freilich.

REVIVE, Sponsor: James Weldon Johnson C.C., 1982 Third Ave. (cor. 109 St.), New York, N.Y. 20019. Tel. 860-3262. Prog. Dir. Jack Austin. Asst. Dir. Sam Jenkins. Exec. Dir. Rafael Ferrer—876-8800.

Metropolitan Community United Methodist Church, Drug Abuse Prevention, Corner Madison Avenue & 126th Street, New York, N.Y. 10035. Tel. AT9-6157 or AT9-6162. Director: Harold Ford, Rev. William M. James.

Our Lady Queen of Angels, Catholic Charities Drug Abuse Program, 226 East 113th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 534-6218. Director: Rev. Raymond Hand, Rev. Eugene Solen.

Phoenix Induction Center, 209 East 116th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 860-3127. Director: Patricia Matlin, David Rolan.

S.C.A.N.T., Bd. of Education—District #4, 1735 Madison Ave. (nr. 114 St.), New York, N.Y. 10029. Tel. 348-3223 or 348-6443. Director: Gil Hodges. Staff: Nat Wright, Ray Negron.

AVENUES TO BETTER SENIOR YEARS

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, recently over 3,000 delegates representing every jurisdiction in the country came to Washington to attend the second White House Conference on Aging. The Conference was created by the President to define a national policy on aging and its planning took nearly : years. At the Conference, State representatives met in various groups to discuss the problems faced by 20 million elderly Americans and on December 2, they offered to the Nation guidelines for legislation to improve the lives of older Americans. These guidelines sum up the goals of every older person—a decent income, access to quality medical care, suitable housing, employment opportunities and the chance to live dignified and comfortable lives. In essence, the aged individuals in this Nation are asking for self-respect and independence. We in the Congress are in a position to help the elderly reach these goals in a way that will promote indpendence and self-respect.

Mr. Speaker, I am greatly disturbed at our accomplishments in this area thus far. We, I believe, must reexamine our past actions. We promised lavish cure-all programs administered and funded by the Federal Government; programs which seemingly erase problems of the elderly, but in reality cause little or no change.

The programs to which I am referring were enacted during the 1960's after the first White House Conference on Aging. I would like to ask how many elderly people have actually benefited from these programs. Relatively few, I am sure. For example, the Older Americans Act passed in 1965 had grand ideas. Each of its 10 objectives mapped out ways for us to improve the life styles of elderly persons. In reality, however, the act lacked muscle and it has not changed the lives of older people significantly. More important, though, it raised false hopes among the elderly by promising more than it could realistically provide. If funds allocated for all of the categorical and overlapping social programs were given to States and local communities without earmarking, the money might be used in a way that would achieve the promises held out by the act. After all, it is at the grassroots level, not the Federal level, where unique and particular needs of individuals and groups of individuals can be identified in the way that would best serve senior citizens.

When we look at the housing problems of older people we see that the Department of Housing and Urban Development was established in 1967 to help resolve the severe housing shortage in this country. Yet 4 years later a shortage not only remains but is becoming more critical, especially with regard to the elderly. Approximately 1.6 million elderly Americans live in substandard housing, housing that lacks even basic items as plumbing facilities. Also, thousands of other individuals in urban and rural areas live in housing that is steadily deteriorating to the point where it will soon be uninhabitable unless rehabilitation efforts are undertaken.

Public housing is not the answer for these people. No self-respecting individual enjoys residing in quarters where he feels indebted to the Government and deprived of personal freedom. The bureaucratic machinery that seems necessary in public housings involves maintaining records, registering applicants and determining eligibility in a way that is a continual threat to ones privacy and dignity. Federal programs such as this one—as well as other government subsidy programs—are not necessarily helping the elderly live more decently. A better answer would be to allow older people to keep more of the income they now pay in taxes. In this way, some who could not otherwise afford their own homes or decent rental units might be able to do so; homeowners or renters who are 65 and over might be allowed additional tax credits; perhaps State and local jurisdictions could be encouraged to offer special tax deductions, credits or rebates. On the Federal level, we should seriously consider allowing property tax credits or credits on rental units against the Federal income tax.

In this connection we should note between 1965 and 1970 the cost of buying and maintaining a new home in America increased by nearly 80 percent while the median income of elderly Americans rose only 40 percent, and rents have skyrocketed. As a result elderly people have no choice but to remain in homes or apartments that are often too big, inconveniently located and not suitable for present needs.

Unemployment and underemployment are serious problems among older people. As of October 1971, 3 million people 65 and over—that is only 27 percent of the men and 10 percent of the women—were holding either full- or part-time jobs. More than 100,000 others were looking for work and it is estimated that nearly 300,000 to 500,000 additional older people would like to work but have found the problems so overwhelming that they have given up hope of finding it. Studies have shown that barriers exist when it comes to hiring or referring older workers to job opportunities. For example, many employers feel that the older individual is slower to learn and less apt than a younger person to take on long job or work training assignments. Ideas like this persist as "common knowledge" even though no study has documented them as having any truth.

We must educate the public so that they know the talents of older people, and rid our society of the myth that older people can not and do not want to work. In this way, we might open up new job opportunities for older people. This seems a far better approach than attempting to create Federal job programs. We know that the Federal employment programs created through legislation in the early and middle 1960's have not proven to be a successful way of getting additional jobs for older people. Only a relatively small percent of the Nation's training and retraining efforts, and job placement endeavors were focused upon persons 65 and over. For example, during the year 1970 middle and older workers accounted for only 4 percent of all employees in manpower programs.

The National Council on Senior Citizens in a report to the Senate Special Committee on Aging evaluated a Federal work program for senior citizens called Senior Aides. They concluded that more people could have been served through this program if the Federal Government had been more efficient. Bureaucratic redtape such as untimely and irrelevant reporting forms that had to be completed for the Department of Labor impaired direct service to individuals in the program. The report also attributed in efficiency to the vacillation of both the Labor Department and the Congress in maintaining an adequate balance in financing and in supporting realistic priorities. I feel this report clearly illustrates how the Federal level is failing to meet either the short- or long-run needs of older people. Instead, we have created unnecessary programs and wasteful spending. Employment problems must be resolved at the level where elderly people live and where employers have the resources for hiring and training workers. The Federal Government's role should be limited to providing incentives for private industry to create jobs that would employ more older people.

Part of the problem in employing the elderly dates back to 1935 when the Social Security Act arbitrarily set the age of 65 as the age at which retirement benefits would be paid under the social security program. During the years following many industries established a mandatory retirement age without taking into account the fact that many people at the age of 65 are more capable of employment and more willing to work than some younger individuals. Moreover, people in their middle years are going into retirement due to their skills being made obsolete by modern technology.

The White House Conference on Aging adopted a resolution stating that:

> Chronological age should not be the sole criterion for retirement. A flexible policy should be adopted based upon the worker's desires and needs and upon his physical and mental capacity—Employers should be encouraged to adopt flexible policies, such as gradual or trial retirement.

We must make this issue a priority matter on our agenda. We cannot let this resolution enter the pages of history as mere rhetoric. The lives of millions of people will become more meaningful when they know something is being done to open avenues to a variety of new job opportunities.

Government activity with regard to medical and health care has not only pushed up demand for nonexistent medical care but has pushed up the cost of the scarce, available care. Since the creation of medicare and medicaid we have seen rapidly rising medical costs. These programs have been justly criticized as being too costly, subject to widespread abuse, and poorly administered. Older Americans are dissatisfied with the limited coverage and the mounting personal expenditures required under the program. Medicare now meets only 40 percent of their health care costs.

Furthermore, personal costs will increase as long as health care fees continue to increase. Since 1960, medical costs have gone up twice as fast as the cost of living and hospital costs have risen five times as fast. Approximately 60 percent of the increase in total medical expenditures during this period can be attributed to inflation—not to additional or better health care services.

If the Congress wants to meet its responsibility in providing medical and other health care services for the aged, we must initiate incentives for physicians and hospitals to reduce their costs. We must also help create new health care services which are efficient and effective but not as costly as the alternatives currently available. For example, outpatient care, home-health care, home-nursing care and supportive social services are realistic alternatives to costly hospital stays. We also need the kinds of services that can prevent a minor ailment from becoming a serious chronic illness.

I realize that there are no easy solutions to prevailing health care problems. But we must rely more heavily on community participation, not Federal participation, in planning for and providing new and innovative health care services. In addition, we must always stress the need for a health care delivery system that will provide optimum performance on the part of the professionals and paraprofessionals working in the field. Our country is wealthy enough to provide the necessary health care facilities, equipment, and manpower so that every American can be assured competent medical treatment. This goal can be met if we use our hearts and our heads in passing legislation.

The most fundamental problem facing most elderly in this Nation is that of an inadequate income. Without facing this grave problem head-on any effort to assist the elderly will be futile. Moreover, our solution must eliminate those existing programs which do little more than make recipients feel like wards of the State; the demeaning charities which dehumanize and demoralize older people who have worked hard and been self-supporting all of their lives

I believe it is time we come to grips with the problems resulting from inequities in the retirement workers program under the Social Security Act. This program was originally intended to supplement one's income in the event of retirement or disability, not to provide total income. Yet the majority of people on social security must rely on it as their major source of income. As of 1967, more than 60 percent of the aged couples and approximately 75 percent of aged unmarried persons depended upon it for their sole income. As I see it, this pattern will continue unless we take immediate steps to reexamine our present goals.

I am not advocating elimination of the social security system. But I do feel it is heading toward self-destruction due to the shortsightedness of many people. We cannot continue to ask young workers to pay increasingly more to the program when they have current urgent needs that must be met. Employers are also beginning to feel burdened by increased payroll taxes. We must determine when the social security system begins to have diminishing returns and when our economy starts to deteriorate as a result of expanding this program. We must evaluate the real purpose of the Social Security Act with respect to supplementing retirement incomes, and act accordingly. We are a Nation of all age groups and we must not weaken some individuals while failing to help others.

If we are seriously wanting to help those in retirement and at the same time benefit those not yet at this stage in their lives, we must depend more on private pension plans, private insurance, and private savings. These resources can adequately provide economic security in later years, provided we do not increase social security taxes to the point that employees and their employers have no money left to put aside for these purposes.

Two basic changes in the social security program are needed—the retirement test must be eliminated and people over 65 should not be required to pay social security taxes on their earnings.

Under the retirement test, social security beneficiaries are taxed at a rate of 50 cents on the dollar for any earnings between $1,680 and $2,880 a year and at a rate of $1 for each dollar above $2,880 a year up to a point where they get no social security benefits. Moreover, they have to pay an additional social security tax of 5.4 percent on all their earnings up to $7,800 a year—$9,000 starting in January. The unfairness of these provisions is obvious. When we recognize that lack of an adequate income is the major problem facing older people, how is it possible to justify taxes at these prohibitive rates? With tax rates like these, only the wealthy can afford to work. They are just more than the average man or the poor man can afford to pay.

Mr. Speaker, in closing I would again like to emphasize that the Federal Government must begin taking new directions in its efforts to provide more housing, job opportunities, medical services, and an improved standard of living for the Nation's elderly. We must maximize our capabilities by turning more to private programs, voluntary organizations, and State and local government agencies. We can no longer embellish the Federal bureaucratic machinery in the disguise of assisting older Americans.

Let us carefully examine the recommendations of the White House Conference on Aging in this light and we will be making a big start in providing a better world for the Nation's senior citizens.

SECRETARY STANS TRIP TO SOVIET UNION OPENS NEW VISTAS FOR TRADE AND GOODWILL

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans has just returned from a highly successful 17 day trip to the Soviet Union, Poland, and Sweden where he explored the possibility of increased trade and business contacts. Judging from the news reports of his trip and from his press conference of December 9, the door appears to be opening for significantly expanded East-West trade and business contacts in Eastern Europe.

The Secretary is to be commended for his very fine diplomatic-business mission. His efforts may well be the start of a substantial building of bridges between the United States and the Soviet Union, a further relaxation of the Iron Curtain, increased involvement of the Soviet Union and its peoples in the mainstream of European-American involvement, and increased American exports. Peace should be the proximate result of communication and trade.

At present U.S.-U.S.S.R. trade totals about $170 million a year. As Secretary Stans and Chairman Kosygin noted "that's no trade at all" between the world's two major superpowers. Cracks in the trade barriers are beginning to appear. A grain sale has just been worked out in which the United States will sell between $135 million and $190 million in corn supplies to the Soviets. Secretary Stans' press conference of yesterday was matched by a press conference of the Soviet Minister of Agriculture, Vladimir Y. Matskevich, who is now visiting this country on a trade mission. The Minister said, among other things, that the purchase of grain could continue for a long time—5 to 10 years—thus helping alleviate our bumper corn harvests. In addition, he said his nation was interested in buying our farm machinery and purchasing licenses to manufacture equipment in the Soviet Union.

There are some, of course, who will argue that we should not trade with the Soviets because they are using trade to gain "strategic materials." This argument does not apply to the vast number of items which the Soviets are interested in trading in. As Secretary Stans said:

> We put ourselves in a rather ridiculous position if we refuse to sell to the Soviet Union items of equipment which they can buy in Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland or Britain.

I wish Secretary Stans continued good success in his efforts to increase trade cooperation between all nations.

I would like to enter in the RECORD at this point an article from the Evening Star of December 9, 1971, describing the Secretary's press conference.

The article follows:

STANS HOPEFUL RUSSIAN TRADE WILL MOUNT INTO THE BILLIONS

Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans today said he is "very hopeful" that the present small volume of trade between the United States and the Soviet Union can be expanded to billions of dollars a year.

Just returned from a 17-day trip to Russia, Poland and Sweden, Stans emphasized, however, that he made it clear to Soviet leaders that continued improvements of political relations is necessary for two-way trade to grow.

At present U.S.-Soviet trade totals about $170 million annually. "As Chairman Kosygin said, that's no trade at all," Stans says.

The Commerce secretary while declining to name a specific target, said he thought U.S.-Soviet trade could total billions of dollars a year if political differences are problems facing businessmen are worked out.

"But, believe me, it's at a very preliminary stage," he said.

Stans rejected the idea that increased trade with the Soviet Union might contribute to Russia's warmaking capability.

"We put ourselves in a rather ridiculous position if we refuse to sell to the Soviet Union items of equipment which they can buy in Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland or Britain," Stans said.

The secretary, who consulted with Premier Alexei Kosygin and many other Russian leaders during his trip, cited natural gas as one of many raw materials that the Soviet Union could export to the United States in exchange for U.S. technology and goods.

As the Russians see things, he said, American business interests would help develop gas fields, build a pipeline to a port and provide the ships to take the gas to the United States in liquid form.

This would cost billions of dollars, Stans said, but he noted that the Soviet Union appeared prepared to deliver $1 billion worth of natural gas per year for many years under such an arrangement.

Asked about an outstanding World War II lend-lease debt owed the United States by Russia, Stans indicated this was one of the things that would have to be settled as part of increasing trade relations.

When negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union were broken off ten years ago, the Russians were offering a $300 million settlement while the United States was asking $800 million, Stans noted.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE KOREAN-AMERICAN POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House the recent formation of a new minority organization—the Korean-American Political Association. I am sure that this new organization will be a credit to the culture and nation that is their historic origin.

Mr. Speaker, I was accorded the distinct honor of being a guest speaker at the first annual meeting of KAPA and I would like at this time to insert into the RECORD the remarks made on that occasion. I am confident that my colleagues will come to share with me my conviction that this little-publicized minority group can and will, given the opportunities, make many valuable contributions to our society:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE RICHARD T. HANNA BEFORE THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE KOREAN-AMERICAN POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

Mr. President, Officers of KAPA, Judge Kennedy, honorable clergy, members of KAPA, and ladies and gentlemen.

It is a very great pleasure for me to come here on this occasion and speak to you. I count it a distinct privilege to have been invited to speak at the first annual meeting of the new national minorities organization, the Korean-American Political Association.

I especially want to commend this organization in several regards—first of all, for your selection of Sang Ik Choi as your President. Over the term of our short acquaintance, I have been impressed with his outstanding character. He is committed to the ideals we all admire. His commitment is reflected in the presence of the young people in the hall today. I am sure that they can speak volumes in expression of the qualities that Mr. Choi exemplifies to them.

I would also like to commend you for the place which you have chosen to start this organization. I like to think that the wind that moves the morning mist on the land of Korea also pushes the fog over the foothills of the coast of California, that the water that laps the shores of Pusan and Alson also crashes across the rocks of the bay of San Francisco and moves on the sands of Los Angeles. Those waters stand not as a barrier that separates our lands but rather as a token of common commerce and communication between the two nations.

Finally, I want to commend the purpose for which KAPA was formed. I am confident that this group will not only serve as an effective vehicle for the expression of the views of the Korean-Americans, but will also enhance the contribution that the Korean Americans are making to American society as a whole.

I like to think of America in terms of its history in music, for I am very fond of music and that is the thing that makes me part Korean. America is a land of great music. Think with me if you will of the music that has moved America. Try to recall in your mind's eye that classic picture of the group of marching patriots in the first cause of freedom in this land. It was the fife and the drum they marched to—two instruments. A brave sound, indeed, and one that moved the feet of courageous people. But since that time the music of America has broadened in scope. As we have added other instruments to the fife and drum, so have we added to the predominantly Anglo-Saxon populace a wide and rich diversity of peoples from every part of the globe.

We have moved on to a greater orchestration and in so doing have created a music that makes the beautiful harmony which is the essence of America. When one thinks of the so-called hyphenated Americans—the Mexican-American, the Filipino-American, the Korean-American—one should look upon each as adding richer orchestration for a deeper and more meaningful harmony that results from the merging of many different instruments working in concert on a common theme. This new organization you have founded here today can bring something new to the music of the American political scene, the music to which the feet of politicians like myself respond.

Your contribution can be in two places—in the domestic situation and in the international situation—and to each case in a special way. Because you are Korean-Americans and you have a responsibility to a particular segment in this heterogeneity that is America, you must try to summon up what is the best of your people's contribution. Just as your President has said, if you are going to ask for a special consideration, you must make a special contribution and this you must do by showing the rest of America what it is that the Koreans have to contribute. You can request of the political leaders those considerations that you think are special as a request of the Korean-Americans. The wedding of the two cultures makes a reasonable situation in terms of what your organization can do in making democracy more meaningful for a particular segment of people.

We are a great land, we are a large land, and it is true in such a situation that one person finds it hard to get his unique needs served. That is why we need great organizations which can act as a vehicle to communicate these individual requests and needs. I certainly hope that, as a part of our domestic political life, KAPA will be able to perform in both instances and act as a vehicle for bringing the contributions of the Korean-Americans to the country and as a vehicle for requesting of the country legitimate considerations for the needs of your people.

There is also a very special way in which you can serve the international interests of our country. I know that of every land which has a representative in our country, much can be said of their history, culture, and background, but we are talking about Koreans and Korea. I am sorry that Mr. Gonzales is not here because he is worried that the Koreans might be lost somewhere in the assimilation process, knowing the history of Korea, the thousands of years during which Koreans were under the suppression and control of peoples outside their own land. During this period, however, Koreans continually demonstrated a highly developed national integrity. They are the Jews of the Orient. They were put under bonds of all kinds; they have been put down, but they always rise up.

They are also the Greeks of the Orient. It is easy to see for those who care to see that the influence of Korea is strong on those other lands. If you don't think so, you should read the history of Japan. I don't think the Japanese care to look at this every hour of every day, but the language of Japan has its roots in Korea, as does much of the art and industry of Japan. Even the great and omnipotent Chinese borrow much from the land that is Korea. Many of the institutions which they refined had their roots in Korea.

There are many reasons for which I am proud to associate with an organization that can remind us of this history and make the same contribution in this modern time. Because the Koreans are still Koreans. In today's world, they are now free to make the kind of progress that has always been incipiently there, and so this should be a great era for Korea.

Now we are launched into a period of time in which our whole international situation is in transition. We have cut ourselves loose from the traditional policies of the past and we have not yet created a visible policy of the future. We are in a transition process and, in the process, organizations like this can readily make a meaningful contribution. I come to you fresh from the wars in the House of Representatives in which we have seen the dessimation of the foreign aid policy that had so long endured. I know whereof I speak, that there has to be a new day coming. During the transition period, foreign assistance will be decided upon case by case, country by country. There will have to be political muscle from each of these lands to make the case for that country. It would be unfortunate indeed if the U.S. does not understand the importance of Korea's role in Asian politics. I say this because, as Mr. Nixon goes to China, I hope he will have in mind the importance of the geography of politics in Asia and how through history Korea has been the power equation of the large units in the political adjustments and movements for various advantages. Korea plays a unique role in the geo-politics of Asia. She always has and always will. Each of the powers that are contending will look very jealously on what happens on the peninsula of Korea.

So, when Mr. Nixon sits down to talk with Chou En Lai, I think he should make clear that, in the Peninsula, America's interest is that Korea should be strong and independent. It must be made clear that America is not going to pull out or lessen its interest in Korea. Mr. Nixon must advise the Chinese, "Do not concern yourself that, in your anxieties over Russia, you must take the Penninsula to make sure that Russia does not have that advantage." We should also assure the Japanese that we are not going to let the Chineses move in and take over the penninsula. America will be there, not because we have any desire ourselves for aggrandizement or any geography, but because we understand and appreciate the balance of power and the significant place Korea plays in the maintenance of that balance. What we need now in the world is stability and the condition of Korea is essential to that stability.

There is one other thing that I think we need to look at for the near future.

We are moving out of an era when the policies of an international field were predicated upon politics, that is, when a large and dominating consideration was given to whether the government of the country was Communistic or was something called "Free." Instead, this is going to be an era of the dominance, not of politics, but economics. I trink that is why China is so worried about Japan, because, of all the power movements that one sees on the world scene, the economic power of the Japanese is the most significant movement, and certainly it is in Asia. It seems clear to me that one of the balancing things in the future of the economic era is that the U.S., with its technology, with its capital, wealth, and educational capacity, should work in a partnership with Korea so that there would be a base of balance in economics. With a partnership of the U.S. and Korea allowing the Japanese to move forward without being predominant, we can avoid a reaction of fear setting in, which, based on the history of the early '30's, could easily be expressed in violence. To avoid this, our two great peoples must work together to see that there is a balance of economics throughout the Asian world.

In order to bring this Korean-American partnership into reality, there must be a mutual confidence between the peoples of the two countries. In light of this requirement, many of my colleagues in the Congress have been concerned about President Park's recent statement to the Korean people about the possibility in the near future of a national emergency. As one Congressman, I read the message from President Park differently than some of my colleagues. When he called upon the citizens to take this strong stance that might mean giving up some of their freedom, there was instant reaction by some of my colleagues. They asked, "Is Korea going the same way as Thailand? Are they ready to run over to dictatorship, to single leadership, give up at once the processes of Democracy?" Well, I should say from what I've seen, and what I know, that this is not in President Park's message. Rather, what is in President Park's message is what was in our President's message to us on a different matter of a very great national concern. When President Nixon gave us his message on economics, he caused what we called Nixon-Shock. He said, "You're going to have to give up some of your economic freedoms. We are going to have to control price, wage, rents, dividends, and interests."

We have to do that because we have a single common enemy that is so large that it's going to take a special commitment to overcome it, and some freedoms must be temporarily foregone. Similarly, President Park said to his people that there is in Korea great and grave concern that is specifically a domestic concern, and that is security. In the changes that he sees taking place, there is a mounting concern in Korea. So he asked Koreans to consider giving up some of their personal concerns, liberties, under certain circumstances, so that as a country they can face up to certain problems that have existed since the Korean war. He has simply alerted the people, and what we see there is Park-Shock that matches the Nixon-Shock in trying to do what they can to get the people to respond to a national problem.

I think that Americans, having gone through our own experience, ought to be sympathetic to what the Koreans may be faced with in the near future.

In this future, your greatest role would be in education, and your secondary role can be as a vehicle to make Democracy more meaningful to your people. I hope that the organization will grow and achieve its purpose, and, as one member representing the United States of America, I welcome you as a new member to orchestra that is America.

I thank you.

TRADE POLICY RESEARCH CENTRE DIRECTOR HUGH CORBET WARNS AGAINST PROTECTIONISM, ASKS U.S. LEADERSHIP TO SECURE FREER TRADE

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Hugh Corbet, director of the London Trade Policy Research Centre, in a thoughtful article entitled "Global Challenge for Commercial Diplomacy," warns that GATT principles "now appear to be more honored in the breach than in the observance." Although Mr. Corbet's article, appearing in the October 1971 issue of Pacific Community, went to press before the temporary U.S. 10-percent surcharge was imposed on August 15, he has taken good measure of the protectionist forces in this country which led to this breach of GATT principles on our part.

As Mr. Corbet points out:

> In commercial diplomacy the world does not mark time. It is either moving forward or it is moving backward.

The United States, he suggests, should resist the protectionist virus, and take the initiative to secure meaningful negotiations for freer trade, lest the world move backward with increasing momentum. Now that international currency realinement is all but achieved, the time is ripe for this initiative accompanied by the removal of our import surcharge.

I include Mr. Corbet's article and commend it to my colleagues:

GLOBAL CHALLENGE FOR COMMERCIAL DIPLOMACY

(By Hugh Corbet)

The postwar system of international trade is falling into disarray. More assiduously than ever before, it is being suggested that the principles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the instrument by which the system has been governed, are in need of substantial revision. The April issue of *Pacific Community* carried an article by Nobutane Kiuchi on "Why GATT Should be Remodeled." Most expressions of discontent, however, come from influential quarters in the United States, among them the Senate Finance Committee and the Department of Commerce.[1]

It is not always obvious that the proponents of GATT reform are greatly interested in the achievement of an open world economy. Many pay lip-service to the principles of free trade and then proceed to argue a protectionist line.[2] In any case, if recent causes of discontent are carefully examined, it becomes apparent that GATT principles do not need to be reformed as much as they need to be reasserted. For those principles now appear to be more honoured in the breach than in the observance. What has been happening?

II

Since the conclusion of the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations, in the middle of 1967, there has been a steady and grave deterioration in international trade relations. Among the factors in this state of affairs has been the growing impact of the mercantilist farm policies of the European Community on world trade in temperate-zone agricultural products. There has also been an increasing awareness in the United States of the government aids to industry that are widely employed in many West European countries. The proliferation of the Common Market's preferential trade agreements with certain Mediterranean and African countries has been another subject of complaint.

Yet another factor has been the failure of the developed countries to agree on a simple system of generalized tariff preferences for developing countries. Perhaps the most dramatic issue has related to the difficult negotiations between the United States and Japan on trade in non-cotton textiles. Many of these problems have been exacerbated by the prospective enlargement of the European Community and the consequent extension of its discriminatory commercial arrangements.

The cumulative effect of these and other causes of concern has been the alarming hue and cry in the United States for import restrictions on a wide range of foreign products. Support on Washington's Capitol Hill for the Mills Bill, which seeks import quotas on textiles and shoes and contains a "basket clause" that would permit restrictions on literally hundreds of other items, subject to White House discretion, was so great towards the end of the 1969–70 session of Congress that several European capitals felt obliged to threaten retaliation. (The bill was reintroduced at the start of the new session.)

In the absence of any major new move to maintain the momentum of trade liberalization it was only to be expected that, among industrially advanced economies, the strong vested interests wanting special protection would be able to wrest the initiative from those other interests which have been responsible in the past for sustaining liberal trade policies. In commercial diplomacy the world does not mark time. It is either moving forward or it is moving backward. That is why a measure of enforcement is required to keep up the pressure for an open world economy.[3] Until the leading industrial nations give their support to further GATT negotiations there is accordingly bound to be continuing degeneracy in commercial relations with increasingly serious implications for the international trading system and for world trade in general.

With the expansion of international trade and capital flows the industrialized economies have been becoming more and more interdependent. Growing prosperity, though, has restored self-confidence and a sense of security to the countries of Western Europe, sufficient to encourage in them a tendency to pursue their interests with little regard for the interests of others. They have been inclined in recent years to take for granted the order in the world economy that—along security—was also restored in the 1950s and 1960s. As a result, the framework of the international trading system, which is to say the principles and rules of the GATT, has been badly weakened and a "credibility gap" is yawning wide open.

In marked contrast to the apparent attitude of some West European countries, two other groups of countries are beginning to expect more, not less, from the international trading system. With the restoration of some semblance of order in world economic affairs, following the disorders of the 1930s and

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1940s, they have begun to entertain hopes that a coordinated approach to their problems might at least be possible. The two groups overlap.

First, there are the exporters of temperate-zone agricultural products, some of which have been parties to the GATT from the outset, but have not benefitted greatly to date from its principles and rules. Then there are, secondly, the developing countries, which are not in a position to negotiate on a reciprocal basis with industrially advanced countries, but are looking to them for markets for their products.

In an international trading system dominated by industrially advanced economies which, over two hundred years, have generally come to accept the basic philosophy of free trade, the two groups would seem entitled to benefit from the laws of comparative advantage and the international division of labour. As the weakest in the multilateral bargaining process, yet obliged to export what they can in order to import the goods they are not industrially advanced enough to make themselves, the countries of the two groups are not likely to sympathize with Mr. Kiuchi's bland assertion that "liberalization in its true nature is a policy to be adopted for the benefit of the importing country and not for the sake of letting the other side enjoy more exports." [4]

Both developing and agricultural exporting countries have a strong interest in the maintenance of international order in the world economy. The position of one, Australia, was once succinctly put by Sir John McEwen, when still Deputy Prime Minister: "Our future," he said, "more than that of the large developed countries, depends on external trade and particularly trade in agricultural products. This is already the most difficult area [in international trade]. Australia's interest—and, we believe, the world's interest—is to try to ensure that trading blocs, where they exist, and countries outside such blocs, return to the principles and rules laid down in the GATT. Only by the rule of law," Sir John continued, "can small countries hope to receive a fair deal in world trade. Only by the observance of the rule of law can the big prevent or avoid disruption and the loss to themselves, as well as to others, of all the gains made since World War II in the field of international trade." [5]

The major trading nations have too great an interest in the present world economic order to allow the backward slide in international trade relations to go on ad infinitum. Sooner or later a new move forward will have to be embarked upon. The question is "when?"

In June of this year an important, indeed an essential, preliminary maneuver was accomplished at the ministerial meeting in Paris of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The ministers authorized the establishment of a high-level study group to make recommendations on the courses that should be taken to carry forward the liberalization of trade "on a non-discriminatory basis and under fair conditions of competition in both industrial and agricultural products." [6]

During the last four years there has been taking place in Washington, in spite of other pressing preoccupations, a comprehensive reappraisal of international economic policy. Other capitals, however, have been little disposed to devote concerted attention to the prospective needs of the world economy, being almost totally preoccupied by immediate domestic or regional questions. Although the OECD study group was formally proposed by Emile van Lennep, the secretary-general of the organization, the initiative represented an American attempt to induce the other leading industrialized countries, especially those in Western Europe, to focus on the fundamental problems confronting the international trading system.

III

Earlier, the initiation in the United States, towards the end of 1969, of a series of hearings and studies by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress and the establishment, soon after, of the Presidential Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy served *inter alia* to bolster resistance to the demands of protectionist forces. The two public enquiries encouraged the devotion of business, bureaucratic and instutional resources to devising new ways of promoting further trade liberaliaztion and of overcoming the accompanying social problems. After President Johnson's active opposition to Congressional calls for import quotas, a long period of inaction by President Nixon on the broad trade front, while pursuing an answer to the narrow question of controls on non-cotton textiles, had raised the fear that in the absence of a positive stepping forward there could be a slipping backward into restrictive practices. This fear, even now, should not be minimized. Nor should the danger on the monetary front.

Much of American protectionist sentiment has been fortified by foreign pressures on the United States to correct its balance-of-payments situation and thus restore confidence in the dollar. Apart from under-pinning the international monetary system, however, the United States also under-pins the international security system, in both the European-Atlantic and Asian-Pacific theatres. It has been plain for a number of years that, if the United States is to be expected to continue the latter, the rest of the free world may have to accept a continuing American payments problem.[7]

There have been two possibilities arising out of this predicament. In order to secure external balance the United States could either institute import restrictions at home or reduce military expenditure abroad. To date the preference has been to follow the second course. But it requires the assumption by Western Europe of a larger share of responsibility for its own security, which may not be forthcoming, and it requires as well the construction of a new security system for the Asian-Pacific theatre, which may prove too difficult. Implicit in the second course has been the necessity to press also for more openings in world markets for American exports.

Only recently has this clarification of the American position been finding expression in statements by senior members of the Nixon Administration.[8] Since the inception last January of the Council on International Economic Policy, having equal status with the National Security Council, and the appointment of Peter Peterson as Henry Kissinger's counterpart in the White House on the economic side of foreign policy, the United States has been adopting a "get tough" posture in its commercial and financial relations with Japan, the European Community and Canada. Suddenly international economic policy is a matter of priority.

For a time there was a tendency in Washington to suggest that since the 1930s the United States had taken every major initiative to liberalize world commerce and that it was time for others to make proposals.[9] Such attitudes are more a reflection of Congressional bellicosity than a rational assessment of the past. Other countries have sought on several occasions to launch imaginative trade initiatives. If the United States had responded favourably to the British wartime plan for an across-the-board reduction of tariffs according to an agreed time-schedule, or to a similar French plan a decade later, perhaps the problem today of reconciling American, British and other trading interests with those of the European Community would either not exist or would be more manageable.

The United States also had its own reasons for not supporting the British-inspired effort in the late 1950s to negotiate a European-wide free trade area. The United States had its own reasons, too, for allowing the European Community to flout GATT principles and establish preferential trade agreements with its associated overseas territories. Having helped to sell the pass, the United States is not in a strong position, although that clearly makes no difference, to complain about the subsequent spread of discriminatory commercial arrangements referred to at the outset of this essay.

It may seem churlish and even pointless to recall such footnotes from the pages of history. The point is that over the last thirty years, the outcome—whether good, bad or indifferent—of any particular situation in international trade has been determined, in the last resort, by the nature and degree of American interest. If Americans do not like what has been happening of late, it is their own policies, past and present, less so those of other countries, that ought to be engaging their critical attention.

The courses of events, insofar as they could be guided at all, have greatly depended in the postwar period on the attitude of the United States. It is true that a redistribution of power has been gathering momentum, partly occasioned by the development of the European Community and the rise of Japan as an economic force in the world, and there is widespread talk nowadays of a multipolarity of interests in international affairs. Even so, there appears to be no way of avoiding the conclusion that in economic, as in security, affairs the chief responsibility for the leadership of the West still lies with the United States.

Although the European Community is today the largest trading entity in the world, it remains comparatively impotent as far as external initiatives are concerned, while Britain's preoccupation with membership of the Community has rendered her impotent as well. If the Common Market is enlarged, the talents and energies of leaders are likely to be absorbed in assimilating the new members, in accommodating the neutral countries of Western Europe and in working towards an economic and monetary union. It is likely, too, that the decision-making process of the enlarged Community will become even more ponderous. There is thus little reason to suppose that "the new Europe" will be disposed to exercise much if any world leadership.[10]

What are the prospects of Japan playing a leadership role large enough to meet the needs of the world economy? The Japanese Government has acknowledged the need for fresh multilateral trade negotiations. But it has moved only very slowly in liberalizing its controls on imports and foreign investment. Maybe official caution can be justified in terms of domestic adjustment problems. This suggests though that Japan is not yet ready to move, of her own volition, either as far or as fast as other industrialized countries in the direction of free trade.

While it is evident, then, that the parameters of action in the field of international commerce will continue to be determined for a few more years at least by the United States, it is also evident that the next American trade initiative will have to be planned in close consultation with the European Community and Japan.[11] Other smaller countries, or groups of countries, could make the most of their capacity to influence the form it takes if they so desired. (It does not always seem to be appreciated that, with the world's growing economic interdependence, small and middle powers can increasingly do more in international economic affairs than they can, for instance, in affairs relating to international security.)

Footnotes at end of article.

IV

In international consultations on the next phase in the liberalization of world trade, and particularly in the OECD study group, the United States can be expected to register hostility towards the discriminatory trade agreements which the European Community is reaching with one Mediterranean country after another, about which other countries have also sounded notes of apprehension.[12] The trade impact of the agreements is minor. They are more worrisome because of the farce they are making of the GATT's principle of non-discrimination. The principle is embodied in Article 1 requiring most-favoured-nation (MFN) treatment to be accorded unconditionally among all contracting parties (signatory countries) except where, under conditions laid down in Article 24, a customs union or a free trade association is being formed.

In order to promote for politico-strategic reasons a European political union, the United States encouraged in the late 1950s the formation of the European Community, which conformed with Article 24, of the GATT. The United States was obliged to accept, because it also satisfied Article 24, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), which the United Kingdom negotiated with other members of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) who were not prepared to adhere to the Treaty of Rome with all it was then meant to imply.[13]

Americans were quite happy about the preferential trade agreements which, in the name of European unity, the Common Market negotiated in 1958 with eighteen ex-colonies of members of the European Community. They anyway supported the waiver of GATT rules that had to be obtained. The United States went along in the 1960s with the extension by the Community of its "association" agreements to four ex-colonies of a non-member. But it was not happy about the preferential trade agreements that the Common Market negotiated at the outset of the 1970s with a number of non-colonies around the Mediterranean, namely Spain, Israel and some North African countries, adding to those negotiated earlier with Greece and Turkey.[14]

Much of the European Community's "association" policy is difficult if not impossible to reconcile with the GATT and its political justification, the cause of European unity, has been wearing thin. The countries of the European Community are free to unite themselves as tightly as they wish, but they have shown few signs of really doing so, even for the proclaimed purpose of matching the United States in power and influence. The "European idea" is vigorously promoted by the Commission of the European Community and by the old guard of the European Movement. But as the Soviet threat to Western Europe has receded, and as the countries of Western Europe have recovered their wealth and position, there has been a noticeable decline of public interest in a supranational European union.[15] It is therefore understandable that serious doubts are being expressed abroad about the wisdom of planning in the expectation that Western Europe will unite.

The United States therefore appears to be even less happy about the prospect of the enlarged European Community of ten countries negotiating: (1) a series of free trade agreements with the EFTA neutrals—Austria, Finland, Sweden and Switzerland—and the non-applicants for full membership—Portugal and Iceland—thereby bringing about the single market in Western Europe that the OEEC sought in the late 1950s; and (2) a further round of "association" agreements designed to accommodate the Mediterranean, African and Caribbean members of the Commonwealth. The result could be a polarization of the world economy around the two major trading entities.

A possible division of the non-Communist world in this way, the development of a kind of economic "cold war" between the European Community and the United States, is alarming informed opinion in Washington and Brussels. There has consequently developed in the former capital—that is, in official American circles, including the Department of State—an inclination to accept the proposition that the only way to avoid such a situation is for the developed countries to enter into new negotiations aimed at eliminating substantially all industrial tariffs. In addition, it is commonly argued that, in order to provide as much scope as possible for agreement to be reached, non-tariff methods of protection and the expansion of agricultural trade should be tackled in the same negotiations. In fact, some go even further and argue that if the United States is to gain Congressional support for a worthwhile system of tariff preferences in favour of developing countries, the proposals should be put to the legislature as part of a broad trade strategy.

V

The lengthening list of the European Community's discriminatory trade agreements has been compelling Americans to reconsider their own continued adherence to the principle of non-discrimination. Indeed, at the start of the current series of Congressional hearings conducted by the Joint Economic Committee, Richard Cooper, who at the time was a consultant to President Nixon on foreign economic policy, included the issue among the five areas of policy that in his view require serious reexamination.

No longer is the principle of non-discrimination considered sacrosanct in American policy circles. There remains a reluctance to see it abandoned altogether. But emphasis is now being put on the principle of reciprocity. Ever since President Nixon's first foreign trade message to Congress on November 18, 1969, senior members of his Administration have been underlining the need for reciprocity in American trade ceilings. It is as a means of ensuring reciprocity that interest is being shown in "MFN on condition," as opposed to unconditional MFN.

All the same, although it is accepted that the United States may in the end have to fall back on "MFN on condition," most commercial policy specialists argue that Washington must attempt to promote the next major trade initiative on as broad a basis as possible. It might be further argued, however, that "MFN on condition" may prove to be, paradoxically, the most effective way of promoting an all-embracing trade initiative.[16]

If the United States and the other developed countries were to discard unconditional MFN, as set out in Article I of the GATT, the way would be opened to an uncontrolled outbreak of discriminatory arrangements—falling short of free trade—among small groups of countries all round the world. Much that has been achieved in six rounds of GATT negotiations would be undone and the achievement of an open world economy would suffer a severe setback. If, instead, the United States was to engage other developed countries in the negotiation of a worldwide free trade association, according to the conditions set out in Article 24, it would be possible to pursue "MFN on condition" under controlled circumstances without raising the question of dispensing with the general application of the principle of non-discrimination. And in this way, assuming European and Japanese willingness to take part in such a negotiation, the movement towards an open world economy could be reasserted.

The case for a free trade treaty among developed countries, as the framework within which might be pursued the next phase in liberalization of world trade, has been argued by Harry G. Johnson and the present writer in a previous article in this journal.[17] What the proposal would amount to is the formation of a multilateral free trade association, open to all developed countries, providing for (a) an across-the-board elimination of tariffs over an agreed transition period, (b) rules of competition for dealing with non-tariff barriers to trade, (c) non-reciprocal tariff preferences in favour of developing countries during the transition period and (d) commitments towards the expansion of commercial trade in agricultural products.[18]

Mention has been made already of the general agreement there appears to be among commercial policy specialists that future multilateral GATT negotiations, whatever form they take, must cover trade in temperate-zone agricultural products. Three points need to be stressed.

First, as the United States becomes more and more—according to employment statistics—a service economy, agricultural production is likely to assume greater importance *vis-a-vis* industrial production, particularly where foreign trade is concerned. Manufacturing capacity can be, and is being, shifted abroad in response to competition in the home market from lower-cost foreign suppliers. But it is not possible to respond in that way with land.[19]

The second point is a more immediate one. It relates to the farm lobby in Washington, which to date has been a pillar of the resistance to recent protectionist activities. The only other major organized interests that can be mobilized to counter the pressure for import controls have been the multinational corporations. No longer are the trade unions strong upholders of liberal trade policies now that they regard overseas investment by multinational corporations as "the export of jobs." As for the consumer interest, it is not yet organized, although there can be no telling what Ralph Nader and his supporters might eventually achieve. Thus in order to sustain an outward-looking commercial policy the United States Administration is under strong pressure to do something about the problems of trade in farm products.

Both the first and second point would be unaffected by a change in the political complexion of the government. The third point, however, is a party one. Traditionally "the farm states" vote Republican. But it was in those states that the Republicans lost ground in the mid-term elections of 1970. The Nixon Administration consequently has good electoral reasons for demonstrating an active interest in the expansion of commercial trade in agricultural produce. That interest, moreover, will have to carry conviction and the promise that effective action will be taken.

Farm organizations were bitterly disappointed over the meagre results on the agricultural side of the Kennedy Round negotiations, following the support they gave to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. They are not likely to give their support as easily again when new legislation is placed before Congress seeking fresh negotiating authority.

Until the Kennedy Round talks, the United States actively opposed the inclusion of agricultural products in GATT negotiations, and even then the Kennedy Administration apparently did not really believe that much could be achieved, in spite of the promise to Congress to make progress on the industrial side of the negotiations conditional on progress on the agricultural side.[20] But for the reasons listed above, and because of the re-

Footnotes at end of article.

forms in agricultural support policy that were carried out by the Johnson Administration, together with all the public attention that has been focused on the issues involved, a very different attitude now prevails in Washington's policy-making quarters. For the first time in the GATT's history, the United States is unmistakably on the same side as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Argentina and Denmark in wanting steps taken to enlarge the opportunities for trade in foodstuffs.

But it is not only generally agreed that the next major trade initiative will have to embrace agricultural trade. It is also generally agreed that if agricultural trade is to be expanded it will be necessary for national farm-support policies to be placed on the tables of international diplomacy. Given the socio-political problems entailed, there appears to exist a surprising measure of agreement among West European and North American agricultural specialists on the need to move towards support policies which focus on income-support rather than price-support and thereby minimize the distortion of international trade.[21]

It is perhaps a measure of Britain's obsession with the Common Market that she is moving away from her system of "deficiency payments," involving direct payments to supplement farm incomes, towards a system of "variable import levies," just as there are signs appearing which suggest that the Common Market countries could be induced to move from the latter position in the direction of the former. In France, for example, the Vedel Commission, set up by the Ministry of Agriculture, recommended in June, 1969, that the country's national farm-support programme (which is additional to the European Community's common agricultural policy) should be reformed with a view to reducing internal prices and introducing direct payments to low-income farmers.[22]

One of the strongest arguments, in current circumstances, for a free trade treaty among developed countries is that it offers a bold and ambitious counter to protectionist trends. The negotiation of such an undertaking, especially if it is to embrace agricultural trade, will present a global challenge for commercial diplomacy which, in an "era of negotiation," should fire imaginations and inspire the necessary political will to carry the liberalization of world trade a stage further.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See, for example, *Foreign Trade: A Survey of Current Issues in the Feld of Foreign Trade* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, for the Senate Finance Committee, United States Congress, 1971) and the address by Maurice Stans, as Secretary of Commerce, to the International Wool Textile Organization, Washington, May 31, 1971.

[2] It is difficult to avoid that conclusion from a close reading of the article referred to above by Nobutane Kiuchi, "Why GATT Should be Remodelled," *Pacific Community*, Tokyo, April, 1971.

[3] A major point in Mr. Kiuchi's article, cited earlier, is that pressure towards free trade should be taken out of the arrangements governing world trade.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 510.

[5] Ministerial statement to the House of Representatives, Canberra, August 20, 1970, republished as John McEwen, "European Negotiations: Need for a 'Third Party' Initiative," *The Atlantic Community Quarterly*, Washington, Winter, 1970–71.

[6] Paras. 7 and 8, *Communique* following meeting of OECD Ministerial Council, Paris, June 8, 1971.

[7] This point is discussed more fully in Hugh Corbet, "Commercial Realignments and Commonwealth Relations," in Paul Streeten and Corbet (eds.), *Commonwealth Policy in a Global Context* (London: Frank Cass, 1971).

[8] See, for instance, the address by John B. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury, to the international banking conference of the American Bankers' Association, Munich, May 28, 1971. Also see the statement by William Rogers, as Secretary of State, before the OECD Ministerial Council, Paris, June 7, 1971.

[9] By way of illustration, see Abraham Ribicoff, *Trade Policies in the 1970s* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, for the Senate Finance Committee, United States Congress, 1971). p. 10.

[10] Theodore Geiger, *Transatlantic Relations in the Prospect of an Enlarged European Community* (London, Washington and Montreal: British-North American Committee, 1971). See, as well, Harry G. Johnson, "Problems of European Monetary Union," *Euromoney*, April, 1971.

[11] For a parallel analysis, see Lawrence B. Krause, "The Spirit of International Economic Cooperation in a World of Peace," an address to a symposium on International Economic Cooperation sponsored by *The Yomiuri Shimbun*, Tokyo, April 28, 1971.

[12] McEwen, *op. cit.*

[13] The OEEC negotiations and the origins of EFTA are critically examined in Haruko Fukuda, "First Decade of EFTA's Realization," in Corbet and David Robertson (eds.), *Europe's Free Trade Area Experiment: EFTA and Economic Integration* (Oxford and New York: Pergamon Press, 1970).

[14] American attitudes towards the European Community's "association" arrangements have been expressed on a countless number of occasions. But attention might be drawn to the testimonies before the current series of hearings before the Joint Economic Committee: *A Foreign Economic Policy for the 1970s* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, for the Joint Economic Committee, United States Congress, 1970 and 1971), Parts 1–5.

[15] For a fuller discussion of this point, see Corbet, "Role of the Free Trade Area," in Corbet and Robertson, *op. cit.* At the Anglo-French summit meeting in May, 1971, President Pompidou and Edward Heath, the British Prime Minister, played down the possibility of the European Community developing the supra-national authority which is a prerequisite for an economic and monetary union.

[16] Corbet, "Course of US Trade Policy in the 1970s," *Journal of World Trade Law*, London, September-October, 1970.

[17] Johnson and Corbet, "Pacific Trade in an Open World," *Pacific Community*, April, 1970.

[18] The circumstances of, and the arguments for, the free trade treaty proposal are presented in Corbet *et al.*, *Trade Strategy and the Asian-Pacific Region* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970; and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

[19] This point is developed in Krause, "Trade Policy for the Seventies," *Columbia Journal of World Business*, New York, January–February, 1971.

[20] John A. Schnittker, "New Conditions of Debate on Agricultural Policy," a paper given at a seminar sponsored by the Trade Policy Research Centre, London, July 14, 1970. Dr. Schnittker was Under-Secretary for Agriculture in the United States Administration during the Kennedy Round negotiations.

[21] See the testimonies in *A Foreign Economic Policy for the 1970s*, *op. cit.*, pp. 399–455.

[22] *Prospective a long terme de l'agriculture Francais 1968–85* (Paris: Ministry of Agriculture, June 20, 1969). The conclusions of the Vedel Report were included in "Rapport sur les principales options qui **commendent la** preparation duo VIe Plan," *Journal Official*, Paris, July 10, 1970, Appendix, p. PL 135.

NEW YORK STATE SUPERIOR COURT JUDGE FERDINAND PECORA

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, it is seldom nowadays that we read or hear of the old "rags to riches" Horatio Alger stories. However, a great American, who has just passed away, epitomizes the dramatic rise to deserved success. I speak of the former New York State Supreme Court Judge Ferdinand Pecora, a man who has left his mark on this country through his many achievements.

Born in Nicosia, Sicily, on January 6, 1862, he was the first of seven children in a very poor family. His father, a shoemaker, brought his family to New York when Ferdinand was only 5.

Disappointed in his first ambition to become an Episcopal minister because of his family's poverty, young Ferdinand worked his way through City College and New York Law School, graduating from the latter in 1909. After his admission to the bar, he was appointed assistant district attorney in New York County in 1911, and began a spectacular career in the field of jurisprudence.

Mr. Pecora handled many unusual cases, such as the sinking fund scandal of 1920, the City Trust Co. corruption case, the "bucket-shop" fraudulent securities cases, and the prosecution of graft in the city health department.

Recalled from private law practice after the stock market crash, he served as counsel to the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking and Currency between January 1933 and June 1934. Here he achieved a nationwide reputation for his successful investigation of the financial practices which had resulted in the 1929 crash.

The revelations unearthed by this investigation resulted in passage of the Securities and Exchange Commission Act. President Roosevelt appointed Mr. Pecora to the Commission.

Six months later he resigned to accept an appointment to the New York State Supreme Court. In 1935 he was elected to a 14-year term on the court, receiving nomination from both the Democratic and Republican Parties. Reelected as a nominee of the Democratic, Republican, Liberal, and City Fusion Parties in 1949, he resigned in 1950 in an unsuccessful bid for election to mayor. From this time until his retirement in 1966, Mr. Pecora served as counsel to the law firm of Schwartz and Frolich. However, he had not lost his interest in the affairs of his city, for he joined others that same year in the fight over the referendum to kill the police department's civilian complaint review board.

Mr. Pecora was known as an affable man, easy to talk to, yet hard but fair in his conduct of investigations and hearings. As an investigator he was tireless in his pursuit of the truth, as a justice he demonstrated his wisdom and courage, and as a family man he showed his love and kindness.

Mr. Pecora's death on Monday, December 8, was a great loss to his beloved city, State, and Nation. His life could well serve as a model for our young citizens.

CHILE AND THE UNITED STATES

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, developments in Chile over the last year are a subject of great concern to me as well as to most Members of this House. The as yet uncompensated expropriation of American property is, to say the least, disturbing. The amendment offered to the foreign aid bill to withdraw the Peace Corps from Chile was just one measure of the frustration we all feel over the situation. I am glad that amendment was defeated. In my judgment it would have been a serious mistake—contrary to the very nature of the Peace Corps and injurious to achievement of our broad long-range goals both in Chile and the rest of Latin America.

When President Allende took office our own President said that the United States was prepared to have the kind of relations with Chile that Chile was prepared to have with us. More than 1 year later it is still not clear what kind of relations President Allende wants to have. To date the actions of his government publicly and behind the scenes have not been encouraging. It would not be too difficult to draw the conclusion that the Allende government does not, in fact, want good relations with the United States.

What then should U.S. policy be while we are waiting to find out whether the other shoe will be dropped? Should we jump to the conclusion that all is already lost and seek some kind of satisfaction in revenge? I believe that we stand to gain much more than temporary relief of our frustration by continuing a correct and firm yet positive policy toward Chile. It is this last element—positive—which I feel is essential and it is the one element missing in President Nixon's Chilean formula. By positive I do not mean dollar diplomacy but rather an attitude of warmth, not coldness. At this stage, I believe the United States can and should do more than just react to the Allende government's attitude. We ought to be willing to go at least a little more than half way. Chile is a great nation, an old friend, and a democracy. Her people are justly proud of their country and of their democratic traditions.

Rather than taking harsh measures which surely would lessen, not increase the chances for some solution to the compensation question, the United States should exercise restraint and patience. Friendship and goodwill between nations are difficult to nurture and fragile at best. There will always be time to act tough.

In thinking about United States-Chilean relations, I believe we should all bear in mind at least these facts:

First. The Allende government, democratically elected, is a minority government. The coalition which brought him to power gained less than 50 percent of the vote at the polls.

Second. Chile remains a true democracy. Congress controlled by opposition parties is operating. Political parties freely criticize the government.

Third. The nationalization of U.S. copper companies was supported overwhelmingly by the Chilean people and endorsed by every major political party.

Fourth. The appeals process for expropriated U.S. business has not been completed. While the possibility may seem remote, full and speedy compensation may yet be forthcoming.

Until these facts change I believe it would be counterproductive for the United States to embark on a heavy handed policy toward Chile.

As chairman of the Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I have closely followed developments in Chile. The subcommittee has had a series of hearings on Chile, the last on October 15, 1971. This last hearing, held prior to Chile's request to refund her external debt, the Castro visit, and the recent riots in Santiago, has now been printed. It is entitled "Recent Developments in Chile" and may be obtained from the Foreign Affairs Committee. I believe it will be helpful to every Member in formulating his own position on Chile. As far as expropriations are concerned, I was in touch with several agencies, and advised that the situation, as outlined at the hearing, remains substantially unchanged.

Mr. Speaker, before finishing I would just like to add a few words about the future, not in the form of a prophecy like Mr. Klein's, but rather a statement of what I see may happen if the current impass on compensation turns into a flat refusal to fairly reimburse U.S. business for their seized properties. In my opinion a deep split between our two countries is probable. It need not come to that and hope it will not because such an outcome would be a tragedy for both the American and Chilean peoples. The chance of such a split happening will remain high as long as Chile continues to fail to fully comprehend the true reasons why the United States should and must be concerned over our investments there and elsewhere in the world.

What we in the United States are trying to protect and defend is the jobs, the savings, and the income of literally millions of individual Americans who have a stake in U.S. companies that did business in Chile. Certainly some of those who own stock or work for these corporations are wealthy and can well afford a loss but what of the widow, the retired laborer, or teacher whose income comes from a pension or a mutual fund investing in these companies? What of the savings of thousands of individual Americans whose bank deposits have been loaned to the companies? These industrial giants, the banks, the insurance companies or the mutual funds must be a source of our concern but only in a secondary way. They are merely instruments of our capitalistic system.

It is the people for whom we must be chiefly concerned. It is they who are at once the purpose and the heart of that system. It is people, our citizens, whose economic well being the U.S. Government must protect.

I am certain the people of Chile wish no harm to the people of the United States just as we wish only peace and prosperity for Chileans. I believe that the Chilean Government, in nationalizing many U.S. businesses, was acting in the interests of its own people as it saw those interests. But for the United States, Chile is not just a single case. The outcome of events in Chile may well have repercussions throughout the hemisphere and the American people as individuals have an enormous stake in Latin America. U.S. business, in the past has not always acted as it should have and we for our part have an obligation, in concert with other nations, to perfect our modes of investment so that capitalism can more fully benefit all of the people. But a perfected system of investment more fairly distributing benefits can only be built on justice for the people of both countries.

It is my conviction that if we, Chile and the United States, can think of this problem, not in terms of punishing or defending companies, but in terms of fairness to the hard working people of both nations who have the largest stake in all of this, then we can still resolve our problems. All that will then be required is the real desire to work them out.

Mr. Speaker, two recent editorials and a news article from the Miami Herald make important points about the situation in Chile and I include them at this point in the RECORD as a part of my statement:

CROSSROADS FOR ALLENDE

Leading Chile "down the road to socialism" is proving more difficult than President Salvador Allende may have anticipated.

Last September, he called for replacing the 50-member Senate and 150-member Chamber of Deputies with a single-house congress of about 150 members. Sr. Allende, an avowed Marxist, said at the time he would take the issue to the voters if congress refused to dissolve itself.

Now the Christian Democrats, who hold 107 congressional seats to Allende's 91—(there are two vacancies)—reportedly have rejected the unicameral formula.

This means a national referendum unless Sr. Allende wants to drop his plan for getting faster congressional approval of his programs.

Opponents say Chilean voters might rebuff him in a plebiscite to show their disapproval of food shortages and other economic woes since President Allende took office more than a year ago.

He has moved cautiously so far to silence opposition, and probably would shy from getting rid of this particular road-block by the simple expedient of outlawing the Christian Democrat Party.

The election of Sr. Allende brought Chile to the socialist water trough, but a substantial part of the nation appears unwilling to drink the entire contents.

SPARK OF POLITICAL FREEDOM FIRES UP TROUBLE IN CHILE

Poor Chile! That onetime model of Latin democracy which voted upon itself a Marxist regime could be headed for the violence which, sooner or later, attends most Communist or Fascist takeovers.

Yesterday the government of President Salvador Allende put Santiago province, the capital area, under the curfew of the military after a battle between street mobs protesting and defending the regime.

At the same time the leadership of the powerful anti-government Christian Democratic party voted to impeach Sr. Allende's Minister of the Interior, Jose Toha, who denounced street demonstrations as an "upsurge of sedition" and in effect moved against them.

So Chile has come to that moment of truth which could be decisive in its history and perhaps the history of much of Latin America. Does a voted-in left wing government at length turn to open oppression of its opposition, as has happened so often in the world?

To the onlooker dubious of Chile's government and its possible trend, and faithful to democratic processes, there is some encouragement despite the nation's physical woes. It is clear from the "March of the Pots," the name given to a women's street demonstration against living conditions, that the spark of political freedom has not died.

President Allende must also be agonized by the determination of the Christian Democrats, the largest party in Congress, to try and to punish his cabinet minister. Sr. Toha controls the Chilean police, who are accused of giving inadequate protection to the "March of the Pots."

Sr. Allende must decide now whether his avowal of political liberty is to stand or whether he will resort to the full police state. Chile has been hanging by a thread for months as an incipient dictatorship.

The free world can only hope that Chile's troubles will yield to constitutional solutions. Not without significance is the lengthy stay in Chile of Fidel Castro, who bobbed around the country for 20 days. The Cuban dictator, wherever he is, does not propose revolution in jest.

The next days—perhaps the next hours—will resolve the way in which Chile is to go. Is it to be propelled into hard-line dictatorship? Or is it to find a rational existence in keeping with a politically sophisticated people?

ANOTHER DIPLOMATIC GAFFE ROCKS OUR LATIN RELATIONS

(By Don Bohning)

Add one more to the growing list of American gaffes that have helped fuel a worsening of relations between the United States and Chile.

This time the communications problem lies with White House aide Herb Klein, the Nixon administration's "Director of Communications."

A selected group of 25 Washington reporters got Klein's invitation to breakfast last week to hear a first hand report on Presidential counselor Robert Finch's goodwill mission to Latin America.

Klein accompanied the Finch mission, which called in Ecuador, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Honduras and Mexico. The trip did not include Chile.

Yet Klein, as it later appeared in a New York Times account, volunteered the information that he and Finch had returned to Washington with the "feeling" that the Marxist government of Salvador Allende "won't last long" in Chile.

That "feeling," according to The Times, would be transmitted to President Nixon.

The Klein remark prompted an angry response and a formal protest from Chile.

In a note delivered to U.S. Ambassador Nathaniel Davis, the Chilean foreign ministry said the remark "implies a grave foreign intervention" in Chilean affairs "which the Chilean government energetically rejects and condemns.

"From any point of view," said the Chileans, "it is unusual and contrary to international law and practices, when high level officials of a government publicly discuss the possibility of the overthrow of a foreign government with which it has maintained correct relations."

In Washington, both the White House and the State Department backed off the Klein statement.

Gerald Warren, deputy White House press secretary, told reporters he had talked with Klein and it was incorrect to interpret the remark as "publicly forecasting the overthrow of a government."

Warren said what Klein had told the interviewers was that "he got a feeling in talking to some people on his trip that the government of Chile may face problems in the next election."

That's not quite the way others who were at the breakfast remember it.

As Bob Boyd, the Knight Newspapers' Washington bureau chief, recalls it from his notes, Klein volunteered the information that the Finch mission ran into "a lot of feeling that the Allende government was not going to last long in Chile."

Klein was then asked where this sentiment came from. He said he did not remember specifically and added that it was not necessarily his impression or that he was telling Nixon that.

The elections, as Boyd recalls it, were mentioned in a later context in which Klein said Allende could have problems in upcoming congressional voting.

The State Department had the last word when a spokesman said he was confident the matter had been closed.

"The comments in question were never communicated to President Nixon . . . nor do they form part of the report (over the Finch mission) that is now being prepared for submission to the President," said department spokesman Charles Bray.

In itself, the Klein comment provoked only a teapot tempest.

Unfortunately, however, it is only the latest in a long line of similar gaffes that unquestionably have contributed to a worsening in relations between the United States and Chile.

More importantly, they have provided the Allende government with ready-made ammunition to help consolidate its position internally by invoking "foreign devils."

The pro-government press pointedly noted, for example, that the Klein comment appeared in print the same day that some 5,000 opposition women turned out in Santiago streets for their violence-marred "March of the Empty Pots."

Even those Chileans who oppose the Allende government resent any suggestion of foreign "intervention" or pressures, whether it be by Fidel Castro or the United States.

Among the other U.S. sins of omission or commission, from the Chilean standpoint, are:

The failure of President Nixon to send a routine note of congratulations to Allende upon his election.

The statement of President Nixon to "White House sources" on Sept. 16, 1970, shortly after Allende's popular election but before he had been confirmed by Congress, that his victory would lead inevitably to some sort of Communist government, creating tremendous problems for the United States and other nations of the hemisphere.

The public statement by the United States "deploring" Chile's resumption of relations with Cuba.

The last minute cancellation last March of a visit to Chile by the U.S. aircraft carrier Enterprise. The visit was called off because of unspecified "other commitments." The Enterprise had been personally invited by Allende and the invitation accepted by the Defense Department, then canceled by the State Department.

The "delay" by the Export-Import Bank in acting on a $21 million Chilean loan request to purchase three new jets for Lan-Chile, the government's commercial airline. The delay reportedly was linked to a decision on whether Chile intended to pay adequate compensation for nationalized U.S. copper mines.

The public U.S. position that it could not support Felipe Herrera, former president of the International Development Bank and a Chilean, to succeed U Thant as U.N. Secretary-General.

A statement by U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers suggesting that Chile's failure to pay compensation for nationalized copper mines "could jeopardize the flow of private funds and erode the base of foreign assistance with possible adverse effects on other countries."

And then Herb Klein.

TENTH CONFERENCE ON SLAVIC STUDIES

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, on November 26, I had the pleasure to be a participant in a conference sponsored by the American Croatian Academic Club of Cleveland, Ohio. It was a tremendous experience for me, and I sincerely appreciated the opportunity to attend and to address the interested citizens who attended.

At the last moment, four scholars from Croatia were not allowed to attend and present papers at the conference. These four expected contributors to the conference were not given the reason explicitly why they could not attend. This 10th Conference on Slavic Studies was intended to be an exchange of scholarship between American scholars and those of Croatia. It was, indeed, regrettable the exchange of scholars prevented at the last moment and the cause of academic freedom was not well served.

The sponsors and participants of the conference made the enclosed statement and at the request of Mr. Tefko Saracevic, president of the American-Croatian Academic Club, one of the sponsors of this meeting, I am including this statement for the RECORD:

STATEMENT BY SPONSORS AND PARTICIPANTS

The Tenth Conference on Slavic Studies with the theme, "Croatian Nation and Croatian Exodus—Investigation of Effects After 100 Years of Emigration," was held at Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, 26–28 November, 1971. The participants and sponsors issued at the conclusion of the conference the following statement:

We deeply regret the last minute changes in circumstances and decisions that prevented the attendance of the scheduled conference speakers from Yugoslavia:

Prof. Dr. Ljudevit Jonke, Croatian University, Zagreb, and President, Matica Hrvatska.

Prof. Dr. Ivo Baucic, Croation University, Zagreb.

Prof. Andjelko Runjic, Croatian University, Zagreb.

Prof. Ivan Cizmic, Historical Institute, Matica Iseljnika Hrvatske, Zagreb.

Such occurrences are contrary to generally accepted practice of cultural exchanges intended to further understanding, cooperation and peace in the world.

We believe that academic freedom and international exchange of scholarship should not be infringed upon under any circumstances.

We are, however, confident that exchanges between American scholars in general, and those of Croatian descent in particular, and their colleagues in Croatia will be frequent and fruitful in the future.

Among the more than 250 participants were scholars from the following institutions of higher learning:

Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana.

Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

Cleveland State University, Cleveland, Ohio.

Columbia University, New York, New York.

Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland, Ohio.

Delgado College, New Orleans, Louisiana.

De Paul University, Chicago, Illinois.

Farleigh Dickinson University, Teaneck, New Jersey.

Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Indiana University Northwest, Gary, Indiana.

Iona College, New Rochelle, New York.

John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio.

Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario, Canada.

Lorain Community College, Lorain, Ohio.

Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

McMasters University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

National Research Council of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Northwestern University, Chicago, Illinois.

Pennsylvania State University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, New York.

Rosemont College, Rosemont, Pennsylvania.

Sorbonne, Paris, France.

State University of New York, Albany, New York.

University of Akron, Akron, Ohio.

University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.

University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

University of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minnesota.

University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana.

University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

University of Virginia, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada.

University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, Canada.

SPONSORS OF THE TENTH CONFERENCE ON SLAVIC STUDIES

Dr. Tefko Saracevic, Associate Professor, Case Western Reserve University; President, American Croatian Academic Club, General Chairman of the Conference.

Dr. Vladimir Rus, Chairman, Department of Slavic and East European Languages, Case Western Reserve University.

Dr. Michael S. Pap, Director, Institute for Soviet and East European Studies, John Carroll University.

Dusko I. Duisin, Professor, Iona College; President, Croatian Academy of America.

Victor Koludrovich, M.D., President, Croatian Foundation of America.

MISSISSIPPI BEGINS 155TH YEAR

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, today, December 10, 1971, the State of Mississippi observes the 154th anniversary of its admission to the Union. On this date, in 1817, Mississippi joined the young American Republic. The new Nation was fresh from its victory in the War of 1812 and its population and institutions were bursting with vigor. Expansion and growth were taken for granted. Dreams were coming true and the entire Nation was infused with the vision of a destiny made manifest.

At the turn of the 19th century, Mississippi was home to only 7,600 people, mostly congregated on the gulf coast and the area around Natchez, a Mississippi River Port. By the year 1900, we had grown to a population of 1,551,270. Today, according to the 1970 census, her population is 2,216,912.

The economy in 1817 was based almost entirely on agriculture. However, a fixed amount of land cannot indefinitely supply an increasing number of farm jobs. When mechanization came to agriculture, the State found itself without alternative sources of employment for the excess labor and the result was mass migration from the State.

Faced with this dilemma, Mississippi pioneered in the movement to diversify its economy, to establish a balance between agriculture and industry. Mississippi was one of the first to use municipal bonds to finance new plants and industries. Few of us familiar with industrial development activities are unaware of Mississippi's BAWI—balance agriculture with industry—program.

Like many hard hit areas trying to cope with mechanization and new technology, Mississippi found itself without substantial capital to finance its growth. Only recently has steady progress been noted. The decade of the 1960's was one of uninterrupted growth and resurgence.

The results of this diligence were astounding. In 1950, 42 percent of Mississippi's work force was employed on a farm or agricultural enterprise. By 1964, a balance was reached with 143,000 workers in agriculture and 143,000 in industry. Since then, we have exceeded this figure in industrial employment and each year the total grows.

Mississippi's achievements are noteworthy, Mr. Speaker, in other areas than her economy. She has produced many statesmen. Authors William Faulkner, James Street, and Eudora Welty, and singers Leontyne Price, Charlie Pride, Elvis Presley, and Mississippi John Hurt, are well-known Mississippi natives.

Mr. Speaker, Mississippi has given much to this Republic and her heart is dedicated to preserving its nobility, its physical beauty, and the vigor of its people and its institutions.

On this day, I salute all Mississippians.

DISASTER LOBBY

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the "Disaster Lobby" can create a fatal national paranoia similar to the national disease of pessimism which gripped the Nation in the early 1930's. We must reject the false propaganda of those who preach doom and disaster. There is much good news about the Nation. Let us go from the negative to positive. I commend the following excerpts from the splendid address by noted publisher and journalist Thomas R. Shepard, Jr.

The article follows:

THE DISASTER LOBBY . . . THE GREATEST DANGER THAT WE FACE IS FROM THOSE WHO WOULD SAVE US FROM OURSELVES

(By Thomas R. Shepard, Jr.)

One morning last fall, I left my office in New York and hailed a cab for Kennedy Airport. The driver had the radio tuned to one of those daytime talk shows where the participants take turns complaining about how terrible everything is. Air pollution. Racial unrest. Campus unrest. Overpopulation. Under-employment. You name it, they agonized over it. This went on all the way to Kennedy and as we pulled up at the terminal the driver turned to me and said: "If things are all that bad, how come I feel so good?"

I wonder how many Americans, pelted day after day by the voices of doom, ever ask themselves that question: "If things are all that bad, how come I feel so good?"

PESSIMISTS ARE WRONG

Well, I think I have the answer. We feel good because things aren't that bad. I would like to tell you how wrong the pessimists are, and to focus an overdue spotlight on the pessimists themselves. These are the people who, in the name of ecology or consumerism or some other ology or ism, are laying siege to our state and federal governments, demanding laws to regulate industry on the premise that the United States is on the brink of catastrophe and only a brand new socio-economy system can save us.

I call these people the Disaster Lobby, and I regard them as the most dangerous men and women in America today. Dangerous not only to the institutions they seek to destroy but to the consumers they are supposed to protect.

Let's begin with a close-in look at that drumbeat of despair I heard in the taxicab and that all of us hear almost every day. Just how much truth is there to the Disaster Lobby's complaints?

Take the one about the oxygen we breathe. The Disaster folks tell us that the burning of fuels by industry is using up the earth's oxygen and that, eventually, there won't be any left and we'll suffocate. False. The National Science Foundation recently collected air samples at 78 sites around the world and compared them with samples taken 61 years ago. Result? There is today precisely the same amount of oxygen in the air as there was in 1910—20.95 per cent.

WHAT ABOUT AIR POLLUTION?

But what about air pollution? You can't deny that our air is getting more fouled up all the time, says the Disaster Lobby. Wrong. I can deny it. Our air is getting less fouled up all the time, in city after city. In New

York City, for example. New York's Department of Air Resources reports a year-by-year decrease in air pollution since 1965. What's more, the New York City air is immeasurably cleaner today than it was a hundred years ago, when people burned soft coal and you could cut the smog with a knife.

Which brings us to water pollution. The Disaster Lobby recalls that, back iin the days before America was industrialized, our rivers and lakes were crystal clear. True. And those crystal clear rivers and lakes were the source of the worst cholera, yellow fever, and typhoid epidemics the world has ever known. Just one of these epidemics—in 1793—killed one of every five residents of Philadelphia.

Our waterways may not be as pretty as they used to be, but they aren't as deadly either. In fact, the water we drink is the safest in the world. What's more, we're making progress cosmetically. Many of our streams will soon look as wholesome as they are.

Perhaps it's the fear of overpopulation that's getting you down. Well, cheer up. The birth rate in the United States has been dropping continuously since 1955 and is now at the lowest point in history. If the trend continues, it is remotely possible that by the year 4000 there won't be anyone left in the country. But I wouldn't fret about underpopulation either. Populations have a way of adjusting to conditions, and I have no doubt that our birth rate will pick up in due course.

MERCURY IN NATURE, NOT FISH

I now come to the case of the mercury in the tuna fish. How did it get there? The Disaster Lobby says it came from American factories, but then the Disaster Lobby believes that all the evils in the world come from American factories.

The truth, as scientists will tell you, is that the mercury came from deposits in nature. To attribute pollution of entire oceans to the 900 tons of mercury released into the environment each year by industry—that's less than 40 carloads—is like blaming a boy with a water pistol for the Johnstown Flood. Further proof? Fish caught 44 years ago and just analyzed contain twice as much mercury as any fish processed this year.

Speaking of fish, what about the charge that our greed and carelessness are killing off species of animals? Well, it's true that about 50 species of wildlife will become extinct this century. But it's also true that 50 species became extinct in the last century. And the century before that. And the century before that. In fact, says Dr. T. H. Jukes of the University of California, some 100 million species of animal life have become extinct since the world began. Animals come and animals go, as Mr. Darwin noted, and to blame ourselves for evolution would be the height of foolishness.

Then there is the drug situation. Isn't it a fact that we are becoming a nation of addicts? No, it is not. Historically, we are becoming a nation of nonaddicts. Seventy years ago, one of every 400 Americans was hooked on hard drugs. Today it's one in 3,000. So, despite recent experimentation with drugs by teen-agers, the long-range trend is downward, not upward.

How about unemployment? The Disaster people regard it as a grave problem. Well, I suppose even one unemployed person is a grave problem, but the record book tells us that the current out-of-work level of 6 per cent is about par. We've had less, but we've also had more—much more. During the Kennedy administration unemployment topped 7 per cent. And back in the recovery period of Franklin Roosevelt's second term, unemployment reached 25 per cent. So let's not panic over this one.

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

One final comment on the subject. Members of the Disaster Lobby look back with fond nostalgia to the "good old days" when there weren't any nasty factories to pollute the air and kill animals and drive people to distraction with misleading advertisements.

But what was life really like in America 150 years ago? For one thing, it was very brief. Life expectancy was 38 years for males. And it was a gruelling 38 years. The work week was 72 hours. The average pay was $300. Per year, that is. The women had it worse. Housewives worked 98 hours a week, and there wasn't a dishwasher or vacuum cleaner to be had. The food was monotonous and scarce. The clothes were rags.

In the winter you froze and in the summer you sweltered and when an epidemic came—and they came almost every year—it would probably carry off someone in your family. Chances are that in your entire lifetime you would never hear the sound of an orchestra or own a book or travel more than 20 miles from the place you were born.

Whatever American businessmen have done to bring us out of that paradise 150 years ago, I say let's give them a grateful pat on the back—not a knife in it.

Now I'm not a Pollyanna. I am aware of the problems we face and of the need to find solutions and put them into effect. And I have nothing but praise for the many dedicated Americans who are devoting their lives to making this a better nation in a better world.

The point I am trying to make is that we are solving most of our problems . . . that conditions are getting better, not worse . . . that American industry is spending over $3 billion a year to clean up the environment and additional billions to develop products that will keep it clean . . . and that the real danger today is not from the free enterprise establishment that has made ours the most prosperous, most powerful, and most charitable nation on earth.

No, the danger today resides in the Disaster Lobby—those crepe hangers who, for personal gain or out of sheer ignorance, are undermining the American system and threatening the lives and fortunes of the American people.

BYE-BYE, BABY BOOM

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, proponents of abortion on demand attempt to justify the killing of unborn children by arguing that we face a crisis of overpopulation in this country.

It is time we laid that myth to rest. The United States does not now have, nor does it face, an overpopulation problem. In fact, our most recent statistics indicate that we are rapidly approaching the point of zero population growth.

A discussion of those statistics and their implications for the United States is presented in the December issue of Nation's Business, and I insert the article into the RECORD at this time.

BYE-BYE, BABY BOOM

(By Tom Kelly)

Ward Beck, manager of developmental planning for General Mills Inc., put through an emergency call from Minneapolis to the Center for Metropolitan Studies in Washington, D.C., early one day last September.

George Grier, senior associate at the Center, had touched off newspaper headlines all over the country by reporting that the United States was approaching a level of births which would lead to "zero population growth."

American women were suddenly and surprisingly having fewer babies than at any time since the all-time low of the Depression.

Mr. Grier's statistics (derived from Census Bureau computer read-outs) showed that the national birth rate had plummeted and—most important—that the lifetime fertility rate of women was approaching 2.1, a figure that meant the average woman would have two children, just enough to replace herself and her husband. (The added .1 would take care of premature deaths.)

The prospects for business were hazy—and possibly frightening. General Mills makes breakfast cereals, 75 per cent of them consumed by youngsters, and, as Ward Beck was intensely aware, it had also just bought a toy factory.

Like tens of thousands of other businessmen, from the manufacturers of swings and seesaws to the retailers of baby blankets and booties, General Mills executives had been counting on the predicted "baby boom" of the Seventies to provide expanding markets for the next 20 or more years. The assumption had been well nigh universal; as recently as June, a national news magazine had hailed the "biggest baby boom" as fact.

Mr. Grier's research showed that right now, at least, this simply wasn't so. The anticipated boom had turned into a baby bust.

For weeks after the first news stories, the Center's phones rang constantly—calls from hundreds of concerned professionals and businessmen, including a toy manufacturer in Australia; from the Governors of California, Pennsylvania and Ohio; and from scores of colleges and universities.

What was happening, or rather what was not happening, in the home?

Were women really about to stop having traditionally sized families?

What would it mean if they did—to manufacturing, to sales, to college enrollments, to city planning, to the American way of life?

CONSENSUS ON THE CENSUS

Interviews with Mr. Grier and other sociologists, as well as with statisticians and demographers, show agreement that:

The future population picture remains uncertain. Since baby booms clearly do not follow schedules, baby busts may not either. The current bust—and we're definitely in one—may continue, may become more pronounced or may reverse itself and turn into a new boom. Some hard observations, however, can be made.

Past Census Bureau projections have proved to be grievously wrong, overestimating the Seventies' population by millions of babies.

There are now fewer children under five than at any time in 20 years. This fact alone is having and will have real market consequences. Now there are fewer customers for cradles and tricycles. Fifteen years from now there will be fewer teenagers, and that will hurt sales of such things as textbooks and fad clothes.

Current statistics suggest that the country will reach zero population growth within the lifetimes of people now among us. They suggest, though much less strongly, that we could hit ZPG much sooner. The economic consequences, pleasant or disastrous, depend on the speed of the transition.

Mr. Grier's figures and conclusions are more subtle and less alarming than some of the headlines have suggested.

Statistics that became available after those headlines were written indicate that women have already reached the 2.1 fertility rate, he says. But even if this is true and if this level persists, he adds, the population will continue to grow for some 60 years.

There are now more women of childbearing age in this country than at any time in previous history, and most have not yet had their full share of children.

THE CLIMB THAT FLOPPED

The fertility rate (an estimate of the number of children the average woman will have in her lifetime, based on current births among women of childbearing age) and the birth rate (a cruder indicator—the number of births per 1,000 of population) climbed steadily from 1947 through 1957.

In 1957 the fertility rate was an astounding 3.7. Since then, both rates have dropped almost steadily.

The drops had been somewhat anticipated by demographers but they had been universally certain that the birth date would begin going up in 1968 and continue upward for a long time to come.

The rate started its climb in 1968 and continued through 1969 and 1970. But this year, suddenly, flying in the face of all indicators, it has nosedived—in absolute terms as well as relative ones.

The prospects now are that final figures may show fewer babies born in the United States in 1971 than at any time since 1946.

And, it must be emphasized again, this is occurring at a time when there are more women in the childbearing years than ever before.

Dr. Jean Pakter, director of the Maternity Services and Family Planning Bureau of New York City, says an expected "boom" there "just isn't happening." Indeed, in the first six months of 1971 the number of births in New York City actually declined by 6 per cent.

A recently published report shows that Montgomery County, Md., an affluent dormitory community outside Washington, reached the 2.1 fertility level this summer. Montgomery has particular significance for businessmen—it is one of the richest counties in the nation, often cited as one of those with the highest per capita income; its people are affluent consumers by definition.

Preliminary statistics from across the country and from all levels of income show that the downward movement is universal—the poor as well as the rich, the black as well as the white, are having fewer babies all the time.

Other experts agree with Mr. Grier that this possible "transition" to zero population growth is no cause for real alarm—that the population would continue to grow for at least a couple of generations, increasing by some 50 per cent to 300 million, and then would level off.

Many scientists in the field consider this prospect ideal from almost every point of view.

Stephen Enke, of TEMPO Center for Advanced Studies, a research group funded by General Electric Co., says flatly that "business in general has nothing to fear from a decline in fertility; a typical individual participating in business . . . should expect a long-term decline in fertility to increase perhaps his own income and more assuredly the incomes of his children and heirs."

Dr. Enke told the President's Commission on Population Growth and the American Future in September that even an "unrealistic" decline, achieving 2.1 by 1975, would still "benefit rather than injure business."

TIME TO ADJUST

Mr. Grier, who, as previously noted, has now concluded that the country is already at 2.1, says that if it stays at the level the economy will still have plenty of time to adjust.

The relative shortage of infants obviously will affect firms that make baby products, but diversification will soften the blow for many of them. Johnson & Johnson, for example, sells more baby oil and powder than any other manufacturer; but such sales are only a small part of its total volume.

"If the fertility rate levels off at around 2.1, we could begin to have an almost ideal economic situation." Mr. Grier says. "The median age would be rising and there would be more producers and fewer young dependents. The gross national product would go up for that reason alone."

There would, of course, be more per capita consumption, as well as production.

Mr. Grier believes it would take a sustained effort by both business and government to adjust to the new challenges but he is sure both are fully capable of making it.

Money that has gone into a frenzied building of more and more elementary schools and the training of more and more teachers could be used, for example, for the benefit of the broader population—whole new businesses could be built in pursuit of such goals as the conversion of a polluted river into a clean water recreation and resort center.

There would also be other predictable results.

With the median age rising from the twenties to the forties, Mr. Grier feels, the political tone of the country would almost certainly be more conservative.

There would also be notable cultural changes—for example, teen-age-type music would fade. There would almost certainly be a drop in the level of crime, particularly crimes of violence, since almost half are committed by men in their late teens or early twenties.

Mr. Grier says the prospect for a sort of "golden age" of affluence is good but not certain. If the population rates get on a roller coaster, shoot down for a while and then shoot suddenly up for a spell, adjustments would be much more difficult.

INSTANT ZPG

There is also a third possibility.

The fertility rate could continue rapidly downward, to perhaps 1.5, and we could get what Mr. Grier has called "instant ZPG." At that rate the number of births could equal the number of deaths around the end of this decade. (The death rate has remained almost steady for many years and no wild fluctuations seem probable soon.)

Mr. Grier believes this kind of abrupt population stabilization could have disastrous results, since the economy would not have time to change—makers of baby foods wouldn't be able to move over into health foods fast enough.

"I don't think instant ZPG is likely; at least I hope not," Mr. Grier says. "But there is an outside chance that it could happen.

"With the powerful birth control methods we now possess, coupled with sufficient scare propaganda about imminent overpopulation and the glamorization of ZPG itself, we could panic our impressionable young adults into something approaching it, at least temporarily.

"We could, at least temporarily, short-circuit the psychological drive to reproduce by brainwashing people into the belief that reproduction is antithetical to the survival of the race."

Demographers almost to a man refuse to give the possibility of "instant ZPG" serious consideration.

CAUSE AND EFFECT

One who discounts it completely, Dr. Philip M. Hauser, director of the University of Chicago's Population Research Center, also insists that it is too soon to make any valid assumption about the cause of the current precipitous fertility decline.

He believes the recent business slowdown may have been a significant factor and says he does not think the wider use of birth control devices and the relaxing of laws against abortion can account for more than 10 per cent of the drop.

Meanwhile, Mr. Beck at General Mills is not pessimistic.

He says he and other company officials "just don't see the kind of a fertility drop that would seriously damage the economy" and he accepts the idea that a transition to ZPG could be a boon.

"There is no questioning the statistics," he says. "They don't lie. What we have to see now is if this drop is of a continuing nature or just a quirk."

And to help it see the future of the baby market clearly and quickly, General Mills has retained Dr. Norman B. Ridder, professor of sociology at Princeton and codirector of the National Fertility Center, and Ben. J. Wattenberg, coauthor of "The Real Majority," as special consultants.

The information they'll be looking for, Mr. Beck says, is "very important to General Mills."

BIRTHS AND ECONOMICS: A MYSTERY STORY

The approach to zero population growth is not new; we've been approaching it, despite temporary fluctuations, for well over 200 years.

In Colonial America the average woman had eight children, a rate which kept the population steadily expanding. The high death rate then, particularly among the young, kept it from exploding.

Now the average American woman is having slightly more than two children—men and women are just about reproducing themselves. The death rate has apparently stabilized—it has remained at almost the same level for 20 years.

The effect of falling birth rates on economics and vice versa are still not fully understood.

It is, for example, a commonplace to say that during the Depression "people almost stopped having babies." In truth, their baby-having had slowed down long before the Depression.

The fertility rate was well over 3.0 in 1920—the average woman was having between three and four children. By mid-decade the rate was down to 2.8. And by 1929 (the stock market crash that signaled the Depression didn't take place until October of that year) it was 2.3.

The real drop took place during the prosperous Twenties. During the Depression, the fertility rate bottomed out, dipping briefly to 2.0 but hovering around 2.2.

In 1937, though the Depression was lingering on, it began to climb. It did so, except for the zigzag produced by World War II, until 1957 when it hit 3.7 before once more starting on a downward slope.

It is now just about back down to the all-time low. Why? No one knows. Increasing availability of almost foolproof birth control methods is presumably a factor, as is a trend toward legalization of abortions. The latest severe dip may have been made more severe by last year's business slowdown. The attitudes of young people—many of whom say they do not intend to have more than two children—are perhaps very significant.

There are, one can safely say, large numbers of factors at work which influence the size of families. At the moment, at least, they add up to fewer babies.

CONGRESSMAN BROCK ADAMS DISCUSSES FAILINGS OF ADMINISTRATION'S NEW ECONOMIC PROGRAM

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, last month Congressman BROCK ADAMS discussed the failings of President Nixon's new economic program before the Washington State Education Association. I commend his remarks to our colleagues:

PHASE II—TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE, TOO UNFAIR
(By Mr. Adams)

The President's Phase II program offers too little, comes too late, and is grossly unfair. It completely regulates and limits wages but creates loophole after loophole for price increases. It adopts the tired, old "trickle-down" theory of business incentives without helping the average American or stimulating consumer demand. It allows rent increases on new houses and renovated houses, and fails to effectively control interest rates. And worst of all, it does nothing about the most serious crisis facing this country, and the Pacific Northwest in particular—high unemployment.

Having watched President Nixon for three years now, I feel I can say that the result of his policies was predictable. When he first came in, he failed to recognize some very basic, underlying economic difficulties in our nation's economy. After a number of years, he overemphasized the danger of inflation and underemphasized the problem of unemployment. Now, he is rewarding the supporters of his party with "trickle-down" business incentives and leaving the working man jobless or his wages frozen.

I am sure that the members of the President's Wage and Price Boards are very nice and very sincere people. But the public and business members do not understand the humiliation and degradation of the poverty or low-income cycle which results from frozen wages. These Board members are not working people who receive frozen wages. They are professional people who get fees as lawyers or bonuses in stock as business executives. When they start talking about the problems of people who get wages, they just don't have much of an understanding.

At this point, the wage-price freeze is primarily a wage freeze, and only secondarily a price freeze. As a price freeze, it is ineffective in crucial areas, such as food prices, where the average American feels the pinch on his dollars. For example, at the supermarket watch and see if you will be able to buy three cans of fruit for 87¢. My prediction is you will start paying 30¢ per can, with no discount for volume purchasing. The result will be a continuation of the same price for a single item, but in reality a price rise for those who try to save by buying in quantity. For the man or woman whose wages are frozen, the pricing policy is doubly damaging.

Secondly, as I mentioned, rents on new houses and substantially renovated houses are not being controlled. What will happen? Everyone with a house to rent will renovate, or claim a renovation when some major repairs are made, and will raise the rent.

Thirdly, interest rates and administered prices will continue to depress consumer demand and to deter economic growth. By administered prices I mean this: when General Motors sets a price on a car, every other car manufacturer follows suit. The result is that there is no competition when it comes to price setting. With high interest rates, you have nothing but a drag on the economy. Nobody should have to pay more than 6% in interest charges. To leave interest where it is, is a fraud aimed at the American people. When 3/5 of the people in this country share only 30% of the income of the nation, it is intolerable to freeze a man's wages and then charge a high interest rate on indebtedness.

Who will buy the goods produced by the business incentives? The middle and low income areas will not be able to borrow money and their wages are frozen. The "trickle down theory" of business investment to produce jobs—when we are operating right now at about only 70% of plant capacity nationally, and in our area at about 50% of plant capacity—will not work. You can ask the President of Boeing Company if he is going to build a new plant if he gets the 7% investment credit. Or you could ask any airline chief executive if he is going to buy another airliner if he gets the investment credit. The answer in both cases will be "no." Why? Because there is no consumer demand. An Airline will not buy new planes if projections say that fewer passengers will be riding the airline during the next year or two. And that, unfortunately, is what happened last year. Last year Boeing sold zero airliners in the domestic market. This year, as far as I know, it has only sold one 737.

We must stimulate consumer demand by lowering interest rates and loosening the money supply, and granting retroactive pay increases, so that consumers will have the financial wherewithall to buy the products they want to buy. Wages are always lagging behind price increases so these should not be allowed to trigger price increases. We should not give business tax breaks to build products which consumers may or may not even want to buy. Business booms are based on consumption and confidence, not on mere production.

And we must desperately produce jobs for our unemployed and provide short-term relief for those who are unemployed. We in Congress have passed a number of job-creating bills, such as the Public Service jobs bill and a modified accelerated public works bill aimed at high unemployment areas. I am currently working with Senator Magnuson to extend unemployment benefits beyond the current period. We have simply got to save those who have lost their jobs as a result of foolish and unfair national economic policies.

NEW ECONOMIC PROGRAM RESCUED BY CONGRESSIONAL INITIATIVES

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, major parts of the new economic program have been rescued by congressional initiatives taken on the President's phase II stabilization legislation.

Without the amendments adopted by the Congress, the Economic Stabilization Act would have been faced with major legal challenges and growing opposition from large segments of the population. Over the bitter opposition of the administration, the Congress was able to reestablish equity and the tools to make a broad-scale stabilization effort work.

Mr. Speaker, the Economic Stabilization Act, which passed the House and Senate yesterday, was vastly improved over the hastily drafted legislation which the Congress was presented by the administration on October 19.

The original bill was a legislative nightmare filled with administrative shortcuts which locked in all of the inequities of the freeze period.

Mr. Speaker, I suspect that the administration purposely refused to deal with the question of pay contracts and agreements for "political purposes."

I am convinced that some in the Republican Party felt that the question of retroactive and deferred pay was valuable as a political issue and that the administration should be left with the power to manipulate this question endlessly. The result was divisiveness in a program which requires the maximum support of all the American people.

The political strategists within the administration engaged in outlandish propaganda in an effort to block the congressional initiatives on the pay question.

While the politicians were claiming that the increase would be inflationary, some of the calmer members of the administration—such as Secretary of Labor James Hodgson—were quietly conceding that the recognition of these contractual obligations would have only the most minimal impact on the stabilization program. The Congress has settled this issue, taking it out of politics and assuring that legal agreements and contracts will be met.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to providing equity for teachers and working people, the payment of the retroactive pay would be an important impetus to the economy generally.

While the majority of the pay increases are small, the aggregate effect will be to increase purchasing power by several billions of dollars. Any stimulus of this kind is important when we are faced with an economy where well over 5 million people are standing in the unemployment lines.

Mr. Speaker, the congressional resolution of the pay problem will end much of the bickering which has surrounded the stabilization program and would enable the Pay Board and the Price Commission to settle down to their jobs without problems hanging over from the freeze period.

The Congress has also taken a major step forward in providing equity in the program by requiring the banks and other lenders be brought under controls.

The conference report included a House provision requiring that the President issue orders and regulations stabilizing interest rates on all classes of loans. This is a mandatory provision and any exception must be in the form of a Presidential determination that controls on a particular class of loans are not required for stabilization purposes and for orderly economic growth. The act requires that any such exception be accompanied by a specific statement of reasons for the exemption.

Mr. Speaker, I anticipate that the President will issue a series of orders requiring limitations or rollbacks of interest rates, particularly in the consumer and mortgage fields. Consumers are paying 36 percent and more on small loans and home mortgages are still at or near 8 percent across most of the Nation plus discount points in many cases.

The only noticeable changes in interest rates have occurred among the prime business borrowers, the largest corporations in the Nation. For the most part, these prime and money market reductions have not trickled down to the majority of the people. It is the clear intention of the Congress, in passing this act, that the President stabilize interest rates which affect consumers, small business, farmers, and others, and not just those in the money markets.

There are other areas where the Congress amended the administration bill:

First. The Congress recognized that

the administration's bill provided no policing of prices and authorized consumers and others to seek civil damages—treble damages—when they are victimized by violations of price regulations.

Second. The Congress refused to go along with the administration's request that orders and interpretations during the freeze period be ratified by legislative action. The Congress left this question to be determined by the proper judicial authorities when and if legal questions were raised.

Third. The administration proposed to eliminate the safeguards of administrative procedures from the economic stabilization program. The Congress refused to accept this and inserted specific administrative procedures at both the Federal and local levels. This includes the requirement for formal hearings on regulations affecting significant sectors of the economy.

Fourth. The administration proposed extraordinary powers for the chairmen of the various boards and commissions and opposed any congressional review of the membership of these bodies. The Congress amended this to provide that actions taken by the chairmen of the boards and commissions be based on a majority vote of the commission or board and required the confirmation of the present chairmen and all future members of the bodies.

Fifth. The administration insisted on tying its own hands on possible price rollbacks by sticking to the May 25, 1970, date—contained in the original law as the base period. The Congress amended this to allow the President to roll back prices to any levels he may deem appropriate to carry out economic stabilization and prevent windfall profits.

Sixth. The administration failed to recognize the special problems of the working poor under wage restrictions. The Congress amended the legislation to exempt the working poor from the regulations so that the act would not have the effect of keeping families in a state of poverty.

Seventh. The Congress amended the law to reinforce the Price Commission's authority over rents and mass transportation costs.

Eighth. The administration's bill failed to mention the word "profits." The Congress added a requirement that the administration monitor profits and make specific reports to the Congress on the issue.

Ninth. The administration's bill did not specify the basis on which the various price and wage orders would be issued. The Congress amended the bill to provide five specific criteria on which the standards of the administrative agencies must be based.

Mr. Speaker, all of the amendments to the original administration bill proposed by the Democrats during markup sessions in November were retained in some form in the bill that was sent to the President yesterday. Many were retained in their original form and others were melded into similar language approved by the Senate.

I feel that all of the amendments approved by the House and Senate greatly improved the chances of success for phase II providing the law is administered in a fair and equitable manner.

We have added the two ingredients that were missing from the original administration bill—equity and workability.

A SPECIAL REPORT ON DRUG ABUSE

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, the December 6, 1971, edition of the New York Law Journal featured a special report on drug abuse. In view of the urgency of the drug problem, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a special double article from this edition—one part by New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, and one part by Jerry Finkelstein, publisher, New York Law Journal.

The articles follow:

GOVERNOR SEEKS ALL-OUT EFFORT ON DRUGS

(By Nelson A. Rockefeller)

How can we defeat drug abuse before it destroys America? I believe the answer lies in summoning the total commitment America has always demonstrated in times of national crisis.

In 1942, for example, we were a nation involved in total war. President Roosevelt gave the green light to the greatest mobilization of brainpower in human history. The program: the Manhattan Project. The investment: over $2 billion and the talents of Fermi, Oppenheimer, Szilard, Lawrence, Groves and thousands more of the best minds available. The goal: the first atomic bomb. The result: an earlier end to World War II and millions of lives ultimately saved, American, Allied and Japanese.

OTHER CRISES MET

The Manhattan Project is not the only case in which the United States has thrown everything necessary into a recent challenge. Under President Eisenhower, every human and material resource needed was put into developing a missile and satellite shield capable of deterring any would-be aggressor. With the support of his successors, World War III has thus far been averted as a result.

President Kennedy lifted America's sights to the heavens. An army of 300,000 was committed, including an elite corps of 120,000 scientists and engineers. Twenty-one billion dollars later, Americans walked on the moon.

Just last January, President Nixon called for a total mobilization of necessary resources in an all-out quest for a cure for cancer. He proposed committing another $100 million to the accomplishment of that goal.

The need now is to see drug abuse as a national crisis and to attack it on that scale. Drug addiction represents a threat akin to war in its capacity to kill, enslave and imperil the nation's future; akin to cancer in spreading a deadly disease among us and equal to any other challenge we face in deserving all the brain-power, manpower and resources necessary to overcome it. Unless the drug menace is stopped, thousands more Americans will die and hundreds of thousands will be condemned to the living death of addiction.

The time has come to meet the drug crisis head on. The time has come to recognize this tragedy for the massive threat it poses to the dignity and well-being of our young people and to the nation's survival. The time has come for a total national commitment, an all-out mobilization of the best minds in every field and all the resources necessary to eradicate this scourge. How can we do less?

FREEDOM WITHOUT DIGNITY

What good are billions spent in defense of freedom and individual dignity, if our young people lose their freedom and dignity to drugs? What good are all our early efforts to raise health children—the pre-natal and post-natal care, immunization and wholesome diets, if we permit the disease of addiction to infect them? Of what value are billions invested in education, if good minds are to be rotted out by drugs? What good are our efforts to transmit civilization and the Judeo-Christian belief in the sanctity of human life, if life is reduced to a dismal, daily struggle to feed a drug habit?

To mothers and fathers worried sick by the fear of drug abuse among their children and grandchildren; to teachers who see bright minds dulled by drugs, to clergymen who are losing their spiritual influence to the false gods of kicks and thrills; to businessmen who see drugs causing absenteeism and hurting productivity; to union leaders worried about addiction among younger members and the children of all their members; to judges who see the courts collapsing under the crush of narcotics cases; to all these people, there can be only one response to the question, "Does drug abuse demand an all out mobilization of the nation's resources?" That answer must be a thundering "yes."

STATE HAS SPENT $750 MILLION

As Governor of New York, where, in the metropolitan area, we have the worst and swiftest spreading drug infection in the nation, I am urging a total national effort only after we have tried every possible approach at the state and local level without achieving success. My administration has committed the almost unbelieveable sum of nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars to conquer drug addiction. That sum amounts to more than every state government, more than the Federal Government, more than all the other nations of the world have committed to this purpose. We pioneered methadone maintenance, instituted mandatory treatment, have employed every other known drug treatment, created a narcotics unit in the state police and a special narcotics section in the courts. But the hard fact is undeniable. We have neither stemmed the spread of drug abuse, nor found a cure for those afflicted.

STEPS TOWARD SOLUTION

But, if these efforts have not been enough to solve the problem, they have at least dramatized what is needed to solve the problem:

Education—As early as it can be made meaningful, education that employs sophisticated, creative techniques that can really get through to young people.

Research—Scientific, medical, social—as intensive as that to cure any fatal illness. In drugs, the research challenge is far more complex, for here we are dealing with a disease that is self-induced and where most victims do not try, or don't even want to be cured.

Treatment—With enough quality facilities available so that no one really seeking help is ever left to the continued temptation of the street for lack of a place to be treated.

Enforcement—The efforts of one state to seal out drugs is like trying to hold back water with a sieve. Not only must we have a vast national enforcement network, but the United States must use all the legitimate, diplomatic, economic and social muscle necessary to stem the international traffic in drugs.

DO WE CARE ENOUGH?

Almost every national objective in the past two years have been prefaced by the challenge: "If we can go to the Moon," why can't we accomplish this or that goal. I cannot believe in the case of drugs that Americans are going to slump back and say, "This one has us beat."

Are the sons and daughters of a generation that survived the Great Depression and rebuilt a prosperous nation, who defeated Nazism and Fascism and preserved a free world, to be vanquished by a powder, pills and needles? This is inconceivable! There has to be an answer to drug abuse. All it requires is the national will, a total national commitment, to find that answer. We dare not fail.

PUBLISHER URGES A "MANHATTAN PROJECT"

(By Jerry Finkelstein)

Thus far, the battle against drugs has been basically a holding action. We must escalate to a total war on drugs, or we will lose.

As publisher of the New York Law Journal, I have occasion to talk to judges, lawyers, prosecutors and government officials. The special issue on drugs in the second section of today's edition results from some of these conversations.

AFFECT ON COURTS

These officials told me that soon there will hardly be a civil case tried because the courts will be completely clogged with drugs and drug-related cases. Upon looking further into the matter, I discovered, as others before me, that this was not just a matter of court congestion but of the survival of civilization.

I then wrote a front page editorial for the Law Journal, entitled "Needed: Another 'Manhattan Project' to Solve Nation's Drug Problem," which appeared on July 6, 1971. I was invited to write an Op-Ed article for the New York Times, entitled "Unhooking Addicts," which was published Sept. 11, 1971, and condensed in The Reader's Digest for December 1971, as "Our Own Andromeda Strain."

We then began preparing for today's special issue, and were appalled when we sought perspective. The perspective on drugs, as you will find from the special issue, is that we do not have one.

OUR KNOWLEDGE

What do we know about drugs and addiction?

A modest amount about the drugs themselves; a little about addiction; and much less about the entire relationship of drugs and addiction to our culture, our society, and our civilization.

We have ideas, hints, intuitions, the beginnings of knowledge. But not the knowledge itself. There are few hard facts. Apart from a few bits of carefully delineated laboratory results, most else is guesswork.

Throughout our report on the drug problem you will find highly inconsistent figures. This does not mean that the authors are charlatans—far from it; they are all dedicated men in their fields. It means that they are forced to work with the best material available—and it isn't good enough.

Not when our police, our neighbors, even our own children may join the army of addicts and pushers at any time.

Not when VA hospitals are unprepared to handle the flood of addicts and serum hepatitis cases.

Not when babies are born suffering from withdrawal symptoms because their mothers are addicts.

QUALIFIED CONCLUSIONS

Take the simple matter of drug-connected arrests. The weakest link in compiling these figures (as is readily admitted) is the tired desk sergeant who fills out the blotter, or the overworked patrolman who makes out the report. Can we seriously believe that figures compiled in this way bear any relation to reality? The most we can hope for is that idiosyncrasies will cancel each other out, statistically; and we will have some sort of trend which can be plotted. But this is pretty crude stuff, and any conclusions drawn must be qualified in the light of these inherent inaccuracies.

Approximations have their place, and we have to live in a world where action must be taken based on inadequate data. But this does not mean that we should casually accept inadequate data on vital matters when greater effort could bring an improvement.

Navigators may navigate by dead reckoning, but only if they have to—and then they feel justifiably uneasy. Businessmen work with inadequate data, but spend fortunes to refine it, making it less inadequate. Shouldn't we feel uneasy about the data on drugs? Shouldn't we be willing to spend the money to make it more accurate?

A BROADER GOAL

But let's not stop there. We must have the exploration of all possible avenues of control and cure of drug abuse, together with coordination of all existing and developing knowledge. A big job? Of course. One calling for heroic efforts. One calling for a Manhattan Project on Drugs. An all-out mobilization of every single available American resource from brains to dollars that would dwarf the original Manhattan Project or NASA.

EXPLORE ALL POSSIBILITIES

The original Manhattan Project did not set out to invent an atomic bomb according to any one preconceived theory. It explored every feasible theory at the same time, and produced working atomic bombs by two entirely different methods. The blind alleys followed are unimportant, because not just one, but two different approaches gave an acceptable answer.

The Manhattan Project on Drugs must likewise explore any and all feasible ways of controlling the larger problem of drugs and addiction, whether by scientific means or otherwise.

There are huge advantages. As Governor Rockefeller pointed out to me after one of my editorials advocating a Manhattan Project on Drugs, the original Manhattan Project, and to some extent NASA, had to operate in secret. The Manhattan Project on Drugs, on the other hand, can and should operate in the open. Everyone can contribute, and everyone will benefit. Not just from eliminating addiction, although that would be worth every ounce of effort at our command—but from the new and beneficial discoveries that are the inevitable by-products of a project of this magnitude.

FULL SUPPORT NEEDED

It is clear that no state or city can handle the drug problem without massive federal aid and coordination. President Nixon is doing more to fight drug abuse than any other President. But he cannot do more without full support of the public and the Congress.

Suppose we had had a Manhattan Project on Drugs five years ago. Think of the lives saved, the degradation avoided. Addiction appears to spread exponentially. Think what it will be like five years from now if we don't start now. Try to sleep on it.

WORSENING GAS SUPPLY CRISIS

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, of the 23 natural gas companies serving my State of New York, only two very small suppliers have been able to assure the State public service commission that they can obtain enough gas for the reasonable needs of their customers during this winter.

In this situation, the State public service commission has ordered utilities to refuse service to all new industrial and commercial customers unless the applicants demonstrate the capacity to switch to alternate fuels in an emergency, or unless they are engaged in industrial processes that absolutely require natural gas. Even residential customers in large multiple dwellings and apartment houses are denied new gas service for heating unless they have full facilities to burn an alternate fuel.

That is the situation in my State. Across the country, the natural gas supply shortage poses a threat of service curtailment.

Consider a few examples out of many:

The Michigan Consolidated Gas Co., which has nearly a million customers in Detroit and other areas, has announced that it does not have sufficient supply to serve all the industries that want to turn to gas for air-pollution control.

In Chicago, the Peoples Gas Co. has a waiting list of some 12,000 applications from hopeful industrial and commercial customers.

The Columbia Gas System, which serves customers in parts of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio, has announced that it expects to curtail delivery of gas to customers receiving service under interruptible contracts.

In California, the Pacific Lighting Corp., the country's biggest gas distributor with 3.1 million customers in southern and central California, has sharply cut back deliveries to large industrial users.

The Connecticut Light & Power Co. has found it necessary to refuse to take on any new customers, even residential customers, since early this year.

Here in the Metropolitan Washington area, the Washington Gas Light Co. has served notice that no new gas customers, except single family residential customers, can be accepted for an indefinite time into the future.

A hard winter will turn the threat of further cutbacks into a certainty in many areas. Widespread hope is expressed that service can be maintained to schools, public buildings, hospitals, and homes—at least for this winter. But what about next winter? And the winters after that?

The consumers of the Nation have reason for worry.

Mr. Speaker, there is no quick and easy way to cure the gas supply shortage. But the existing shortage and the threat of worse to come do not have to be regarded as an irreversible rush toward disaster.

It is true that nearly all of the present known reserves of natural gas are already committed for sale. However, we are assured by authoritative sources that potential reserves, waiting to be discovered and developed, would meet our national needs for many years to come.

An intensive exploration and development program by the gas-producing industry holds the answer to the gas supply shortage, now and in the future. That solution cannot come overnight—but the longer it is delayed, the worse our situation will become.

The necessity of this kind of program is recognized by producers. But they have hesitated to embark on it because Federal regulatory policies and manmade uncertainties add to the risk inherent in the business of gas production.

These policies make it impossible for the producer, once he has found a new source of supply, to know how much he will be paid for his gas or how long he will be paid the price stated in his contract with an interstate pipeline—even though that contract has been approved by the Federal Power Commission. The producer also labors under the knowledge that the Commission may change the rules governing how much gas he must deliver under his contract and how long he must continue to make deliveries.

This is a hard basis on which to try to do business. Such uncertainty obviously tends to discourage the producer from setting out on a costly effort to find and develop new supplies of gas for waiting customers.

H.R. 2513, which I introduced early in this session and on which comprehensive committee hearings have been held, proposes to take a step toward restoring incentive to the gas producer. It would do so by making the terms of contracts between producers and interstate pipelines valid and binding on all parties concerned once such contracts have been approved by the Federal Power Commission.

All major sales contracts would still have to be submitted to the Commission, which would retain the power of approval, approval subject to stated conditions, or disapproval. The significant change is that the Commission could no longer have second thoughts about contract terms and rescind its earlier approval. After the producer enters into an approved contract, he will know where he stands and can plan accordingly.

H.R. 2513 is essentially a sanctity-of-contract measure. It proposes to give contracts between gas producers and interstate pipelines the same inviolability that is customarily attached to legal contracts in every other field of business.

Its enactment will help to give producers the incentive they need to discover and develop the new supplies of natural gas the United States must have for the well-being of our people, for economic progress, and for a lessening of environmental pollution.

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Constitution as presently written can provide full equal rights for women while still preserving those necessary laws that protect women.

A new amendment to the Constitution could well create more confusion and legal uncertainty as to the rights of women. The best way to guarantee these rights is to continue to carefully apply the language of the Constitution in its present form.

Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues' careful attention the following splendid editorial from the Greenville, S.C., News, one of the South's leading newspapers, concerning a recent Supreme Court decision.

The editorial follows:

IS AMENDMENT REALLY NECESSARY?

The recent unanimous Supreme Court ruling that the 14th Amendment bars arbitrary discrimination against women should give supporters of an additional constitutional amendment to assure female equality under the law some second thoughts. This is not an old argument against the need for the proposed women's rights amendment, but the court's action gives it new strength.

The Supreme Court based its ruling in an obscure Idaho case on the 14th Amendment's directive that "no state deny the equal protection of the laws to any person within its jurisdiction." This was the first time the high court has used the equal protection clause in a women's rights case.

It is difficult to see how the proposed amendment could do much more to make the sexes equal under the law. In the Idaho case the court struck down a state law which arbitrarily made a father the administrator of his deceased son's estate, an action contested by the mother who was estranged from the father.

Constitutional proposals designed to assure equality for women have been talked in Congress since 1923. Pressure from various women's rights groups has prompted congressional leaders to take a serious look this year at actually adopting some type of measure to be passed on to the states for ratification.

The House has passed a proposal which provides that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." The Senate Judiciary subcommittee has reported out a version of this proposal amended to allow distinction between the rights and responsibilities of men and women only on the basis of "physiological or functional differences."

The point, however, that has been consistently argued by constitutional and legal experts all during the debate is that women already have equal rights under the Constitution. The Supreme Court's application of the equal protection clause to a sex discrimination case clearly points out the constitutional safeguards women have.

The court's action offers solid evidence that another amendment to the Constitution is unnecessary, and would only serve to create legal complications that could be avoided by more extensive utilization of the 14th and 5th Amendments. Supporters of the women's rights amendments would do well to thoroughly test existing provisions in the Constitution before recklessly tacking on more verbiage.

The court has opened the door with its ruling in the Idaho case. Rather than spend more time in considering new amendments, Congress could do more for women by using its enforcement powers under present amendments to put the finger on state laws that work an unreasonable discrimination against females.

A new amendment will not automatically end the unfair treatment that women receive at the hands of the law in many cases. Some of the versions, in fact, especially the Senate subcommittee measure, could even create more room for discrimination.

The cause of justice—and the Constitution—will be better served if the emphasis is turned on strict interpretation of the equal protection already available. Another amendment should be employed only as a last resort to assure women the fair treatment all citizens deserve.

WELFARE CHEATING RING UNCOVERED

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, local and State governments and the Federal Government have grown increasingly concerned in the past few years that the cost of providing welfare assistance to the Nation's needy has skyrocketed.

Undeniably, most of the increase can be traced to the growth in the number of eligible persons and the liberalization of payments, but also undeniably some of the increase can be charged to faulty organization, inadequate investigative procedures, and outright fraud.

I have long advocated tighter supervision of welfare procedures to control these problems, so I was especially pleased to learn recently that a welfare supervisor in my home county, Prince Georges County, Md., has broken up an organized ring that had been cheating the county out of about $40,000 in welfare and food stamp benefits.

I congratulate and commend the supervisor, Mr. Richard Smith, and insert into the RECORD an article from the Washington Post of December 12 describing how the ring was broken at this point:

WELFARE CHEATING RING UNCOVERED

(By Jim Mann)

One day last winter, Richard Smith, a quiet, unassuming welfare supervisor in Prince Georges County, noticed something peculiar as he looked through the pile of papers on his desk.

That day there had been three different applications to the county's department of social services for "emergency" welfare assistance, submitted by women whose children included twins.

Knowing that twins are relatively rare, Smith grew suspicious and began to investigate.

The result, four months later, was the discovery that an organized ring has been cheating the county out of about $40,000 in welfare and food stamp benefits.

The investigators learned that women applying for welfare exchanged wigs among themselves in order to change their appearance, and often gave non-existent addresses when they applied for welfare help.

At one point, Prince Georges warned three neighboring Maryland counties to beware of one "Red Willie" and his brown Cadillac, said to be roving the area with a number of women who were schooled to apply for welfare.

Welfare officials across the state exchanged notes and photographs of people they suspected were submitting fake welfare applications.

Federal investigators from the Department of Agriculture quietly attempted to take pictures of people applying for food stamps.

And some measures taken in an effort to halt the fraud were met by sophisticated countermoves on the part of the welfare recipients.

"Most of our clients are still honest,"

Smith said in a recent interview. "But for someone who is criminally inclined and wants to pick up $200, it (welfare fraud) is cheaper than bank robbery; it's easier to get away with, and it involves a lesser charge if you're caught."

Smith and Prince Georges County are far from alone in their problems. Officials in many other jurisdictions across the country, including the District of Columbia and Baltimore, have had their own cases of food stamp fraud, sometimes with greater losses than Prince Georges.

But the Prince Georges episode illustrates the dilemma facing welfare officials generally as they attempt to guard against fraud while at the same time taking care of people who legitimately need help.

At the root of the fraud in Prince Georges County is the so-called "declaration" system of applying for welfare and food stamp benefits—especially as this system relates to "emergency" or immediate assistance.

(Food stamps are coupons sold for a price below their face value, to recipients who later use them like cash to buy food at a grocery store or supermarket.)

Basically, the declaration system means that a local welfare agency accepts a request for welfare benefits and distributes money or other aid without any prior investigation to determine if the applicant's claims are true.

The rationale is to avoid the invasions of privacy and atmosphere of suspicion that, civil libertarians have argued, have often pervaded welfare programs. There are no home visits, requests for birth certificates, or other checks.

SAVES HIGH COSTS

Supporters of the declaration system also argue that it saves the high costs of policing welfare programs and investigating every single application.

About half of the states operate under a declaration system for the largest and most common welfare program, known as aid for families with dependent children (AFDC). Those states include Maryland and the District of Columbia, but not Virginia, in which some but not all counties operates under a declaration system for AFDC payments.

Ordinarily, even under the declaration system, there is a delay between the time a person fills out a welfare application and the time he or she recives the benefits.

But it is possible in many places, including the District of Columbia, Maryland and parts of Virginia, to receive "emergency" aid—to fill out an application and then receive cash or food stamps on the same day.

The aim of emergency assistance is to provide immediate help for those who need it—people who have been evicted, or disabled, or who have no money to feed their children.

In Prince George's, the emergency aid was at the heart of the fraud scheme uncovered by Smith.

Alerted by the recurrence of twins, Smith decided to check the recent emergency applications in the county. He discovered that over an eight-day period, the department had received 12 different applications from people who brought notes from their landlords saying they had been evicted.

Seven of the 12 cases involved women with twins.

Smith and other officials sent out letters to these 12 people at the addresses listed at the addresses listed on their applications. All the letters came back stamped "addressee unknown."

Smith wrote a memo to his superiors on Feb. 11 stating his conviction that there was "an organized kind of fraud, the twins being added so that there are a large number of children who are preschool age (so we cannot call schools and easily verify existence)." In general, the more children an applicant has, the more welfare money she receives.

CAREFUL CHECK MADE

For the next several months, welfare workers were under instructions to check carefully all persons who applied for emergency aid.

Several times, when women did apply for emergency benefits, and welfare workers explained that the names and birth dates of their children would have to be verified through hospital records, the women walked out of the office.

(Smith says that the welfare office will not detain or arrest an individual until it is absolutely certain it can prove fraud.)

The workers noticed, Smith recalls, that the women applying for emergency welfare—the ones who walked out of the office when questioned—were "so much better dressed than anyone else, including the workers. They went first class."

But the scheme continued, because the emergency applicants changed their tactics. So that they wouldn't be recognized, Smith says, the women wore different wigs, which they exchanged among themselves.

After a while, their stories were not always the same, either. Sometimes they had twins and sometimes they didn't. Sometimes, they said they needed emergency help because they were evicted; sometimes they said they needed help because they or their husbands were disabled.

Usually the welfare office would discover it had been defrauded only after the emergency help had been given.

For example, one applicant brought a detailed statement of physical disability, complete with blood pressure, pulse rate and an illness that was described in technical medical terms. Much later it turned out that the disability was similar—and the blood pressure and pulse rate were identical—to those on at least one other disability statement submitted under a different name.

In addition, the welfare office began to discover that it was being cheated out of other payments besides those initial emergency payments.

Ordinarily, so long as a woman applying for emergency aid also qualifies financially for regular monthly AFDC (welfare) checks, the county routinely begins mailing those checks the month after it gives emergency payment.

NONEXISTENT ADDRESSES

Smith said that sometimes, because the applications for emergency aid gave addresses that did not exist, the AFDC checks for the following months would be returned by the post office.

But sometimes, Smith says, those women gave real addresses and managed to keep and cash subsequent checks as well as the emergency checks. Welfare officials later discovered that these addresses were sometimes used several times under several different names.

"We lost so much money to one address on Southern Avenue that we could really have improved the neighborhood," Smith says.

On a few occasions, too, the women would not apply for emergency assistance at all, but would apply for regular public assistance at the outset.

"As we would get more sophisticated, so would they," Smith says. "We underestimated them completely."

In mid-April, county officials got what they thought was a break. A woman applied for emergency assistance, and while she waited in the office, the welfare worker, checking carefully, discovered that she had given a phony address.

This time—in contrast with similar cases in the past—the woman did not get up and walk out. Instead, she calmly told welfare officials a lengthy story about how she had come to apply for welfare.

According to welfare officials, the woman said she had been picked up in the District of Columbia by a man named Red Willie who drove a brown Cadillac and taught women how to apply for welfare.

The woman also said that "Red Willie" claimed to be in league with welfare department staff members, according to welfare department officials.

How much if any of what the woman said was true, or whether there actually was a "Red Willie," has never been determined.

COLLUSION DENIED

Smith dismisses the idea that any welfare officials was involved in the fraud scheme, and federal investigators, who have since conducted investigations in Prince Georges, say there is absolutely no evidence of any collusion by officials.

Smith says he assumes some women were, in fact, told that a supervisor was cooperating, by someone who later took a portion of the welfare checks "for the supervisor" and kept it himself.

In any case a few days later after the Red Willie incident the Prince Georges department of social services sent out an official letter to its counterparts in Montgomery, Anne Arundel and Baltimore counties and Baltimore city, warning them that Red Willie and his brown Cadillac might strike at their offices, too.

Such contact with welfare and food stamp officials in other counties was beginning to produce results. District of Columbia officials provided Prince Georges with a full-report, including names and photographs, of people suspected of welfare and food stamp fraud in the District. Baltimore City also reported it was having troubles strikingly similar to those in Prince Georges.

FEDERAL PROBE PUSHED

In addition, federal food stamp investigators, under the direction of Department of Agriculture Inspector General Nathaniel Kossack, noticed apparent irregularities in Washington-area food stamp programs and began their own investigation, in Prince Georges County and other jurisdictions.

At one point, Smith says, Prince Georges officials attempted to call a person suspected of participating in the fraud scheme into their office, so that federal officials could take pictures of that person receiving food stamps. It never happened, because the suspect would not come into the office, Smith says.

It was apparently not the only time during their Maryland investigation that federal investigators tried to take pictures of food stamp recipients.

Beulah Carter, director of social services for Caroline County on Maryland's Eastern Shore, says that pictures were taken in her county of a food stamp recipient suspected of fraud.

The federal investigators arranged to have local police photograph the recipient through a telescopic lens at a prearranged signal as the woman was leaving the county courthouse, Mrs. Carter says. The picture was taken, but Mrs. Carter says the suspect turned out to be a legitimate food stamp recipient.

Federal officials have refused to comment on the reported picture-taking. Kossack said he does not discuss his department's investigative techniques.

Meanwhile, in early May, the Prince Georges department of social services began to examine every single public assistance case it had processed since the previous September—about 2,000 in all.

That study has turned up at least 45 different cases of fraud between September, 1970, and June, 1971. Those 45 cases cost a total of "between $20,000 and $45,000—maybe more," Smith says, in welfare benefits. (Of those welfare costs, 50 percent are paid by the federal government.)

Those losses generally were in the form of AFDC checks of $200 to $300 per month, Smith says, but the study uncovered one woman apparently participating in the fraud who was receiving a check of $700 per month.

Those dollar estimates include only the money lost in welfare benefits. Most of the people obtaining welfare assistance also obtained food stamps at the same time, Smith says. He estimated that the food stamp losses amounted to about 45 per cent of the welfare losses—roughly $10,000 to $20,000.

ADDITIONAL LOSSES

It is possible there were additional losses besides. Smith says that those people who were discovered to be using fake names and addresses also obtained medicaid cards, enabling them to get medical care at public expense. But he says that his department does not know whether these cards were used.

In June, Prince Georges officials began contacting and questioning most people who had received emergency assistance or who were otherwise suspected of being involved in the fraud scheme.

"The heat was really on," Smith says. Within weeks, applications with fake names and fake addresses stopped coming in.

No criminal charges have been filed in connection with the fraud in Prince Georges.

Smith says the scattered instances of fraud "are continuing" in Prince Georges, but not on the scale that occurred earlier this year.

In an effort to further cut down on the possibility of fraud, Smith said, Prince Georges County will begin within a week or two to check all Social Security numbers of welfare recipients against computerized records.

But this screening will not affect the emergency aid program. The Social Security numbers will not be checked until after a person is given emergency assistance or emergency food stamps, Smith said, unless for some reason an official becomes suspicious of an emergency application.

As Smith admitted to a reporter; "If you wanted to come in here tomorrow, dress shabbily, say your name was Ralph Royster-Doyster, and show us you're out of work, you could get public assistance for 30 days."

THE BALD EAGLE, THE NATIONAL EMBLEM, IS IN SERIOUS MANMADE TROUBLE

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, the eagle has been a symbol of power and authority since ancient times. It dominates Western history as an emblem of the Egyptians, Babylonians, the Christian era, the Caesars, Eastern Roman Empire, Charlemagne, Holy Roman Emperors, Russian Czars, Austrian Emperors, the United States, and other modern nations.

It was Caius Marius, Julius Caesar's uncle, who gave to each Roman legion an eagle of silver or gold to be borne on a pole as the semidivine emblem of military strength, similar to the eagle or vulture on the battle standards of the Sumerians and Persians.

To the Christians the eagle symbolized the strength and protection of the Lord and the fulfillment of the Messianic age into which they had been borne. They hoped to escape from the rule of Rome as Israel had escaped from the bondage of Egypt, on strong and protective wings. The bird of the Apostle John was the magnificent eagle of God, which in the Old Testament, protected his throne. In Revelation 4: 7, the four beings who served God with their courage, strength, wisdom, and speed appeared to John as a lion, an ox, a man, and a flying eagle.

In Greek mythology the paramount religious figure was Zeus, god of the sky. His eagle was the only bird believed to dwell on Mount Olympus.

Of the birds and animals used in medieval history, the German eagle was probably the oldest, dating to 12th century Teutonic arms. The practice of adopting a personal coat of arms started in Europe after the First Crusade of 1100 A.D. It was immensely helpful on the field of battle where all knights looked alike unless distinguished by different colors. Heraldry continues to the present day, not only in personal coat of arms, but in those of commercial firms, schools, cities, states, and nations.

On July 4, 1776, the question of a design for an official seal came before the Continental Congress. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson were appointed to a committee to create a seal. Six years later, on June 20, 1782, Congress passed a resolution for the mark displaying the Bald Eagle. The design was almost entirely the creation of Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, and William Barton, a private citizen, Congress being unable to agree on designs submitted by the committee. Following the adoption of the Constitution, Congress passed the act of September 15, 1789, providing for the design to be the Great Seal of the United States.

Placing the Bald Eagle on the Seal did not provide protection to the bird however. Indeed, laws were enacted that actually sought the bird's demise, and were in effect until just a few years ago.

The systematic destruction of our national emblem has a history relating to the first adopted conservation laws. The legislation divided birds of prey into "good and bad" based on an analysis of stomach contents. Those eating insects, mice and rats were "good," and open warfare was declared on all others, offering bounties as an incentive for their destruction. In some States these laws still stand as they were written.

Since the beginning of conservation in the United States only two Federal laws have been passed to protect birds of prey, and both encountered strong opposition. The National Emblem Law, enacted in 1940, banned killing the Bald Eagle in the United States and all its Territories, except Alaska. And the Golden Eagle Act of the 1960's extended protection to that magnificent bird, the national emblem of Mexico.

One of the reasons for Alaska's opposition to the National Emblem Law was the bird's interference with the fishing industry. The main diet of the eagle is fish, usually carrion. The concern of the industry was not that they ate fish, but because they perched on fish trap poles causing the salmon to panic and beat themselves on the nets making them unfit for canning. And the Alaskan fox farmers disliked the bird, because it could raid their free roaming stock.

In the Territory of Alaska the initial legislation pertaining to the Bald Eagle was enactment of a bounty law in 1917. It authorized payment of 50 cents for each pair of eagle feet. In 5 years bounty was paid on 15,745 eagles. In 1923, the bounty was increased to $1, and in the next 17 years an additional 79,746 eagles were killed. These figures from the authoritative book, Birds of Prey of the World, indicate the totals do not include eagles which may have been killed for sport and not claimed for bounty, or wounded and escaped.

When the National Emblem Law was enacted in 1940, the Alaskan Legislature effectively removed the bounty by not appropriating funds for it. But the law remained in force until 1945, when it was repealed.

Those concerned about the appalling rate of eagle kills began to breathe easier, but the interlude was short lived, because the law was reenacted in 1949 and payment was increased to $2 per eagle.

Hunters and fishermen immediately went to work and payment on 7,455 eagles was made in a 2-year period. That is an average of 10 eagles per day, 7 days a week, 52 weeks a year.

It takes 4 years for an eagle to acquire adulthood. Breeding cycles are usually every other year, and often less. On this basis, the eagle suffered a 29,820 life-year-loss during this 2-year period in the middle of this century. In the face of such pressure, it is small wonder the eagle population was dractically reduced. In all, over 100,000 were killed before the slaughter was stopped.

It was not until 1963 that the eagle bounty law was repealed in Alaska. That action followed development by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. They reduced the fishing industry's concern by demonstrating that spikes installed on the top of net poles prevented the eagle from landing on them. And during this period, many fur farmers had gone out of business due to a declining market, however, the Service suggested those still in operation, protect their smaller farms under screens.

Meanwhile, on the mainland, the Bald Eagle became increasing rare. Despite the protection given by the National Emblem Law the bird numbers decreased, and are still decreasing.

A variety of reasons can be given for this; growth of cities and housing developments into previously forested areas, nesting sites destroyed by lumbering, and contamination of food sources by dumping industrial wastes and pesticides into streams and rivers.

Formerly found in every State, the Bald Eagle now concentrates in significant numbers in the east, only in Florida. Over 1½ million acres have been set aside there for the bird. Where water is unpolluted, the population is holding well. But recent investigations reveal there is a strong link between pesticides and the lack of nesting success. Remoteness however, is not a definite requirement. In Florida, Bald Eagles have constructed nests in trees on golf courses and in towns, and the aeries are a source of local pride.

Two white eggs are usually laid, but recently the norm is one egg. Incubation lasts 35 days and both parents care for the young. The fledglings leave the nest by the 13th week, but stay near the aerie for another 3 months to be fed by the parents and sharpen his flying skills.

Studies conducted in Florida prove the dramatic decrease in the number of Bald Eagles. In a publication of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife an eagle population study in Florida by Mr. C. L. Broley is given.

In 1943, Broley found 125 active nests between Tampa and Fort Myers. By 1947, he noticed 40 percent of the nests failed to produce any young. He had been banding 150 eagles a year, but by 1950 he found only 24 young, and watched in dismay as the number continued to decrease to eight in 1955, and in 1958 just one eagle was found. Broley fears sterility caused by pesticides.

A reversal of this trend is noted in the Everglades National Park where chemical pollution is a lesser danger. In 1959, there were 24 nests producing 18 young. By 1964 the number of nests had increased to 51, hatching 41 eaglets.

But encouraging and heartening as this new isolated trend is, it sadly is not enough. The Hawk Mountain Sanctuary in Pennsylvania, formerly the site of an annual bird slaughter by hunters, but now a bird counting station during the migratory season, report statistics showing the Bald Eagles decline in the Eastern United States. In 1940, 38 out of every 100 Bald Eagles using the flyway were immature. By 1955, the proportion fell to 21 out of 100, and by 1964 the ratio had dropped to 10 out of 100. The figures reveal that productivity is decreasing, a signal that a species is in serious trouble and faces extinction.

There is also proof that pesticides are taking a heavy toll of eagles. Many of the chemicals are useful in that they control insects and rodent population. But many of the poisons do not breakdown as they move through the food chain, becoming highly concentrated in higher life forms.

One such contaminant is dieldrin, used in termite control. In the spring of 1971 conservationist K. O. Otis of Accokeek, Md., acquired a female Bald Eagle that had become tangled in a barbed wire fence and later died. An autopsy report by the Wildlife Center in Maryland revealed the bird died of dieldrin poisoning. Four parts per million in the brain can be fatal. The eagle's brain had 11 parts per million, and its body 18 parts per million. There were also traces of other environmental contaminants including DDE, DDD, heptachlor expoxide, and PCB. However none of these was judged to be at a sufficient level to cause death. No comment was made as to possible interference with reproduction.

Early this year the center performed autopsies on 22 bald and golden eagle carcasses found in Wyoming. All were poisoned with thalium sulphate, used for predator control.

A 1969 study of 69 eagle carcasses sent to the center revealed 11 died of environmental poisons, and eight of these from dieldrin. One each died of DDT, lead, and mercury poisoning.

Use of these persistent chemical compounds has not stopped. But the Environmental Protection Agency has instituted proceedings that would halt their use.

The only section of the contiguous 48 States not reporting an eagle population decline is the Northwest. In the vastness of inaccessible territory, away from the harmful influence of man the predator and silent sterilizer, only here in the solitude and harshness of this great land area could the national emblem find the peace and environment that could allow it to survive.

Surely man had learned his lesson and would leave him alone. Hunted, harassed, depopulated in every region of the United States it sought this last refuge to live its life as nature decreed. Surely man would end his torment of the magnificent and beautiful bird chosen as the symbol of his Nation.

But such was not to be. Man failed to learn that his wasteful practices must be changed; that he has the power to wipe from the face of the earth animal and plant life, disturbing the balance of nature; that he must therefore truly become a custodian of life on earth if he, and life as we know it, is to survive.

Sadly, and most regrettably, the lesson has not been learned and the destruction continues. I refer to the recent butchery in Wyoming by ranchers of more than 500 eagles since September 1970. Using helicopters and planes the birds were reported shot from the air, while in other western areas poisons have been used. This carnage was performed despite the Federal law authorizing a $500 fine and/or 6 months in prison.

As the National Wildlife Federation has pointed out, it is clear that a $500 fine is no deterrent to those able to hire aircraft. As the number of eagles declines criminal shooting becomes a serious threat to its survival.

I note with approval Interior Secretary Morton's statement that he intends to vigorously prosecute anyone caught. But I believe the Secretary needs a more powerful punch than what is currently authorized by law.

Therefore, I am proposing an amendment to the National Emblem Law of 1940. It has come to my attention that the same ranchers who reportedly sent gunmen hunting for eagles are those who are benefiting from bargain rate permits allowing animal herd grazing on Federal lands. My bill would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to impose a $5,000 fine, and to revoke all public land grazing permits, all licenses, and lease. granted by the Department of the Interior held by anyone convicted of violating laws or departmental regulations protecting the bald and golden eagle or accipiters, and impose a 1-year prison sentence.

And for those beyond Interior Department jurisdiction my amendment would authorize the Federal Government to impose a $5,000 fine and the revocation of all Federal permits and licenses held by any individual or corporation convicted of violating this law, and 1 year in prison.

My amendment will admittedly do nothing to combat losses caused by pollution. But concern and action is already underway in those fields. The small numbers of Bald Eagles remaining make all the more important the stopping of wanton, deliberate mass slaughter of our Nation's symbol. In that respect I believe my amendment will have some effect. It provides the Secretary of the Interior and the Federal Government with tools having teeth to stop the killings.

The Bald Eagle, the national emblem, is in serious manmade trouble. It is time we face that fact and start reacting to it.

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF ESTES KEFAUVER

HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the pleasure of reading a new book by a Tennessean about a Tennessean. Joe Gorman, a native of Knoxville, has written an exciting and informative political biography entitled "Kefauver." The publisher is Oxford University Press and the price is $10.

Gorman refers to the book as a political biography, rather than simply as a biography, because he focuses his view on the political career of the late Senator. His purpose is not to study Kefauver's personal life, nor the inner workings of his private affairs.

The book begins with Estes Kefauver's entry into the political arena as a freshman Congressman in 1939. Gorman takes us through the Chattanooga Democrat's career step by step, keeping us abreast of the political climate in Tennessee and the Nation as we proceed. He takes us through the exciting 1948 Senate campaign to the famous crime investigations of the early fifties, from the unsuccessful presidential bid of 1952 to the vice presidential candidacy in 1956, from his senatorial fight against monopoly during the late fifties and early sixties, to his death in August of 1963.

The book is much more than a mere chronicle of the major events in Kefauver's career. Gorman recognizes the drama inherent in politics, and he includes a great deal of information which captures the dramatic aspect of Kefauver's career.

For example, he relates the origin of the famous coonskin cap which became the most successful campaign symbol in American political history. During the 1948 Senate primary race, Memphis political boss Ed Crump compared Kefauver to a pet coon in full-page ads printed in Tennessee's largest newspapers.

Kefauver countered with a special radio speech in which he said:

> This animal—the most American of all animals—has been defamed. . . . It is the cleanest of all animals; it is one of the most courageous. . . . A coon . . . can lick a dog four times its size; he is somewhat of a

"giant killer" among the animals. Yes, the coon is all America. Davy Crockett, Sam Houston, James Robertson and all of our great men of that era in Tennessee history wore the familiar ringtailed, coonskin cap Mr. Crump defames me—but worse than that he defames the coon, the all American animal. We coons can take care of ourselves. I may be a pet coon, but I "ain't" Mr. Crump's pet coon.

Within a few days, a Chattanooga bank mailed Kefauver one of its commercial symbols, a coonskin cap, and his campaign was given the boost needed to vault him into the U.S. Senate.

Joe Gorman is obviously an admirer of the late Senator, but this fact does not prevent his acknowledging the man's weaknesses and shortcomings. Instead, he accepts the man for what he was and for what he accomplished, but this leaves plenty of room for admiration.

If the politics of Tennessee and the United States during the forties, fifties, and sixties interests you, I recommend that you read Joe Gorman's "Kefauver." I found it to be exceptionally good reading.

CONTINUING FOREIGN AID: SPECIAL INTEREST LEGISLATION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the House has today passed by a vote of 233 to 86 the bill, House Joint Resolution 1005, the continuing resolution providing for foreign aid programs through March 15, 1972, or until such time as the Congress acts to appropriate funds for such programs for fiscal year 1972, whichever first occurs.

Of some interest to the Members was the fact that the country of Israel was excluded from certain provisions of this joint resolution to facilitate the continuation of military aid to Israel. The bill is quite clear that this is special interest legislation:

(2) SECTION 108 is amended to read:

"SEC. 108. Except as hereinafter provided in this section, and notwithstanding the provisions of any other sections of this joint resolution, obligations incurred hereunder for foreign economic assistance, military assistance and sales, security supporting assistance, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and activities provided for in titles III and IV of H.R. 12067, 92nd Congress, shall not exceed the lowest of (i) the rate for operations which would be authorized under H.R. 9910, 92nd Congress, as passed by the House, (ii) the rate for operations which would be authorized under S. 2819 and S. 2820, 92nd Congress, both as passed by the Senate, or (iii) the rate for operations which would be provided by H.R. 12067, 92nd Congress, as passed by the House: *Provided*, That military credit sales to Israel may be conducted at not to exceed the rate for operations provided for under section 101(d) of this joint resolution: *Provided further*, That foreign military sales activities (other than with respect to Israel) may be conducted at a rate of operations not exceeding $175,000,000:

Presumably, Mr. Speaker, these provisions are included in the continuing appropriation to allow the administration leeway in arming and financially aiding Israel from aggression of Soviet-supported Egypt and the Arab world thus maintaining the mythical balance of power in the Middle East.

If this is true, then the following article from the morning paper should be of interest to our colleagues. It certainly presents a strange paradox—the American Government will be aiding and giving military assistance to Israel to protect her from the "aggression" of her friend and diplomatic ally the Soviet Union.

In Louisiana we call it playing with a stacked deck. Soviet Russia cannot lose—they play both sides. They know what they are after. We do not.

I ask that a related news article be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 15, 1971]

SOVIET HINTS STEP TOWARD ISRAELI TIES

Victor Louis, the Soviet operative who recently visited Israel, reported yesterday that diplomatic relations between Moscow and Jerusalem, which were broken as a result of the six day war in 1967, may soon be partially restored.

Louis, a correspondent for the London Evening News who is also believed to be associated with Soviet intelligence organizations, reported from Moscow that "current migration (of Soviet Jews to Israel) might require some Israeli diplomats in the Dutch Embassy in Moscow and Russian diplomats in the Finnish Embassy in Tel Aviv."

Israeli officials in Washington said no such proposal for an exchange of personnel had been made by the Soviet Union. They said it was up to Moscow to take the first step because it was the Soviet Union that had broken diplomatic ties.

The Israelis have consistently denied reports of contacts with Soviet officials.

Louis said in his dispatch that some 100 Jews a day were leaving the Soviet Union. Soviet Premier Alex Kosygin has said the number this year would reach 10,000 but it appears it may go beyond that.

Louis wrote: "The two powerful backers of the emigrants are the Soviet airline Aeroflot and the Soviet Transport Ministry, which needs the business to fulfill quotas for annual bonuses." He suggested in his article that the number of Soviet migrants might fall off after December.

THE PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL COMMISSION ON FIRE PREVENTION AND CONTROL

HON. STEWART B. McKINNEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. McKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, many Americans may not know that there has been an appalling loss of life, because of destructive fire in the nursing homes of this Nation.

The safety of the residents of nursing homes must be a prime concern of all of us. It is one of the continuing problems of the aging who should command every human consideration of all Americans. I am happy that the President's National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control is probing this matter in the course of its 2-year study of the Nation's fire problem.

The purpose of the President's National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control is to undertake a study and investigation to determine practicable and effective measures for reducing the destructive effects of fire in life and property throughout the country. The Commission will submit to President Nixon and to the Congress a report of its findings and recommendations.

Recently Chairman Richard E. Bland of this Presidential Commission, spoke eloquently of the need for a greater vigilance on the conditions in nursing homes as a very necessary step to help prevent fires from breaking out in these homes for our older citizens. This vigilance should in some cases extend to more severe building and electrical wiring codes as well as in other areas such as better smoke and fire detection and alarm systems. For one helpless old person who may not be able to walk or who is sedated to lose his or her life, because of what might be inadequate vigilance is unforgiveable.

Chairman Bland is also associate professor of engineering research at the Institute for Science and Engineering of Pennsylvania State University at State College, Pa.

He made his remarks over NBC radio network October 20, 1971, concerning the loss of 15 lives at the Geiger Nursing Home fire near Honesdale, Pa., the night of October 19, 1971.

Other important aspects of the Nation's fire problem and the work of the President's National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control have been discussed in an informative article in the Atlanta Constitution, of December 7, 1971. Entitled, "U.S. Fire Prevention Panel to Probe Residential Fires," the article was written by the able Atlanta Constitution staff member, Mr. Chuck Bell.

The article brings out the need for serious study in the fire area associated with one- and two-family dwellings in which as much as 80 percent of the country's life loss is sustained. In the article, Mr. Clayton Willis, the respected race relations and international affairs specialist, said accurately that there is a need to review the fire problem as it relates to the low-income areas in the ghettos in the Spanish-speaking barrios, the harassment of firefighters and ethnic minority group employment in the fire service. The whole subject certainly deserves a thorough study and I am pleased that the Commission is taking this initiative.

Mr. Willis was a former writer for the New York Amsterdam News in Harlem, New York City; consultant for the Ford Foundation; staff member of the United Nations Secretariat, and a staff writer for Newsweek.

Mr. Howard D. Tipton, who was for many years the dynamic city manager of Glendora, Calif., and a consultant to various cities in California, assumed his duties as Executive Director of the Commission in September of this year.

I insert the transcript of Chairman Bland's statement on NBC, and the article by Mr. Chuck Bell in the Atlanta Constitution in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the transcript of the broadcast and the article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY CHAIRMAN RICHARD E. BLAND

I am shocked at the tragic loss of fifteen lives by destructive fire in a private nursing home for the elderly near Honesdale, Pennsylvania last night.

It is particularly sad because as is so often true of fires in nursing homes, some of the victims were bed-ridden. There can be no greater experience of horror than for an elderly person to be aware of a fire sweeping toward him knowing that he is helpless to try to escape.

Many Americans are not aware that approximately 12,000 lives were snuffed out by destructive fire in our country in 1970. Some of the most sickening losses have been registered in our homes for the aged.

On January 14th of this year in Louisville, Kentucky, fourteen people died in the Westminster Terrace Presbyterian Home for Senior Citizens.

Six people lost their lives on September 15, 1971, in Salt Lake City, Utah, in a home for senior citizens.

To cite another example of these tragedies, on January 9, 1970, a blaze took 32 lives in the Harmar Convalescent Home in Marietta, Ohio.

Elderly people are often not in nursing homes by their own choice. In effect, they are in captivity. Hence it is the public's responsibility as near as possible to guarantee protection and evacuation procedures that will facilitate their escape. They cannot be expected to move on their own in hostile environments associated with fires. Thus, we must make it a public responsibility the enforcement of regulations which guarantee their safety.

A major purpose of this Presidential Commission is to determine more effective ways to reduce the loss of life and property by fire in the United States.

I would like to point out that we cannot be too vigilant in taking steps to prevent fires.

Let us remember that the prime factors of loss of life by fire in dwellings are: open stairways, no escape plan in case of fire, no automatic detection system, flammable clothing and combustible interior finish.

Leading causes of home fires are: heating and cooking equipment, electrical wiring and appliances, smoking, children and matches, ignition of rubbish and flammable liquids.

This terrible loss of life in Honesdale, Pennsylvania, should once again provide a shocking reminder to all Americans that the responsibility for the loss of life and property lies with all of us.

U.S. FIRE PREVENTION PANEL TO PROBE RESIDENTIAL FIRES

(By Chuck Bell)

ATHENS, GA.—Fires in one- and two-family dwellings will be subjected to "serious study" during the next two years, a spokesman for the President's National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control said here Monday.

Clayton Willis said the Commission has "established reason for serious study in the fire area associated with one- and two-family dwellings. As much as 80 per cent of the life loss is in one- and two-family dwellings such as houses and duplexes. Also, approximately 30 per cent of the annual dollar loss is in the residential category."

The 18 member Commission, meeting at the University of Georgia, announced a series of public hearings on fire prevention problems. The first hearing will be in Washington, D.C., February 15–17.

Willis said the Commission will study nursing home fires and "will also look into fire as it relates to the low income areas in the ghettos and in the Spanish speaking barrios, the harassment of fire fighters and ethnic minority group employment in the fire service. People in these areas frequently get inadequate protection because they don't have the political power to get city administrators to give them the protection they need."

Howard D. Tipton, the Commission's executive director, said the purpose of the Commission is to undertake a study and investigation to determine measures for reducing the destructive effects of fire on life and property throughout the country.

The Commission will submit its findings and recommendations to the President and the Congress at the end of the two-year study, Tipton said.

Richard E. Bland, Associate Professor of Engineering Research at the Institute for Science and Engineering of Pennsylvania State University, is chairman of the Commission. William Howard McClennan, President of the 156,000 member International Association of Fire Fighters, is vice chairman.

GREATER FEDERAL ROLE IN FISCAL SUPPORT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IS URGED BY DEMOCRATIC POLICY COUNCIL PLANNING GROUP

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to draw to the attention of my colleagues an excellent statement recommending a threefold increase in current Federal financial support of public elementary and secondary education to help States achieve the fiscal reform needed to improve educational quality.

The recommendation was made on December 12, 1971, by a Democratic Policy Council planning group on education.

The measure was recommended as part of a "4-year goal to increase one-third the level of Federal support of the cost of public elementary and secondary education."

The committee is headed by Marian Wright Edelman of the Washington Research Project Action Council and Val Boothe of Weber State College, Utah. It met in Washington last Wednesday to develop Democratic alternatives in education for consideration by the 1972 Democratic Platform Committee. The committee discussed a wide range of educational issues from early childhood to postgraduate education.

The resolution was adopted in response to the serious financial and qualitative problems confronting public education in the 1070's.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD the text of the resolution.

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION

All Americans—rich and poor—support public education and want their children to derive the maximum benefit from it. The problems of educational excellence are, however, inextricably linked with the problems of adequate and equitable financial support. As we look to the 1970s, education faces two serious fiscal challenges: (1) reducing the disparities in public school expenditures and (2) reducing revenue dependency on local property taxes.

The financial crisis in local schools has arisen because:

The primary source of support for schools is the local property tax, which does not automatically rise with real growth and inflation—while teachers' salaries and other school costs do.

The recession has sapped the revenues of state government, the second most important source of funds.

The education expenditures of the federal government have failed, since 1969, to keep pace with educational needs.

The resulting squeeze on school districts has been uneven in its effect. Cities and poor rural areas, badly in need of resources three years ago, are more in need than ever.

We believe our nation's priorities in the '70s will best be served by the realization of the following national educational goals:

(1) Greater equalization of resources between local districts and states.

(2) An emphasis on quality of education at all levels.

(3) A real effort to meet the special needs of educationally disadvantaged children, whether handicapped by lack of income, physical disability, residential barriers, or by a non-English speaking family background.

Accordingly, the planning group on education recommends to the Democratic Policy Council and the 1972 Democratic Platform Committee that the federal government assist the states in achieving necessary financial reform by a three-fold increase in current financial support to elementary and secondary education as part of a four-year goal to increase the level of federal support to one-third of the cost of public elementary and secondary education.

CONSERVATION DIRECTOR OF THE IZAAK WALTON LEAGUE OF AMERICA DESCRIBES A TRIP UP THE POTOMAC AND INTO THE ANACOSTIA

HON. WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, the gross pollution of the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers is vividly described by Joseph W. Penfold, conservation director of the Izaak Walton League of America, in an article published in the Potomac magazine of the Washington Post on Sunday, December 12.

Mr. Penfold observes that 30 million gallons of virtually untreated sewage is discharged daily into the Potomac, and that most of the pollution seems to be taken for granted these days.

He closes with an optimistic note, saying:

Cooperation and planning among various governmental jurisdictions, adequate financing and a degree of awareness on the part of everybody could result in a river clean enough for fish to live in and people to use. . . . The waterfronts of Georgetown, Alexandria, and the Anacostia could again offer economic viability as well as beauty and cultural amenities to residents and visitors alike.

Mr. President, Mr. Penfold's account of a trip on the Potomac and the Anacostia on a recent Sunday will be of interest to everyone concerned over the environment of the Nation's Capital. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE ROTTING OF OUR RIVERS

(By Joseph W. Penfold)

Three and a half centuries ago, Captain John Smith sailed up the Potomac and probably ventured as far as Little Falls. What this early explorer wrote was very much in our minds as we cruised out of Occoquan Creek, across Belmont Bay to the Potomac channel one Sunday.

Its waters were so clear, he wrote, that he could see the bottom at a depth of several fathoms. He described it as "fed with many sweet rivers and springs" and frequented by otters, beavers, martins and sables. The fish, he added, were so plentiful that he and his men tried to scoop them up with a frying pan. "Neither better fish, more plenty, nor more variety for small fish had any of us ever seen in any place so swimming in the water," he wrote.

We were better equipped than Captain Smiths crew and our frying pans had been left at home for later use, we hoped. But though we tried, we couldn't see a couple of inches below the water surface, let alone several fathoms. The creek and the bay were brown with silt and on the surface lay a thick patina of green muck (algal bloom indicating over-fertilization by nutrients and accelerated eutrophication in the bays and shallows which clings to the sides of our boat and appears to slow our forward motion.

It is common knowledge among older fishermen of the area that these waters retained much of their wholesomeness well into the 20th century. Thirty-five years ago the Occoquan, Belmont Bay, Pohick, Marumsco, Powell and Neabsco Creeks were clean enough to drink and supported some of the best large-mouth bass fishing in the region. The marshes and shallows were alive with waterfowl during the fall migration—redheads, widgeons, canvasbacks. "The more common species," wrote an observer at the time, "such as the mallard, the ruddy duck and the coots were so thick that they would simply swim away, making room only for boats to go through their midst." Great rafts of Canada geese would lie offshore and in the evening fly into nearby fields to feed on corn and newly planted wheat. Song birds were abundant and dozens of both eagles and osprey nested along the shoreline.

In those days, people also used the beaches and waters. High Point, Sandy Point, the Great Mash were popular areas for swimming, fishing, bird-watching, camping and, in season, waterfowling. Now most of this is a thing of the past, sacrificed to a burgeoning metropolitan region, more people, more subdivisions, high-rises, more highways, more wastes of all types—solid wastes, storm runoff, and pleasure-craft proliferating, mostly without sanitary disposal units, adding their share of filth to the river. Nor does the dredging for sand and gravel enhance the quality of the water as it destroys the productive ecosystems of marshes and shallows. Compounding the problem are the proposed bulkheads and fill (by dredging) on the seven-acre island at the mouth of the Occoquan and off the south shore of Mason's Neck for the development of 100 summer cottage sites, a 250-slip marina and a club house. The proposal will move ahead if the Army Corps of Engineers grants the permit.

But that morning, we had decided to go out to the Potomac channel and down river to Quantico and the small bays on the Maryland shore where we had been told the fishing was good. Approaching that goal, however, we began to doubt these reports. As we anchored in a sheltered spot we watched the bubbles of putrification break on the surface. The air was unpleasant with the smell of decay. A local crabber drifted by, pulling his empty traps. He answered our question, "What luck?" with a shrug. The sultry stench got to us. "Let's go up river to the District," my companion suggested, "and see where all this crud comes from."

From out in the channel, the Potomac shores appeared relatively unspoiled, the foliage verdant and lush. Housing and other developments are mostly screened by trees. Marshall Hall, however, was an exception and stood out like a sore thumb in contrast to the dignity, good taste and remarkable beauty of Mount Vernon on the opposite shore. From no other angle is George Washington's home more splendid than from a mid-river perspective. Nor can a better view of the Potomac he had than from the mansion. (It was planned that way.) We followed the channel into the dock where the Wilson Line excursion boats unload their endless groups of tourists. Sadly we noticed that the "Polluted Water—No Swimming" sign posted there registered on only a few of the faces. These days, most of us take pollution for granted, it seems.

Traveling up the river, we stayed close to the channel markers. An earlier experience had taught us caution when we had churned across a mud bank where the chart showed ample depth. A geological survey once reported that more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of sediment per year is carried and deposited by the Potomac in the upper estuary. This, added to a bottom ever shifting with tidal surge, requires constant dredging by the Corps of Engineers, at heavy public expense, to keep the navigation channel open. Without such dredging, we're told that in 40 years we would be able to walk on the Potomac from the Chain Bridge to Fort Washington. Passing Hunting Creek, this estimate did not seem so farfetched. There, highway construction and other development just upstream had loosened soil in such quantities as to completely fill in the marina area that a few years ago graced the Hunting Creek apartment complex. Now, however, only rotting pilings poke through the mud.

More than 50 per cent of the sediment in the Potomac, it is estimated, originated in the metropolitan area from new subdivisions, shopping centers and highways. Highways are the greatest contributor of all, causing some 300 tons of erosion per linear mile. While completed highways are generally well-controlled by plantings and other soil-protecting practices, during construction they still present a serious problem. Local ordinances—some of which are excellent—enacted to prevent erosion and sedimentation during construction of all types, have generally been poorly enforced and thus are ineffective.

We traveled under the Woodrow Wilson Bridge and along the Alexandria waterfront. In the colonial days, this area must have held great charm. One can imagine the color and the life of the era, towering masts and spars silhouetted against a blue sky, fishing boats unloading their catches of fish, crabs and oysters, the clatter of wagons over the cobblestones, chandleries and shops purveying goods from all corners of the world and a tavern or two where one could wet his whistle with grog. Now, however, a blighted area, its sagging buildings, ramshackle warehouses, powerhouses, oil tanks and outfalls give an overall feeling of grime and clutter.

There are those who would have the waterfront redeveloped, to recreate some of the original character, with parks and open space, shops and homes of traditional style to blend and give a wholeness to the individual restorations that make Alexandria a place to visit. But development interests, of course, would prefer to fill in more land along the shore on which to build more dreary and unsightly highrise apartments and that would mean more traffic snarls, more highways, more people dispossessed of their homes and more stultifying mediocrity.

We crossed the river to Blue Plains, the District's sewage treatment plant that was supposed to clean up the Potomac but has sadly failed. From the air its "plume" of effluent can be clearly traced across the river and downstream. Even without a bird's eye view, one can't miss it: the nose finds it unerringly. Blue Plains handles 75 per cent of sewage treatment in the metropolitan area, providing 70–75 per cent efficiency at best. Designed to process 240 million gallons of sewage per day, it actually receives 270 million and 30 million are released into the Potomac virtually untreated. According to a memorandum of understanding between the District and the Washington Suburban Sanitary District, the maximum acceptable limits of BOD (fecal and other organic particles that absorb oxygen from water, at the expense of aquatic and fish life that require oxygen) was set at 96,000 pounds per day by August 1971, 50,000 by 1974 and 12,500 pounds by 1975. In August the actual BOD was measured at 160,000 pounds per day. Most other treatment plants in the area, even the more efficient ones with tertiary treatment as high as 90 per cent are overloaded and their effluent is considered poor and nutrient loading excessive.

Next to Blue Plains is the skeletal remains of the old Bolling Field, an expansive area of vast potential for waterfront parks, homes, shops and small businesses with scenic vistas of the Capitol and the Potomac both up and downstream. It would also be a grand site for a "little" new Pentagon, so the military says.

Approaching Hains Point, we glanced at Lady Bird's fountain happily bubbling in the sun. Here, the waters of the Potomac and the Anacostia meet and a muddy line of demarcation is evident, as the Anacostia is carrying the greater load of silt. The west shore of the Anacostia, like Alexandria, is a shambles—ugly, grimy, depressing. Much of the riparian land is in federal ownership. Navy yards and docks, a submarine training unit and other facilities all contribute to the bleak panorama. One or two Navy ships and the President's yacht "Sequoia," trim and clean, contrast with the area's general squalor. Upstream, there is more of the same—a few small marinas and the usual sewage and storm-water outfalls.

The Anacostia each year produces about $1\frac{1}{3}$ million pounds of sediment per square mile of watershed, but as much as 21 million from its north branch watershed. Most of this results from construction activity. Additionally, its industrial and other pollution totals about the same amount as Rock Creek, an unlovely total.

Kingman Lake, an oxbow of the Anacostia below the RFK Stadium and extending north to the National Arboretum, is to be slashed by a super highway, we are told, even though it is now designed as a public Park. I wonder what happened to the plans, along with the highway, for developing and cleaning up parts of the river to permit fishing and swimming? Surely that would serve important recreational needs of this densely populated section of the city. Along with other ideas, the plans were lost in the shuffle of inter-city-county-federal confusion and indecision. More specifically, the plans foundered over the price tag of $30 million, which neither the federal pollution agency nor the District was willing to assume. Without assurance that Congress will provide the full federal share of the funding, the District is incapable of planning such improvements. Meanwhile, the Anacostia remains a festering sore contributing its load of filth to the Potomac.

Venturing back downstream and then up the Potomac, we viewed East Potomac Park, a spit of land between the river and the channel, built up by the river's deposits of sediment. It supports a golf course, tennis courts, and a large swimming pool. On warm summer evenings and weekends the family picnickers are basket-to-basket and quite a few even bring their poles and bait and patiently wait out a sucker, carp or sometimes better fish.

Proceeding on we passed under the 14th Street, Memorial and Theodore Roosevelt Bridges, more graceful-looking from the water where bumper-to-bumper traffic is not so apparent, nor the exhaust fumes so overpowering. The Kennedy Center looks impressive from the river; sadly it is the only place from which one can get it in full perspective. The Watergate complex, however, looked toad-like, squatting on the bank, encroaching on everything around it.

Further up the river, we approached the Georgetown waterfront, a hash of non-planning and a sorry introduction to the charm of old Georgetown and the miraculously preserved C & O Canal. University spires to the north, the Palisades to the west, and your back to the sterile glass and concrete of Rosslyn, one thinks of the Rhine. But there is no escaping the ugly lines of the Whitehurst Freeway and the blight of nearby industrial developments that hopefully some day will be obliterated. Beyond the Key Bridge, we tied up alongside of the rowing clubs to eat our lunch, close to the coffer dam, the first piece of construction for the Three Sisters Bridge. Thankfully, it has been delayed so far, for if completed, it could be the final blow to Georgetown and the Potomac Palisades as an area of beauty and livability.

Into this stretch of the river Rock Creek dumps its load of sediment and sewage. Another 15 million gallons are discharged at the so-called Georgetown Gap, a segment of sewer line never completed.

The public is assured once again that under a new understanding, which calls for a $5 million per year outlay by the District, Fairfax County and the Maryland suburbs, the gap will be closed. Furthermore, that advanced chemical treatment at Blue Plains will cut BOD levels in half and greatly reduce the discharge of phosphorus. This interim plans, we are told, will stop degradation of the river until a vastly enlarged Blue Plains plant is completed in 1974. Significant results should be seen in seven to nine months, we are promised. A second pipe will eliminate the overloading of the Cabin John sewage system which sometimes discharges raw wastes just upstream of the city's water intake. At Bolling Field some wastes will still overflow, officials say, but only during heavy rainfall. Progress? We hope so, but we can get no assurance that the Potomac will be clean enough to swim in by 1975, President Johnsons stated goal of a few years back. Moreover, even the enlarged Blue Plains plant will be unable to treat all wastes during rainstorms, so at such times, raw sewage will inevitably be dumped into the river.

Officials in the District's Public Health Office tell us with varying emphasis that the Potomac is not safe for aquatic sports. All agree, however, that the danger of infection from coliform counts as high as 100,000 (which has been reported in the Potomac) is extremely high, particularly if the water is swallowed. Navy divers, who practice in Oxon Cove, however, report no special precautions are taken before or after a dive. So, you take your choice. For myself, I'd be very cautious, and boaters who must scrub down their hulls after each trip ought to be the same.

Washington is a beautiful city, situated on a beautiful river, and it could again be pretty much what Captain John Smith saw and wrote about. Pristine and untouched? Well, hardly. But cooperation and planning among various governmental jurisdictions, adequate financing and a degree of awareness on the part of everybody could result in a river clean enough for fish to live in and people to use. A national program of federal assistace to communities for waterfront restoration and rehabilitation backed up by strictly enforced local zoning could make the Potomac basin and its cities the prototypes of what the nation's rivers and waterfronts should all be like. The waterfronts of Georgetown, Alexandria, and the Anacostia could again offer economic viability as well as beauty and cultural amenities to residents and visitors alike.

Running on down to Occoquan, looking not at the water but at the cloud formations and the setting sun to the west, it was easy to think such thoughts and dream such dreams.

LOVE STORY

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the editorial by Donald J. Trageser, vice president, CBS Radio Division, general manager, WEEI radio, of Boston, Mass.

Mr. Trageser has expressed his viewpoint many times on important issues of the day, which have been controversial. This editorial, I believe, meets with the unanimous viewpoint of all. The editorial is entitled "Love Story":

LOVE STORY

The marriage of John and Harriet McCormack is being immortalized in the media as a true love story—and rightly so. The former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives was a devoted husband to his late wife, remarkably devoted considering the pressures of a political career which keeps husbands and wives away from home and inevitably offers extracurricular temptations. Mrs. McCormack for her part was, according to unanimous agreement, an equally loving partner.

WEEI considers this marriage particularly poignant in an age when swingers abound, when many politicians are accused of being part-time lotharios, and when some people are attacking the very institution of marriage as an anachronism. But WEEI doesn't think the McCormack couple was a throwback to another era. Rather, we believe they were a refreshingly unusual pair in any day, a husband and wife of high principle and great mutual respect.

Those familiar only with John McCormack, the politician, could have expected his private life to be conducted with the same distinction that characterized his 50-year tenure in public office. His private life was, apparently, marked with the same selflessness which led him to make the unusual decision to return expense money he was entitled to. Unlike so many people in public life, the Speaker has a special perspective on life. In a world populated by success-seekers with inflated egos, he clearly maintained a nearly unique balance. The Speaker played his game hard and well, but he knew when to call time out for more important matters, specifically the well being of his wife.

WEEI believes all people who value ambition can gain needed insight from the marriage of Mr. and Mrs. John McCormack. And WEEI offers sincere condolences to the Speaker. Surely, he is now lonely; but unlike far too many people, he can reflect on a lifetime of love.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT—ANOTHER VIEW

HON. NORMAN F. LENT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, there was much misunderstanding during debate on the child development provision of the OEO authorization, and I want to take this opportunity to explain my views on this matter.

Many people implied, and it was conveyed to the American people, that the child development program, by providing care for dependent children, would require welfare mothers to go to work. Unfortunately, the bill lacked any such requirement. I am sure the legislation would undoubtedly have had more support from our Long Island congressional delegation had a work requirement been included. Moreover, the bill contained a number of additional administrative and philosophical shortcomings which caused me to vote against it.

Day care centers to provide for the children of the poor so their parents can leave the welfare rolls to go on the payrolls are already included in H.R. 1, which the House passed some time ago. As the President said in his veto message, "to some degree, child development centers are a duplication of this effort."

Mr. Speaker, given the current demands upon our taxpayers, the expenditure of $2 billion for a vast new program with a new army of bureaucrats whose effectiveness has not been demonstrated, just could not be justified. The full cost of the child development proposal, estimated to reach $20 billion annually, is even more unreasonable.

I firmly believe that a prime objective of welfare reform should be to make the family unit stronger and bring the family together. The child development provision would have undoubtedly served to weaken the family.

This proposal was advocated by womens' liberation groups as a way of "freeing up" mothers from the "drudgery of child rearing," thus permitting them to find "true fulfillment" in other pursuits. I just do not believe our hard-pressed taxpayers should be called upon to finance the quest of a minority of our women to find "true fulfillment."

Another fatal shortcoming of the child development amendment was that absolutely no suggestion was made in the bill as to who were "qualified people" to take the important task of rearing other peoples' children.

All other factors being equal, I firmly believe that commonsense in public policy dictates that we enhance, rather than diminish, both parental authority and parental involvement with children—particularly in those decisive early years when social attitudes and a conscience are formed and religious and moral principles are first inculcated.

All of these factors weighed in my decision to oppose the child development proposal—a measure I thought to be truly unworkable.

"THE EBONY SUCCESS SAGA" BY A. S. "DOC" YOUNG—THE STORY OF JOHN H. JOHNSON PUBLISHING CO., CHICAGO, ILL.

HON. RALPH H. METCALFE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. METCALFE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John H. Johnson of Chicago, publisher and editor of the largest black publishing company in the world, is a man who started from humble beginnings and because of his zeal and zest and desire to succeed, has become a giant in the business world of America.

Mr. Johnson, a product of Little Rock, Ark., started his first publication—then Negro Digest, now Black World—with a loan of $500 from his mother, Mrs. Gertrude Johnson Williams in 1942. His first office, a meager storefront in the 5600 block of State Street in Chicago, launched what was eventually to become a tremendously successful career in publishing.

In 1945 he decided to expand his small enterprise with a second publication and in that year Ebony magazine made its bow with 25,000 copies for distribution.

In 1949 he moved his office to a larger facility at 1820 S. Michigan Avenue and by 1951 he had added two more magazines—Tan, now Black Stars, and Jet—increasing his publications to four. Jet became the first black weekly news magazine in the country.

Today, the Johnson Publishing Co. is the largest black company of its kind in the world with circulation records that challenge those of publishing companies across the Nation. Its largest magazine, Ebony, has served as an inspiration to black achievement in the United States and is now read by some 5 million people each month. Black Stars has a circulation of 250,000; Jet, 550,000; and Black World, 110,000.

His company also has become the largest black book publishing company in the world and is a leading manufacturer of black cosmetics.

This month Johnson Publishing Co. moved into a new $6-million, 11-story building in Chicago, becoming the first building in the history of Chicago to be built from the ground up in the Loop area, by a black man.

Many of our black writers in this country had their beginnings at Johnson Publishing Co. Mr. Johnson has enjoyed the very finest of reputations in Chicago and throughout the country, and has served in various capacities in the best interest of his city, State, and country.

He serves as an inspiration to anyone wishing to succeed and has been a special motivating force for black youth.

His contributions to America have been made without fanfare and he should certainly be recognized for his contributions.

I would like to call your attention to an article "The Ebony Success Saga," by A.S. "Doc" Young which appeared in the Los Angeles Sentinel on Thursday, November 11, 1971. This article best describes the success of John H. Johnson and provides a source of inspiration to anyone who reads it. The article follows:

[From the Los Angeles Sentinel, Nov. 11, 1971]

THE EBONY SUCCESS SAGA

(By A. S. "Doc" Young)

In America today, and in many other parts of the world, millions of black people (and some white as well) eagerly await the arrival of each month's Ebony Magazine. Ebony is, for them, an indispensible source of information, entertainment, and instruction. Now in its 27th year, the major property owned by Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., Ebony ranks among blacks as an institution. In print media circles, especially in the magazine field, it is simultaneously a curiosity, a quality publication, an excellent advertising medium, some kind of a miracle.

When one thinks of the huge number of black magazines which failed before the first Ebony was published in 1945, and the substantial number of black magazines that failed since that time, the survival and growth of Ebony do seem like some kind of a miracle. A more exact explanation, however, is this: Ebony is concrete testimony to the business genius, irreversible determination, and imagination of its publisher, John H. Johnson, who is also the editor. From its beginning, the magazine—a quality product with four-color covers, coated white body, exclusive photographs, consistently good writing, and fine art—has understood the "wants" of black people, especially that great black craving for success images, for portrayal in positive forms, for intra-race heroes, for inspiration as well as "news," education, entertainment. Ebony, while adhering to sound business policies, also has exercised a publishing prerogative to give the black public what its editors believe the black public needs.

The success of Ebony Magazine—one of our magazines published by Johnson Publishing Company—probably can be explained in the same terms Nat King Cole once used to explain his success in show business. "I give the public what it wants," Cole said, "and, in turn the public accepts the things I want to do."

Many purists felt, for example, that Nat King Cole, one of the two or three finest jazz pianists around, should concentrate on playing jazz piano. But Cole wisely deemphasized jazz piano and sang popular songs, to which he gave an incomparable reading. Having sung pretty for the people and won their approval he could then dazzle them with a dash of jazz piano.

The formula worked for him and it works for Ebony. Just how well it works is revealed in its guaranteed circulation of 1,250,000, in Ebony's November "Backstage" stage revelation that "in October, we published the first issue . . . which contained more than $1 million in gross advertising revenue (exact figure: $1,133,393)," in the fact that a two-color, full-page ad costs naerly $10,000, in the fact that the current edition contains a big fat 202 pages plus, of course, four covers. At a time when Look folds and other major magazines are crying the blues, Ebony is still growing. In December, Ebony and other JPC properties will move into a new, 10-story building located in downtown Chicago, a couple doors south of the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

In all probability, John H. Johnson long ago became accustomed to outstanding success as a black publisher. But there was a time when he, too, appraised it as a miracle. His primary object on entering business, he once said, was to be his own boss. He was then working for the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company, scanning white publications for stories about black people. He got the idea that a magazine which reprinted such articles, plus originals, would be successful among black people. In 1942, he made his debut as a publisher with Negro Digest (now retitled Black World). Negro Digest was successful. Three years later, he founded Ebony. In time, other magazines were added to the JPC group, among them Tan Confessions, which has been replaced recently by Black Stars, and Jet, which made its debut on Nov. 1, 1951.

Each one of the JPC magazines bears the stamp of quality, for the publisher recognizes the importance of quality in the Afro-American market; recognizes it, fact is, as a vital factor in long-term success. The timing of new JPC magazines always has been excellent. Numerous servicemen as well as statesiders found in Negro Digest a handily packaged wealth of information they could not find in any other publication. Blacks, previously bombarded with negativisms until they were numb, pridefully identified with Ebony: Doctors and lawyers placed it in the lobbies of their offices; maids took it to work with them and so much as said to their employers, "We're doing big things too!" teachers used it to add a new dimension to the educational experience of their students; for multi-millions, Ebony became an important reading experience.

The new Ebony—the one with Sidney Poitier on the cover—is an important reading experience (letters in response to Lerone Bennett's September article on "Sweetback" are, by themselves, worth the purchase price), and much more. On the strength of Ebony's success, and the success of other JPC magazines, John H. Johnson has expanded into the publishing of books (1962), including a handsomely bound "Pictorial History of Black America"; the formation of book and record clubs, and other ventures. Over the years, meanwhile, he also realized the dream of innumerable employes—to head the firm that hired him. He heads Supreme Liberty!

Not the least of Ebony's positive deeds is the glorification of the black woman. That is seen not only in stories and pictures dealing with beautiful black women, but also in the numerous job opportunities it has opened up for black models and the vastly popular Ebony Fashion Fair. Ebony also has been resposible, of course, for breaking new ground, advertising-wise, with major American business and industry and providing opportunities for talented black writers, artists, advertising-marketing people and other professionals to work at the top level of their fields.

It all adds up to a success saga of great proportions. There is no way to properly evaluate the importance of Ebony Magazine to a race of people who, all too often, suffer from a poverty of communications media. It is a success saga which testifies to the often-remarkable vitality of Chicago blacks. Undoubtedly, that has much to do with it all. Chicago blacks always have seemed to be more progressive in business and industry than those, say, in New York City, which is, ironically, the communications center of the nation. John H. Johnson planted a $500 investment in Chicago territory in 1942. In that fertile ground, it became a multi-million-dollar enterprise.

CURTIS CHRISTIANSON

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, the news comes to me that Curtis Christianson, the Assistant Tally Clerk for this

House of Representatives, is getting ready to retire.

The House of Representatives is, as we all know, a complicated piece of legislative machinery, and it can function efficiently only if certain technical aspects are properly attended. For the most part, this work is conducted in the background of things and without any fanfare; however, the fact that this legislative machinery functions smoothly and efficiently bears testimony to the fact that the work is exceedingly well done. Mr. Christianson is one who has made a major contribution in this regard.

Mr. Christianson is amicable and has a very fine personality, and he has demonstrated an eagerness to go well beyond the call of duty in the performance of his work. He has executed his responsibilities willingly and efficiently and has, in the process, won the deep respect and confidence of all Members of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Christianson is concluding an outstanding career of service as an employee of the House of Representatives, and he will be missed in this Chamber, both for the work he performed and for his fine personality.

As Mr. Christianson retires, he has my very best wishes, and it is my sincere hope that in his retirement, he will reap a rich harvest of satisfaction, the just reward for a job well done.

Happy retirement.

REPORT BY SENATOR TOWER TO THE CITIZENS OF TEXAS

HON. JOHN TOWER

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I feel that it is important that I report to the citizens of my State of Texas on the events in Congress this year. This has been a particularly busy year in both the House and Senate with a workload that is nearly double the load we had when I entered this body as a freshman Senator over 10 years ago.

As the ranking minority member of the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs as well as the ranking minority member of its Housing Subcommittee, I have had considerable opportunity to become involved in housing legislation. A most important endeavor has been Senate Joint Resolution 176, which combined a number of proposals and changes in the existing National Housing Act. I am pleased that this legislation included a provision extending the time in which homeowners could sign up for federally funded catastrophic housing insurance without losing other benefits, increased funding for comprehensive housing planning, and funding to include more parks and playground areas in any federally funded housing project. The extension of the signup period for federally financed catastrophic housing insurance was necessitated primarily by the extensive flooding that occurred earlier this year in the Rio Grande Valley and other areas of Texas. If this provision had not been passed, thousands of homeowners throughout south Texas would have suffered major, unrecompensated property losses. Therefore, I requested that it be added to the National Housing Act amendments.

In addition to the provisions that we passed into law, the Housing Subcommittee held hearings on many other important matters that may well be translated into legislative reality during the next session of Congress. Specifically, we had hearings on my urban community development revenue-sharing proposal, S. 1618. This legislation would allow States and localities sufficient revenue to begin to attack their housing problems on their own, without having to wait for Washington to solve them. I am very hopeful that there will be some action on this proposal next year. Our committee also studied ways of improving mass transit in urban areas.

In the Banking Committee itself, the most important piece of legislation that we dealt with, and undoubtedly one of the most important legislative acts of Congress this year, was the Economic Stabilization Act of 1971. This was the legislative package of the President's phase II economic program. While I have always believed that Government intervention in economic matters should be kept to a minimum, it is generally agreed that something had to be done. I believe that the package we finally adopted is a meaningful one that will aid in achieving the economic stability we must have. It is my position that these controls should be removed at the earliest practicable time consistent with our economic objectives.

In my other area of committee assignment, armed services, we have likewise had a very busy year. Our first major piece of legislation was the amendments to and extension of the draft. In our efforts to move toward an all-volunteer force by mid-1973, we included in this act a major pay raise for the military with the emphasis on recruiting and retaining the best men in our uniformed forces.

In a related area, a presidential commission adopted two major provisions of my bill, S. 377, which would give equity in retirement pay to those members of the military who were not able to take advantage of the current recomputation provision. This commitment to justice should help to retain qualified, professional men in our Armed Forces.

We likewise added provision in the draft bill to increase standards in the military to insure that we continue to have the best armed force in the world.

In other armed service action, the Military Construction Subcommittee, of which I am a ranking member, authorized construction and maintenance of over $78 million for Texas. We were also fortunate to have averted several base closings and reductions in force that could have seriously affected the economies of many Texas communities. Texans themselves played a large role in these decisions through outstanding cooperation with both committee and Pentagon officials.

In the armed services related area of veterans' affairs, I introduced four bills. One bill, S. 2694, which named the San Antonio veterans hospital for our great World War II hero Audie Murphy, was passed into law. Hearings were held on two other measures: Senate Joint Resolution 128, to build five medical schools in conjunction with the VA—one most probably in Texas—and S. 2304, to establish a training program for veterans with medical skills. These two measures were part of a package to combat the health manpower shortage we are facing. I believe that positive action on these will be forthcoming during the next session of Congress.

In the area of drug abuse, one of the bills that I sponsored, S. 2097, setting up the Special Office of Drug Abuse Prevention, was passed by the Senate and is currently awaiting action in the House. Another bill, S. 674, which would place more stringent controls on the production and distribution of amphetamines, was adopted by Executive order and now has the force of law. In addition, another of the bills I sponsored, Senate Joint Resolution 78, which would terminate foreign economic assistance to countries which fail to eliminate the production, processing, and export of narcotic drugs which are illegally brought into the United States was adopted as an amendment to the Economic Foreign Assistance Act of 1971.

Another area of legislative activity in which I am particularly interested is that of labor law reform. Our current labor laws, which were designed to cope with the problems of the 1930's are outdated. These laws give the larger unions inordinate power, not only over the people as a whole, but also over the rank-and-file worker that they purportedly represent. With this background I have introduced Senate Joint Resolution 27 which would establish a Commission on Labor Law Reform whose responsibility it would be to recommend a modernization of the current National Labor Relations Act. This revision should provide more protection to the public while still protecting basic union rights. Another of my proposals, S. 1320, would transfer the National Labor Relations Board's power to check unfair labor practices to the Federal district court. Too often in the past the NLRB has acted as an adjunct of the larger unions and in contravention to legislative guidelines on their activities. It would be eminently more fair to decide these most important issues before a more impartial Federal tribunal. In addition I have cosponsored S. 1903 and S. 2327, both of which have as their objective the requirement of a secret ballot by union members before a strike can be taken.

We have all witnessed this year many strikes which have threatened our national economic well-being. Those that immediately come to mind are the railroad strikes and the dock strikes, which have caused the loss of billions of dollars in lost wages and business transitions. The dock strike was particularly harmful to the economy of Texas, as it prevented the export of many farm commodities at the peak of the harvesting season. For this reason, I sponsored S. 560, the Emergency Public Interest Protection Act. Hearings on S. 560 are currently underway in both Houses of the Congress. I believe that we must give this measure the highest priority in order that another wave of job-killing and economy-crippling strikes can be averted.

I have long been concerned with the matter of health care in the United States. This year I have introduced and sponsored various measures related to this problem. One of these bills, the Health Manpower Act, contained a proposal that I sponsored providing for increased scholarships and fellowships for those who would enter the practice of family medicine, particularly in the doctor-shortage rural areas of the country. This measure has recently been signed into law. When combined with other bills to help train more medical personnel, this bill will help to alleviate our health manpower shortage. In addition, I have proposed in S. 576 to give a tax incentive to those medical doctors who would locate and practice in physician-shortage areas. Tax incentives have proven to be an effective means of producing results in America and would undoubtedly help to solve the problem of the rural doctor shortage.

In a very important step, Congress has recently passed and the President has signed the National Cancer Act which will provide increased coordination and a new emphasis to find a cure for this dread disease in addition to authorizing $1.6 billion over 3 years for the necessary research. I was pleased to sponsor this bill and hope it will lead to ultimate victory in this battle.

In the area of social security, old age, and retirement legislation, much again has been done this year. Early this year, I introduced S. 639 which would allow those on social security to earn more without being penalized for their activity. This idea was adopted in the House-passed H.R. 1, currently awaiting Senate action.

In addition, I introduced S. 2563 which would permit those who have reached age 65 and who are still working to elect to forgo social security benefits and receive instead a refund or income tax credit for social security taxes paid by them on their work. This is an attempt to permit those who wish to work at age 65 to do so without being unduly penalized. Many Americans age 65 and older desire to continue to work and many more would do so, but for our income and social security tax provisions which seem to penalize them for being productive. I believe that these provisions should be changed in order to allow those who want to do so to continue working.

There are many other pieces of legislation that I have been directly involved in this year, and I cannot possibly report on all of them. However, I would like to comment on two additional pieces of legislation that I consider of particular importance. The first is S. 638, a bill to provide for a comprehensive program for the use and management of our coastal zone lands. This is the area within 50 miles of the sea in which most of the population will live, work, and play within the next decade. It is also the area where the problems of pollution and land despoilage are the greatest. S. 638 was recently merged into S. 582 and has been reported to the floor of the Senate. When this measure is passed it will mark a national commitment to assist the States to solve the problems of this most important area. Our State of Texas with its long coastline and its tradition of doing business in, on, and over the ocean has already become a leader in the field of coastal zone management. This measure will help assure retention of that preeminence.

Another area of major concern to me is the growing problem of juvenile delinquency. Currently, over one-half the major crimes committed in this country are committed by juveniles. However, not only do we lack adequate facilities to deal with these offenders, but in most States we also have absolutely no program for the prevention and rehabilitation of these youths. For this reason, I have joined in sponsoring S. 2148, which would allow the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to help the States establish juvenile correction and rehabilitation and prevention programs. I will continue to press for action on this most important program.

SUMMARY OF OLDER AMERICANS LEGISLATION IN 1971

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 92d Congress has produced several legislative proposals to help older Americans.

Legislation was enacted to:

First, increase social security and railroad retirement benefits by 10 percent, effective January 1, 1971;

Second, establish an independent agency to conquer cancer at the earliest possible date;

Third, extend the authority of the President to stabilize the economy and control inflation; and

Fourth, assist older persons who wish to be employed through emergency public service employment programs.

Several measures have passed the House and hopefully will be approved by the Senate in 1972, including a bill to:

First, provide an additional 5-percent increase in social security benefits, effective in June 1972, and an automatic cost-of-living increase in benefits after that;

Second, increase to $2,000 the amount that a social security beneficiary under age 72 may earn in a year and still be paid full benefits; and

Third, extend medicare protection to those now receiving monthly cash disability benefits under social security and railroad retirement programs.

I am also hopeful that the Congress will take action in 1972 on measures to improve and regulate private pension plans, expand health insurance coverage, and strengthen the management and operation of nursing homes.

TAKE RESERVE TO COURT WITH ALL POSSIBLE SPEED

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Detroit Free Press of December 14, 1971, carried an excellent editorial urging that the Federal Government take Reserve Mining Co. to court in an effort to stop that firm from continuing to pollute Lake Superior. So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to be aware of the views of the Free Press on this vital matter, I insert the text of the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

TAKE RESERVE TO COURT WITH ALL POSSIBLE SPEED

The rejection by Reserve Mining Co. of five government plans to end the firm's pollution of Lake Superior makes it imperative that the Environmental Protection Agency get Reserve into court with the earliest dispatch.

Reserve obviously believes contesting the government in court is cheaper than disposing of its taconite tailings by other means than dumping in Lake Michigan. Such an attitude is even more cynical than it is hard-boiled.

The prospect for Lake Superior is dreary. Reserve has been dumping in Lake Superior more than 20 years. The delays it can throw into the legal processes could continue the pollution indefinitely.

The government's proposals are all based on land disposal techniques that every other producer of iron ore by the taconite process on Lake Superior is already employing. Reserve's only concession is an offer to pipe the taconite tailings, 67,000 tons of them daily, to the bottom of Lake Superior, instead of dumping them on the surface.

This would not stop pollution. The damage would be merely less conspicuous.

Reserve sets great store by its considerable influence in the White House to get it off the hook with the environmentalists. Reserve is a division of Armco and Republic Steel, both of whom are officered by men who have been active in providing campaign funds for President Nixon.

EPA Administrator William D. Ruckelshaus has already been warned to go easy by the Department of the Interior. He is making powerful enemies.

In an era when corporate citizenship has been so much discussed, Reserve has been completely unaffected by appeals to become a responsible and decent neighbor. It is sad that only legal duress can drag it kicking and hollering out of the 19th Century, but there appears no alternative.

"A LITTLE BETTER WORLD," MARINE CITY, MICH.

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, this morning I have experienced a truly memorable period with a group of young people from Marine City, Mich., of our Eighth Congressional District, which I would like to share with you.

The group, once identified solely as a United Nations Club and now known as "'A Little Better World" organization, has an intriguing slogan—"If Everyone Does Just a Little Bit, No One Has To Do a Lot."

This is a slogan that they literally live as energetic high schoolers in trying to make their community a "little better" than they find it.

I was proud to be their host at a breakfast meeting, which was highlighted by the appearance of Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney, former Governor of Michigan, as well as a very nice presentation by representatives of the group, Joseph DeHenau, Gary Cain, Bob Burgett, and Bill Meldrum; and leading sponsors, Mrs. Grace Zapel and Rev. Lawrencee M. DuCharme, associate pastor of Marine City Holy Cross Catholic Church.

Later this morning, Senator ROBERT P. GRIFFIN met with the group of about 40 and personally escorted them to the Senate floor. It was my pleasure to speak to them again on the floor of the House. They also met with Senator PHILIP A. HART on the steps of the Capitol.

Arrangements were made for a special tour of the U.S. Supreme Court Building, as well as a return to the Capitol to see this body during its official session. Later the group will tour the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Tomorrow morning, a special tour of the White House is scheduled with a brief presentation ceremony to be made to James McLane, Special Assistant to the President for Youth Affairs.

And, of course, the group has included other visits to the many historic and interesting places in Washington before returning home on Saturday.

It will be, I am certain, a most memorable visit, but I know of no group more deserving of the interest and attention that they have and will be receiving from our Government leaders.

They have been involved in helping people and their own community. Here are just a few of their activities: Painting and decorating rubbish containers for use in the downtown area of Marine City; collecting refuse from the St. Clair River and along its shorelines; preparing Christmas baskets for needy families of the area; collecting clothes for poorer children in Kentucky; gave of their time to collect donations for UNICEF; and establish a special program to learn about their Government on all levels—local, State, Federal, and the United Nations.

Yes, they are an "involved, dedicated" group wanting to help others and wanting to learn. They simply want "A Little Better World" and are willing to work for it.

I know that all Members join with me in wishing them continued success. As I said earlier, it was a rare and meaningful experience and reaffirmed my faith and confidence that our country's future, with young people like these from Marine City, is assured of further greatness and compassion.

B'NAI B'RITH'S GREAT AMERICAN AWARD PRESENTED TO WALKER L. CISLER

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, on the evening of December 12, I was privileged to be present at a dinner in Detroit when B'nai B'rith's Great American Award was presented to Walker L. Cisler.

It was my honor to deliver a message from the President of the United States, which read as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE

I am greatly pleased to join with the B'nai B'rith Foundation of the United States in honoring a distinguished American, Walker Cisler.

Walker Cisler is proof of the strength and viability of our free enterprise system. He is a man whose remarkable abilities have carried him to the front ranks of American industry. Rather than rest on his achievements he has continued to give generously of his talents whenever they are needed. The dedication and energy he brings to each new endeavor inspires men associated with him to think imaginatively, to work harder and achieve more.

My long friendship with Walker has always been one that I have valued deeply, just as I value his wise counsel and steadfast dedication to our nation. Walker Cisler is a great American, and I warmly applaud the wisdom of all those who have gathered tonight to tell him so.

My warmest congratulations and best wishes to Walker and everyone who is with him at the testimonial.

RICHARD NIXON.

The Great American Award was presented to Mr. Cisler by the international president of B'nai B'rith, Mr. David M. Blumberg. In his remarks Mr. Blumberg said:

The distinguished American we honor this evening is a man at peace with himself—and with the society he serves so well.

In his profession, in his public service, in his involvements in higher education—his is a leadership of optimism and a leadership with staying power—the persistence to cope with the confusions and complexities of a society in which the speed of technology too often outruns the pace of our human relations. . . .

And his is a leadership with a sense of multiplication—a capacity to spread itself and inspire others.

It is for these qualities, reflected in a lifetime of substantive achievements, that I am honored to present the B'nai B'rith Great American Award to Mr. Walker Cisler.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a biographical sketch which appeared in the dinner program and the text of an address delivered by Mr. Cisler be printed in the RECORD.

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

Walker Lee Cisler, Chairman of the Board of The Detroit Edison Company, is so well known to us through his many services to the community that we sometimes forget that we share him with the world.

Perhaps a third of his waking hours since World War II have been devoted to international assistance in the field of energy and economic development, and to building bridges, government-to-government and people-to-people, toward a better and more peaceful world.

He has served the industrial needs of mankind by providing leadership in the productive utilization of energy, particularly in the field of electric power. He was one of the first to see the value of the nuclear breeder reactor, which is now a goal of national energy policy. Through his efforts, engineers from many nations have worked together for mutual progress.

He has served government, at home and abroad. After World War II he had a key role in the work of the Marshall Plan and the later extension of this kind of assistance to nations in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. He has traveled everywhere to see the problems at first hand and then to suggest, from his broad experience in American engineering and management, the path to constructive results.

One of the results of his endeavors is that he now holds the highest office in the World Energy Conference, a technical organization representing 67 nations dedicated to energy development and the use of energy to increase the opportunities for millions of people everywhere.

Here at home he has led his own firm into areas that promise an abundant supply of energy for the economic growth of Michigan in the future—all the more important because Michigan is an energy importing state and has much to gain through the application of atomic power. Moreover, it was his vision that caused his organization to sponsor a unique study of the needs that we have for urban planning in Southeastern Michigan to prepare wisely for the flourishing Great Lakes Megalopolis which is only a few decades away and which will find Detroit as its geographic center.

Governments, universities, his industry and the professional engineering societies have honored him for his leadership on many occasions, recognizing his outstanding ability to bring people together, to develop large concepts and to achieve their realization.

Walker Cisler is, himself, an original source of tireless energy, that he applies in service to others. That energy has spanned continents. It works for us now and it works for generations yet to come.

Notwithstanding his worldwide dedication, there has always been a great and sufficient pool of this personal Cisler energy reserved exclusively for our own Greater Detroit Community, and for this in particular we are deeply grateful.

Such is the caliber of the man we are honoring this evening with the first Great American Award to be presented in the Detroit Area . . . Walker Lee Cisler, truly a Great American.

WORLD PEACE THROUGH YOUTH

(By Walker L. Cisler)

There are moments in life that are deeply moving, and for me this is such a moment, one that I will long remember and cherish.

B'nai B'rith has a most distinguished record of service. It reflects, I believe, the affirmation of life that has always burned brightly and resolutely in Jewish tradition, even in the darkest hours of trial and tribulation.

Through the ages, this moral and intellectual force has made immense contributions to western culture, in every field of learning and high endeavor. It has earned its place in the history of all mankind.

To be honored by B'nai B'rith is to stand close to that great affirmation of human potential. I feel humble indeed in accepting your award, and I am inspired by the warmth of your friendship.

Whatever I haved done involves the work of others, and so it is that I really accept this great honor as a trustee for the many who have given of their experience and dedication to the cause of youth and the goal of world peace.

As to myself, I will always continue to do my best to carry forward the good work in which we are all engaged, and of which there is so much to accomplish. It is a most worthy purpose.

I have long sought to open channels of cooperation between nations and the peoples of the world, through the utilization of energy for peaceful and constructive purposes. The force of energy is very great and we now have more of it, serving human needs, than ever before in history. This is embodied in the development of nuclear energy and the breeder reactor especially.

Great also is the force of human intelligence, under the infinitely greater power of the Almighty. There is again the constructive force of management and organization which can be applied to every worthy undertaking. When matters are brought together in an organized system, a force that was not there before is brought into being. There is also the force of investment capital, which has so large a role in the affairs of an industrial nation, and which is so greatly needed in the developing areas of the world.

It is the task of leadership to apply all these forces to human requirements and to the improvement of the earth environment upon which all life ultimately depends.

The work to be done exceeds the capacity of any one lifespan. It may well require generations to accomplish. And so it is essential that the young people of today be given full opportunity to bring their fresh energies to bear upon the unfinished business of mankind.

They are in many respects an exceptional generation, better educated, more aware, more open to other people and to the world around them. They travel more, and feel at home wherever they go with their knapsacks, blanket rolls and sleeping bags. They question more, and listen seriously for answers. There is need for greater response from us.

I believe we are arriving at a new social, political and economic period in the history of mankind that increases in intensity. Never before have so many changes occurred so rapidly. It is almost kaleidoscopic. At the heart of this accelerating rate of change is the fruitful application of science, technology and engineering to every field of action; the productivity of the machines that utilize energy in so many ways.

We have what earlier generations would consider an extraordinary ability to use the laws of nature and of the universe for our own purposes, and yet this is probably only the beginning of what can be discovered and applied to the human situation. New developments will occur, and these may even make the situation more complex than it is today.

I often wonder nowadays where the multitudes of young people coming out of our schools are going to find useful work to do. Industry is growing rapidly in the scale of operations, but the sophistication of the equipment is such that industrial growth no longer leads to a commensurate increase in the number of opportunities directly related to production. This may well be one reason why so many of the younger generation do not see much hope for themselves in the established system.

And yet the need for accomplishment is greater now than ever before, not only in material matters but equally in improving the relationships between people and in individual opportunity to achieve a full measure of life fulfillment.

I believe we must break out of the shell of conventional ways of doing things and of ordering priorities. Can this be done within the framework of American tradition?

Will it be possible to open up fully our concept of useful work to include endeavors that are less tangible, but just as essential, as the pursuit of the material benefits of an *industrial* way of life?

Can industry, the foundations, educational institutions and government offer and support a much wider range of social, intellectual, artistic and environmental career opportunities for our young people, with all their potentialities and idealism?

How do we set up a system of monetary reward in a post-industrial society for activities that do not fit very well into Adam Smith's definition of the wealth of nations?

I do not have a ready answer, but I feel that one must be sought, and that it must be worked out by all of us, regardless of age. We have to come together on this.

If a way is found we can hope to emerge from this present period of great turbulance and proceed toward the goal of a better and more peaceful world. The alternative is continued distress.

The example of B'nai B'rith gives me great hope for that future. It is good to serve with you and to share the journey with understanding friends.

PROTECTING OUR WORKERS FROM THE INSIDIOUS KILLER: ASBESTOS

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, when those of us who drafted the Occupational Safety and Health Act were struggling to write this legislation, no one realized the widespread effect that Federal standards would have on the lives and health of more than 57 million American workers. We are beginning to see the extent of protection that the act offers as we discover the many dangers that daily confront the worker. On December 7, the Department of Labor, exercising its authority under section 6, issued a temporary emergency standard to protect workers exposed to asbestos dust.

Increased awareness of occupational hazards has just recently emerged. New studies show alarming evidence of the long-term harmful effects from exposure to commonly used industrial materials such as asbestos. An article on the current New York law banning the spraying of fireproofing materials containing asbestos stated that:

The rate of death from lung cancer among insulation workers is eight times the expected rate, and that fact alone would be sufficient to implicate asbestos as one of the most potent industrial carcinogens known to man.

The Department of Labor's proposal of a stricter standard is certainly warranted. Further research on the insidious diseases associated with asbestos exposure should determine whether or not this standard is stringent enough to prevent the often fatal cancer that occurs up to 20 years later even in persons only casually exposed to small amounts of this material.

An article on the progress of implementing the Occupational Safety Act further confirms that:

Almost everyone agrees the toughest problem for employers will come when the government gets around to setting precise limits on workers' exposure to thousands of dangerous chemicals and other substances. "The real hooker is in the occupational health area," says W. E. McCormick, manager of environmental control at B. F. Goodrich Co. "I think the most far-reaching implications and serious consequences of the law are in this area."

The area of health hazards is largely uncharted. The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health created by the law hopes to put out a dozen standards for toxic materials by the end of the year, a spokesman says. But critics say that's next to nothing compared with the 9,000 potentially harmful substances for which standards are needed.

My Labor Subcommittee is charged with oversight of the administration of this act. I intend to keep close touch with the exercise of authority including enforcement.

The articles referred to follow:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 8, 1971]

ASBESTOS DUST RULE TIGHTENED

The Labor Department, using its emergency powers for the first time under the new Occupational Safety and Health Act, yesterday issued stricter standards covering workers exposed to asbestos dust.

Government officials said the order was aimed at eliminating a "grave danger" to an estimated 200,000 asbestos manufacturing and construction workers but an AFL-CIO official said a total of 5 million workers are exposed to airborne asbestos dust to some degree.

The dust causes a disabling lung disease known as asbestosis and statistics show asbestos workers have higher rates of lung cancer than the general population.

George C. Guenther, Assistant Labor Secretary in charge of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) ordered the permissible level of asbestos dust reduced from 12 to 5 fibers per milliliter.

"The emergency standard is issued," Guenther said, "in light of increasing information on the results of exposure of employees to airborne asbestos dust.

OSHA officials said the agency already had been working on tighter asbestos dust standards when the AFL-CIO two weeks ago wrote Labor Secretary James Hodgson asking for lower permissible levels.

CONFEREES AGREE ON CANCER EFFORT

(By Stuart Auerbach)

House and Senate conferees settled their differences yesterday on the best way to fight cancer. They agreed on the $1.6-billion House-passed proposal that keeps the cancer fight within the National Institutes of Health.

The conferees reached their agreement after President Nixon wrote them yesterday. "The most important point I can make about the cancer legislation concerns the need to pass it promptly."

In his letter, Mr. Nixon backed off from his proposal last May to take personal charge of the fight against cancer. This direct presidential responsibility was a provision of the Senate-passed bill, which called for an independent Conquest of Cancer Agency.

A White House aide said yesterday that "everyone here is happy" about the bill approved by the conferees.

Rep. Paul G. Rogers (D-Fla.), principal author of the House bill, said, "It can be embraced by everyone who wants to do something against cancer. It's the most comprehensive attack ever mounted against a single disease in this nation."

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), who shepherded the bill through the Senate, said, "It will insure action by providing government and science with the tools to do the job."

The conference version retains the National Cancer Institute—a part of NIH—as the prime government agency fighting cancer. But the cancer institute will be able to send its budget directly to the White House, bypassing both the head of NIH and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Moreover, the directors of both NIH and the cancer institute will be presidential appointees.

The President will monitor the fight against cancer through a three-member watchdog panel that will report to him.

The idea of a strong attack against cancer started a year ago with the report of a panel of consultants to the Senate Committee on Labor and public Welfare. President Nixon adopted the idea in May, as the Senate committee was about to report out its bill.

But Rep. Rogers, backed by scientists who feared that splitting the cancer fight from NIH would hurt biomedical research, introduced his own version which the conference eventually accepted.

A NEW STUDY SHOWS ASBESTOS AS A KILLER

(By Thomas O'Toole)

A fresh study of asbestos workers shows that men who worked for as little as one year in an asbestos factory died of cancer at five times the expected U.S. death rate for cancer.

Of 230 asbestos workers in the study alive 11 years ago, 43 were dead of cancer by the middle of this year. Lung cancer claimed 25. Five died of cancer of the colon and stomach and five of a rare cancer of the chest and stomach walls called mesothelioma, which is almost always limited to people exposed to asbestos.

"Most of these people were autopsied, and we found what we've come to expect," said Dr. Irving J. Selikoff of New York's Mt. Sinai School of Medicine, where the study was conducted. "Their lungs were loaded with asbestos fibers."

The study by Mt. Sinai's Dr. Selikoff took 16 years to complete and covered all but 15 men who worked during World War II at a factory in New Jersey where they made asbestos products for shipyards. Most stayed in the factory no longer than 12 to 15 months, though a few were still there in 1954, when the factory closed and Dr. Selikoff began his study.

"One reason we did this study was to find out what happened to asbestos workers who left their jobs and had no further exposure to asbestos," Dr. Seliqoff said. "Another reason was to find out what happened to men who worked with a South African asbestos that had been thought would not produce tumors in humans."

The Mt. Sinai doctor explained that the men in the New Jersey factory worked with an asbestos called amosite, imported from South Africa. Most workers used chrysotile asbestos, which Dr. Selikoff had already showed could cause cancer in humans.

"There are some factories that have changed over to the amosite asbestos fiber because it was felt it would not cause cancer," Dr. Selikoff said. "I'm afraid that our latest study challenges that suggestion."

In disclosing his most recent study at a meeting of the International Labor Organization three weeks ago, Dr. Selikoff suggested there were several surprises in the results.

One of the biggest was that men who breathed asbestos fibers on the job died of cancer of the stomach and colon. Dr. Selikoff pointed out that there were five deaths in the study from these cancers, which is four times the expected rate and a surprise because there is no explanation for an intestinal cancer being caused by asbestos fibers caught in the lungs.

"This is very peculiar," Dr. Selikoff said, "but we're seeing it in all our studies."

The study of the men who worked in the New Jersey asbestos factory is one of several Dr. Selikoff has done of asbestos workers in the New York area. His most encompassing study is one of 632 insulation workers from two New York unions who worked with asbestos most of their lives.

"The findings continue to be depressing," states an article on the study in this week's The New Yorker magazine. "Only 285 deaths were to be expected, but there have been 425 deaths. The reason for the excess of 140 deaths is not difficult to understand.

"Forty-seven of the insulation workers died of asbestosis," The New Yorker went on, "and 161 of them died of cancer."

In the study of the men in the New Jersey asbestos factory, Dr. Selikoff found that of the 230 workers alive in 1960 more than half (105) were dead by the end of 1970.

Besides the 43 cancer victims, the 62 dead asbestos workers included 14 who died of asbestosis, which is a scarring of the lungs somewhat like the "black lung" disease that afflicts coal miners.

Dr. Selikoff said his study did not include two men who worked in the New Jersey factory and who died of asbestosis eight and nine years respectively after they left their jobs. He said these men were not included in the study because they died before 1960.

[From the New Yorker, Oct. 23, 1971]

DEPARTMENT OF AMPLIFICATION

THE EDITORS, THE NEW YORKER.

DEAR SIRS: Mayor Lindsay has signed into law an air-pollution-control code adopted by the Council of the City of New York which will ban the spraying of fireproofing materials containing asbestos on the structural steel of buildings after February 23, 1972, and similar bans on the spraying of asbestos have been imposed this year in Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia. The data now available on the hazards of asbestos inhalation clearly indicate that such legislation has come none too soon, and that it should be duplicated as quickly as possible in every city and state in the country. In an article I wrote that appeared in The New Yorker of October 12, 1968, I described in some detail the sombre results of an investigation of the mortality experience of six hundred and thirty-two men who had worked for twenty years or more in New York Local 12 and Newark Local 32 of the International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers. This investigation, which is still under way, was begun in 1962 by Dr. Irving P. Selikoff, who is head of the Division of Environmental Medicine at the City University's Mount Sinai School of Medicine, together with Dr. Jacob Churg, chief pathologist at Barnert Memorial Hospital, in Paterson, New Jersey, and Dr. E. Cuyler Hammond, who is Vice-President for Epidemiology and Statistics of the American Cancer Society. Their work is considered to be the most comprehensive epidemiological study ever made of the biological effects of asbestos, and the recent findings continue to be depressing. Four hundred and twenty-five of the six hundred and thirty-two insulation workers had died as of June 30, 1971. According to the standard mortality tables, only two hundred and eighty-five deaths were to be expected.

The reason for the excess of one hundred and forty deaths is not difficult to understand. Forty-seven of the insulation workers died of asbestosis, which is scarring of the lungs caused by inhalation of asbestos fibers, and a hundred and sixty-one of them died of cancer. One in five of all the deaths reported was the result of lung cancer, one in ten of gastro-intestinal cancer, and nearly one in ten of malignant mesothelioma—an invariably fatal tumor of the pleura, which is the membrane that encases the lung, or of the peritoneum, a similar membrane that lines the abdominal cavity. The rate of death from lung cancer among the insulation workers is eight times the expected rate, and that fact alone would be sufficient to implicate asbestos as one of the most potent industrial carcinogens known to man. But the fact that nearly one in ten of the workers' deaths was the result of mesothelioma gives rise to even greater concern about the effects of the mineral, for mesothelioma, which takes from twenty to forty years to develop, almost never occurs without some, even if slight, history of exposure to asbestos. The tumor was previously so rare that it was known to be present in only about one in ten thousand deaths in the general population. Today, however, it is being found increasingly not only in people who have been exposed to asbestos in their work but also in unsuspecting people who simply have lived in the vicinity of factories where asbestos products were being manufactured, or lived in the same house with workers who came home with asbestos dust on their clothes.

In order to grasp the magnitude of the hazards involved in the spraying of materials containing asbestos, one must understand that the insulation workers studied by Dr. Selikoff sustained comparatively light and intermittent exposure to the mineral. These men often worked out-of-doors; most of the materials they used had an asbestos content of less than fifteen per cent; and, most important of all, these materials were applied not by spraying but by wrapping, a process much less likely to produce dust. The first use in the United States of sprayed mineral fibre containing asbestos as a fireproofing agent occurred in 1958 in the erection of the sixty-story head office of the Chase Manhattan Bank, here in New York.

Generally, chrysotile asbestos composes up to thirty per cent of such material, and last year asbestos fireproofing was used in considerably more than half the large multistory office buildings constructed in the United States. The process of spraying fireproofing material on structural steel, in order to protect the steel from buckling in case of fire, is an extremely wasteful one. In fact, about twenty-five per cent of the material fails to adhere, so that an enormous amount of the asbestos used in the United States for fireproofing—three million pounds was used during 1970 alone—entered the atmosphere immediately. The spraying of asbestos fireproofing material is most often carried out by members of the Plasterers Union, but since asbestos diseases usually do not manifest themselves until twenty or more years after exposure, the workers' experience has been too short to have led, as yet, to clinically evident diseases. Recently, however, Dr. Selikoff, in collaboration with Dr. William J. Nicholson, Mr. William B. Reitze, and Mr. Duncan A. Holaday, all of the Mount Sinai Environmental Sciences Laboratory, completed a study of asbestos-spray operations in eleven cities across the country, and it showed that the amount of exposure being sustained by men engaged in this work is anywhere from ten to twenty times as great as the exposure sustained by the asbestos insulators whose disastrous mortality experience has already been documented. As a result. Dr. Selikoff and his associates are predicting a most unhappy fate for these men. They believe that a majority of them will die of asbestos disease.

Approximately four million workmen in the various building-construction trades—pipe fitters, welders, electricians, plumbers, carpenters, and others—may be on construction sites during or shortly after the spraying of mineral fibres. No one knows the extent of the hazards such workmen face because of indirect exposure, but a potentially serious risk can be inferred from increasing reports of mesothelioma among several million men and women who sustained indirect and often very slight exposure to asbestos dust by working in American and British shipyards during the Second World War. Only a little farther out on the epidemiological scale of risk are the millions and millions of city dwellers who for the past ten years have been living and working in the vicinity of construction sites where asbestos fireproofing material has been sprayed. Almost anyone who walks on the streets of this city, where there have frequently been anywhere from twenty-five to forty asbestos-spray operations in progress, encounters asbestos floating down upon him from some high-rise project. The visible part of these "snowfalls," which sometimes cover sidewalks, consists of feathery wads of chrysotile asbestos mixed with rock wool; the invisible part is made up of an untold number of submicroscopic and highly respirable particles. On the basis of the fact that a billionth of a gram of chrysotile asbestos can fragment into a million such particles, Dr. Selikoff and his associates have calculated that on and around an average construction site where asbestos fireproofing materials are being sprayed a person might inhale up to fifty million fibres in an eight-hour period. In another study, conducted last year at the Mount Sinai Environmental Sciences Laboratory by Dr. Arthur M. Langer, electron-microscope examination of representative samples of lung tissue showed chrysotile asbestos to be present in twenty-eight out of twenty-eight consecutive autopsies conducted in New York City.

In view of all this, one wonders how anybody could deny that there is risk to the general public from asbestos-spray operations. Yet an editorial that appeared in the April, 1971, issue of *Asbestos*, a publication that claims to represent a large segment of the asbestos industry, states:

For some time we have been concerned with the many misleading or erroneous statements reported by various communications media to the effect that the manufacture and use of asbestos and asbestos-based products pose hazards to occupational and public health. Allegations that asbestos is a threat to the general public as well as to those occupationally exposed to its dust have been voiced by many groups, both public and private. Acceptance of the unfounded claims as "fact" has led to some large U.S. cities considering proposals to ban the use of asbestos-containing spray insulations used in building construction. . . . We know that the effects of asbestos are both dose and time related. And we know there is presently no evidence of a hazard to the general public from exposure to the minute amounts of asbestos that may be present in community air.

The facts hardly warrant such an interpretation. It is indeed true that the effects of asbestos are related to both dose and time—every medical researcher who has studied the problem knows that—and it is precisely for this reason that there is at present "no evidence" of a hazard to the general public. In other words, because of the long period over which mesothelioma develops, it cannot possibly be known until sometime near the end of the century whether there will be a pronounced rise in the incidence of these tumors among city dwellers who have been inhaling asbestos day after day as a result of the fallout from construction sites. What is known is that asbestos fibres are virtually indestructible in lung tissue, and that a person who inhales significant amounts of asbestos dust carries a burden that will provide a potential for the development of cancer for the rest of his life.

Given the evidence that has been compiled about the effects of inhaling asbestos, it seems obvious that the spraying of asbestos should be banned throughout the country. But what about the spraying of other minerals, such as rock wool, gypsum, and vermiculite, which have recently been approved by the New York City Buildings Department as adequate fireproofing agents in place of asbestos? Rock wool is a silicate fibre made from steelmill slag. Its composition can vary greatly, and it contains many trace metals, which in some forms can be carcinogenic. Approximately twenty per cent of its fibres are potentially respirable.

Gypsum, which is mined in many places in the United States, is a hydrated calcium sulphate that may contain many highly respirable particles. It is used as a fireproofing agent in combination with vermiculite, a silicate containing iron, aluminum, and magnesium; there may also be a multitude of respirable particles in vermiculite. Since no definitive studies of the matter have been completed, no one has the slightest idea of what the long-term biological effects of these materials will be upon human tissue. Should we start spraying them, then, on the assumption that their particles will prove to be innocuous in the human lung? That seems a very unwise course to take, especially when we consider that since the first recorded death from asbestosis it has taken the medical and scientific community seventy years to achieve the degree of knowledge that exists today about the biological effects of asbestos. Moreover, it appears that the spraying of mineral fibres on steel girders is not necessary for the safe construction of buildings. According to Dr. Robert N. Rickles, Commissioner of the New York City Department of Air Resources, and Mr. Harold Romer, the Department's Assistant Commissioner, non-asbestos insulation products are now being developed that can be applied to steel either by trowelling or, since they can be made in the form of flat strips, by the use of adhesive. New products are being developed that could be applied to steel members at steel-fabrication plants, and still others in the form of insulation blankets could be wrapped around steel members at the building site. From the point of view of air-pollution control and public health, these methods are obviously preferable to spraying. It is certainly to be hoped that they will be approved as quickly as possible by buildings departments all over the country.

Unfortunately, the threat of contamination of the air by asbestos dust will not disappear even if asbestos-spray operations are banned nationwide. Since, in recent years, the structural steel of an average thirty-story building has generally been sprayed with two or three hundred tons of fireproofing material, the future demolition of such buildings is bound to release enormous quantities of asbestos fibres into the open air unless new methods of demolition are developed to prevent it. Another hazard involves the use of the spaces between ceilings and the underside of the floors above as plenums for circulating air in office skyscrapers, highrise apartment buildings, schools, and other structures whose outside windows are sealed. Formerly, air was circulated in such buildings through sheet-metal ducts, but for the past ten years or so it has been customary in New York City and in many other cities in the country to eliminate the return-air ducts and to use the plenums as reservoirs through which air is exhausted back into airconditioning systems by huge fans. During this same period, of course, it has been the practice to spray asbestos fireproofing materials on the structural steel of these buildings. As a result, the plenums of many of them are grossly contaminated with asbestos dust, which is being circulated throughout living and working areas and, undoubtedly, into the lungs of the people who occupy them. Almost nothing is known about the extent of such contamination, because in many cities existing laws do not allow public officials to take dust measurements within privately owned buildings. Needless to say, such laws should be amended wherever they exist, air samples of the interiors of buildings should be taken and plenums contaminated with asbestos dust should be cleaned up.

In my 1968 article, I quoted Dr. Selikoff as saying that small numbers of asbestos fibres might be liberated from many products in widespread use, among them asbestos filters used in the food and pharmaceutical industries. Since then, his suspicions have been at least partly confirmed. In 1969, he, Dr. Nicholson, and Dr. Carl Maggiore examined samples of single-dose vials of seventeen commonly used parenteral, or injectable, drugs, and they found significant amounts of asbestos fibres in five of them. The amounts ranged up to as much as a microgram of asbestos—comparable to what might be inhaled by someone spending a solid week on a construction site where asbestos fireproofing material was being sprayed. On October 7, 1969, Dr. Selikoff and Dr. Nicholson described their findings at a seminar held at the headquarters of the Food and Drug Administration, in Washington, D.C. On October 30th of that year, they presented the same findings at the annual meeting of the Parenteral Drug Association, held at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in New York City. A few months ago, when they conducted a resurvey of the same number of commonly used injectable drugs, they found that six of the seventeen contained measurable amounts of asbestos fibres, ranging up to and more than a microgram in weight. Apparently, the information they gave the F.D.A. and the drug manufacturers did not cause sufficient concern to result in any correction of the situation.

Sincerely,

PAUL BRODEUR.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Dec. 1, 1971]

JOB-HAZARD LAW SPURS COMPLAINTS FROM FIRMS ON COST OF SAFEGUARDS

(By Byron E. Calame)

The classic cry of "timber!" may no longer be clearly heard ringing through the forests of the Pacific Northwest.

Why? Because Uncle Sam now requires lumberjacks to don earmuffs as protection against the whine of their power saws. "If they want to continue to work in these jobs, they've got to wear the gear," says a man at Gilchrist Timber Co. in Oregon.

Protection of lumberjacks' hearing is one result of the nation's first comprehensive law covering health and safety on the job. In partial effect for more than seven months and in full effect for more than three, it is forcing most employers to take a fresh look at protection of their workers. And, on pain of fines or jail terms, many are finding it necessary to adopt what they consider inconvenient or costly safeguards.

At a plant run by New York-based American Standard Inc., limits imposed by the law have required a reduction in pressure in nozzles used to spray plastic on plastic-coated bathtubs and toilet seats; production has been slowed as a result. Sanitation requirements are forcing another major manufacturer to install new and larger partitions between restroom stalls; the cost is calculated at $200,000. And at Detroit's Regal

Stamping Co., a subsidiary of Peabody Galion Corp., has had to put in new guards on its metal-stamping machines. The 100 employes are being required to make use of the guards and to follow more restrictive operating procedures as well. Regal President J. G. Wynn reports productivity has dropped 10% to 15%, though he hopes it will bounce back as employes learn the new procedures.

A HIGH RATE OF VIOLATIONS

Several hundred companies have been fined for violations of the law. The stiffest penalty to date; a maximum $10,000 fine levied against a Lockheed Aircraft Corp. construction subsidiary after a fire in California. (Lockheed is appealing.) REA Express Co. has drawn a $900 fine for an accident even though the employe injured had failed to use safety equipment provided by the company. (REA is contesting the fine.)

"We are witnessing the most extensive federal intervention into the day-to-day operation of American business in history," Leo Teplow, a Washington management consultant, says of the Occupational Safety and Health Act. Aimed at reducing the more than 14,000 on-the-job deaths occurring yearly, the sweeping law covers 57 million workers in 4.1 million factories, offices and shops.

There clearly is a gap between many corporate safety programs and the provisions of the new law. Violations have been discovered in 79% of the 5,600 establishments inspected since the law became partially effective April 28, according to George Guenther, assistant secretary of labor for occupational safety and health. (The law took full effect on Aug. 28.)

The standards in the law are hardly new to many larger companies. Most were drawn from "consensus" safety standards previously developed by groups such as the American National Standards Institute as voluntary guidelines for business; others came from safety regulations formerly prescribed for federal contractors and for the maritime industry. Most standards deal with guardrails, machine guards and similar basic safety precautions.

THE WORST FIRST

What's new, and is spurring many worried employers into action, is the stiff enforcement provisions of the new law. Employers can be fined up to $10,000 for each violation and can be sent to jail for up to six months where a willful infraction causes an employe's death.

Many employes are concerned, too, that workers will seek to harass management by initiating safety complaints; under the law, each employe complaint must be investigated. At last count, however, there had been only 556 employe complaints filed since April 28—fewer than the thousands that some leery businessmen had predicted.

With less than 500 federal compliance officers in the field, Labor Secretary James D. Hodgson has ordered them deployed—along with 70 inspectors from eight cooperating states—on a "worst first" basis. Top priority goes to checking on fatal accidents. Next are investigations of employe complaints. After that comes industries with high injury rates; the initial five are longshoring, roofing and sheet metal, meat-packing, mobile-home manufacturing, and lumber and wood products.

The enforcement manpower is expected to remain limited, so Mr. Hodgson is stressing voluntary action. "We depend heavily on voluntary cooperation," he says, and he emphasizes that his inspectors "will be guided equally by the spirit of the law as by the letter." He adds: "We're certainly not going to measure the success of this program by how many penalties we assess."

Organized labor, which fought in Congress last year to win some of the enforcement provisions, is already protesting about lax enforcement. "The administration is 'tempering the wind to the shorn lamb' a little too much," complains George Taylor, executive secretary of the AFL–CIO health and safety committee. A United Auto Workers' spokesman complains: "The jet set has 1,200 sky marshals at work to keep expensive airline equipment from going to Cuba, but 57 million workers will have less than 500 safety inspectors by next July 1."

One major union complaint involves the slow pace of the government's attack on health hazards. "Labor Department agents are going after boiler eruptions hammer-and-tongs while they boggle at those more insidious, chemically induced explosions of cell tissue in the working man's liver, pancreas, kidneys and brains," asserts the UAW's weekly Washington newsletter.

Almost everyone agrees the toughest problem for employers will come when the government gets around to setting precise limits on workers' exposure to thousands of dangerous chemicals and other substances. "The real hooker is in the occupational health area," says W. E. McCormick, manager of environmental control at B. F. Goodrich Co. "I think the most far-reaching implications and serious consequences of the law are in this area."

The area of health hazards is largely uncharted. The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health created by the law hopes to put out a dozen standards for toxic materials by the end of the year, a spokesman says. But critics say that's next to nothing compared with the 9,000 potentially harmful substances for which standards are needed.

Even though the most difficult compliance problems are yet to come, many companies, especially smaller ones, complain they have their hands full trying to meet the standards already spelled out.

The superintendent of a small California shipyard claims his costs are going to rise at least 20%. One reason: management is being forced to provide such things as "permanent-type" rather than temporary scaffolding and barricades around shipboard hatches during overhauls.

SAFETY CAN PAY

"An older plant can go broke trying to comply with some of these standards," asserts William Miller, manager of corporate safety at Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. Mr. Teplow, the management consultant, claims the $200,000 another company is spending to remodel restroom stalls "isn't going to do anything for anybody's health and safety."

Yet some corporate safety experts, including Goodyear's Mr. Miller, emphasize that safety can pay. "When you look at workmen's compensation costs and weigh them against the costs of a safety program, you see a lot can be gained," he says. Robert DeRose, president of DeRose Industries Inc., an Indianapolis maker of mobile homes, says complying with the act should help pare his workmen's compensation insurance premiums by 10% during the next two years.

Such considerations, along with the act's tough penalties, are spurring companies to pressure employes to use safety devices. REA Express Co., for one, has a special reason for applying heat: It was fined $900 after an electrician was injured when he wasn't using the rubber mat provided for him to stand on. "Naturally, we're tightening down on making employes use the safety equipment," an REA official says.

But getting employes to use safety equipment is a problem at Richardson Homes Corp., an Elkhart, Ind., maker of mobile homes. Since the employes are paid on a piecework basis, an executive explains, they're reluctant to use safety devices, such as guards on power tools, for fear of slowing their production and cutting their pay checks.

DAMNED IF YOU DO . . .

Complying with the safety law presents a special headache for Robert Burns, manager of a Missouri Beef Packers Inc. plant in Plainview, Texas. A federal safety inspector in September cited the concern for not having a guardrail on the platform where employes stand to work on carcasses that move by suspended from an overhead track. But an Agriculture Department meat inspector has warned the company not to install the rail because germs could be spread as the carcasses rub past it. Mr. Burns says he is seeking a formal hearing with the federal officials involved to resolve the matter.

Despite the problems, safety officials at a number of larger corporations maintain they're well on their way to complying with the law. General Motors Corp. has sent experts to many plants to explain the law's impact. American Standard is conducting mock inspections of its facilities to help managers get ready for the real thing. At Boise Cascade Corp., safety administrator Marvin Strode is working closely with company purchasing agents; he made sure that an order for a new paper-mill machine specified the equipment must operate within prescribed noise limits.

But it's harder for smaller companies to muster the expertise needed for compliance, says an executive of the National Association of Manufacturers. At a recent seminar for small businessmen, he found "one guy who didn't even know a safety law had been passed."

BOEING PREACHES SAFETY; SOME ASSAIL ITS PRACTICES

The safety-minded United Auto Workers union is urging Boeing Aircraft Co. to practice what it preaches.

Boeing is being paid $65,000 by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration to conduct one-day seminars on the new safety law in 30 major cities. The seminars, designed for union and other employe representatives, emphasize the rights and responsibilities the act gives to workers.

But the UAW claims one of Boeing's own units could use a little briefing on the new law. Government inspectors visited Boeing's Vertol division in Philadelphia last month and spotted 27 alleged violations of the act, the union says. While the company stresses that the violations were minor, a UAW spokesman complains that Boeing "should get its own house in order before trying to tell other people how to comply with the new law."

HORTON JOINS MUSIC WORLD IN PAYING TRIBUTE TO DR. HOWARD HANSON ON HIS 75TH BIRTHDAY

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, one of Rochester's leading citizens, and one of the world's most revered musicians recently celebrated his 75th birthday. It was an occasion which called forth worldwide tributes for Dr. Howard Hanson. Composer, educator, conductor, and spokesman for American music, he has wielded a diverse and far reaching influence on his own and subsequent generations of musicians.

Eleanor Dienstag, writing in the Penfield-Post Republican, said that Howard Hanson's presence in Rochester as director of the Eastman School of Music from 1924 to 1964, has probably constituted one of the chief cultural assets of the city itself. This is true. In many ways, Dr. Hanson has put Rochester on the map as a center for musical education, especially in the area of contemporary music. He succeeded in introducing to the public more new American composers, and premiered more American works than all other musical organizations in the United States combined.

This 75th birthday of Dr. Howard Hanson brought about several celebrations. The University of Rochester and the Eastman School arranged a surprise convocation and tribute at which congratulatory telegrams and letters were read, a special birthday salute by the 30-plus members of the Eastman Trombone Choir was played, and Mayor Stephen May announced his intention to name a newly-created city street near the Eastman School in honor of Dr. Hanson.

Birthday greetings to this exceptional man were sent from President Richard M. Nixon, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, State Senator Thomas Laverne, and dozens of notables both within and without the world of music.

Many in the Congress will recall that in 1961 and 1962, Dr. Hanson took the Eastman Philharmonic Orchestra on a State Department tour to 34 cities of Europe, the Middle East, Poland, and the U.S.S.R., and presented to the world the two great gifts which the Eastman School has made to the musical life of the United States—the outstanding ensemble players and the performance of new American music.

Although Dr. Hanson has packed an incredible amount of activity and accomplishment into his 75 years, he still enjoys excellent health, and as Senator Thomas Laverne said,

One need only look at the continuing cultural achievements of such men as Pablo Picasso, Pablo Casals or Arthur Fiedler, to see that, like fine wine, creative genius can only improve with age.

Another tribute to Dr. Hanson was held at the Rochester Museum and Science Center. It was reported in the Rochester Times-Union by Mildred Mikkanen. This story discloses many personal glimpses of the honoree:

A MUSICIAN WHO HAS MADE ROCHESTER A CULTURAL CITADEL—HOWARD HANSON AT 75

(By Mildred Mikkanen)

If Howard Hanson has his birthday request, the street the city plans to name for him will be the one-block alley between Swan and Gibbs streets. It's called Barrett Alley now, but where it got that name is a mystery.

"I used to always sneak through that alley to the Rochester Club when the pressure at Eastman School got too great," he confessed.

Dr. Hanson, director emeritus of Eastman School of Music and a world renowned composer and conductor, suggested it simply be renamed Hanson Alley, nothing as elaborate as Dr. Howard Hanson Symphony Street. That's the name his native Wahoo, Neb., gave to a street in his honor this week.

That was a bit overwhelming "and far beyond my fondest hopes," he told longtime friends gathered last night to celebrate his 75th birthday anniversary in the Rochester Museum and Science Center.

It was the final festivity of the day that Mayor Stephen May had proclaimed "Howard Hanson Day." Last night the mayor gave the white goateed musician the key to the city "not only with admiration and respect but with affection" for making the city a cultural citadel.

It was more than a birthday party museum trustees gave. It was a preview. Dr. Hanson, who wore a white carnation in his button hole and an unnecessary name tag on his jacket was the star and loved it all.

Congratulations, hand shakes, and kisses from many women began the minute he arrived with his wife Peggy whose job she said "is to get him to places on time."

While guests drank champagne in the Great Hall, pictures of Dr. Hanson in his youth and with famous persons like President Eisenhower flashed above on the outer screens of the new Orientation Center.

The preview was of the museum's first "Living History" film in what science center director Ian McLennan called "this funny place." The new Orientation Theater is so spanking new no one, except a few staff members, had sat on its orange-carpeted steps to watch films projected onto its six-sectioned screen. The theater holds 100 persons, and the guest list was limited to that number.

Last night's film was a preview of an in-depth interview McLennan's wife Adrienne, who did television work in Canada, filmed with Dr. Hanson. He told about his early years at Eastman and his association with Kodak founder, George Eastman, who was concerned that Dr. Hanson's goatee hid a weak chin and he might not be capable of directing the music school.

His stories about Mr. Eastman evoked audience laughter and nostalgia. Dr. and Mrs. Allen I. McHose especially enjoyed one about a young organist who substituted at Mr. Eastman's home. The organist, not taking seriously the industrialist's warning that he hated anything by Bach added a flurry of Bach to Wagner and was reprimanded sternly. The organist was Dr. McHose.

When he was 13, McLennan first heard Dr. Hanson's Second Symphony "and it's been a favorite ever since." As his birthday salute to the composer, McLennan played a recording of that composition set to his own film interpretation of color, forms and silhouettes of performing musicians playing. It ended with a huge blowup of Dr. Hanson with his perennial cigar—and a choked-up audience.

Naturally everyone had a Hanson reminiscence. Emory Remington who's known at Eastman as "the trombonists' father" because he has trained so many of them, dates his friendship with Dr. Hanson back to December 1923 and "the first time Dr. Hanson walked up the steps at Eastman."

Olive McCue Clarke, Mercury ballet director, said she danced many times "to music Dr. Hanson conducted for his American Festivals of Music."

And he was responsible for bringing Dr. Ruth Watanabe, director of the Sibley Library at Eastman, to Rochester. It happened in 1942 just after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. Her parents, who were Japanese, and she were sent by the U.S. government along with other nisei citizens from California to Colorado.

"I was only there a week when I received a telegram from Dr. Hanson asking me to come to study at Eastman," she said. "Four years later he appointed me to the staff. It's still a secret how he heard about me. You know, we students always called him Uncle Howard behind his back. And that's just what he was, a wonderful uncle to all of us."

At noon yesterday, Dr. Hanson was at Eastman School ostensibly to meet University of Rochester Chancellor W. Allen Wallis and current Eastman director Walter Hendl for lunch.

But first they ushered him into Kilbourn Hall where a real "surprise party" awaited him.

On hand were numerous dignitaries, including Mayor May, State Sen. Thomas Laverne, and members of the Eastman School board of governors, and a hall full of Eastman and UR students.

Messages from President Nixon and Governor Rockefeller and other notables were read.

Then Emory Remington's 33-member Trombone Choir performed a musical tribute, written by Hendl and scored by Donald Hunsberger. It cleverly combined the "Happy Birthday" tune and a familiar theme from the Hanson "Romantic" Symphony.

An outstanding feature story about Dr. Howard Hanson appeared in the November 21 issue of Upstate New York, a Sunday supplement magazine published by Gannett Co., Inc. This fine article by Linda Chiavaroli captures the warm personality of Dr. Hanson and takes the reader right into the home to visit with the great man.

I would like to share that now with my colleagues in the Congress, for I want them, too, to know this man who inspires so many.

The Upstate New York story follows:

EASTMAN'S HOWARD HANSON

(By Linda Chiavaroli)

The door of the cream and brown Tudor style house on Oakdale Drive swings open. A large, ruddy hand is thrust my way.

"Miss Chiavaroli?" asks a catarrhous voice. It is Dr. Howard Hanson, a bit puffy around the eyes from a cold, but, chipper as usual and happy to talk about his latest compositions, his island in Maine, the autobiography he's writing or anything else you care to bring up.

Once through the vestibule and into the front hall, I am overwhelmed by a cocoa-colored Irish terrier.

"That's Mara. Short for Tamara Malenkaya, who was our translator when we went to Russia with the Philharmonia. I hope you're not afraid of dogs."

Tamara accompanies us into the bright blue living room, where we examine a lobster trap—a souvenir from Maine which is standing next to the fireplace—then sink into two easy chairs. Light filters through the leaded window behind us, highlighting the silvery white hair and beard which have become Dr. Hanson's trademark. He lights up a panetella, in spite of a bad cough brought on by his cold. He was 75 years old in October.

Since retiring as director of the Eastman School of Music in 1964, Dr. Hanson has been guest conducting, lecturing and writing music prodigiously. He's produced commissioned works for the New York Philharmonic (to celebrate its 125th anniversary), the Louisville Symphony, the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, the Nebraska Centennial (Wahoo is Dr. Hanson's birthplace), and even something called the Arid Lands Conference. "I had a difficult time coming up with a theme for that one," says Dr. Hanson seriously. "Then I hit upon a verse from Isaiah: 'The wilderness and the dry land shall be glad . . . the desert shall rejoice and blossom.'" Soon he'll complete a work, commissioned by Walter Hendl in honor of the 50th birthday of the Eastman School.

Dr. Hanson can still remember the first musical composition he wrote—"a sad little melody in ¾ time"—when he was a boy in Wahoo, Nebraska. (The key to the city of Wahoo—two feet high, made of styrofoam and tied with a red bow—leans against the fireplace, next to the lobster trap.) His teacher at the Institute of Musical Arts (now the Juilliard School) encouraged him to become a concert pianist, "but I never had the slightest inclination for it," says Dr. Hanson. In

1921—at the age of twenty-five—he won a Prix de Rome in musical composition. His works were performed by symphony orchestras all over the country and he was invited to conduct in—among other places—Rochester, where he met Rush Rhees, then president of the University of Rochester, and George Eastman. After his guest engagements, he returned to Rome to finish his residence at the American Academy. When he arrived, after a leisurely trans-Atlantic crossing, a telegram inviting him to become director of the Eastman School was waiting.

"Sometimes I wonder how Rush Rhees and George Eastman ever had the nerve to do it. I had just made a mark as a composer and I had been dean of the conservatory at College of the Pacific. Rush Rhees had asked me to write a critique on the organization of a music school within a university, which I did. I didn't think much about it at the time, until I got that telegram.

"I was lucky in that College of the Pacific had one of the two best music schools on the west coast. I ran into all the same problems there that I had at Eastman. That administrative experience gave me more confidence than I would have had otherwise, I think. But, when you're in your twenties you either have amazing confidence or no confidence at all. It never occurred to me I didn't know everything."

Dr. Hanson composed steadily during his 40-year tenure at the Eastman School. The Metropolitan Opera commissioned him to write his first and only opera, "Merry Mount," which premiered in 1934. His Fourth Symphony, "The Requiem," won the Pulitzer Price in 1944.

His first year at Eastman, he inaugurated the Festival of American Music, still an annual event at the school, to give the works of young American composers a hearing.

"One of my gripes with the twentieth century," says Dr. Hanson, "is its emphasis on the performing arts. There is no question about the value of having great singers, violinists and pianists but they have to have something to sing and play. Fortunately we have a huge backlog of music to draw on, but the repertory is in a rut. I can remember when I used to walk past the practice rooms at the University of Nebraska. You'd hear the same handful of pieces over and over—the Mozart Sonata in C, the Waldstein, the Appassionata. In New York ten years later, I found the same thing. Today the piano repertory has been boiled down to about forty pieces.

"Of course the performer has a great advantage over the composer. The living tenor doesn't have to compete with Caruso, but we have to compete with Beethoven. The writer of a symphony has to compete against all the great symphonies of the past. So there is this tendency to nourish the performing arts and neglect the creative arts.

"I think the music schools can do a great deal in this area. The Festival of American Music has had a great deal of influence. Roy Harris, Aaron Copland, Walter Piston, Elliott Carter—there's not a one of them whose works we didn't premiere.

"The schools should be on the look out for creative talent. If a gifted violinist walks in, he'll get a scholarship before he can take his rubbers off. A budding composer may or may not.

"I'm not suggesting authoritarian pronouncements but somehow our young performers should be urged to go past Debussy and Ravel. You don't have to have whole evenings of new music, but I'd like to see one or two pieces from the last few decades on every program."

Tamara Malenkaya's twin, Peter Bolshoi, lumbers into the room. Dr. Hanson takes a dog biscuit from the Milk Bone box next to his chair and tosses it, over the coffee table, in Peter's direction. I ask, hesistantly, if he thinks American music has progressed much in the last fifty years.

"Well, it has progressed enormously technically. Not that that's the most important thing. But you have to remember we're not a very old country. At the time of Beethoven you still had to watch out you didn't get an arrow through your hat. Later in the 19th century we began to get exposed to music, with people like Jenny Lind, although those were more or less circus promotions. Then you began to find American composers doing their own thing. By the twentieth century an American symphony would be technically proficient. Edward MacDowell, I think, belongs in the companionship of Dvorak. John Alden Carpenter had a magnificent puckish style.

"As for the popularity of American music with the public that's a mixed picture. The good popular music, like Rodgers and Hammerstein, is played around the world. Serious music has had much more a problem. Everyone says people don't like it and don't want it. But the stagnant repertory comes into play here.

"Not long ago I had a note from my publisher saying that my "Song of Democracy,' which I wrote about 20 years ago, has had 500 performances. Yet it has been done by only half a dozen of the major symphony orchestras. Now apparently someone likes it, or it would not have had 500 performances, but the symphony programs are in such a mold that, if a symphony wants a choral piece, they'll do Beethoven's Ninth."

And where is American music or, for that matter, music in general going?

"I suppose you know I've never been a particular admirer of rock and roll and I've said some unkind things about it in print. But there is a silver lining there. I think if the kids with the three-chord guitars and the people from the digital computer side could get together and crack this mold we're in, then maybe we could take a new look at—and I dislike the term—'serious music.'"

Lately Dr. Hanson's been occupied more with those who've made the mold than those who might break it. He's just completed 45 chapters of his autobiography, which is tentatively set for release at the end of 1972.

"I think I'll start to finish it up now. You know, the problem with an autobiography is not finding enough to put in but making sure you put in what ought to be put in. Of course the famous people are in there, the Toscanini's and the Koussevitzky's. But then there are the young students who became famous later on.

"Writing and composing have a great deal in common. You have to have a concept of form, a logical line and smooth transitions from one subject to the next. Although with some of the younger composers it's almost considered a fault to have technique.

"Of course you must have inspiration to start with. After that, you get wrapped up in a piece and it's just a matter of working it out right. The difficulty comes right after you finish a work and it's all wrapped up in tissue paper ready to be premiered. You sit down to write and you want to do something else, but there is a tendency to repeat what you've just done. You really have to work to come up with a new idea. You think to yourself, 'I'll never write again in a thousand years,' then, all of a sudden there it is. Bang!

"After that you may have problems in development. Either the climax comes too soon or too late. So you go back and revise and each revision is worse than the last. Finally you give up and go to bed. Then, you get up the next morning and look at it and say, 'This is the way it should go,' and it works. The creative process is very strange."

Outside, the afternoon light has dimmed to a pale glow. A white-haired, pink-cheeked lady with cornflower blue eyes—Mrs. Hanson—enters briskly to deliver us from the impending gloom. "It's kind of dim and religious in here," she says, illuminating two table lamps.

I notice several framed color photos on the mantle. One, on the end, shows Dr. Hanson on a sailboat with a young man, whom Dr. Hanson identifies as the teenage son of their next door neighbors.

"That was taken summer before last in Maine. My wife bought me a sailboat for my birthday and I learned to sail at the age of 74. I think that's pretty good, don't you,"

As I work my way toward the door, we glance at Dr. Hanson's extensive memorabilia—a dozen or so framed awards, the keys to several major cities of the United States, sketches and photos of friends, famous and not so famous.

My departure is attended by one of the two Russian-Irish terriers, but I have no idea which one. Dr. Hanson helps me on with my coat. "It's been interesting talking to you," he says, shaking my hand. As I leave, he bends over to pick up the evening paper lying on the doorstep. "Well," he says cheerily, "let's see what's in the news."

ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD RESOLUTION

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, one of the most consistent and serious problems facing Alaska today is the unusually poor housing conditions that plague the entire State.

Housing is, of course, one of the basic necessities of life and because of the severe weather conditions adequate shelter means more to the people in Alaska than in any other State.

Recently, the city of Sitka has been informed that a demonstration planning grant from the Federal Government has been denied. While other housing developments in other States continue to grow, Sitka, Alaska, is in desperate need of funds to implement new plans which will eliminate inadequate housing.

The Alaska Native Brotherhood has adopted a resolution which calls for immediate funding for necessary housing in this Southeast area. At this time, I would like to insert a copy of the resolution into the RECORD and hope that my colleagues in the Congress will be more aware of the housing needs of Alaska:

RESOLUTION

Whereas: The City of Sitka has been informed that the demonstration grant for the Sitka Village Planning Council Grant has been disallowed;

And Whereas the proposed improvements are necessary for the Health and Welfare of all the citizens of the community of Sitka;

And Whereas funds are available from Model Cities and or other similar grants from demonstration appropriations now funded;

And Whereas this project has been constantly pursued by the City of Sitka, The Greater Borough, Sitka Village Planning Council;

And Whereas the Sitka Village Planning Council, Which is representative of the people involved has endorsed and actively sought funds for execution of this project;

And Whereas this venture is unique in the method which has devised the opportunity for Village involvement in the proposed project Planning;

And Whereas it is necessary for the Congress of the United States to recognize the necessity for action since lands involved are defined as restricted by "Territorial Legislation";

Now Therefore: Be It Resolved That;

The ANB Camp No. 1 requests that the Congress of the United States make available by special appropriation, funds to plan and implement necessary improvements to alleviate the health hazards and inadequate housing which exists;

We further request that this action be taken immediately;

We recognize that the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Public Health Service "Will support our Request";

We further request that the Sitka Village Planning Council be the "Responsible Authority" and the Surevit Corporation for Prosecution of the Project, that has been involved in the planning for resolution of the same;

This resolution to be sent to: Representative Nick Begich.

RECYCLING SOLID WASTES

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, I am always pleased to see citizen efforts at organizing to improve the environment. As chairman of the Republican Task Force on the Environment and Population I continue to be impressed at the amount of local initiative which the ecology movement has generated. In the last few years we have heard a great deal of rhetoric about improving our environment. What we need is less rhetoric and more action. The Ecology Center in Ann Arbor, Mich., is such an action oriented organization. They recently published a report entitled, "Recycling: A Study of Citizen Participation in Ann Arbor." I found the report quite interesting and I believe that my colleagues in the House would be interested in reading it as it points up several ways in which citizens may become involved in improving their environment by recycling solid wastes.

The report follows:

ECOLOGY CENTER ELECTS EIGHT NEW BOARD MEMBERS

The Ecology Center of Ann Arbor has announced the election of eight new members to its board of directors. The election took place at a special meeting of the center's membership. The board previously had five members.

The new board members include: Dr. Peter Eckstein, associate professor of economics at Western Michigan University; Mrs. Eunice Hendrix, naturalist-ecologist with the Ann Arbor Public Schools; Dr. Morton Hilbart, professor and chairman of the University Department of environmental and industrial health, Douglas Crary, professor of geography at the University and members of the Ann Arbor Planning Commission.

Others are: Joe Price, acting director of the Washtenaw County Department of Public Works; Lee Beatty, senior project representative, University Office of Research Administration; Lee M. (Mack) Woodruff, producer, writer, University Television Center; and Dr. William Stapp, chairman of the Environmental Education Program in the School of Natural Resources, University of Michigan.

The new board will meet for the first time early in January.

RECYCLING: A STUDY OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN ANN ARBOR, AN ECOLOGY CENTER REPORT

SUMMARY

Over 25,000 people have participated in the Ecology Center's recycling programs for solid waste over the past thirteen months. During this time over four million pounds of glass, paper and cans have been collected by citizens and returned to manufacturers for recycling. Because of the substantial growth in both numbers and volume of materials for recycling, it is imperative that more sophisticated methods of collection be developed. The goals of creating strong citizen interest in a sound solid waste management program and active participation in recycling programs have been achieved. The next logical step to be taken is a city or private industry sponsored total recycling program.

To test the feasibility of a city-sponsored total recycling program, the Ecology Center conducted a six week pilot project in two neighborhoods. With the cooperation of the city and the Neighborhood Youth Corps, weekly pick ups were made in two neighborhoods containing about 300 homes each. The results of this project and a follow-up attitude survey indicate that there is strong citizen interest in a city-wide recycling program.

HISTORY OF ECOLOGY CENTER SPONSORED RECYCLING IN ANN HARBOR (JUNE 1970 TO OCTOBER 1971)

Glass recycling

The Owens-Illinois Glass Co., a group of environmentally minded citizens headed by Mrs. Carol Muscara and the Ecology Center sponsored the first community glass recycling drive at the Arborland Shopping Center on June 16 and 17, 1970. The aim of the project was to determine community response to glass recycling in Ann Arbor. The response was tremendous! In the two-day period, over 67 tons of glass were collected from approximately 2,000 cars and taken to the Owens-Illinois plant in Charlotte, Michigan. Owens-Illinois paid 1¢ per pound for glass brought to Arborland; the company also paid five people to work for the two day period. The rest of the labor was supplied by townspeople, community organization, ENACT and the Ecology Center. In these two days, over 3,000 people visited the recycling station.

Based on the success of this initial project, plans for a permanent glass recycling station were made. The Ecology Center provided volunteer labor and distributed information to the public while Owens-Illinois assumed total financial responsibility by paying for rent, transportation costs between Ann Arbor and Charlotte, ½c per pound for glass brought to the station, equipment, office supplies, and the salary of a full-time station manager. During the months of September 1970 through May 1971, the station was open Tuesday through Saturday, from 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Once again, community response was overwhelming. The following table (Table I) shows the amount of glass collected per month, the amount of money paid out by the Owens-Illinois Co. to people bringing in glass, and the number of cars that visited the station.

TABLE I

Month	Number of pounds	Amount of money paid out [1]	Number of cars [2]
September	215, 000	$1, 075	1, 705
October	140, 000	700	1, 485
November	168, 000	840	1, 505
December	201, 000	1, 005	1, 363
January	234, 000	1, 170	1, 254
February	184, 000	920	1, 263
March	284, 000	1, 420	1, 496
April	292, 000	1, 460	1, 879
May [3]	174, 000	870	1, 096
Total	1, 892, 000	9, 446	13, 096

[1] Amount of money paid out equals pounds of glass brought in times ½ cent per pound.

[2] Number of cars equals number of vouchers given by Owens-Illinois.

[3] Both the Felch Street and the Arborland stations were open during the month of May.

Early in 1971, it was suggested by Owens-Illinois that the Ecology Center assume full operating responsibility for recycling in Ann Arbor. In March 1971, the Arborland Merchants Association agreed to let the Ecology Center relocate in the northwest corner of their parking lot for a six month trial period, to begin May 1, 1971. Owens-Illinois provided financial and material assistance in making the move ($1,000.00 plus shovels, work gloves, eye goggles and assorted items from the Felch St. operation). Also, Ann Arbor's City Council approved a donation of $750.00 toward installation of a fence and the Downtown Kiwanis Club contributed $500.00. Since opening on May 4, 1971, the Station's hours have been Sunday through Thursday, 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. The following table (Table II) shows the amount of glass collected per month and the amount of money paid out by the Ecology Center to people who brought in glass to be recycled.

TABLE II

Month	Number of pounds collected	Amount of money paid out [1]
May [2]	117, 960	$255.99
June	305, 880	436.44
July	274, 050	494.28
August	218, 270	485.63
September	231, 800	415.70
October	219, 640	385.20
Total	1, 367, 600	2, 473.24

[1] Amount of money paid out equals pounds of glass brought in times ½ cent per pound. Much of the money was donated to the ecology center and is not included in the amount of money paid out.

[2] Both the Felch Street and the Arborland stations were open during the month of May.

An average of the number of cars that brought in glass to be recycled over the five month period is about 2,200 cars per month. We have determined that approximately 1.5 people are in each car. Therefore, approximately 3,300 people have visited the station each month. Over 3,000,000 pounds of glass have been recycled through the Ecology Center's operations since the opening of the first glass recycling station in September 1970.

Recently a program was instituted in cooperation with the owners of the Gandy Dancer, the Pin Room, the Del Rio Bar, the Old German and Flic's Bar. Glass from these restaurants is picked up on a regular basis and taken to the Glass Recycling Station. It is anticipated that this program will continue to grow as more restaurants become aware of the opportunity to recycle their glass.

Two recent breakthroughs have occurred regarding recycling on the University of

Michigan campus. University equipment and personnel have made it possible to recycle the glass brought to football games. Glass, previously taken to the sanitary landfill is now picked up Saturdays after the game by volunteers and stored in a University truck overnight. On Sundays, University employees are responsible for taking the glass to the Arborland Glass Recycling Station. Also, for the first time, a comprehensive recycling program has been started in the campus area. The University now makes regular pick-ups at the Vera Baits Housing Unit on North Campus and the Chemistry Building on Central Campus. Newspaper, cans and glass are taken to the stations for recycling. As a result of these efforts, a proposal for total campus recycling is being submitted to the University by the Ecological Advisory Committee of the Institute for Environmental Quality. If this proposal is successfully executed, the volume of materials recycled in the community could easily double.

PAPER RECYCLING

As a result of their experiences in recycling glass, more and more citizens requested the opportunity to recycle other materials. Since paper and paper products comprise over 50% of the solid waste generated in our country, the Ecology Center approached the Pioneer Paper Co., a division of the Container Corporation of America, for assistance. Pioneer agreed to locate two semi-trailers in Ann Arbor, one for storing computer paper and cards, the other for newsprint. After beginning computer paper recycling in the garage of a local homeowner, a semi-trailer was located behind the Comshare, Inc. building on South Research Park Drive in December 1970. The computer paper program has proven to be very successful. The Ecology Center attempts to make regular pick-ups at various computer installations in Ann Arbor. Among the places visited on a regular basis are: The Graduate and Undergraduate Libraries, the North Campus Computing Center, the School of Public Health, the Environmental Simulations Laboratory, Cyphernetics Corp., the Huron Valley National Bank, the Ann Arbor Computer Co., and the ESZ Corporation. Other organizations and companies are visited on an irregular basis.

Since Saturday July 1, 1971, we have been collecting newsprint at the Westgate Shopping Center every Saturday from 10:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. The station has been manned by volunteers from the community and from Operation Misdemeanor. The following table (Table III) shows dates the trailers were filled, the volume of newsprint per load, and the number of days that it took to fill up a trailer.

TABLE III

Date trailers were filled	Pounds per load	Number of days required to fill a trailer
July 22, 1971	25,790	4
Aug. 19, 1971	31,530	3
Aug. 26, 1971	28,240	2
Sept. 11, 1971	21,470	2

This is an average of 9,730 pounds of newsprint per Saturday. Based on an average load of 90–100 pounds of newsprint per car, there have been approximately 100 carloads of newsprint recycled each Saturday over the 11 week period. Most significant, however, is the fact that the volume of newsprint recycled on a typical Saturday has doubled since the beginning of the project.

CAN RECYCLING

Because of continued citizen interest in recycling, the newspaper operations were expanded on July 31 to include all metal cans. Although very little publicity has been given to this program, 20,000 pounds of cans have been recycled to date. Cans are being recycled through the National Can Co., Livonia, Michigan. Transportation for cans as well as glass is provided by the Contractor Container Corporation of Ann Arbor. A flat rate is charged based on the shipping distance between Ann Arbor and the point of delivery.

NEW RECYCLING STATION

On December 1, 1971 the two present recycling stations will be closed and combined into a larger station that will be opened just south of the Coca Cola Bottling Co. on South Industrial Highway. Because of the convenience of one centrally located recycling station, handling all three materials and the increased publicity that will be given to the program, it is expected that the amount of materials recycled in the Ann Arbor community will experience a substantial growth.

CITYWIDE RECYCLING: A FEASIBILITY STUDY

While the collection centers have been successful in involving and educating a large number of people, they have not substantially reduced the amount of solid waste materials which are taken to the sanitary landfill. The present recycling stations are now operating near capacity. Even with the building of a new location, it will not be possible to handle the total amount of potentially recyclable solid waste generated in the Ann Arbor community. Thus, the goals of the program have been to provide a temporary means for recycling and to generate citizen interest in sound solid waste management practices for the city. The Ecology Center plans to operate a recycling station only until a private or public entity is able to take over on a large scale basis.

At the May 4 dedication of the Arborland Glass Recycling Station, Mayor Harris was asked if the city would initiate a citywide recycling program. He suggested that a pilot program be instituted to determine the willingness of citizens to participate in a curbside pick-up of separated waste materials. With the help of the Department of Public Works and the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Ecology Center conducted a six week pilot project to determine the feasibility of neighborhood recycling.

The project was conducted in two areas; the Bromley subdivision-Greenbrier Lanes area on the Northeast side and an area bordered by Dexter, Virginia, Crest and Bemidji on the West side. There are approximately 325 homes in each area. Because of vacations and vacancies, approximately 300 households were included in each area. This is equivalent to the number of households normally served in one day by a 15 cubic yard capacity sanitation truck now used by the city. Leaflets describing the project were distributed by volunteers July 7 through 12, and the project began July 21 in Bromley-Greenbrier and July 22 in the West Side area. A copy of the leaflet is attached.

Residents were asked to separate glass, metal cans and newspaper from other trash. The three materials were placed at the curbside by citizens the day before their regular pick-up in each area. The city contributed a dump truck and Neighborhood Youth Corps workers picked up the materials once each week and delivered them to the Ecology Center recycling stations. Statistics were collected on the number of households which participated in the program and the weight of the materials collected each week. The following table (Table IV) gives details on the weight of materials collected, the percentage of households participating each week, and the revenues received from the program.

TABLE IV.—*Weight of materials*

BROMLEY

	Revenue
July 21:	
4,000 pounds of glass	$40.00
4,000 pounds of paper	16.00
300 pounds of cans	3.00
58 percent participation.[1]	
July 28:	
1,350 pounds of glass	13.50
1,600 pounds of paper	6.40
200 pounds of cans	2.00
43 percent participation.	
August 4:	
1,250 pounds of glass	12.50
1,200 pounds of paper	4.80
300 pounds of cans	3.00
47 percent participation.	
August 11:	
1,200 pounds of glass	12.00
1,700 pounds of paper	6.80
300 pounds of cans	3.00
50 percent participation.	
August 18:	
1,500 pounds of glass	15.00
800 pounds of paper	3.20
120 pounds of cans	1.20
42 percent participation.	
August 25:	
2,000 pounds of glass	20.00
2,700 pounds of paper	10.80
400 pounds of cans	4.00
36 percent participation.	
Total revenues	167.20

[1] Participation is defined as having placed at least one item at the curbside for pick-up.

WEST SIDE

	Revenue
July 22:	
2,000 lb. glass	$20.00
2,000 lb. paper	8.00
150 lb. cans	1.50
30% participation.	
July 29:	
500 lb. glass	5.00
500 lb. paper	2.00
150 lb. cans	1.50
25% participation.	
August 5:	
600 lb. glass	6.00
500 lb. paper	2.00
200 lb. cans	2.00
20% participation.	
August 12:	
700 lb. glass	7.00
900 lb. paper	3.60
200 lb. cans	2.00
22% participation.	
August 19:	
700 lb. glass	7.00
800 lb. paper	3.20
150 lb. cans	1.50
20% participation.	
August 26:	
900 lb. glass	9.00
1,800 lb. paper	7.20
200 lb. cans	2.00
17% participation.	
Total	91.00

A total of 24,900 pounds of solid waste was collected in the Bromley area and 12,950 pounds were collected in the West Side. In the Bromley area, 94% of the households participated at least once, and in the West Side, 51% participated at least once. The low weekly percentage figures and the increased volume weekly indicate that pick-ups were made more often than necessary.

During the project, the total amount of the revenue for materials collected was $258.20. Transportation costs were $9.00 per ton of glass and $14.00 per ton of cans. The price received for newspaper included the freight to Detroit. The total transportation costs for the materials was $107.00, leaving an excess of revenues over transportation costs of $151.20. It is possible that transportation costs could be reduced by greater compaction of materials shipped or use of a different mode of transportation. For example, the net revenue of newspapers would be $15.00 per ton if the newspapers were baled prior to shipment. These figures indicate that a city sponsored recycling program might pay for itself. Determination of the economic feasibility of such a program requires an in-depth study by the City Administration.

Three major problems were encountered during the six week pilot project. First, the conduct of the Neighborhood Youth Corps workers was not always proper. While they were quite efficient at picking up all materials, there was often horseplay on the job, which created a bad impression in the pilot areas. A second problem was the resistance of some residents to leaving bags of glass, cans and newspapers at the curbside before pick-up. Some residents waited until they saw the truck coming before they put out the materials; this often required a second trip through the area at the end of the day. The third problem was due to the fact that many people were on vacation or moved out of the area during the project. Due to these problems, the statistics collected are not exact.

The project was completed August 26. It was felt that a follow up attitude survey should be conducted to determine the following information:

Why people did or did not participate.

How convenient the program was.

The amount of citizen interest in a permanent program.

How often pick-ups would be necessary if a permanent program were instituted.

Volunteers from the Ecology Center under the direction of a survey researcher interviewed a sample of residents in each area to determine the answers to the questions above.

A SUMMARY OF CITIZEN ATTITUDES TOWARD CITY-WIDE RECYCLING

The make-up of the West Side neighborhood is reflected in the fact that the living units are both homes and apartments. However, in the Bromley area, all units are single family dwellings. In the majority of the cases, it appears that the housewife was the one who did most of the material preparation. At times, she was assisted by other members of the family, but because pick-ups were made during the day and preparation centers around clean-up tasks, she was ultimately the determining factor in whether or not a household participated.

The reasons for participating seem to center around two concerns. The first is that of helping the environment. Recycling is an activity that can be engaged in at the household level. Each time a separation is made, the individual is able to reduce the amount of garbage going into the sanitary landfill and increase the reuse of materials. The second is the reduction of waste. The items that are presently recyclable constitute a large percentage of the materials normally going into garbage. By recycling newspapers, cans and glass, it is possible to significantly reduce garbage going to the landfill by as much as 65%.

There were several reasons given by people who did not participate in the program:

Some people did not recall receiving a leaflet and thus did not understand the program.

Some people were out of town during the pilot project period and were not able to participate, and

Some people felt that the program was inconvenient.

People giving the first two reasons could probably be included in the future if better information dissemination techniques were used and if regular pick-ups were made. People who considered the program inconvenient must be convinced that the program is worthwhile.

The primary means used to inform residents of the program was leafletting. Additional information and incentive were provided by articles in the Ann Arbor News, previous experience with recycling, children talking to parents, and neighborhood contacts. It appears that leafletting is the most effective means of giving out information. In the Madison, Wisconsin newspaper recycling program, a brochure was passed out at each residence explaining the procedural aspects as well as the environmental impact of the program, both in terms of conserving natural resources and reducing the amount of solid waste entering the sanitary landfill.

It appears that the inconvenience in separating materials in preparation for recycling was a minimal factor to those who participated. Once the habits of separating and preparing materials were established as a part of the family routine, it no longer was deemed an inconvenience. One of the comments on the survey typifies this attitude. "Got me in the habit of recycling even if the project itself was discontinued." Cans seem to present the most problems because of the more stringent requirements for preparation. As one resident put it, "Taking labels off and smashing cans was too much!"

One benefit of the pilot project was that a number of people who had never recycled materials before are now taking materials to Westgate and Arborland on a regular basis. The glass recycling program has been in operation for more than a year now and has been well publicized. The number of people knowing about it prior to the pilot project and participating did not change significantly. However, in both neighborhoods there was a significant increase in the number of people recycling newspapers and cans after the project. Once again, it seems to be a question of habits forming and people then going to the recycling stations once the project was discontinued. However, in both neighborhoods, about 50% of the people who recycled during the pilot project do not recycle now. Thus, the added convenience of having a regularly scheduled pick-up has a significant impact on the decision of whether or not to recycle.

Residents expressed a feeling of satisfaction with the goals of the program. This is reflected in the reasons for participating initially. However, there was some feeling of dissatisfaction with the procedures used in the neighborhoods. Perhaps this is a result of the relatively short time period involved and natural self-criticism. Because of the comments we have received and complaints made to the Ecology Center during the project, it is apparent that a number of things should be worked out in the area of procedures. Some of the comments on procedure follow:

"Pick-up schedule not followed closely."

"The pick-up was very bad."

"Only do it if it is definite. The schedule announced should be followed more closely. Also, the pick-up people should not be so careless."

"We never seemed to get waste picked up at the time specified and made it very inconvenient."

It is apparent that there is a need for a more efficient, institutionalized operation than the one we were able to put together. The residents look to the city for this kind of an operation. Although we are quite positive that most pick-ups were made on the proper day, our workers were not able to perform the pick-ups in such a way as to inspire confidence in the residents. The Ecology Center has neither the manpower, the equipment nor the capability to cover the city on a regular, permanent basis. Only the City of Ann Arbor or a private organization would be capable of such an undertaking.

Based on the responses of both neighborhoods, it seems that the most convenient time for pick-ups would be once every two weeks. Recycling of solid waste materials requires a certain amount of storage space. In the Bromley area, where there are only single dwellings, storage was not a significant factor. However, on the West Side, there are a number of apartments with limited storage facilities. This is reflected in the larger percentage of Bromley residents who were interested in a monthly pick-up while on the West Side a two week schedule was most popular.

Most people expressed a willingness to continue with recycling at the curbside if the pick-up times were appropriate. In general, residents were highly supportive of the program and expressed a desire to see the project continued on a permanent basis. The following remarks were typical:

"Sure hope it continues. Probably even if not many people are willing to participate now, they shortly would become convinced."

"Keep it up!"

"A very good project. Necessary."

"Please continue."

"Pick up often—bottles and cans left in house for long periods of time with children are dangerous. Project is great—Hope more people would become community and ecologically oriented."

"I think it was very good and would like to see it continued."

PILOT PROJECT SURVEY

1. Do you live in an apartment or house?

2. How many people live here and eat here?

3. What is your relationship in this house?

Husband

Wife

Son

Daughter

Other (specify)

4. If you *didn't* participate, we would like to know why. Please check any of the following that fit:

Vacation period

Leaflet never received

Instructions not clear

Too time consuming

Personal attitudes (specify)

THE REST OF THE QUESTIONS ARE FOR PEOPLE WHO DID PARTICIPATE

5. Why did you participate? (Check any that fit)

Reduce waste

Save the city money

Help the environment

Because other people were doing it

Other (specify)

6. How much did the following influence your decision to participate? (Rate on a scale of 1 to 7)

Leaflet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Ann Arbor News	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Neighbors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Previous experience	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Other (specify)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	None						Great

7. To what extent were you inconvenienced by the following factors during your participation? (Rate on a scale of 1 to 7)

Time involved in separation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Time involved in washing bottles, bundling newspaper, etc	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Family attitudes toward project	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	None						Great

8. Would you want the project continued permanently if the city could only pick up items to be recycled:

Yes, no; once every two weeks.

Yes, no; once a month.

Yes, no; once every two months.

Yes, no; three times a year.

9. Who usually separated the waste during your participation:

You.

Another member of the family (specify).

Most of the family.

Whole family.

10. Based on your experience, how often would a pick-up of separated waste materials be most convenient?

11. Did you recycle before the project:
Glass.
Newspapers.
Cans.
Other (specify).
12. Are you still recycling?
Glass.
Newspapers.
Cans.
Other (specify).
13. Were you satisfied with these parts of the program:
Yes, no; goals.
Yes, no; procedures.
Yes, no; your participation.
Comments and suggestions:

PILOT PROJECT ATTITUDE SURVEY RESULTS BROMLEY AREA—PARTICIPATED

N—69.
No. of people living in homes—69.
Who filled out survey:
4, husband.
56, wife.
2, son.
7, no answer.
Why did you participate: (checking all that fit)
77%, reduce waste.
27%, save the city money.
94%, help the environment.
4%, because other people were doing it.
4%, other.
1%, no answer.
How did the following influence your decision to participate:

	Mean	Range	Mode
Leaflet	4.82	1–7	7
The Ann Arbor News	2.59	1–7	1
Family	3.09	1–7	1
Neighbors	2.37	1–7	1
Previous experience	2.27	1–7	1

To what extent were you inconvenienced by the following:

	Mean	Range	Mode
Time involved in separation	2.21	1–7	1
Time involved in washing, etc	2.60	1–7	1
Family attitudes	2.30	1–7	1

Would you want the project continued permanently if the city could only pick up items to be recycled:
66.67%, once every two weeks.
62.12%, once every month.
16.23%, once every two months.
9.9%, three times a year.
How often would a pick-up be most convenient?
1.5%, semi-weekly.
16.9%, weekly.
35.4%, every two weeks, median—every two weeks, mode—monthly.
45.4%, monthly.

BROMLEY AREA—PARTICIPATED

Did you recycle before the project:
59%, glass.
39%, newspaper.
9%, cans.
Are you still recycling:
67%, glass.
50%, newspaper.
26%, cans.
Percentage Change in Recycling Before and After the Pilot Project:
12%, glass.
29%, newspaper.
200%, cans.
Percentage satisfied with the goals of the program—98%.
Percentage satisfied with the procedures of the program—79%.
Percentage satisfied with their participation in the program—81%.
Percentage willing to continue if times are appropriate for pick-ups—98.5%.

PILOT PROJECT ATTITUDE SURVEY RESULTS BROMLEY AREA—DID NOT PARTICIPATE

N–18.
No. of people living in homes—18.
Who filled out survey:
2, husband.
13, wife.
2, son.
Why didn't you participate: (checking all that fit)
6, Vacation period.
5, Leaflet never received.
5, Too time consuming.
1, Doesn't care.
3, Just moved in.

PILOT PROJECT ATTITUDE SURVEY RESULTS WEST SIDE AREA—DID NOT PARTICIPATE

N—31.
No. of people living in homes, 26.
No. of people living in apartments, 6.
No answer, 1.
Who filled out survey:
4, husband.
20, wife.
2, son.
1, daughter.
3, no answer.
Why didn't you participate: (checking all that fit)
8, vacation period.
9, leaflet never received.
6, instructions not clear.
7, too time consuming.
9, personal attitudes (not interested, too old).

PILOT PROJECT ATTITUDE SURVEY RESULTS WEST SIDE AREA—PARTICIPATED

N–27.
No. of People living in homes, 19.
No. of People living in apartments, 9.
Who filled out survey:
2, husband.
18, wife.
2, son.
3, daughter.
Why did you participate: (checking all that fit)
63%, reduce waste.
26%, save the city money.
81%, help the environment.
15%, because other people were doing it.
How much did the following influence your decision to participate:

	Mean	Range	Mode
Leaflet	3.5	1–7	1
The Ann Arbor News	2.4	1–7	1
Family	1.9	1–7	1
Neighbors	1.6	1–7	1
Previous experience	2.0	1–7	1

To what extent were you inconvenienced by the following:

	Mean	Range	Mode
Time involved in separation	2.25	1–7	1
Time involved in washing, etc	2.14	1–7	1
Family attitudes	1.25	1–4	1

Would you want the project continued permanently if the city would only pick up items to be recycled:
72%, once every two weeks.
46%, once every month.
25%, once every two months.
13%, three times a year.
How often would a pick-up be most convenient?
21.4%, weekly.
50.0%, every two weeks.
18.9%, monthly.
50.0%, every two weeks, median—every two weeks.
18.9%, monthly, mode—every two weeks.
10.7%, every two months.

WEST SIDE AREA—PARTICIPATED

Did you recycle before the project:
52%, glass.
30%, newspaper.
4%, cans.
Are you still recycling:
52%, glass.
39%, newspaper.
39%, cans.
Percentage Change in Recycling Before and After the Pilot Project:
0%, glass.
28%, newspaper.
800%, cans.
Percentage satisfied with the goals of the program, 91%.
Percentage satisfied with the procedures of the program, 70%.
Percentage satisfied with their participation in the program, 76%.
Percentage willing to continue if times are appropriate for pick-ups, 92.6%.

SHOULD CONGRESS BAN PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF HANDGUNS?

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, "the Advocates," a nationwide educational television show, found that an overwhelming majority of the people responding to their poll were against a congressional ban on the private ownership of handguns as is shown in the following statement:

THE NATION RESPONDS TO "THE ADVOCATES"

SHOULD CONGRESS BAN PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF HANDGUNS?

Thirty-one thousand Americans have voted in the country's largest public opinion poll on the right to private ownership of handguns.

In response to The Advocates TV debate of Nov. 16, an overwhelming majority of viewers cast 25,690 votes against a Congressional ban on sidearms for personal use.

Forty-six per cent, or nearly 12,000 votes in the lopsided outcry against restraints on handgun possession appeared to be the result of organized lobbying.

Those favoring handgun legislation numbered 5,261, while 49 viewers expressed other opinions.

This the second largest vote drawn by The Advocates since it began in 1969. The largest poll tallied was over 70,000 in response to a question on U.S. support of Israel in the Middle East.

Breakdown of mail response by state:

State	Pro	Con	Other
Alabama	19	195	0
Alaska	10	321	0
Arizona	87	227	2
Arkansas	21	53	0
California	948	2,488	7
Colorado	79	511	0
Connecticut	85	228	1
Delaware	23	37	1
District of Columbia	77	62	0
Florida	165	563	1
Georgia	28	207	1
Hawaii	5	5	0
Idaho	7	74	0
Illinois	323	1,331	1
Indiana	67	274	1
Iowa	44	143	0
Kansas	36	126	0

State	Pro	Con	Other
Kentucky	26	145	0
Louisiana	25	109	0
Maine	37	211	5
Maryland	171	271	2
Massachusetts	474	1,305	4
Michigan	100	701	1
Minnesota	86	232	1
Mississippi	4	63	0
Missouri	16	180	1
Montana	15	45	1
Nebraska	24	133	0
Nevada	14	1,156	1
New Hampshire	48	226	1
New Jersey	168	509	2
New Mexico	44	261	1
New York	522	2,396	5
North Carolina	59	251	0
North Dakota	2	8	2
Ohio	179	958	0
Oklahoma	60	227	0
Oregon	78	1,061	0
Pennsylvania	260	2,300	1
Rhode Island	152	387	0
South Carolina	9	31	0
South Dakota	11	21	0
Tennessee	30	471	1
Texas	118	310	2
Utah	13	338	0
Vermont	19	43	0
Virginia	69	712	1
Washington	204	640	2
West Virginia	12	89	0
Wisconsin	85	258	0
Wyoming	1	84	0
Unknown	143	611	0
Foreign	7	13	0

ALLEN DRURY LETTER IS NOTEWORTHY

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, Allen Drury has written a most interesting letter to the editor of the Washington Evening Star, which appeared in the December 15 edition.

Mr. Drury expresses himself on a subject that has had a great deal of public discussion in recent months, and he makes some poignant observations which I commend to your thoughtful attention:

[From the Evening Star, Dec. 15, 1971]

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE ERRANT PRESS

SIR: The recent review by my old friend Bill McGaffin of "Courage and Hesitation: Notes and Photographs of the Nixon Administration," has been sent to me, and, characteristically, it is fair, objective and balanced. There are only a couple of points on which I should like to reply, because they seem to me so fundamental to the whole profession of journalism as it is now practiced by a majority of its top names in Washington (and New York) that I think they perhaps deserve a little public airing.

The first is a word. I note in Bill's review, as I have noted increasingly in reviews of my books, the use of current journalism's favorite attack-word, "conservative."

When Bill and I were growing up in the profession, this word was an honorable and honest term based upon the whole range of a man's political, philosophical and social approach.

Not today. You can be wildly liberal on the entire spectrum of society. But if you do just two things—that's all it takes—you're "conservative." They are:

(1) If you criticize the media in any way whatsoever.

(2) If you think that the Soviet Union is a deadly menace to the United States and to the independent peoples everywhere.

Point 2 of course does not enter into the discussion of this particular book (though it does with many of the others) but Point 1 certainly does. Because I am critical of the way a majority of the media treat the current administration—or indeed anyone, or anything, they don't like—I am promptly labeled "conservative" and everyone is supposed to nod automatically and understand how awful I am.

Won't wash

I'm afraid it won't wash; because not only am I critical of the present attitudes of many of the press corps, but a good many of my older colleagues, looking into their hearts honestly in the depths of the night or the Press Club bar, agree with me and have told me so. And particularly am I justified in the criticism when it comes to the case of Richard Nixon, who, as another witness—somehow overlooked in the reviews—Daniel Patrick Moynihan, succinctly states it, "has had the least generous press of anyone I have ever known in the White House. It has been one long presumption of malfeasance, sinister intent, trickery and doubledealing."

For many years actively, and in recent years less actively, I have been a member of the Washington press corps; and ever since Alger Hiss, to my personal knowledge, a great many of its leading members have seethed with resentment of Richard Nixon. It has been apparent in every press conference, every luncheon, every dinner, every Georgetown cocktail party, every slurring reference, every automatic wisecrack—you name it. And down the years, because it has been accepted as gospel by the oncoming generation, it has inevitably had a direct and withering effect on the reporting of hundreds and on the way they have presented him to the American public.

It may be, as McGaffin implies, that the famous meeting of correspondents to decide what questions to ask the President after a two-month drouth of press conferences was all sweetness, light and tender consideration for Dick Nixon. But enough reporters were kept out of this exclusive group, and enough of them resented the fact, so that there emerged at the time, both in private talk and public print, the distinct impression that the meeting labored under a bitter determination to let the President have it because he had been so presumptuous as to keep himself secluded from the media for such a long time.

Only one escape

There is only one way, really, for the media to escape the by now quite universal conviction in the minds of their countrymen that they are excessively and unfairly biased against Richard Nixon, and that is to treat him always as fairly and objectively as they would someone they like. In this context the game of "Let's Suppose" is quite instructive. For instance:

Nixon attended an AFL convention in Miami at which he was deliberately denied the minimal courtesies due both the office and the man. There were some columns, editorials and commentaries about this, but in most of them there was a great emphasis upon the theme that the discourtesy was "alleged by the White House staff"—not that it had, as was obvious to any fair-minded observer, actually occurred. And underlying almost all the major comments was a barely suppressed note of amusement, a certain half-submerged, jovial relish, that such a thing should have happened to this particular man.

Now let's suppose it had been Jack Kennedy who received such treatment.

Wow—ee!

Does it take a great deal of imagination to see and hear the furious editorials, the scathing television commentaries, the violently indignant columns in his defense?

No, I think not.

So calling a man "conservative" when he points out the media's determined self-mutilation of an objectivity which is vital to the maintenance and stability of a balanced democratic society is not, I am afraid, the answer.

The answer is a genuine, good-faith, hard-working attempt to restore some of the fairness and objectivity that have always characterized the reporting of Bill McGaffin and others of his journalistic generation.

This may be, in the minds of many latecomers, a stodgy and outmoded tradition; but it is also an honest one. And it is the only one that can restore the media to the position of general public trust and esteem its members used to have.

There is no other way.

ALLEN DRURY.

MAITLAND, FLA.

CALL FOR A CURB ON COMMISSIONS

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, on August 5, 1971, I had occasion to call the history of the International Screw Thread Commission to the attention of my colleagues. Without suggesting that the standardization of screw threads is an unworthy objective, I think the article I submitted in August relating that Commission's history illustrates the tendency of such commissions to perpetuate themselves.

There has been a good deal of journalistic comment on the Screw Thread Commission and others like it since August. A recent editorial in the Hartford Courant reiterates the need for some curb on the proliferation and perpetuation on governmental committees. The Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, which I have the privilege to chair, has held hearings on a bill which would put controls on the use of advisory committees in Government, and it is my hope that we shall see legislation on this subject during the next session of the Congress. I am submitting the Courant editorial for consideration by my colleagues:

THE STANDARDIZATION OF SCREW THREADS

The history of the old National Screw Thread Commission is being used by the Tax Foundation to show how bureaucracies create committees and commissions that linger on indefinitely. Their proliferation is often a surprise to the voters, as witness the housecleaning in Connecticut government, where dozens of commissions that led a shadowy existence reported to the Governor.

The example chosen by the foundation is questionable in a state that has much to gain from the international standardization of screw threads in industry. If the decimal system is eventually adopted that will be another step in the drive to make world industry more efficient through the use of interchangeable parts.

The longevity of the Screw Thread Commission gives it a claim to notice. It was established in 1918 to set standards for screw threads. Officially abolished in 1934 it was revived in 1939 and given the name of International Screw Threads Standard Commission. It is now represented at the three international meetings held each year.

The Federal Government was spending $74 million a year in its 1,800 advisory commissions and committees two years ago, and this is not the sort of expense that can be easily reduced. The ostensible purpose of naming a committee is to get ideas and information needed to do something about a specific problem. Observers have noted a tendency, however, to push thorny issues into the background by announcing that a committee has been named, and until it reports there will be no further discussion. All too often this is a strategy for sweeping embarrassing things out of sight, and the committees understand their role.

No one seems to know what to do when the commissions no longer serve the purpose for which they were created. A dozen presidential advisory-type groups had not met in more than three years, it was estimated last year, and five had no chairman. Their durability is their principal characteristic, and in this case of values the standard screw threads people stand high.

CORPORATE FARM "INVASION" MOSTLY MYTH

HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, during the Senate's debate on the confirmation of Dr. Butz as Secretary of Agriculture, it was asserted by some Members of the Senate that corporate farming was taking over agriculture. I insert in the RECORD an article which refutes that argument:

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, Nov. 28, 1971]

CORPORATE FARM "INVASION" MOSTLY MYTH

(By Lauren Soth)

Many farmers and United States senators are fearful that huge agri-business corporations are gobbling up farmland, driving the family farmer off his land and taking over farm production.

These fears came out in the Senate hearings on the nomination of Earl Butz as U.S. secretary of agriculture, because Butz has been closely affiliated with several large agri-business corporations. Also, in hearings of the monopoly subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Small Business, Senator Gaylord Nelson (Dem., Wis.) gave an alarming report about the "intrusion by giant corporations and conglomerates into farming."

An associate of Ralph Nader talked about how "family farmers have suffered from unfair competition from vertically integrated conglomerates which can write off production losses in agriculture against huge profits in their manufacturing or retail operations."

In reality, the small family farm is not being taken over by big industrial corporations but by the large family farm.

EIGHT PERCENT OF SALES BY CORPORATIONS

A U.S. Department of Agriculture survey conducted in 1968 found 13,300 farming corporations (about 1 per cent of commercial farms) operating 7 per cent of U.S. farmland. California and Florida accounted for about one-third of the total, including some of the largest corporate farming enterprises.

Nearly two-thirds of the farming corporations are family corporations and essentially family farms. In 1967, about 8 per cent of the sales of farm products from all farms were sales by corporations. Only about one-tenth of the corporations sold $500,000 worth of products or more.

USDA found that farming was the only business activity for nearly two-thirds of the farming corporations. The remaining third had nonfarm business interests, and about half of these were in farm-related businesses such as farm supplies, marketing or processing of farm products. The nonfarm-related interests were mostly local businesses such as automobile dealerships, groceries and real estate firms.

In short, the image of the huge conglomerate swallowing up American farming cannot be sustained by the facts. It is true that in some highly specialized farming operations, mainly Florida and California fruit and vegetable raising, large corporations are dominant. But in the big bulk of agriculture, which is grain and livestock production, the family farm is overwhelmingly dominant.

But the large-scale family farm is rapidly displacing the small, self-sufficient family farm, which many 60-year-olds remember as so admirable from their boyhood days. This is the basic change occurring in American agriculture and not a "takeover" by gargantuan nonfarm business firms.

If the senators want to stop the growth in size of farms and halt the vanishing of the small family farm, they need to look for other "villains." The chief "villain" is advancing technology which displaces labor and makes larger production units feasible for a single family. It is heavily financed by government and vigorously promoted by government.

FARM BUSINESS OFTEN FAILS

It's true that the federal tax laws have tended to favor people with large nonfarm incomes who invested in agriculture. The 1969 tax reform removed a good deal of this favoritism, but further correction in this aspect of the tax laws may be needed.

People who worry about tax-favored corporate giants taking over agriculture notice whenever a firm sets up a large cattle feeding, hog raising or some other "industrialized farming" operation. They don't notice so often when such businesses fail, and quite a few of them have in recent years.

The tendency for agri-business corporations to go into farm production bears watching. But at this point that is not the most significant structural adjustment in agriculture. In most kinds of farming, the family farm with very little hired labor is superior in efficiency to any industrialized type of farming and holding its own very well.

What the senators could better spend their time on is what to do with the people who are displaced from family farms and who cannot find jobs in rural communities.

U.S.S. "WILLIAM H. BATES"

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the perusal of the membership a speech delivered by the Honorable SILVIO CONTE at the launching of the U.S.S. *William H. Bates* in Pascagoula, Miss., on December 11, 1971. The late William H. Bates represented the Sixth Congressional District of Massachusetts and the dedication of this new nuclear submarine is a fitting and deserved memorial to a man who was devoted to the principle that America remain free and secure.

The speech follows:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE SILVIO O. CONTE

As an old Navy man, I am very pleased to be here to participate in the launching of this newest addition to the world's greatest Navy.

As a congressman, I am proud to be here—proud of this ship, of the people who built her and of the men who will sail her.

And as a former colleague and friend of Congressman William H. Bates, I am deeply honored to be here—honored to play any role whatsoever that gives recognition to the memory of a man who was blessed with more admirable qualities than any other I have known in public life.

Like many Americans, I have always been fascinated by the submarine service. I saw all the movies and remember all the drama and all those terms which are special to the "silent service." Whatever fact and lore I might have missed has been filled in for me since I came to Congress by Admiral Hyman Rickover who never fails to send me information on the latest nuclear submarine or other ship in the Navy's arsenal.

Despite this background, I felt I ought to prepare for this occasion today. So I read through the booklet on "christening, launching and commissioning" put out by the Naval History Division of the Navy Department.

There is a wealth of information in that publication, but what struck me most was an anecdote about the launching of the aircraft carrier *Yorktown* in January 1943. As the main speaker was giving his address, the *Yorktown* apparently decided she was ready to be launched. Suddenly she began sliding down the ways. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was to christen the ship, reacted quickly. She dashed to the ship and just managed to smash the wine over the hull before the ship got out of reach.

I mention this only to warn Mrs. Grainger of the precariousness of launchings, and also to let you know that I'm ready to be interrupted at any moment if the USS *Bates* decides to get underway herself.

This ship is a nuclear attack submarine of the Sturgeon class—the class which Defense Secretary Melvin Laird said "are symbols of what this country can do and must do to meet the challenges of a Soviet underwater force which is more than twice the size of our own." The mission of this ship in wartime is to seek out and destroy enemy submarines.

But for me to dwell at length on the various characteristics of this ship would be simply another case of bringing coals to Newcastle.

For the officials and personnel of the Navy here today, ships such as this one represent a major part of what your professional lives are all about. That is no less true for the Ingalls Nuclear Shipbuilding division of Litton Industries which has built or converted 200 Navy vessels the yast 32 years—including nine nuclear submarines with more on the way.

Certainly I cannot tell you about your business. But I can tell you something about the man whose name this ship will have the honor of bearing.

Admiral Long gave us the facts of Congressman Bates' life—the signposts along the road of his outstanding career which was cut short at its peak. But how do we capture the essence of a man who towered above his peers chiefly because he was the embodiment of everything that is good in our society?

He was brave, yet gentle; knowledgeable, but not arrogant; hard working, but not self glorifying; firm, but not close minded. He was a true patriot, in the finest sense of that term before it was abused by right and left in the shrill rhetoric of this modern age. He dedicated his life, his talent and his energy to the attainment and preservation of peace. He fought for peace as strenuously as a naval officer and as ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee as he did when seeking peaceful uses for the atom on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Hemingway once described true courage as "grace under pressure." No one could describe Bill Bates' manner better than that.

On the Armed Services Committee, he demonstrated such courage time and again while carrying the ball for the programs he knew this nation needed to provide for the security of its people. The Nuclear Navy, I might add, has never had a more dedicated or forceful patron in the halls of Congress than Bill Bates.

His speeches on the subject were marked by a force that came from knowledge, and a persistence that emanated from dedication.

While fighting for a nuclear Navy, he told the Congress in 1966:

"It seems to me the time has long since passed when we should have nuclear power for our surface ships. Let us not take two-thirds of a century again, as we did 100 years ago, in making a necessary transition. Let us cut the chains that bind our fighting ships to a pipeline."

Warning of the great strides of the Russian navy, he spoke out in 1968, when it was not very popular to do so, and told the Congress:

The Russian Navy "which was so insignificant in the early postwar period, is now second only to our own and is growing rapidly. Certainly one of our highly prized military attainments has been our nuclear submarine fleet, with our production capability for nuclear submarines only a small fraction of that which the Russians presently have."

His philosophy concerning our defense needs was summed up in a 1967 speech in which he said:

"I would . . . suggest that there is nothing more dangerous than idealism in a vacuum. Until sound agreements are reached, the peace we seek is but an illusion if we do not develop our military strength to see to it that we always have superior power."

Others in the Congress, before Bill Bates and since, have sounded the same clarion call and fought for the same programs. What made his efforts more telling was the sheer force of the man himself. With quiet dignity and with courtesy for friend and foe alike, he disarmed his opponents. Simply put, Bill Bates commanded respect. Shrill voices could be raised against him.

At his death in the summer of 1969—the same summer the keel of this great ship was laid—he was mourned by all his colleagues in the Congress. I have heard many congressmen deliver countless eulogies on the floor of the House of Representatives, but never have I heard every member rise and speak with such personal affection as they did for Bill Bates.

As I listened to one member after another, from both sides of the aisle, speak of this man, it dawned on me that each spoke of the very personal friendship they had forged with him. And that was the very special thing about him, he had used every opportunity to make friends with those who shared this life with him.

Mrs. Conte and I had always counted Bill and his wife Jean as our warmest friends in the Congress. The humanity of this man attracted us to him. When he died I learned how universal was his attraction.

He was a quiet but towering giant whose death left a lonesome place against the sky.

Shortly the USS *William H. Bates* will slide down the ways. In a year or so it will officially join the fleet. It will probably be known among sailors simply as "the *Bates.*" And I can foresee someday one sailor asking another, "what's the *Bates* named after?" The other fellow might reply, "Oh, some congressman."

I have taken this time today to speak personally about Bill Bates in the hope that when that question is asked about what this ship is named after, someone will remember and say, "This ship is named after one of the greatest congressmen, and surely one of the finest men, God ever put on this earth."

We cannot launch a ship bearing Bill Bates' name without saying what he would want us to say. That is that this ship will play a vital role in the crucial effort to preserve our nation's right to freely use the high seas and protect against that right being taken from us.

There may well have been no time in our long and proud history when the need to stress the importance of seapower was as pressing as it is today.

At the end of World War II, the United States Navy was supreme on the seas. The Axis fleets had been destroyed, the Allied navies were severely reduced through wartime attrition and post war economics. The Soviets had no modern forces capable of sustained operations at sea. In recent years, however, a new and formidable challenge has risen to contest our supremacy on the high seas. The Russian bear has developed a taste for the salt water.

The progress the Soviets have made in modernizing and expanding their navy has been astounding in recent years. A good example can be shown in the case of submarines.

According to the latest unclassified data quoted by Admiral Rickover last month:

"The Soviets now have a total of about 340 submarines, all built since World War II. About 100 of these are nuclear powered. The total United States force is 137 submarines, 95 of which are nuclear powered, the remainder diesel powered. Most of our diesel units were built during World War II."

It is essential that we do much more than merely sit back and count the Russian fleet growing.

I realize it would be easy for a politician to come down here, to a setting such as this, and speak for a strong defense program, then return to Washington and do the opposite. I want you to know that this not the way I operate.

I have never hesitated to oppose policies of our government with which I have disagreed—but I have stressed over and over again to groups who would only be happy with a complete dismantling of our defense structure, that I have neither time nor sympathy for such endeavors.

Too many people, I fear, correlate opposition to one policy—specifically the Vietnam War—with opposition to the Armed Forces in general. I reject this as I know most of my colleagues in the Congress do.

It is true that there is a new climate on Capitol Hill, as there is throughout our country. But I do not believe that new climate dictates against a strong defense posture. There has been, and will continue to be, more scrutiny of all proposals—military and otherwise.

The men who run our Armed Forces will be harder put than ever before to fully justify every request for every project. The glamorous new weapons system with 57 varieties—only five of which are needed—may not make it. But for the legitimate defense needs of this country, we can spare no cost. They must and will be met.

This government has set a new course in international relations. It is marked by a willingness, even an eagerness, to negotiate. The Paris Peace Talks, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, the President's planned trips to mainland China and to Moscow, and other initiatives, are the outward manifestations of this new course.

The motivation is the deep desire for peace and the understanding that this desire must be pursued with our adversaries.

But we must never forget that the basis for this new course is strength. Powerful nations have precious little reason to negotiate, to give and take, with countries ill-equipped to defend themselves.

Congressman Bates knew and understood that lesson. He did not deal in the newly-fashionable rhetoric of peace, only in the reality of peace. And no one sought peace with freedom more faithfully and effectively than he did.

By launchnig this ship today, we are telling all the nations of the world once again that we intend to stay a great nation; that we are prepared to protect our rights and interests on the high seas and our security at home.

And by christening her the *USS William H. Bates*, we are continuing the long Navy tradition of using this means to honor excellence.

As was noted, this ship has no prior namesakes. There is no tradition of gallantry and service to be handed down from aother ship.

But gallantry and service were the hallmarks of Congressman Bates. This ship starts with a tradition not inherited from other ships, but inherited from a man. To me, no ship in the fleet bears a prouder name.

To those who built her, I say "well done."

To those who will sail her, I say "good luck and godspeed."

AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the realization of an American Revolution bicentennial commensurate with the material and social accomplishments our democratic system has provided is the concern and desire of all the Members of Congress. I would, therefore, like to share with them the following report I have received from the Chairman of the ARBC, Mr. Dave Mahoney, on the meeting of the Commission on December 10:

AMERICAN REVOLUTION
BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., December 16, 1971.

Hon. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. HANSEN: The American Revolution Bicentennial Commission meeting in Washington, D.C., on December 10, 1971, was productive.

Five major resolutions were passed to accomplish the following:

The Mount Rushmore National Memorial was officially recognized as a National Bicentennial site; the City of Niagara Falls, New York, because of its impressive improvement program, was officially recognized as a Bicentennial City under the multi-city concept; and, the Denver Winter Olympics program was officially recognized as a part of the National Bicentennial observance. All three of these were awarded use of the official symbol.

The State of Iowa was encouraged to develop into an action plan its concept for a World Food Exposition with a theme title, "Food for Freedom", under a premise that the free exchange of food production information would promote world peace; and the State of Michigan was encouraged to develop into an action plan its concept for developing, as a Bicentennial project, solutions to the Urban Transportation problem. Both of these States were promised that the ARBC would give full and expeditious consideration to their action plans when received.

Another significant agenda item was a National Medical Association request that its proposed program for a multi-level attack on the Sickle Cell Anemia disease be recognized as a Bicentennial activity in the national program. The Commission was favorably disposed towards this request, but considered it should be more completely coordinated with other Government and private efforts in this area before final action was taken. It is expected that this will be accomplished prior to the next Commission meeting.

Mr. Vincent DeForest, Chairman of the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation, made a presentation in which he explained the desire of his nonprofit organization to develop and implement projects for the Bicentennial which will express the desires and meet the needs of Black Americans in line with the principles and ideals of the American Revolution. His presentation was well received and he was assured that the Commission is in full accord with his desires and will look forward to working with him in an effort to achieve his goals and objectives.

Deputy Mayor Graham Watt of Washington, D.C., outlined plans for the Bicentennial observance in the Nation's Capital and the Commission discussed the ARBC role in Washington Bicentennial activities.

Encouraging progress reports by the Chairman of the Commission's Heritage, Open House, Horizons, and Communications Committees and their Advisory Panels rounded out the agenda.

It was a good meeting. A sense of movement prevailed and it was apparent that the dedication and enthusiasm of the Commission Members was reinforced by the positive and substantive actions which came out of the sessions.

We continue to be grateful for the support you have consistently given to our efforts and we are confident that the goals and objectives which have been set will be achieved.

Sincerely,

DAVID J. MAHONEY,
Chairman.

A SALUTE TO THE HONORABLE H. STEWART WARNER, "MAN OF THE YEAR" OF THE BOYS CLUB OF PATERSON, N.J.

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, last week I had the privilege of participating in a testimonial dinner of the Boys Club of Paterson, N.J., honoring their "Man of the Year," the Honorable H. Stewart Warner, president of the Warner Woven Label Co., who is well known in our community for taking time from his busy corporation schedule to actively participate in the programing of many charitable organizations in our State and Nation. I respectfully seek this national recognition of Mr. Warner's good works and know that you will be pleased to join with me in this salute to his special attention and consideration of the youth of our country.

H. Stewart Warner is a native Patersonian, a graduate of Newark Academy and Dartmouth College, holding a master's degree from the Amos Tuck School of Business Administration, a graduate school of Dartmouth.

He is president of Warner Woven Label Co., Inc., a company started by his father in 1903. He is most active in civic and charitable organizations and church affairs, having been cochairman of the 1962 community chest drive, is past president of Greater Paterson Council of Churches, superintendent of Broadway Baptist Bible School, serves on the boards of Paterson YMCA, Salvation Army, Forward Paterson, New Jersey Baptist Convention, Eastern Baptist College, Eastern Baptist Seminary and a member of Paterson Rotary, the Hamilton Club and the Hackensack Golf Club.

Mr. Warner is married to the former Eleanor Cary and has two daughters, Patricia and Joan.

Our congressional district and the State of New Jersey is also especially indebted to the Boys Club of Paterson for the outstanding public service they have rendered over the past decade in seeking the highest standards of leadership and activity for our young people, providing not only an avenue of entertainment and communion among all of the boys in our area but, equally as important, building and expanding the personal character of those young men directly participating—all adding to the strengthening of the very fabric of our society.

The Paterson Boys Club was incorporated in 1961 and under the fine capable leadership of their president, the Honorable Frank Cundari, has expanded its operations from a firehouse to a new structure which was opened in November 1969 on 21st Avenue, Paterson, to accommodate 3,000 youngsters. Mr. Cundari has manifested a personal dedication and sincerity of purpose in helping our young people to build their character and physical stamina with his own youthful vigor inspiring their participation, sportsmanship and fair play—personifying the excellence of the youth of America.

Special commendation and plaudits are also extended to the Jaycees of the city of Paterson for their assistance in the Boys Club program and their innovative ideas as the founding fathers who, among many accomplishments, were responsible for establishing an advisory board comprised of representatives from the No. 62 Local of Business and Professional Men.

AIR POLLUTION TAX

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the growing seriousness of the air pollution problem in the Nation.

Just a few weeks ago the entire eastern seaboard was gripped by a massive pollution cloud that tainted the air, stopped the normal play of children in some communities, and contributed to possible respiratory ailments of millions of Americans.

Much attention has been focused by the Congress on the pollution engendered by the internal combustion engine. This is as it should be.

However, Mr. Speaker, we should not forget the contribution to air pollution given by emissions of sulfur oxides.

Accordingly, I am today introducing a bill which will impose an excise tax on fuels containing sulfur and on certain emissions of sulfur oxides. I believe that this measure will encourage producers and manufacturers to give greater consideration to the problem of emissions.

The text of the bill follows:

H.R. —

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to impose an excise tax on fuels containing sulphur and on certain emissions of sulphur oxides

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) (1) chapter 32 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to manufacturers excise taxes) is amended by inserting after subchapter A the following new subchapter:

"SUBCHAPTER B—SULPHUR CONTAINED IN FUEL

"SEC. 4111. Imposition of tax.
"SEC. 4112. Refund of tax.
"SEC. 4113. Regulations.

"SEC. 4111. IMPOSITION OF TAX

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—There is hereby imposed on the sale by the manufacturer, producer, or importer of any fuel containing sulphur, a tax at a rate per pound of sulphur contained in such fuel determined under the following table:

"If sold—	*The rate per pound is—*
During 1972	5 cents
During 1973	10 cents
During 1974	15 cents
After 1974	20 cents

"(b) BY WHOM PAYABLE.—The tax imposed by this section shall be paid by the manufacturer, producer, or importer.

"(c) EXEMPTION OF SALES TO MANUFACTURERS, ETC.—Under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, no tax shall be imposed under this section upon fuels sold to a manufacturer, producer, or importer for resale by him.

"SEC. 4112. REFUND OF TAX

"Any person who satisfies the Secretary or his delegate that—

"(1) the tax imposed by section 4111 has been paid with respect to the sulphur contained in any fuel and has not been refunded under this section, and

"(2) any part of such sulphur has been removed from such fuel,

shall receive a refund of the portion of the tax imposed by section 4111 which is attributable to the sulphur removed.

"SEC. 4113. REGULATIONS.

"The Secretary or his delegate shall prescribe regulations to carry out this subchapter. Such regulations may include provision for a manner of evidencing the payment of tax with respect to the sulphur contained in fuel and for determining the amount of sulphur removed therefrom."

(2) The table of subchapters for such chapter 32 is amended by inserting after the item relating to subchapter A the following:

"SUBCHAPTER B. Sulphur contained in fuel."

(b) The amendments made by this section shall not apply to fuels sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer before January 1, 1972.

SEC. 2. (a) (1) Chapter 36 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to certain excise taxes) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"SUBCHAPTER F—TAX ON CERTAIN EMISSIONS OF SULPHUR OXIDES

"SEC. 4496. Imposition of tax.
"SEC. 4497. Definitions.
"SEC. 4498. Measurement of emissions.

"SEC. 4496. IMPOSITION OF TAX.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—In the case of any taxable emission from a stationary source, there is hereby imposed a tax at a rate per pound of taxable emission determined under the following table:

"For amounts emitted—	The rate per pound is—
In 1972	2.5 cents.
In 1973	5.0 cents.
In 1974	7.5 cents.
After 1974	10.0 cents.

"(b) BY WHOM PAYABLE.—The tax imposed by this section shall be paid by the person who owns the stationary source.

"SEC. 4497. DEFINITIONS.

"For purposes of this subchapter:

"(1) TAXABLE EMISSION.—The term 'taxable emission' means the emission of sulphur oxides from a stationary source into the atmosphere, but in computing the amount of such emission there shall be excluded any emission which (under regulations of the Secretary or his delegate) is attributable to the combustion of fuel with respect to which tax was paid under section 4111 (and not refunded under section 4112).

"(2) STATIONARY SOURCE.—The term 'stationary source' means a stationary source (as defined in section 111(a)(3) of the Clean Air Act).

"(3) SULPHUR OXIDES.—The term 'sulphur oxides' shall have the same meaning as such term has for purposes of standards applicable to sulphur oxides prescribed under section 111 of the Clean Air Act.

"SEC. 4498. MEASUREMENT OF EMISSIONS.

"The amount of emissions, for purposes of this subchapter, shall be determined under regulations of the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. Such regulations shall provide that emissions may be determined either on the basis of monitoring actual emissions or on the basis of an estimate made by such Agency of such emissions."

(2) The table of subchapters for such chapter 36 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"SUBCHAPTER F. Tax on certain emissions of sulphur oxides."

(b) The amendments made by this section shall not apply to emissions before January 1, 1972.

A SALUTE TO AMERICA

HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, at a time when revolutionaries tear down our Nation's flag with impunity and concepts like patriotism draw snears of derision, it is important to remind ourselves that these are the actions and attitudes of a very small minority of people. The vast majority of our citizens are hard-working, loyal and patriotic—builders and not destroyers, people who honor our flag and the Nation it symbolizes.

People like Jack Eckerd, a resident of my home district on the Suncoast of Florida, one of the Nation's leading businessmen and, above all, an outspoken patriot.

Mr. Eckerd and the drug chain that bears his name recently were featured on the cover of Drug Topics magazine in recognition of his patriotic action in displaying the American flag atop each of the 240 Eckerd stores located not only in Florida but also in Georgia, Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

A modest man who shuns publicity about his many philanthropic activities, Mr. Eckerd is not a bit shy about how he feels about his homeland. Like many, he feels our flag is too seldom displayed, our national anthem too seldom sung, our virtues too often unrecognized—and he is doing something about it. His activities are an example and an inspiration for all of us.

SHOT IN THE ARM

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, our space program is tremendously expensive. The facts are well known to all.

Critics of our spending on the moon shots and other space programs can always come up with suggestions where they think we could better spend the taxpayer's dollar. There are other pressing needs requiring vast sums, such as ecology, education, and health. No one wishes to pass over these needs without careful thought.

Even so, it seems that the results of our space program so far are highly rewarding. The world expects the United States to lead out in space exploration and in other areas. To do so is essential for us if we are to fulfill our destined place in world leadership. We have been thrust into a leadership position by the circumstances of our affluence, mainly because of the largess of God. To fail to measure up to our stewardship responsibilities would be unbecoming in any nation so blessed.

Not only are our accomplishments impressive to others who are expecting us to lead, but to ourselves whose morale as a great country needs constant nourishing.

The Savannah Morning News of November 20, 1971, in an editorial entitled "Shot in the Arm" has expressed so well our responsibility that I would like for it to be included in the RECORD. The editorial follows:

SHOT IN THE ARM

Perhaps one is supposed to feel a bit guilty about the flight of tiny Mariner 9. After all, that 13 billion doled out to the U.S. space program, according to the critics, could be better used by, say, Health, Education and Welfare—which annually squanders many times that amount with no such signs of similar success.

Swallowing our guilt feelings comes easy. There's rather a loud cheer instead. Mariner is yet another instrument to unlock the secrets of our solar system—an area which man will no doubt explore more fully in the 21st century, advancing our earth-locked civilization in the process.

Moreover, in the immediate present, such an effort does much for our morale. We need farsighted programs that actually show evidence of being a success. We need to prove once again to ourselves that America hasn't stagnated, that her tools haven't rusted, that her skills haven't lost their sharpness, that her strength has not gone to fat. Whatever scientific information is finally gathered from the Mariner voyage to Mars, at the moment we are more thankful for the boost in pride that it has given us.

JOSEPH C. WILSON—ONE OF THE GREAT INNOVATORS, INDUSTRIALISTS, AND HUMANITARIANS OF ALL TIME

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, in 1968, Joseph C. Wilson, chairman of the board of the Xerox Corp., said:

The social needs confronting us span man's wants and hopes. Businessmen have long prided themselves on their skill in solving problems, in creating efficiency, in willingness to accept risk, to experiment, to pioneer. If we refuse now to turn our attention to such universal problems as hunger, poverty, disease, illiteracy, war and pestilence, we may find we have forfeited our charter.

Joe Wilson, who died last month at the age of 61, exemplified this belief in the social responsibility of business.

He ranks with George Eastman, John D. Rockefeller, Commodore Vanderbilt, and Thomas Edison as one of the greatest innovators and industrialists of all time, for he was the prime force behind the development and application of the process of xerography and the tremendous growth of the Xerox Corp. His personal determination and efforts turned the small Haloid Co., a manufacturer of photographic paper, into a billion dollar photocopier industry.

Beyond his great business acumen, it was Joe Wilson, more than any other single man who has led the businesses of America toward assuming their rightful responsibility for solving human, social, and public problems.

In Rochester in my congressional district where Joe lived and where Xerox began and prospered, he helped to build a world renowned university; he led the difficult fight for equal opportunities for minorities, especially in the fields of jobs, housing, and minority enterprise; he successfully directed the community chest drive for many years, and he worked behind the scenes for an exciting new city proposed to be built east of Rochester.

He stepped down from the presidency of Xerox 3 years ago to assume the role of chairman of the board so that he could devote more time to community and national activities, especially in the health and welfare fields.

The list of his activities at the national level is long and varied. Among them, he served as chairman of the Arden House Conference on Public Welfare in 1967, a landmark meeting during which a group of top corporate executives from across the Nation decided that income maintenance rather than welfare grants, was a desirable goal. He was appointed by President Nixon only recently to serve as head of the President's Committee on Health Education. He was chairman of

Governor Rockefeller's steering committee on social problems. He was director of the Council for Financial Aid to Education, a member of the National Advisory Committee on Health Manpower, and past president of the United Nations Association of the United States.

Tributes from leaders and friends from across the Nation after Joe's death only point up further what he meant to this country. President Nixon said:

Joseph C. Wilson exemplified, to an exceptional degree, the ideal of a business leader with a conscience.

Governor Rockefeller of New York said:

Mr. Wilson was a warm and dear friend. He was one of the truly great businessmen and creative leaders of our time.

And Senator JACOB JAVITS of New York said:

Providence has taken from us a magnificent American leader and a great person at the height of his powers, having already accomplished so much, and capable of so much more.

There are hundreds of incidents which underscore Joe's social concern.

It has been estimated, for example, that the Wilson family has donated more than $20 million to the University of Rochester, Joe's alma mater and one of his deepest interests. Much of this was earmarked not for buildings, but for people and for a wide variety of art and cultural activities. But Joe gave far more than money to the university. He served on the board of trustees since 1949, becoming chairman of the board 10 years later. He held that post for 9 years, then becoming honorary chairman. While chairman, he helped to develop the reputation of the university by attracting top faculty and expanding its research programs. He spoke across the country to corporations and foundations about the importance of strong universities.

In 1968, within 48 hours after the assasination of Martin Luther King, Joe called a special meeting of the board of directors of the community chest. He suggested that a special fund be set up in Dr. King's memory and said he would start it off with a gift of $250,000. As a result of his influence, more than $800,000 was raised. The fund was used as seed money for low-income housing.

Also in 1968, Joe helped to set up Fight-On, a black-owned and black operated factory with Xerox as a major customer. He helped to set up a formal training program for the unemployed and underemployed to encourage other companies to hire minority workers.

In addition to this social consciousness, Joe possessed the business acumen to withstand pressure and a wonderful sense of humor. A story appearing in the Rochester Times-Union on November 23, following Joe's death, Columnist Peter Taub related this incident:

One of the hallmarks of Joe Wilson's career was his ability to overcome adversity, a talent that was severely tested some years ago when he addressed a group of Midwestern businessmen gathered for a demonstration of a new xerographic copying machine called Copyflo.

It was on the stage beside Wilson, and after he had discussed the company's pride in developing the machine, he signaled an assistant to show how a copy was made.

Inside the copier was a thick roll of paper on which the imprints were delivered. Copies were supposed to emerge one at a time, but when the machine began functioning, John Dessauer writes in his recently published "My Years With Xerox," paper poured out "endlessly, foot after foot, copy after copy—six feet, eight feet, ten, and still coming.

"Attendants on the stage stared in horror. The demonstration was about to turn into a farcical failure. In a moment the audience would begin to laugh.

"At that instant Joe whispered to an assistant beside him, 'Grab the ends of the paper! Back into the aisle with it—carry it back as far as it goes!'

"The dazed man followed instructions. He held the long stream of paper as if it were a bridal train. As he backed into the aisle, the imperturbable Joe announced:

" 'We want you all to have a close look at the quality of the copies.'

"Instantly what might have been a tragic farce was converted to a service for the audience. Men leaned toward the aisle to see, at close range, the copies on the long trailer of paper. Meanwhile another assistant had time to disconnect the copier's electric wires, and the paper ceased rolling."

Another of Joe Wilson's attributes was his warm and amicable manner, especially with Xerox employees. Many workers recalled him as "a friendly fellow" who often strolled through the plant calling workers by nickname and stopping to shake hands.

Mr. Speaker, I could go on and on. Friends and associates can recall incident after incident when Joe Wilson exhibited qualities of humaneness and kindness.

Over the years, I personally have seen countless instances in which Joe stepped forward to help people in trouble—offering funds where necessary, offering compassion or a friendly hand, and never with any thought of credit or recognition.

As a personal friend and as a representative of the people of the Rochester area, I grieve for the Wilson family, the Xerox family, for the Rochester community, and for the entire Nation. I believe that Joe Wilson will be remembered as one of the finest men in all American history.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues several articles and editorials which have appeared about Joe Wilson. The first article by Jack Garner, appeared in the Rochester Times-Union, November 23. Titled "Joe Wilson Made Xerox A Giant, Bettered Community," it describes the incredible business success of the Xerox Corp., due primarily to Joe Wilson. A portion of the article follows:

Mr. Wilson had been the leading force behind the incredible growth of Xerox since the beginning. His personal initiative and gamble converted the small Haloid Co., a manufacturer of photographic paper, into a billion-dollar industry.

And he maintained throughout his career a commitment to social and community needs with widespread philanthropic activities, including intense support of the University of Rochester and the Community Chest.

His generosity to the UR includes naming the university as beneficiary of a irrevocable trust upon the death of himself and his wife. The trust contains 90,000 shares of Xerox common stock, currently worth close to $9.6 million.

Mr. Wilson was born in Rochester on Dec. 13, 1909, the son of Joseph R. Wilson. He was the grandson of Joseph C. Wilson, founder of Haloid and former mayor of Rochester.

He attended Public Schools 7 and 16, and Madison Junior High School. He was graduated from West High School.

He enrolled at the University of Rochester, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa and was graduated with honors in 1931.

Mr. Wilson used to joke about one major frustration of his college days—his inability to become an athlete.

He decided he could at least be manager of the football team. "I worked real hard as an apprentice under old Doc Fauver," Mr. Wilson said, "carried the water bucket and all that sort of thing.

"Then Doc got it in his head that I needed actual athletic experience. So he made me go out for track. I became a hurdler . . . so to speak. Finally Doc decided I was ripe for combat. He let me enter a race. I promptly proceeded to knock down the first three hurdles and was disqualified.

"That ended my athletic career," he said.

Mr. Wilson was member of Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity at UR. At a Deke fraternity dance he met Marie Curran, an attractive brunette, whom he married four years later.

After graduation, Mr. Wilson entered Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration and was named as one of five students to the Harvard Business Review Board. He received a master's degree in 1933.

CONSIDERED TEACHING

He then joined his family's firm, but not until after a period when he flirted with the idea of teaching.

For the next three years, Mr. Wilson worked in various departments of the company. Haloid had perfected Haloid Record, a superior photocopy paper which helped the firm survive the depression.

He was named secretary of the company in 1936, a year after Haloid acquired controlling stock of the Rectigraph Company, the original manufacturer of photocopy machines.

The acquisition created allied production of photocopy paper and the machines to use them, and Mr. Wilson soon organized a sales and service organization to expand the business.

Mr. Wilson's father was named president of the company in 1938 and the younger Wilson became treasurer as well as secretary. He also became a member of the board of directors a year later.

Mr. Wilson was elected vice president in 1944.

In 1946, at the age of 36, he became president and general manager of the company.

During the war, Haloid remained stable although profits were unspectacular, due to growing competition and a commitment to manfacturing defense needs.

But about this period, Mr. Wilson was alerted to a new copying process which others were wary to support.

The process was called xerography. It was invented by Chester F. Carlson.

Mr. Wilson and his research director, Dr. John H. Dessauer, along with friend and attorney Sol Linowitz, went to Battelle Memorial Institute in Columbus, Ohio, where xerography was being studied. They were soon convinced of its possibilities.

Frequent trips to Columbus soon followed and the young president took the risky step of sponsoring continued investigation. In 1948, he and Dr. Dessauer concluded a more extensive contract with Battelle, committing the Haloid company to the future of the new product.

From 1946 to 1952, more money was allotted to xerographic research than was earned by the company during the period. Modest profits didn't appear until 1953.

LINOWITZ REMINISCES

Linowitz talked last night about the famous industrial gamble.

He said he met Mr. Wilson at the City Club. "He asked me to help work on the programs, and we found we had many similar interests. We found ourselves in a personal friendship.

"One day he asked me if I would be willing, as a one-shot affair as he put it, to go with him to Columbus, where Batelle had a process Haliod wanted to look at. He thought I might help in a legal agreement."

Linowitz said they started negotiations and eventually acquired the rights for the process.

"In the early years, it was a very chintzy, unsure process. Many hundreds of thousands of dollars had to be spent before it could work. And it was Joe who kept behind it. This was a tremendous gamble, because the results coming out of the lab at that point were not very promising."

"Without that kind of stubborn commitment, there would be no xerography or Xerox. Joe was responsible for it all happening," Linowitz said.

In 1947, Haloid was a local firm with $7 million in sales and $138,000 in net profits. In 1970, Xerox had sales of $1.7 billion and a net profit of $187 million.

In 1956, Haloid purchased exclusive rights to the copying process and in 1958 the firm became Haloid Xerox, Inc.

The company was renamed Xerox Corporation in 1960 and under Mr. Wilson's direction, the firm expanded geographically and in its areas of interest.

Mr. Wilson annonunced his plans to retire as chief executive officer of Xerox on May 16, 1968, and turned over the leadership to C. Peter McColough. Mr. Wilson continued as chairman of the board.

Mr. Wilson was a man of medium height, tan face and husky voice. He never moved to Stamford, Conn., when the corporate headquarters for the corporation were moved there.

He preferred to stay in Rochester, where he continued forking out of a spacious 29th-floor office in the Xerox Tower downtown.

Mr. Wilson could sometimes be found chewing on a peanut butter sandwich behind his large mahogany desk.

Mr. Wilson resided with his wife at 1550 Clover St. a few paces from Elmwood Avenue. The 16-room house is more than 100 years old and formerly housed the Clover Street Seminary and later St. Mark's School for Boys.

The Wilsons reared six children in the Brighton home.

GET INVOLVED

In 1967, Mr. Wilson discussed community involvement before the Investment Analysts Society of Chicago. "The whole purpose of Xerox is to offer profitable innovations in fields to which we attribute social value and human need."

"We encourage Xerox people to involve themselves with issues of importance. We cannot, as individuals or as a corporation, isolate ourselves in a vacuum," he told the group.

Mr. Wilson's largest community efforts were aimed at expansion and improvement of his alma mater, the UR. He served as a trustee for the university since 1949 and was board chairman since 1959. In 1967, he became honorary chairman.

Mr. Wilson was a trustee of the Committee for Economic Development, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation and the Rochester Savings Bank.

He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a founding member of the Business Committee for the Arts.

He was a director of Rank Xerox Limited, London; the Rank Organisation Limited, London; Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd., Tokyo; Lincoln First Group, Inc., the George Eastman House and McCurdy and Company, Rochester Gas and Electric Corporation; The R. T. French Company, and the Council for Financial Aid to Education. He was a member of the board of directors of the Community Chest of Rochester and Monroe County, Inc., since 1950, of its executive committee since the following year, and its president 1967 and 1968.

Mr. Wilson was a member of the Genesee Valley Club, Rochester; the County Club of Rochester; the Rochester Club, the University Club of Rochester; the University Club of New York; Metropolitan Club of Washington, D.C.; Lyford Cay Club of Nassau; the Lake Placid (N.Y.) Club; the Gulf Stream Golf Club, and Gulf Stream Bath Club, Delray Beach, Fla.

In June 1970, Harvard Business School honored Mr. Wilson with its alumni achievement award. Earlier that month Notre Dame University gave him an honorary Doctor of Laws degree, citing him as a tough-minded risk-taker with social conscience and cultural awareness, a man who revolutionized the communications industry.

He was the recipient of the Rochester Rotary Award in 1956 for "outstanding contributions to the intellectual, cultural, industrial and civic life of the community."

In 1964 he was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters by LeMoyne College; in 1965, a Doctor of Laws at St. John Fisher College; in 1967, a Doctor of Humane Letters from Boston University, a Doctor of Laws from Harvard University and a Doctor of Humanics from Springfield (Mass.) College.

An editorial in the November 23 Times-Union is a fitting tribute to Joe Wilson:

JOSEPH C. WILSON: A GREAT ROCHESTERIAN

No Rochesterian since George Eastman matched the impact for good that Joseph Chamberlain Wilson had on his community and state and country.

His unexpected death at 61 is a deep shock and loss to all who knew him, to the thousands upon thousands who benefited from his amazingly productive life.

Joseph Wilson had the qualities of greatness—courage, vision, leadership, humanity, eloquence, energy, dedication, inspiration.

The story of his daring development of xerography is well known but ever fascinating. It transformed the little Haloid Company into the giant and ever-expanding Xerox Corporation, was a major factor in Rochester's postwar boom, and made wealthy men and women of those bold enough to follow his lead.

But for Joseph Wilson, business success and fortune were simply means to achieving broader humanitarian goals.

He constantly reminded Xerox employes and shareholders of the social responsibilities of business and backed up his words, despite some criticism, with corporate and personal contributions. He saw to it that Xerox pioneered in employing and otherwise assisting blacks struggling for business success.

Mr. Wilson strengthened the University of Rochester and all of education immensely. His favorite message to the many scientific people with whom he associated was their obligation to harness technology to serve mankind's welfare.

Joseph Wilson loved his native Rochester and New York State, and he channeled much of his philanthropy—both known and unrecorded—to their benefit. He made Xerox Square a distinguished Rochester landmark and resisted as much as possible the lure of other areas, both personally and corporately.

Perhaps the greatest of Mr. Wilson's contributions was his own deep involvement in public affairs. He grappled with the sternest of community challenges. He had the ability to inspire the best energy and thinking of those who worked with him in volunteer enterprises, and to cut to the core of problems, with incisive questions. He was disappointed when others failed to share his zeal to assist those who suffered from poverty, ill-health, discrimination, bad housing or insufficient education.

Joseph Wilson took advantage of his retirement from active leadership of Xerox Corp. to strengthen his active participation in planning for Community Chest change, better health education and other progressive movements.

He walked with the lowly as comfortably as with the mighty; he loved both humanity and humans. He was humble and vibrant and confident and scholarly and witty and optimistic and ever questing for new solutions to old problems.

A favorite quotation Mr. Wilson drew from a seemingly endless supply was by John Gardner:

"Leaders have a significant role in creating the state of mind that is in society. They can express the values that hold the society together.

"Most important, they can conceive and articulate that which lifts people out of their petty preoccupations, carrying them above the conflicts that tear a society apart and uniting them in a pure set of objectives worthy of their best efforts."

No man fitted that definition of leadership better than Joseph C. Wilson.

The following article appeared in a memorial issue of Xerox World, a publication of the Xerox Corp., on November 24. It recounts the ways in which employees who worked for Joe Wilson remember him:

WHAT HIS WORKERS THOUGHT: "YOU JUST CAN'T TOP JOE WILSON"

"It didn't matter how dirty your hands were when Joe came by, he'd stop and shake hands and pass the time of day."

That's how Gerald Miller remembers Mr. Wilson from those earl, days at the "paper plant," and even before that at Haloid Street.

"He used to come to all our parties and have as good a time as the rest of us. Many are the times I danced and roller skated with his wife."

Henry Rust, lathe operator in Building 218, remembers Mr. Wilson as "just one of the gang" at the paper plant. "He bowled in our plant league over there. He was just learning the game but we all pitched in and gave him a few pointers."

"Joe was almost like a father to us," said Paul Fromm, general foreman of slitting at Rectigraph, and 32 years with the company. "He not only knew us all by our first names, but also by our nicknames. I started out as a crock washer—the lowest you can get. But he made it a point to know what my job was all about too. There's so much about Joe that I can't really express it."

Perhaps the one employee who knew Mr. Wilson best was Alphonse Knoebel, who served as butler during the first couple of years of Mr. Wilson's marriage. Knoebel's wife was the family maid, "but they treated us just like members of the family. When my wife and I were expecting our child, Joe got me a job with the company—'You can make more money there,' he said. You just can't top Joe Wilson."

"When my husband died in 1955, Joe took the time and effort to come to the funeral parlor," said Jean Fulford, 29 years at Rectigraph. "I don't think too many people in his position would have done that. It sure meant a lot to me. He was always so considerate."

George Magee is a working supervisor in Rectigraph's coating department. He's been with the company 36 years. "I was always 'Fibber' to Joe Wilson just like everybody else—you know—Fibber Magee. That shows you what a regular guy he was. And he never forget any of the old timers' names. When he would bring Mr. McColough over, he'd introduce him to us as Pete. 'It's not Mr. McColough—it's Pete,' he'd say. What can you say about Joe Wilson that hasn't already been said . . ."

The New York Times, in an editorial on November 23, said that Joe Wilson gave the phrase "corporate citizenship" new meaning. I would like to share this editorial with my colleagues:

JOSEPH C. WILSON

As much as any other businessman in this turbulent era, Joseph C. Wilson helped expand the concept of a corporate balance sheet to include social costs and civic responsibilities. Chairman of the Board of Xerox, he was an intensely compassionate civic leader deeply interested in such areas of public policy as welfare and health care.

Mr. Wilson served as chairman of the Arden House Conference on Public Welfare in 1967, a landmark meeting at which a group of top corporate executives from across the nation decided that income maintenance, rather than the welfare dole, was a desirable goal, propelling this social scientists' dream into the forefront of active, political consideration. He was also chairman of Governor Rockefeller's Steering Committee on Social Problems. President Nixon appointed him only a few weeks ago to head a President's Committee on Health Education, an area of need into which he was probing yesterday while at lunch with the Governor when he suffered his fatal attack.

Mr. Wilson gave the phrase of "corporate citizenship" new meaning and it is a measure of his full useful life that he will be missed not only by the business community in which his company became a giant, but also by the larger community where his compassion and service will continue to be felt.

COURT RULINGS ON ILLEGAL ALIENS THREATEN ECONOMIC CRISIS

HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, when we consider that more than 200 million people come into the United States annually at ports of entry along the Canadian and Mexican borders, recent court rulings rewarding fraudulent entry conceivably could destroy the immigration process. Such an occurrence would confront the Nation with an economic crisis that would make our present woes seem comparatively mild.

The immigrants we want, who patiently await a quota number and have something to contribute to our way of life, could be frozen out if we were to halt all immigration.

Immigration officials on our borders are faced today with an incredibly tough job. They do not have the manpower to do more than give a quick look at a person's papers.

Some 90 million come in with birth certificates, baptismal certificates, and naturalization papers as proof of citizenship. Some are admitted with oral statements. The growing traffic in false, forged, and altered documents adds to the inspection burden. Millions of others enter as nonimmigrants and are given a Non-Resident Alien Border Crossing Card—Form I-186. Nonimmigrants are not permitted to work.

Recent decisions of the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals have created a hydra-headed legal monster.

First. The alien who faslely swears he is a citizen can remain in the country if he establishes a family relationship long enough to gain permanent residence.

Second. The alien who enters as a nonimmigrant with the preconceived intent to work or remain for a longer period than admitted or even permanently is similarly protected from deportation if a legal family relationship is established long enough to gain permanent residence.

As one immigration official has noted, preconceived intent "is a state of mind." He asks how the Immigration Service can defend against or refute "a subsequent assertion by a nonimmigrant" that he intended all along to remain. The inspection may have occurred months before and even if the inspector can be found, it is unlikely he will be able to recall a particular incident.

Given such circumstances, it is not hard to see the trouble that lies ahead in trying to oust from this country aliens who stream across our borders as visitors, then take advantage of the court's interpretation of the law to acquire family status and circumvent the immigration process.

PROJECT HOME FOR THE HOLIDAYS

HON. JOHN H. TERRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, the holiday season which we are currently entering is supposed to be a time when the ideals of peace, goodwill, and brotherhood reach into the hearts of every American. In recent years, there has been much talk about commercialism and the lack of true Christmas spirit.

In Onondaga County, a major portion of which is in my congressional district, a group of truly public-spirited citizens have completed a home for the holidays program for our servicemen in Vietnam.

Starting absolutely from scratch, Nancy Singer, chairman of the committee, raised over $27,000 for the project. It was a magnificent demonstration of generosity on the part of the citizens of Onondaga County.

Door-to-door teams were sent out, and they raised a large portion of the contributions through individual demonstrations of support for the program.

Local and State government leaders threw their support wholeheartedly behind the project by declaring a "Home for the Holidays" week and offering whatever assistance they could.

I was contacted to provide liaison with the Department of Defense, but after the initial contact, this volunteer organization carried the ball completely by themselves.

Royal O'Day served as treasurer of the organization, and countless individuals in virtually every community in the county organized door-to-door operations for the purpose of collecting the funds.

Through the generosity of the citizenry and many service clubs in Onondaga County, 39 servicemen will arrive at Hancock Airport in Syracuse on December 22.

There are few things which can warm the hearts of people more than a public-spirited generation of goodwill. Surely, Nancy Singer and her volunteers, with the cooperation of the local press and broadcast media, have made Christmas 1971 a time of goodwill for many families in Onondaga County. All of those who participated in the program under Nancy Singer's leadership are to be congratulated for their outstanding efforts.

THE PANAMA CANAL—RARICK REPORTS TO HIS PEOPLE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I recently reported to my people on the Panama Canal. I insert my report in the RECORD at this point.

RARICK REPORTS TO HIS PEOPLE ON THE PANAMA CANAL

In several previous reports this year, I stressed the importance of this country maintaining a strong military posture second to that of no other country. Our self-preservation as a nation must be our first order of business. For if we lose our great country and our constitutional Republic, all of our efforts to insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity will go for naught. America must be strong enough to keep enemy nations, such as Soviet Russia and Red China, from taking away our property and lives.

Of vital importance to the defense of the U.S. is our sovereignty over the Panama Canal. Incredible as it may seem, negotiators for the Nixon Administration are trying to work out a new set of treaties which might well cede sovereignty over the Canal Zone to Panama.

So, I thought we'd talk today about the Panama Canal.

The Panama Canal is at the strategic maritime crossroads of the Western Hemisphere and is of great importance for interoceanic commerce in peacetime and the security of the U.S. in time of war. Under no circumstances should we allow it to come under the control of any other nation or of any international agency such as the United Nations Organization.

The demands by Panamanian officials for complete sovereignty by Panama over the Canal Zone are unreasonable and without legal justification. Three treaties form the legal basis for U.S. sovereignty over the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 with Great Britain acknowledged the sole right of the United States to build the canal.

The Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty with Panama of 1903 granted to the United States in perpetuity "the use, occupation and control" of the Canal Zone territory for the "construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection" of the Panama Canal with full "sovereign rights, power and authority" within the Zone to the "entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any sovereign rights, power or authority." This treaty not only binds the United States in perpetuity to maintain, operate, and defend the Panama Canal, but also binds Panama to recognize the validity of the treaty.

Also the United States was given "all rights, power, and authority" over a strip of land five miles on each side of the Canal extending the approximate fifty mile length of the Canal.

The third treaty legalizing America's sovereignty over the Panama Canal is the Thomson-Urrutia Treaty of 1922 whereby Colombia recognized ownership of the Canal as "vested entirely and absolutely in the United States of America."

These three treaties to protect America's interests were hammered out by wise and realistic negotiators. The main concern of those presently bargaining with the Panamanians seems to be placating America's anemy. Our early negotiators realized that Panama was a politically unstable country plagued with recurrent revolutions. So, they insisted that U.S. sovereignty over the Canal Zone and over operation of the Canal be granted in perpetuity. In perpetuity means forever. And the U.S. taxpayers paid for the Canal just like any other federal property. Like Louisiana or Alaska.

Panama exists as an independent country solely because of the Panama Canal. Until November 3, 1903, it was part of Colombia. If there is to be any turning back of the clock of history, which most thoughtful Americans oppose, the Canal Zone should be returned to Colombia, which country in 1914 recognized the title to the Panama Canal and Railroads as "vested entirely and absolutely in the United States, without any encumberances or indemnities whatsoever."

The United States bought all the rights, powers, and authority of sovereignty over the Canal Zone from Panama, which country was the successor to Colombia as the sovereign of the Isthmus, and purchased all privately owned land and property in the zone from individual property owners. It would be just about as sensible for Mexico to demand the return of the Gadsden Purchase or Soviet Russia to demand the return of Alaska as for Panama to persist in its unreasonable demands for cession of the Canal Zone.

The Panama Canal was built between 1904 and 1914. I know there are some elderly citizens in their 80's or 90's in the Sixth District who helped construct the Canal. It cost the United States $340 million and the lives of about 4,000 citizens, most of them dying from yellow fever.

So legally by treaty and rightfully by outright purchase of the land and through the labor and lives of American citizens in building the Panama Canal, the Canal belongs to the United States.

Obtaining control of the two major international waterways of the world—the Suez Canal and the Panama Canal—has long been the goal of the Communists.

Following the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt in 1956, Russia began to increase its prominence in the Mediterranean. Today the Russian Naval presence—total annual ship days in the area—in both the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean surpasses that of our Sixth Fleet.

The Soviets have been expanding their navy at such a rate that their Russian navy now exceeds the U.S. navy in number of submarines and at the present rate of expansion will overtake us in a few years. The Soviet merchant marine has also surpassed ours in number, tonnage and modernity of ships.

And there are indications that the Russian's plans include making the Caribbean into a Soviet lake as they have done the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Only two months ago, Kosygin at the end of his visit to Cuba, issued with Castro a joint communique that the U.S. illegally occupied our naval base at Guantanamo Bay. There is also evidence that a goal of Russian naval planners is to deprive the United States of our sovereignty and control over the Panama Canal.

The Soviets already have an agreement with Egypt over the Suez; and now with General Torrijos as their comrade in Panama and Castro in Cuba, it appears that the Russians have designs on the Panama Canal.

It is becoming increasingly more apparent that the Soviet plan for achieving control of the Panama Canal, as was the case regarding the Suez Canal, includes establishing a government friendly to the Soviets, providing economic and military assistance, the use of worldwide hostile propaganda against Western powers, training military and guerrilla forces, and use of terror.

Many of you perhaps remember the flag incident in 1960 when the Panamanian flag was displayed and the situation in 1964 when Communist-led mobs assaulted our soldiers. This attack was designed to force the United States to renegotiate the 1903 treaty. Following the advice of "soft on Communism" State Department advisors, President Johnson agreed to negotiations. When the American people learned about the text of the new treaties, the clamor in opposition was so strong that the treaties were never signed.

In 1968, General Torrijos seized control of the government of Panama by a military coup and has appointed communists as his top advisors. Castro has supplied Cuban guerrilla teams to train natives in sabotage and guerrilla warfare in the area adjoining the Canal. Russian technicians have been arriving in Panama apparently to train Panamanians in operating the Canal just as they trained Egyptians to operate the Suez Canal.

The controlled Panamanian newspapers have launched a propaganda barrage against what they call "the capitalist running dogs of the imperialist U.S." and are demanding immediate return of the Canal to Panama. Panama's Foreign Minister, Juan Tack has publicly stated his government would not tolerate continued U.S. control of the Canal.

And should the United States refuse to turn over the Canal to the Panamanian dictator, Panamanian mobs will be instigated to provoke another communist-led attack similar to that of 1964.

And should the Panamanian dictator fail to achieve his goal by diplomatic and propaganda efforts, it is likely that an attempt will be made to take the Canal Zone by military force or to render the canal inoperative through sabotage by guerrilla fighters. And providing encouragement to those who would undertake such a military attack is a statement appearing in a Panamanian newspaper of July 23 and reportedly made by a State Department official that the time of U.S. military intervention in other countries had past and that the U.S. would not intervene even if the communists cut off Venezuelan oil shipments or attempted to take over Panama.

Diplomatic efforts are being made at the present time by the government of General Torrijos to persuade the U.S. to give up sovereignty over the Canal Zone to Panama. Negotiations began in June of this year for a new treaty to replace the 1903 treaty which granted the U.S. control of the Canal in perpetuity as well as holding the U.S. responsible for the defense of the Canal.

State Department negotiators have reportedly said that they expect the treaties to be signed and ratified by the Senate by the end of this year. Latest reports are that it is expected to be submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in January.

A factor which the State Department negotiators have apparently overlooked is that the President and State Department cannot surrender by treaty or otherwise its control over the Canal Zone and canal to any other sovereign government or to any international agency, including the U.N., without specific authority from the Congress, which includes the House as well as the Senate.

The framers of our Federal Constitution were men of rare wisdom and vision. They foresaw the need for a provision in the great instrument to prevent the Executive from disposing of any territory or other property of the United States by pretext of a treaty except with the approval of both the Senate and the House. Accordingly, that was included in article IV, section 3, clause 2 of the Constitution as follows:

"The Congress shall have Power to dispose of . . . the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States."

As far as the record shows, the current negotiations for the proposed Panama Canal treaties have never referred to this constitutional requirement and have acted with complete duplicity and insincerity by ignoring our Constitution and apparently never bringing it to the attention of the Panamanian negotiators. Whatever the Senate may do as regards the projected surrender at Panama, the House has thus far been adamant and will likely so remain. Yet our negotiators have gone merrily along ignoring the vital constitutional provision with Chief Negotiator Robert B. Anderson and his associates evidently trying to sweep the proposed giveaway of the Canal Zone under the diplomatic rug.

The State Department claims that U.S. control and defense of the Canal are non-negotiable while Panama insists on the end of U.S. sovereignty over the Canal Zone. Also, the rights to expand the existing canal or to build a new sea-level canal are essential to U.S. agreement to a new treaty.

The map you are looking at shows the route of the present canal and the site of the proposed sea level canal 10 miles to the West of the existing canal. Besides taking 14 years to build and costing $2.8 billion according to present estimates, a sea-level canal would involve ecological problems. Marine biologists are concerned that unlike the present lock canal, a sea-level canal would permit access to the Pacific of a number of stronger Western Atlantic species of fish, resulting in the extinction of many Pacific species. Conversely, the Caribbean Sea and Atlantic would be opened to the poisonous sea snake and the crowd of thorn starfish, which presently plagues the Pacific. As you can see from the map of sea snake distribution, there are no snakes in the Atlantic.

What is the solution to the Panama Canal problem? First, we should let Panama and the world know that the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone legally and rightfully belong to the United States and that any change in our control or sovereignty over the canal is non-negotiable; secondly we should widen and modernize the present canal; and finally, we should strengthen the defenses of the canal to be prepared to protect it in case of enemy attack.

It's high time we placed the security and welfare of America first. The Panama Canal is American and is as symbolic of our liberty as is the Statue of Liberty.

THE POSITION OF AGRICULTURE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

HON. WILLIAM R. ROY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, the role of agriculture in our society is often greatly misunderstood. We depend on the farmer for our very existence, yet we have become so used to his successful struggle against hunger that we often take him for granted.

Even less undertood are the roles of the hundreds of thousands of persons who work with the farmer and enable him to be the most efficient producer of food and fiber the world has ever known.

The role of our agricultural community will be even more important in the future, as we turn to those who know how to cooperate with nature for guidance in saving our environment.

For more than 100 years, our agricultural leaders have been trained by our land-grant colleges and universities. Men and women from these institutions have gone into education, research, industry, journalism, and into the backbone of agriculture, farming itself.

Because of their efforts, a single farmer today feeds himself and more than 40 other persons. That is five times the output of a farmer 50 years ago. More than any other factor, this increase in agricultural productivity, and the resultant release of millions of persons from the necessity of tilling the soil, is responsible for the tremendous advances made in this country since its inception.

The Resident Instruction Committee on Policy, Colleges of Agriculture, the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, under the chairmanship of Dr. Carroll V. Hess, dean of the College of Agriculture at Kansas State University, recently published a brochure that eloquently sets forth the role and importance of agriculture in our society.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include the text of this brochure in the RECORD at this point. Anyone who reads this will have a much better understanding of the debt we owe to our land-grant colleges and to our agricultural community in general.

I congratulate Dr. Hess for his role in producing this important publication. I hope that he and his colleagues are successful in attracting young people to all the many agricultural careers.

A prosperous, forward-looking agricultural community is essential to the continued prosperity of America as a whole, and land-grant colleges have a vital role to play in achieving this goal.

The article follows:

HELP RESTORE A QUALITY ENVIRONMENT

Looking for beauty, relevance, meaningfulness? You may find them where you'd least expect—in a curriculum in agriculture and natural resources. In such a curriculum, you deal with ideas and with living organisms—people, soils, and animals. You treat them kindly, handle them gently, work closely with them, see their beauty, learn their "languages," and begin to understand their relationship with you—and all people.

As you understand your interrelations with all living things on the earth you share in common, you begin to understand yourself. The idea that man "controls" nature is replaced with understanding of man's place in nature's world.

Thus, agriculture, because it is so closely associated with living things and natural resources, offers you an opportunity to make learning a personal, current experience that helps you appreciate and understand all the beauty about you.

Perhaps you have wondered who you really are, and why. Subconsciously you may seem to be outside the chain of events that comes from living things and interactions with them. Your search for self identification may be a subconscious search for harmony with living things that are part of you—as you are part of them.

The beauty and excitement of studying and working for harmony among living things (including people) is heightened as you realize that is the most promising approach for reversing land, water, and air pollution; attaining peace; and feeding and stabilizing human populations to harmonize with populations of other animals and plants.

Regardless of what agriculturally-related curriculum you enter (biology, entomology, horticulture, forestry, floriculture, soils, crops, ag education, animal sciences, poultry, sea life, conservation, or another one), you'll soon find professors who agree "that man has no right to consider the earth as his possession to despoil or befoul as he pleases." A few may even wonder with you if man is the most important organism in the ecological chain. Man's breaking the chain, as if he were exempt from the laws of nature, has caused the decline and fall of many cultures and countries. To repair such damage and to prevent it from happening in the future require an understanding of people and of how all organisms are related; how man is part of nature and nature is part of man. That, of course, is what ecology is all about.

The best way of study ecology, in general, is in a curriculum of your choice in agriculture. Ecology is not a discipline. It is the interrelatedness of disciplines. To learn about ecology, you study organisms—people, earth, air, and water. That most such studies are in agriculture seems to have been overlooked—especially by youth from cities.

Hunger, the greatest threat to peace and stable governments, is the primary problem of nearly half the earth's human population. Decreasing and stabilizing birth rates—while increasing food production, conserving water and soil, and withdrawing pollutants from air, water, and soil—is the Herculean task that will require the lifetime energy and talent of literally millions of persons now in high school or college.

Youth who have served in the Peace Corps, VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), IVS (International Voluntary Services), or with other groups in a developing nation have found that knowledge of agriculture is most wanted and needed. Many (including youth) who have been in military, religious, government, or other services abroad, return to take courses in agriculture.

Creating harmony among all living organisms, including human beings, calls for much political, social, biological, and related knowledge, plus sensitivity, understanding of, appreciation for diversity among all the organisms, including human beings.

So, learning in an agricultural curriculum may become a personal, NOW experience—a feeling of close kinship and harmony with the beauty about you.

TO CREATE HARMONY, LEARN NATURE'S LAWS

Today the planet earth is the agricultural campus. Thousands of graduates of U.S. agricultural colleges hold administrative and scientific positions in this country and increasingly in nearly all non-Communist countries—through international programs or with international agribusiness or agri-industry companies.

In the United States, agribusinesses, agri-industries, banks, and state, city, and community-planning agencies hire consultants, technicians, and managers with agricultural degrees—to protect consumers' purchases of meat, poultry, and other foods; seed, and nursery stock; fertilizers, lime, pesticides, fungicides, and other chemicals—to protect the health of people and other animals; and—to establish grades of grain, meat, and other products.

Increasing awareness that ecological factors influence the quality of living is increasing the demand by state and local governments for persons with degrees in agriculture. Opportunities are similar to those offered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the largest employer of agricultural graduates.

SERVE MANKIND AS YOU SATISFY YOURSELF

Agricultural graduates, of course, abound in foreign agriculture—both in governmental and private organizations, like the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations. Three of the large employers—thé Agency for International Development, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, and the Peace Corps—have some 5,000 agriculturists in more than 100 countries.

Experience with the Peace Corps, IVS, or VISTA could lead to a life-time vocation in one of the agencies that help emerging nations develop their food supplies through agricultural research, education, and extension, and that help people apply technology to raise nutritional levels and other standards of living.

Opportunities are expanding for those who can teach agriculture or administer agricultural programs in developing countries.

FIND YOUR PLACE IN THE NEW AGRICULTURE

During the decade of the 1970s agricultural production on earth may be measured from infrared photographs taken from airplanes and from an orbiting agricultural satellite. That's a joint prediction of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Agricultural Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. They are working together to refine techniques and equipment before they launch the earth-resources satellite.

Already remote sensing by infrared photographs is used to detect moisture and fertilizer deficiencies (when they first start) and to quickly spot certain insect and disease damage to crops.

Technology is constantly creating new careers in agriculture and environmental sciences. Some deal with food and beverage processing in cities (for those who prefer city life). Many deal with open space, wildlife, national parks, and various outdoor activities; such careers should appeal to you if you hope to avoid the monotony of crowded landscapes of asphalt and concrete, angularity, and predictability.

Thought a few "ag" graduates return to farms, many find vocations that take them to other open spaces.

IF YOU ARE TRAINED IN AGRICULTURE, YOU ARE NEEDED

If you try to ascertain all the opportunities for service and employment that a degree in agriculture might lead to, you tackle an impossible task. Many opportunities that will open to the under-20 generation are unknown or unimagined by the over-30 generation.

You can be certain of one thing, however:

education will enhance your life in diverse ways. The general knowledge you store while earning any college degree multiplies your ability to serve society. By opening many professional and service avenues closed to high school graduates, a college education also increases your freedom of vocational choice and of places to live and work. At the same time, it increases your chances for financial rewards.

The more knowledge you acquire, the more effective you will be—regardless of how you plan to spend your life.

As we work to improve our environment, opportunities for those with degrees in agriculture and related fields are certain to increase.

Needed around the earth are those with special skills in handling soil, water, forests, fisheries, wildlife, and all the natural resources.

FOOD AND IDEAS ARE MORE IMPORTANT AND MORE POWERFUL THAN MILITARY ARMS

U.S. agriculture shares prominently in complex miracles of the space age.

Agriculture is a skill and a profession deeply rooted in sciences—biological, physical, political, and social. More than 39,000 U.S. scientists (more than 15 percent of all U.S. scientists) work in life sciences and agriculture in this day of sophisticated research, of nucleonics, of automation, of atomic power, of electronic computers, of remote sensing, and of aerospace travel. Agricultural science is, in fact, an essential force in the dynamic advances of the 20th century.

Agriculture is a gigantic, vigorous, growing industry—stimulated to further growth by its myriad products and worldwide activity; $300 billion is invested in farms, equal to half the value of all corporate stocks on the New York Stock Exchange. Gross farm income exceeds $50 billion annually, up more than 300 percent since the 1920s. Assets of farm supply, processing, and distribution firms are $100 billion.

Each American farmer by 1970 was supplying food for himself and more than 40 other persons. That's five times the output of a farmer 50 years ago. To what can we attribute this amazing advance? To agricultural research, industrial development, college instruction, extension education, and wise management.

Yet agriculture reaches beyond farms, ranches, forests, gardens, and orchards. Although production is a basic segment, agriculture also includes suppliers of feed, fertilizer, chemicals, seeds, machinery, tools, buildings, petroleum products, electric service, legal services, management services, advertising, public relations, broker services, investment counseling, banking services, and other items and services necessary in modern farming. Such U.S. businesses employ six million persons.

An additional 10 million are required to fabricate, process, and transport food and fiber. The resulting products supply 200 million Americans with food, fiber, and lumber; the $6-billion-a-year surplus of those products ranks first in U.S. exports, and is a bountiful reserve for any national emergency.

In the struggle for peace and good will among people of all nations, food and ideas are more important and more powerful than arms.

Efficient agriculture has made the United States a world leader in food power. We have the proud heritage of a century of progress through research and development by colleges of agriculture.

BIGGEST BOOM IN AGRICULTURE'S HISTORY REQUIRED TO FEED EARTH'S PEOPLE

In the United States food is abundant, diversified, generally wholesome and safe, available all year, and relatively low priced.

Thanks to agricultural research, we have basic foods, plus vitamins, trace elements, such antibiotics as penicillin and streptomycin, dicoumarol for heart patients, and capsule foods for astronauts.

Agricultural research is used to develop recreational areas, to manage lawns and turf (including golf greens), in ornamental landscaping, and to control insects and plant diseases.

Medical science has teamed with agricultural sciences in studies of cancer, goiter, radiation from atomic fallout, tooth decay, arthritis, undulant fever, tuberculosis, coronary disease, scurvy, anemia, and muscular dystrophy. Agricultural scientists George W. Beadle and Selman A. Waksman won Nobel prizes in medicine. Norman E. Borlaug's Nobel prize for peace recognized a breakthrough in crop yields, which add to hopes for peace around the earth.

Agriculture (united with science, technology, and business) undergirds America's well being. It offers challenging opportunities here and in developing countries.

Where are there more rewarding careers? Where can an individual make a greater contribution to the health, welfare, and well being of his fellow man?

The biggest boom in history is predicted for agriculture and related businesses because all nations now are attempting to provide nutritionally adequate diets for all people.

The horizon never was more golden than now for youth with degrees in agriculture. Should man establish himself on another planet, agricultural research will contribute to his food, health, clothing, and shelter there.

A choice of many exciting opportunities and job careers awaits young men and women who earn degrees in agriculture.

CONDUCT RESEARCH TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE

Educational institutions, agribusinesses, and agri-industries in the United States need nearly 2,000 new scientists each year for positions in agricultural research and development. State agricultural experiment stations alone have 7,500 scientists doing research.

If in high school you enjoyed courses in chemistry, mathematics, biology, physics, economics, sociology, or associated sciences, consider a career ledaing to a professional vocation in an area related to agriculture.

Research in college experiment stations, and in federal, industrial, state, and private laboratories has made the United States farmer the most proficient on earth. Despite great progress, even greater breakthroughs will increase livestock and crop yields, improve manpower efficiency, raise living and health standards, and contribute to the earth's economy and the well being of all people.

Agricultural research embraces much: all crops, livestock, and soils; pest control, food preservation, nutrition; engineering, timber utilization, conservation of natural resources; management, marketing, social and economic problems; and today's newest sciences that deal with electronics, computer technology, spectrography, radiation, solar energy, radioactive isotopes, and even the secrets of life itself.

MANY AG GRADS GET JOBS HELPING OTHERS

More agricultural college graduates enter the educational field than return to farming. More than 2,000 jobs in education are filled annually by persons with degrees in agriculture. *Each year a few more women and many more men from cities are among the 2,000.*

In U.S. colleges where the life sciences and agriculture are taught, 19,500 professional and technical workers, besides 12,000 extension educators (a few in nearly every county), are employed. Add to that more than 11,000 high school agricultural instructors and the total exceeds 42,000 agricultural educators in the United States alone. And more and more of them (men and women) are being asked to serve in developing countries.

Because "jobs in agriculture" too often is interpreted to mean "farm laborers" (work now largely done by machines), persons who would enjoy spending a lifetime in agriculture—particularly in assisting developing nations—often are misguided into other areas and professions.

Colleges that offer degrees in agriculture seek instructors with talent in biology, economics, food technology, chemistry, engineering, sociology, communications, and marketing. College teaching provides great satisfaction in working with and guiding young minds, while also providing a good living. Aspiring to teach in college is realistic for youth who like people and want to specialize long enough to qualify.

The Cooperative Extension Service employs many young college graduates (immediately upon graduation)—to interpret and put to practical use what agricultural-research scientists find. Extension agents communicate latest methods and ideas to both rural and urban families. Farming, ranching, vegetable production, forestry, soil conservation, and orcharding are included. Other graduates work with 4-H Clubs, in the Peace Corps, in vocational and technical schools, or as research or teaching assistants while in graduate schools.

Administrators in industries and associations allied with farming contact agricultural colleges for potential instructors to train their employees. They want graduates who can "dream" constructively, have a scientist's curiosity, and can speak and write effectively. Skilled agriculturists are needed in business analysis, public relations, communications, processing, and marketing. Experience as an extension agent or vocational instructor can lead to attractive positions in business and industry.

Agriculture is as old as civilization and as new as space exploration. (Man's struggle against his environment for food to survive parallels man's history. The first man on the moon collected a "soil" sample.) For national and international progress, one generation must teach the next. In addition, the United States and other developed countries must provide teachers of teachers in developing nations, so that they may improve their agriculture to feed their people.

INDUSTRIES NEED YOUTH TRAINED IN AGRICULTURE

Industries allied with agriculture (including its manufacturing, processing, packaging, marketing, and supply segments) employ 32,000 professional and technical workers.

Does it take a college degree to sell fertilizers? Many such salesmen are college graduates. They know how plant nutrients interact with each other; how crop residues affect them; how they react in various soils, and how that reaction is influenced by sun and moisture; how remote sensing indicates nutrients needed, attacks by insects, need of moisture; how each crop and its yield affect nutrient requirements for the next crop; and how much nitrogen likely is needed to guarantee a given protein content of grain.

Similar knowledge is required to sell livestock and poultry feeds. Salesmen need to know what macro or micro nutrients each animal requires and how those nutrients vary for maintaining the body and for growing or producing; how they vary with rate of weight gain, eggs laid, or milk produced, or with temperature and humidity changes; and how each nutrient fits in least-cost rations determined by computers.

A degree in agriculture is not misused selling fertilizers (or livestock or poultry feeds). *Many executives, managers, and administrators of industries that serve agriculture, with salaries above $20,000, moved up by way of the salesman route.*

Agriculture has become so technical and competitive that nearly all operations, to be successful, require scientific management. As a result, firms handling agricultural commodities are requiring new employees to have degrees in agriculture. Likewise, manufacturers and processors of agricultural products require skilled technicians, salesmen, communicators, and executives.

Processing and packaging increase the market value of such commodites as milk, meat, eggs, bakery goods, butter, margarine, flour, and lumber, as well as canned, frozen, dehydrated, or dried fruits and vegetables. So the manufacturers and processors employ scientists, agricultural engineers, technologists, salesmen, communications and public relations men and women, engineers, and managers with college training in agriculture. Demands for them outnumber graduates. Salaries are attractive, with advancement often rapid.

NONFARM AG CAREERS ARE VARIED AND PLENTIFUL

Literally thousands of firms assemble, process, and market farm crops, livestock products, and timber. More than 40 percent of recent agricultural college graduates are employed by such firms. In fact, more persons are employed to transport, distribute, and market farm products than to produce them.

In addition, many are employed in business firms offering still other services essential to successful farming—such as banking, insurance, credit, land appraisal, and brokerage services. Others work for manufacturers of plant nutrients, feeds, foods, agricultural chemicals, and veterinary supplies.

Persons with degrees in agriculture are needed as buyers for packers and processors, in advertising and public relations, for market reporting, and as agricultural editors and writers.

Banks, insurance companies, cooperatives, food chains, electric companies, dairy-product distributors, feed processors, and meat packers are familiar examples of companies that hire persons with degrees in agriculture for important managerial or executive positions.

College students who have combined economics and business administration with agricultural science find several careers waiting when they graduate. Farm experience, while helpful, is not necessary. Race, sex, and ethnic origin are irrelevant. *Sensitivity, understanding, tolerance, and training in agriculture are most needed for careers abroad.*

In our dynamic society, farms will continue to decrease in number but increase in size, efficiency, and output. Agricultural colleges will continue to point the way through progressive agriculture and its allied industries.

Leaders of many countries, pledged to increase food and fiber production to meet the needs of their people, are urging United States agribusiness firms to help them. Already hundreds of United States citizens are serving as agricultural technicians in many of the developing countries.

PRODUCERS—THE BACKBONE OF AGRICULTURE

Production of food, fiber, oil, seeds, and forest products is basically the backbone of agricultural and agriculture-related industries. Primary producers are commercial, scientific farmers who are efficient, skilled, educated. Such farmers understand basic principles of automation, computer technology, power operations, breeding, nutrition, pest control, soil and crop management, irrigation, resource management and conservation, finance and marketing, and related subjects essential to their businesses. They follow closely the latest research findings of agricultural scientists. They consult extension specialists and agents. They read widely. *Many are college graduates.*

Those who successfully produce food and fiber are among the most useful citizens of the United States. Together, they produce enough to feed and clothe the nation abundantly and have a surplus to share with developing countries. Food and fiber producers control the destiny of many nations. Their importance is now recognized by leaders of all developing countries.

In years ahead they will become even more proficient and will produce more food and fiber for increased populations. Available land will diminish to meet growing requirements of cities, industries, highways, scenic areas, and recreation. Producing more food and fiber on less land will require skilled, educated operators and managers.

Specialized agriculture is becoming increasingly important. Examples include growing fruit and vegetables commercially; operating commercial woodlots; producing specialized dairy and poultry commodities; concentrating on livestock-feeding management; breeding purebred and crossbred livestock; producing seed and nursery stock. Some agriculturalists grow such specialty crops as sugar beets, cotton, rice, pecans, or peanuts; fruits and vegetables for canning and freezing; turf for lawns and golf courses; or greenhouse flowers and vegetables.

Successful operators of such units must be broadly educated in such fields as agronomy, biology, chemistry, genetics, pathology, entomology, nutrition, economics, and engineering.

FOR IMPACT, BE A PROFESSIONAL AG COMMUNICATOR

If you enjoy writing or public speaking and meeting people, a career in agricultural communications could be rewarding.

Your ideas may have wide influence, as a result of what you communicate in writing, by broadcasting, and through pictures. Information and its flow are important ecological elements; you can influence both. Additionally, "you can influence many by inoculating the influential," among whom you will associate.

Did you help edit your high school newspaper or yearbook or have parts in class plays or debates? If so, you have a background, and likely have aptitudes for communications. Combine such aptitudes with an agricultural science for a degree and pleasant work in agricultural communications.

Trade and business papers and magazines associated with agribusiness, agri-industries, or farming are looking for men and women with such broad education—as are radio and television stations, farm cooperatives, extension services, experiment stations, and both state and federal government agencies. Many women hold such jobs.

Salaries in agricultural communications are good and the work is inspiring—be it interviewing, photographing, writing, "creative dreaming," editing, appearing on radio or television, speaking to live audiences, or traveling to new territory for material.

The work is exciting and adventuresome, with continuing up-to-the-minute education. You may interview scientists, farmers, educators, industrialists, managers of business firms; attend conventions, field demonstrations, or legislative sessions; report on new research, scientific developments, or legislation; travel in your state or across the United States and to foreign lands—all in search of information to communicate by typewriter, voice, or cameras. Everywhere, and nearly every day, you meet fascinating people. And you are constantly learning more, so your competence and influence keep increasing.

Such positions require a broad agricultural education plus aptitude for writing, speaking, or photography—along with an inquiring mind and a desire to meet and to know people.

To prepare for such positions, you take courses in both communications and agricultural sciences—more in agricultural sciences than in communications. You need to know how to communicate but, more important, you need to know enough to ask intelligent questions and have something relevant to communicate.

Your career in agricultural communications may be as an editor or news writer for a college extension service or experiment station, the federal government, a state or city agency. Or it may be as farm director for TV and radio; or as public relations director, or editor, for a business handling farm commodities. Experience leads to such jobs as senior editor, advertising manager, public relations director, or executive or administrator in business, government, or an educational institution.

Because you must meet executives in your work, your competence seldom goes unrecognized or unrewarded.

YOU CAN HELP NATURE MANAGE HER RESOURCES

A lifetime career in agriculture could open new, challenging opportunities to you—in business, industry, research and development, education, communications, pollution abatement, resource development, economic development in foreign countries, conservation, recreation, or urban agriculture.

Agriculture is science—biological, social, and physical. That is the reason agriculture needs college-educated men and women, ideally from all ethnic backgrounds.

Mechanization, improved crops and livestock, crops that resist insects and diseases, pest attractants, bacteria that destroy harmful residues, and other advances in scientific agriculture are increasing opportunities for those with degrees in agriculture. Food and fiber, in increasing amounts, are being supplied in the United States by fewer people than ever before. But as agriculture succeeds in increasing production with fewer people, graduates with degrees in agriculture are being called to participate in more and more agriculture-related areas.

Various nations (including the United States), battling against malnutrition, pollution, disease, overpopulation, and misunderstanding, are begging for help from those with knowledge provided by a college education in agriculture.

Opportunities for youth with degrees in agriculture today are expanding rapidly in the nonfarming segment—in areas such as manufacturing, processing, distributing, research, marketing, pollution control, conservation, resource development, government service, and foreign aid. *Therefore, agriculture needs young men and women with city backgrounds, as well as youth with rural backgrounds.*

Properly managing natural resources is a national obligation. It involves wise use of land and forests, water and minerals, fish and wildlife; it involves preserving parks and other natural recreational areas (including unspoiled wildernesses, virgin prairies, and scenic riverways). Demands are increasing rapidly for young persons who qualify for such work.

Soil must be managed (not mined); timber must be used wisely to maintain natural ecological balances, and wildlife must be protected, managed, replenished, and "harvested" to maintain balances. Water—needed in cities and on farms—must be protected from pollution, reused, and stored to prevent disasters during droughts. Lack of water more than anything else, limits food production, especially abroad.

Nonrenewable mineral resources—including fuels (oil, gas, coal), which keep agriculture and industry on the move, and construction materials (stone, clay, sand, gravel) which are needed for roadways, public structures, and buildings—must be conserved by wise use. Public areas must be enlarged and protected for increased leisure activities—particularly near population centers.

People with more leisure time are voting for more park facilities and lakes, planned recreational programs, camping sites, hunting preserves, fishing facilities, and areas for water sports and nature studies.

Natural-resource management is important in *urban agriculture*—parks, zoos, gardens, golf courses, open areas, and landscaping; and in city and county planning. A prerequisite for such work is knowledge of proper use of various soils, and the underlying rock strata (the major storehouse of our economic minerals). In some places land-use planning already involves assigning specific areas to their greatest potential use—as farming, mining or quarrying, lumbering, housing development, recreation, and so on.

Youth with degrees in agriculture find employment in state and national soil surveys, in the Soil Conservation Service, in park management, in fish and game propagation and management, in state and national water resources agencies and institutes. At least 25,000 foresters are employed in the U.S. Forest Service, state forestry and educational institutions, and forest-product industries.

Students who study biology, wildlife, forestry, agronomy, chemistry, horticulture, entomology, sociology, geology, engineering, political science, or range management are among those sought to help conserve our natural resources. Such youth are employed by government agencies as well as by private firms interested in mines, parks, game preserves, private hunting and fishing areas, golf courses, commercial nurseries, highways, and fish hatcheries.

HUNGER—MAN'S CONSTANT COMPANION

Throughout history man's primary struggle has been for food and fiber—first from wild animals and plants, then from domesticated animals and cultivated crops.

Feeding, clothing, and housing people have always been the concern of agricultural scientists and the people they serve. It was relatively recently that scientists first, and then the general public, recognized that what man does to his natural environment, land, air, and water must be in harmony with nature, because natural resources are basic to maintaining a civilization.

Land, air, water, the natural environment sustain all forms of life (including man). By ignoring nature or thinking he can "control" nature, man tends to pollute, destroy, or misuse natural resources. That leads to the extinction of some plants and animals. Left unchecked, it would lead to man's extinction.

The general public, being aware of such dangers, is creating a new value system that says *"quality is more important than quantity; greatness is more important than growth."* Quantity goals are being replaced by quality goals.

The new emphasis on quality environment and the new value system already are expanding the need for students (men and women of all ethnic origins) with degrees in agriculture.

It means your generation can devote a lifetime to spreading adequate food, clothes, housing, and a quality environment around the planet earth. The quest for quality will require many with degrees in agriculture.

You can help man come closer to reaching his eternal dream!!!

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

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

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

How long?

MORE HEAT THAN LIGHT

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, I think the following commentary on the House's recent action on the proposed constitutional amendment concerning nondenominational prayers in public buildings is worthy of note.

It was published in the December 2 edition of the RECORD, the official newspaper of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Louisville Ky. The author, who is both a mother and a schoolteacher, makes some significant points about the proper—and permissible—role of Bible reading in the schools.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the following article by Mrs. Mary Jane Mullins entitled, "Court, Congress Critics: More Heat than Light," in the RECORD:

COURT, CONGRESS CRITICS: MORE HEAT THAN LIGHT

(By Mary Jane Mullins)

On Nov. 8, 1971, the House rejected a proposed constitutional amendment to permit "voluntary" prayers or meditation in our public schools. As expected, this rejection has elicited a great deal of emotional, sometimes vituperative comment about the godlessness of our nation's lawmakers and courts. This same kind of reaction greeted the Supreme Court decision in the case of the much maligned Madeline O'Hare who successfully fought "voluntary" prayer in the public schools through our court system.

Unfortunately, the well meaning critics of the court and congress generate much more heat than light. Even in this day of ecumenism, it is difficult to imagine any prayer that would be inoffensive to Jew, Mohammedan, Buddhist and Christian alike without considering the sensibilities of the child from an agnostic or atheistic family. Since the Spirit works as He will, it just might be that both the O'Hare case and the recent stand of the House will ultimately benefit every American patron of the public schools.

At the risk of revealing my age, I can recall that when I was in school, the main and most vehement criticism of the public schools was that they taught the Protestant Bible. Although this argument against the public schools would now be passe for the Catholic even if Protestant prayers and Bibles were still used in the public schools, what about children of other beliefs or unbelief?

In 1947, the National Association of Secondary School Principals met to establish goals for public schools. They formulated what is known as the "Ten Imperative Needs of Youth." Although this important statement included "growth in ethical values," the need for formal prayer in schools was not deemed necessary for inclusion at least as a function of the public schools.

Furthermore, surveys by reputable sociologists have revealed that Catholic schools in which religious beliefs, values and prayers are "taught" do not significantly alter a child's beliefs and practices. The results of such surveys indicate that if a child is from a good religious home he tends to be a "good" Catholic; if he comes from a family with a poor or lax religious background, he tends to be a "poor" Catholic, in spite of an education in Catholic school where religious and moral values are legitimately stressed. In addition, such surveys demonstrate that a public school education does not necessarily produce a "bad" Catholic. Home influence seems to be the determining factor.

As a matter of fact, public schools are not purveyors of godlessness but rather victims of pressure groups; in the case of the "prayer people" of well meaning, religious persons with strong sectarian beliefs. Hopefully this group's present course will remain ineffectual which will ultimately benefit the American public using our public schools. The public schools, however, should not be relegated to the ranks of the godless. It is possible for those of all persuasions to utilize presently available, perfectly legitimate means to introduce the Bible into the public schools, rather than to push for introduction of "voluntary" prayer into our public institutions of learning.

For example, I have yet to hear a critic of the court or congress take truly constructive, easily available action regarding the teaching of the Bible as literature in the public schools. Such teaching is specifically permitted, not prohibited, by the Supreme Court, it is perfectly legal and legitimate in public as well as private schools.

One never hears a great hue and cry to present the Bible in the schools as an inescapable part of our cultural heritage, yet it is just that. In addition, the Bible is unsurpassed as a great work of literature, yet the student is seldom, if ever, from kindergarten through college, offered the opportunity to become intimately acquainted with this great book which is truly an important, integral part of the very warp and woof of our Western civilization.

Even austerely approached as a great work of literature, the Bible presents ethical and moral values which are inextricably interwoven into American culture. Yet, how many of our youth, in either public or Catholic schools, are aware of the progress in civilization, wisdom, and morality chronicled in the Old Testament?

In simple teaching for aesthetic value of the Bible, the reader is inevitably faced with the inescapable moral and ethical values contained therein, for they are a part of the very fabric of the Bible. Yet it seems evident that most, if not all, of our students remain pathetically ignorant of a major part of their heritage, for the entire Bible, both Old and New Testaments, is rarely taught, even as literature in either our public or Catholic schools. Yet this is an avenue that is legally open to all. We should advocate and take advantage of it.

ECONOMICS, FREE ENTERPRISE, LESS FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Dr. James F. Miles is associate professor of agricultural economics at Clemson University. Dr. Miles has long been associated with efforts to restore the architecture and to develop the great cultural heritage of South Carolina's Pendleton District, with its heritage of John C. Calhoun, the Pinckneys, and the Pickens. Dr. Miles, who holds a Ph. D. from Cornell University and was a member of Phi Beta Kappa at the University of South Carolina, is author of more than 30 publications. The latest is entitled "Economics, Free Enterprise, Less Federal Government."

Here is a part of what was said about Dr. Miles' new book by his publishers, Key Printing Co. of Greenville, S.C.:

ECONOMICS, FREE ENTERPRISE, LESS FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

This is the kind of book businessmen have been wanting college professors to write and to teach. This is a book businessmen will want to read and to quote, and to get a copy of for their sons. They will want their employees to read it. They will want to send copies to their senators and to their congressmen. This book is good free enterprise economics, and it is good business.

The author dramtically alerts the reader to the rapidly growing federal government by citing the tremendous costs of various government programs, many of which the author thinks we would be better off without. Too many tax dollars are going to Washington. Support of the federal government is becoming burdensome. As a minimum, the federal government takes a dollar out of every five a person earns. The average person in the United States is working about one-fourth of his time to support the federal government—January, February, and March of every year, or from 8:00 to 10:00 every day for the federal government. If "the least government is the best government," the United States is going in the wrong direction. It is time for the citizens to call a halt.

This book states a strong preference for local government over federal government, and calls for a systematic rollback in the size and programs of the federal government of at least ten percent a year.

DAIRY IMPORTS

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, whether one accepts the concept of import quotas or not, the fact remains that various quotas which apply to many agriculture import items are valid as an exception to the international trading rules established by GATT. In addition, section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act authorizes the President to establish import render or tend to render ineffective or materially interfere with price support programs conducted by the Department of Agriculture. It is important that where such valid quotas exist every effort should be made to apply them equitably; in other words, to plug up all possible loopholes.

Over the last 5 years, the Tariff Commission has held at least four sets of hearings on the issue of dairy imports. In each instance, Presidential action followed which intended to close the latest loopholes, but each time the importers would devise new methods of evasion.

In January 1969, a number of cheeses were placed under quota. It was decided, however, that any cheese in categories which cost 47 cents or more would be exempt from the quota. This exemption was designed to allow continued importation of specialty cheeses which are not normally manufactured in the United States.

What has happened in practice, however, is that the importers have found ways to evade the 47-cent price cutoff, so that by 1970 imports of "over 47 cents" cheeses had risen dramatically, and now account for nearly 25 percent of all dairy imports.

On March 12, 1971, the President requested the Tariff Commission to make recommendations dealing with this new evasion. Hearings were held, and on July 28, the Tariff Commission recommended that the 47-cent price cutoff be abolished, and that a quota be established for all types of cheese, regardless of price.

Although the President made his request 8 months ago, and nearly 4 months have passed since the Tariff Commission made its recommendation for a new loophole-free plan, there has been no further action by the White House.

Followthrough is essential to maintaining confidence in the efficacy of government. I urge the President to follow through on the Tariff Commission's recommendations in the interests of government, and equity for the dairy industry.

A CONTRACT YIELDS PAROLE IN MINNESOTA

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, one of Minnesota Gov. Wendell R. Anderson's appointees—David Fogel as Commissioner of Corrections—is receiving national recognition for his innovative programs. A Sunday, December 12, New York Times story by Seth S. King looks at one of these programs.

Prisoners are encouraged to sign contracts with prison authorities. These contracts establish the terms of the prisoner's rehabilitation program. A Minnesota correctional official points out that—

The key is the obvious one of drawing a contract that will require a prisoner to do the things that will result in behavioral changes—changes that will keep him from committing that same crime again. We have been able to diagnose the causes of his behavior. It's the therapy and treatment that have failed.

With Governor Anderson's leadership and with the dedication of State corrections officials, I am confident that Minnesota will continue to administer a humane and effective corrections program.

The New York Times article follows:

A CONTRACT YIELDS PAROLE IN MINNESOTA

(By Seth S. King)

STILLWATER, MINN., December 10.—Prisoner X, like most of the inmates at Stillwater Prison, is about 32 years old, white, unskilled, and has a ninth-grade education. He has probably been a burglar and, like 80 per cent of his fellow inmates, he has been convicted at least twice and probably has a drug or an alcohol problem.

All felons in Minnesota except first-degree murderers receive indeterminate sentences, and Prisoner X may be confined at Stillwater for a period of up to 10 years.

In the past, the time Prisoner X spent inside the walls depended on the parole board, which could release him when it decided he should go. Most prisoners are spending about 34 months at Stillwater, situated in eastern Minnesota, 16 miles northeast of St. Paul.

Now, under a new system prepared by the Minnesota Department of Corrections, Prisoner X can automatically walk out at the end of whatever time it takes him to fulfill the terms of a contract he has signed with prison officials. He may commit himself in the contract to completing courses for a high school diploma while he spends a year or two completing a keypunch apprenticeship course.

He would agree to spend a specific number of hours in group therapy sessions as well as undertake to demonstrate his ability to discipline himself and observe prison work and living rules.

If he had any record of violence, he would have to agree to prove exceptionally good behavior during the contract period. He might also have to commit himself to participate in Alcoholics Anonymous or drug therapy meetings and, if he is married, to complete a 12-week marriage-relations course at the prison.

It may take Prisoner X two or three years or longer to meet the provisions of his contract; or he might speed up his work and fulfill them sooner. The amount of time he spends completing his agreed obligations will not be a factor in securing his release.

David Fogel, Minnesota's new Commissioner of Corrections, believes this is the first time that such a formal contract system has been tried anywhere in the United States with adult prisoners.

"It's no panacea and it may not work at all with the type of repeated offender for whom prison is a permanent life style," he said. "But it can give two highly desirable results—it may reduce some of the caprice in parole decisions and it should give an inmate a sense of purpose and some hope."

Minnesota already has an extensive probation and release system. While the rate of reported crimes has not declined, only 19 per cent of those convicted of felonies are now sent to prison.

The total inmate population of 839 at Stillwater Prison and 570 at the St. Cloud Reformatory, Minnesota's two maximum-security institutions, is about half what it was 10 years ago.

Both prisons are comparatively well equipped and neither is crowded. Less than 20 per cent at either institution are black. While there have been racial tensions at both, they have been minor compared with those in prisons in New York, Illinois, California and Michigan.

But nearly half the prisoners who serve sentences at Stillwater or St. Cloud commit new crimes once they are released and are soon back in again.

"It's obvious that what we're doing now hasn't been very successful in correcting them," said Charles Gadbois, assistant superintendent for training and treatment at St. Cloud, which is in central Minnesota, about 60 miles northwest of Minneapolis.

"And today we're getting a new type of prisoner everywhere," he went on. "The old cons used to come to do their time and try to get themselves back into society. Today, prisoners come in bitter and alienated, believing it's society and not them that's to blame. They're really an immature generation. But many of them, underneath, want to be somebody, to do something and see an effect. Fulfilling a contract could be the way to do that."

CONTRACTS OPTIONAL

Only those prisoners who want to sign contracts will be offered them, Mr. Gadbois said, adding that it was possible that an inmate might spend more time in prison fulfilling a contract than the parole board would require of him without it.

"The inmate code requires them to do everything to con their way out, and some of them may think they can use the contract to do that," he said. "We're saying fine, because the game is going to be rigged so that, if they play it, they'll come out of prison less likely to commit a crime again."

"The key," he said, "is the obvious one of drawing a contract that will require a prisoner to do the things that will result in behavioral changes—changes that will keep him from committing that same crime again. We have been able to diagnose the causes of his behavior. It's the therapy and treatment that have failed."

THE U.N. AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the action of the United Nations in expelling the Republic of China was truly a moment of infamy. The following is a splendid letter and resolution from General Ho Ying-chin, President of the United Nations Association of the Republic of China. General Ho, who was Commander in Chief of Allied Forces in the China Theater during World War II, makes it clear that the Republic of China will, despite this treachery, continue to be guided by the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The material referred to follows:

THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA,
TAIPEI, TAIWAN, *November 11, 1971.*

Hon. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. REPRESENTATIVE DORN: Your kind letter of October 18 has been received. I am grateful for your determined position on and vigorous struggle for safeguarding UN Charter and upholding international justice in supporting the rightful position of the Republic of China in the United Nations. The photostat copies of your letter have been not only conveyed to our congressmen and members of this Association but also publicized to all of our people. I am sure that they will join me to pay their hearty respects and thankfulness to you for your precious friendship.

The 26th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, in violation of Article 18 of the UN Charter voted down the "Important Question" resolution drafted by your country and in abnegation of Article 4, 6, 23 of the Charter adopted Albanian resolution of admitting the Chinese Communist regime into the United Nations and the Security Council before midnight of October 25th. This moment will surely be shown in history as human humiliation. Minister Chow Shu-Kai, Chief Delegate of the Delegation of the Republic of China to the 26th UN General Assembly, in view of the fact that the United Nations has abandoned its lofty goal upon which the world organization was founded through the sponsorship and help of our two countries twenty six years ago and that thus the world body has lost its basic principles for survival, announced the withdrawal of the Republic of China from United Nations. The withdrawal has won an unanimous support of all members of this Association as well as all the people of this country.

During the time of Second World War, I was assigned by President Chiang Kai-shek as the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Allied Forces in China Theater to fight aggression shoulder by shoulder with your brave soldiers. I was once the Premier of this country after the Second World War. When the United Nations was established, I was designated as the first Chief of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of China to the United Nations Military Staff Committee that gave me a great deal of opportunity to be acquainted with your political and military leaders. In my experience gained in dealing with your people, I fully aware that the principles and ideals on respecting freedom, democracy, justice and truth upon which the United States was founded coincide with the Chinese cultural tradition of peace-loving and justice-upholding and with the spirits of United Nations Charter. During the past century, whenever the free and democratic culture was at stake, the United States has never hesitated to rise with their moral force of justice and righteousness to save the world from crisis. The United States has thus won the trust and leadership of the democratic world. The close cooperation and profound friendship between our two peoples has been also thus laid down their foundation.

The United Nations has now signed its own death sentence by admitting its condemned regime into the world organization. The Chinese Communist will be surely to utilize the international forum as an instrument for infiltration and subversion in the international community in order to differentiate and destroy the moral force of the free world. In order to strengthen the world moral strength of justice and democracy and further to save the world from its crisis, a close cooperation between our two governments and peoples is absolutely necessary. I have learned from recent news reports that, in view of the illegal resolution adopted by the current United Nations Session you have repeatedly called for international justice and rejected a repeal of "Formosa Resolution". I am here paid my highest respects and thankfulness again for your righteous action.

President Chiang Kai-shek declared on October 26th: "Although the Republic of China has withdrawn from the United Nations which we helped establish, we shall continue to be guided by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter in the international Community and also we shall continue to fight courageously for international truth and justice and for the world peace and security." This Association will continue our struggle to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter. The joint meeting of the members of the Boards of Directors and Supervisors of this Association has adopted a resolution to extend our respects and gratitude for your strong support to this nation and for your vigorous calls for world justice.

I enclosed herewith a copy of my statement of this Association's position on the matter of the withdrawal of the Republic of China from the United Nations. Hoping it will be conveyed to your kind colleagues.

With my kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

HO YING-CHIN,
President.

A STATEMENT BY GEN. HO YING-CHIN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA, OCTOBER 27, 1971

The twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly, in utter disregard of righteousness and justice, and in violation of the provisions of Articles 4, 18 and 23 of the Charter, rejected the resolution proposed by the United States of America and other democratic countries to designate any proposal for the expulsion of the Republic of China an important question, but adopted instead the resolution for the expulsion of the Republic of China and admission of the Chinese Communist regime proposed by Albania and other countries which are currying favour with the Chinese Communists. This is tantamount to inviting disaster to the United Nations itself and destroying its own future. Henceforward this sacred and solemn international organization will become a place where Machiavellian machinations of power politics will grow reckless. It will disintegrate and decompose with time. As a result the world situation will gradually move closer to disorder and chaos. This Association resolutely opposes to the validity of this illegal resolution of the current session of United Nations General Assembly which was adopted in flagrant violation of the provisions of its own Charter.

The fact that Albania should have had its scheme eventually realized by taking advantage of the mob psychology has proved that a number of nations, fearful of the threat of the group of violence, have abnegated the Charter of the United Nations vainly hoping for a peace of humiliation. However, this hallucination of appeasement is certain to be completely dissipated after the Chinese Communist bandit regime usurps the seats in both the General Assembly and the Security Council, and these very nations will then eat their own bitter fruit.

It has been well known to the whole world that the Republic of China, ever since it initiated and played an active role in the establishment of the United Nations Organization, had strictly observed the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and faithfully fulfilled the obligations of a member nation. On the other hand, the Chinese Communist bandit regime, ever since its being formally condemned by the United Nations General Assembly as an aggressor on the 1st of February, 1951 for its invasion of the Republic of Korea by force, not only has its roaring blaze of aggression not been curtailed, but has turned from bad to worse by creating numerous disturbances in different parts of the world, not to mention the preposterous plans for the destruction of the United Nations as advocated by Mao Tse-tung. And yet, many pro-Chinese Communist countries should choose to adopt the resolution for the admission of the Chinese Communists proposed by Albania when the Chinese Communists had either indicated their willingness to support world peace or their readiness to apply for U.N. membership. It is particularly lamentable that the authorities of a certain number of countries should have no remembrance of the material and moral support given them by the United States which saved them from certain destruction in the two world wars, and chose to join the camp of Chinese Communists Supporters, thus degrading their national dignity.

Having undergone such a calamity, the sanctity of the United Nations Charter and justice have been violated. Only the outer image of the United Nations is left while its inner life is already dead. Not only it has no more power to settle the tense situation of the world, but owing to the illegal participation of the Chinese Communist regime the United Nations will instead become into an arena for the so-called "International United Front". As a result we are apprehensive that this critical situation will lead to another world war and invite irretrievably once again a scourge to mankind. The timely announcement made by our country to withdraw from the organization that has destroyed its own Charter and degraded itself into a den of calamities and disasters, is indeed an act of wisdom. It no doubt is supported unanimously by our whole nation.

Although the Republic of China has already withdrawn from this international organization, we shall continue to be guided by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter in the international community and shall continue to fight for the upholding of international right and justice, and for the vindication of world peace and security. On this occasion, we wish to express our profound gratitude to the governments, parliaments and peoples of the United States of America, Japan and other friendly nations for their efforts in support of our legal status and rights in the United Nations and their appeal for justice. All of our fellow citizens shoud abide faithfully by the guidance and instructions of our President Chiang Kai-shek: " we are not fearful, or disappointed, and do not cheat ourselves when the storm comes; all of us should strengthen our will and spirit as the going worsens." We can be sure to break through all adversities, overcome all difficulties, turn the tide and create new opportunities.

CONGRESS FAILS PUBLIC IN FISCAL CONTROL

HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, last August, President Nixon announced the first of a number of measures designed to cure the economic woes of this Nation. Domestically, a 60-day wage-rent-price freeze was imposed, followed by the current period of close controls. Other steps have been taken, to improve our trading and balance-of-payments position in relation to other countries. In order to stimulate the sale of American goods abroad and thereby provide more jobs here in this country, President Nixon has announced that the dollar will be devalued, an action which will also tend to curtail the purchase of goods imported into the United States.

While I request that the past fiscal acts of our Government and Congress have made devaluation necessary, I support Mr. Nixon in these programs as I think most Americans do. The measures the President has put forth should provide some remedies and short-term relief. But we must realize that nothing yet has been done which will really re-establish our economy on a sound footing. That is because we are continuing to spend money far in excess of the taxes gathered and budget limits set. Until we see the folly of this, and put our financial house in order, we can expect an unstable economy, weakening us as a nation and causing uncertainty, heartache, and often deprivation for families and individuals.

As Congress prepared to adjourn for Christmas, I was asked what I thought to be the major failure of the 92d Congress, half way through its 2-year term. Without a doubt, the refusal to adhere to sound economics and sensible spending policies is the biggest debit of the 92d. Although there are some hopeful signs in this area, by and large we have again seen Congressmen scrambling among themselves to see who could give away the most.

For instance, this fall Congress tacked on to the Office of Economic Opportunity appropriation bill an amendment to provide a comprehensive program of child care for American families. Among other things, the bill would have made child development services available free to families of four which have an income of less than $4,320 a year. Officials at HEW estimated that the bill, if fully implemented, would cost an additional $20 billion per year, over and above what was already in the budget. Just the planning portion for the first year would cost $100 million.

We are fighting a losing battle against inflation if Congress continues to appropriate money like this. No amount of piecemeal belt-tightening here, and half-hearted cutting back there will be adequate if the Congress keeps on appropriating huge amounts of money which can come only through higher taxes, or, more likely, through deficit spending.

Fortunately, President Nixon vetoed the bill. In this case at least, reckless, irresponsible spending was nipped in the bud.

It has become a watchword with me to say that I, as a Congressman, cannot give you anything without first taking it away from you in the form of higher taxes or more inflation. Statistical shuffling will not create money where none exists, regardless of what some generous public officials seem to think. We cannot spend ourselves rich over the long haul. At a given time, we can use an unbalanced budget to stimulate a depressed economy. But continual use of the unbalanced budget, as we have seen it used for so long in this country, only means that you and I are earning dollars that are worth less and less. The dollar now buys less than one-third of what it bought before the Second World War. But of course, I do not have to tell you about this. Every time you pay your grocery bill, or buy a new car, or pay your taxes, it hits home.

As always seems to be the case, when the Government does not have the money to pay for a program, it just squeezes the middle-class citizen a little harder. When I traveled through Georgia in August, I talked to hundreds of citizens who are sick and tired of a government that feels it can pay for anything, no matter how expensive and no matter how useless, and then turns to the taxpayer to ante up. The past decade has seen more social welfare spending than ever before. And, as I said earlier, no matter how well-intended a program is, it can only come about by taking something away from somebody. In August, Georgians told me that they are tired of being "taken."

Our Government's generosity does not stop at our national borders. In foreign aid, we are just as magnanimous. Since 1946, we have given away $138,446,200,000 in foreign aid. It would be one thing if this money was in the Treasury, already to be spent. But it is not there. So we have borrowed it. In the same period that we have sent this more than $138 billion abroad, we have paid more than $74 billion in interest on what we have had to borrow to give away. That sounds incredible, but it is true.

Let us look at our U.N. commitment for a moment. Now that the United Nations includes Red China, the U.S. population represents only about one-sixth of the U.N. total. But we are committed to furnish well over one-third of the U.N.'s budget during the next fiscal year. There is just nothing equitable about that. We simply cannot continue to spend money we do not have and carry more than our share of the load, unless we are willing to bankrupt ourselves.

Of the 3½ billion people in the world, all but 36 million have received aid from the United States, at a cost of more than 212 billion. Because of this generosity on our part, our public debt as of December 31, 1970, was $391 billion. That figure tops the combined debt of every other nation in the world by 80 billion. That is right, the United States of America owes $80 billion more than all other nations on this earth combined.

There is only one word for statistics like these—frightening. That is why I am glad to see President Nixon blow the whistle on the Child Care bill, which was not included in the budget and would wind up costing Americans $20 billion. That is why I am glad to see more Congressmen willing to reassess our foreign aid programs and our financial commitment to the U.N. These are hopeful signs in what is generally a dismal picture, for, frankly speaking, the tide in Government still runs strong in favor of irresponsible spending.

The efforts of President Nixon to bring about economic stabilization will give us some breathing room. They will hold the line for a while. But if Americans want a sound economy, one based on production rather than give-away, then they must force this issue of spending money that does not exist. We must either insist on sensible spending or be willing to take the consequences of ever-climbing taxes and skyrocketing inflation.

HORTON ECHOES PRAISES FOR CARL STEINFELDT, GENERAL MANAGER OF ROCHESTER RED WINGS

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the city of Rochester, N.Y., has for many years been famous for its sports heroes and champions in various fields of both amateur and professional sports. Scene of the world famous annual Hickok Belt Sports Award dinner, it has been visited by the top echelon of participants and executives of almost every sport.

Its list of baseball greats was considerably lengthened this past season when the Rochester entry in the International League won all the honors, not only as regular season league champions, but also winner of the Governor's Cup Playoffs and Junior World Series.

This is most gratifying to me, not only as a former president of the Rochester Red Wings, but also as a current member of their board of directors. And, I might add, the ball park, Silver Stadium, is within the 36th Congressional District of New York which I represent.

Today, I would like to join those paying tribute to Carl C. Steinfeldt, who at 31 years of age, served his first year as general manager of the Red Wings this past season and now has been named minor league executive of the year by the National Association of Professional Baseball Clubs. This award presented by the national association and the Sporting News publication, carries great distinction, and is this year especially unusual, for Steinfeldt is the first and only person to win it during his first year on the job.

It is the determination and sportsmanship of men like Carl Steinfeldt that have helped to enhance the national interest in sports like baseball.

Other honors came to many members of the 1971 Rochester Red Wings organization. These and the well-deserved praise of Carl Steinfeldt were properly enumerated in a news story in the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle when Carl's award was announced. The story by Jim Castor, I feel, merits the consideration by us all, for indeed the entire Nation always takes pride in those who excel in sports as well as all endeavors.

I would like to share this story now with my colleagues in the Congress and add my congratulations to Carl C. Steinfeldt, talented administrator and an outstanding young sportsman.

The story follows:

STEINFELDT TOP EXEC

(By Jim Castor)

Carl C. Steinfeldt, in his first season as Red Wing general manager, has been named Minor League Executive of the Year by the National Association of Professional Baseball Clubs.

The prestigious front office award is presented annually by the Sporting news and the National Association for "outstanding leadership and promotion" by a minor league executive. Steinfeldt, 31, is the only recipient to win after just one year in office.

"What is this, some kind of a joke?" he laughed in disbelief when told of the results.

"I haven't been around here a year, even, and I'm top executive in the country. It's unbelievable! I'm really thrilled about it. What an honor!

"It goes without saying there are a lot of people besides myself who are responsible for it," he said. "Bill Lang (Red Wing president), Morrie Silver (ex president and general manager now on board of directors), the directors, my front office staff and the park personnel have as much to do with Rochester baseball success as I do.

"And don't forget Bob Turner," he reminded. "Bob was as instrumental as anyone for the kind of season we had. He laid the groundwork for it and I'm sorry he wasn't here to enjoy our success."

Turner resigned as general manager May 19 after a dispute with club directors. Steinfeldt succeeded Turner the following day after serving five years as assistant GM.

Steinfeldt's selection is indicative of the exceptional season Rochester had in 1971, both on the field and in the front office. The Wings swept everything in sight—International League pennant, Governor's Cup Playoffs and Junior World Series.

Attendance records fell like tenpins. A total of 462,000 fans watched baseball at Silver Stadium in '71, best in the minor leagues and an all-time Red Wing attendance record.

Individually, Joe Altobelli, named a month ago, was landslide choice as IL manager of the year; shortstop Bobby Grich was unanimous MVP, home run leader, batting champion and top defensive shortstop; third baseman Mike Ferraro was an unprecedented four-time choice to the all-star team and set the league record for consecutive errorless games (61). Pitcher Roric Harrison won 15 games, was named top righthander in the IL and set the club record for strikeouts in one game (18).

Steinfeldt's meteoric rise to success is helped by an inherited baseball philosophy practiced by former Red Wing GMs Bing Devine, George Sisler Jr., Silver and Turner.

"With so many recreational outlets for people today, the drain on the entertainment dollar is greater than ever," Steinfeldt said. "The Red Wings' philosophy has always been one of energetic promotions, with the baseball fan first and foremost in mind.

Steinfeldt is recognized as one of the game's most energetic and innovative promoters. He spoke recently to general managers of all Triple-A teams at a meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Several GMs came away greatly impressed at the Rochester operation.

"I can see lots of reasons why Rochester is a great baseball town," says A. Ray Smith, GM of the Tulsa Oilers of the American Association.

"There is expert leadership in the front office. I'm impressed by so many facets of your operation—the Knothole Gang, the program, the cooperation of business and industry, the ticket plans and the working agreement with Baltimore. These are things that the general manager controls which help make a solid franchise."

OPERATION BUDDY ANSWERS QUESTION "WHAT CAN ONE PERSON DO?"

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, most people would like to help—to do something to straighten out a lot of problems of individuals and nations. But they consider themselves as only one among many and often wind up frustrated, questioning, "What can one person do?"

Not so with Mrs. Nettie White of Austell, Ga., Paralyzed from her neck down after a freak accident diving in a swimming pool, Mrs. White was told she could not live. She determined to live and in doing so has brought joy and happiness to many. A former WAC, she now works with crippled and hospitalized veterans in the VA hospital in DeKalb County, Ga.

In order for my colleagues to enjoy the inspiring story of Mrs. White as told by Dorothy Nix in The Atlanta Journal and Constitution of Sunday, November 21, 1971, I submit a copy for the RECORD. It follows:

STORY OF THANKSGIVING—"OPERATION BUDDY" OFFERS VETS NEW LEASE ON LIFE

(By Dorothy Nix)

This is a story of thanksgiving and how one thankful heart has been multiplied into many. It also is a story that supplies an answer to the question often posed in a troubled and complex world: "What can one person do?"

This is the story of Operation Buddy, a project aimed at giving hope, confidence and employment to war veterans battered in mind and body.

The program has expanded from the efforts of a woman in a tiny workroom at the VA Hospital here in DeKalb to one with national possibilities, engaging the attention of federal, state and local vocational rehabilitation officials.

Operation Buddy is the brain child of Mrs. Nettie White of Austell who seven years ago was an unlikely candidate to help anyone—even herself. Paralyzed from the neck down after a freak accident diving into a swimming pool, Mrs. White was told she wouldn't live.

Surviving, she was told she would never walk or live a useful life again. Because she was an ex-WAC she was transferred to VA hospitals, at first at Lakeland, Fla., then to the old 48 Hospital in Atlanta.

She did walk, bent double from her massive spinal injuries. Then she began to do what she could in the way of arts and crafts. Under the direction of Pat Miller, hospital recreation head, she was soon helping other veterans lace leather billfolds and regain the use of their hands.

She was an apt teacher because she had been over every painful inch of the road herself. Sometimes she had to give up for three months or a year before she returned to the hospital, half-patient, half volunteer.

The years passed. Her condition improved until no visible trace of her injury remained. But even though she was now the busy mother of five children she spent all the time she could in the day treatment center of the hospital, getting an injured helicopter pilot interested in painting, guiding a brush in the shaking hands of a World War II parachutist who like her had suffered a spinal injury.

The more time she spent, the greater grew her desire to help fellow veterans not only pass trying and tedious days but to help them find the way back to employment and financial independence.

The picture of a wounded soldier struggling back under fire from enemy lines, his buddy on his back, fixed itself in her mind. If people would only make the same effort for men to return to civilian life!

She found there was a market for the small ceramic pieces and the larger statuary the men were painting in the crowded little room which wouldn't accommodate more than two wheelchairs at a time.

But government money can't be used for materials from which veterans make items to sell so Mrs. White in the best GI tradition scrounged, begged and borrowed for what had become Operation Buddy.

"It is a program based on faith with a little cheating and stealing mixed in," she jokes.

When patients ran out of things to paint she went to New York and learned how the men could cast plaster statuary in rubber molds through a process carefully guarded by an Italian immigrant manufacturer. He even allowed her to film his production line.

Not only lack of funds and space to work prevents the expansion of Operation Buddy. The Korean war veteran gives herself no credit for its organization.

"I am the type who will break my neck . . . who will get a wrong assignment on a wrong set of orders at the wrong time and be the only WAC on a troop train of men going west. . . ."

Still she has interested officials from Washington on down. Last week a room full of them gathered at a luncheon meeting here to listen to Mrs. White outline needs of the program.

Present were representatives from the VA in Washington, Sen. Herman Talmadge's office, the state DAV, a local bank, and local county and VA hospital officials.

Dr. G. O. Bern, physical medicine and rehabilitation service chief at the VA hospital, spoke of the benefits he sees patients receiving in the program and Dr. Charles M. Robinson, day treatment psychologist, also testified in its behalf.

"Operation Buddy has enormous potential for aiding patients with a psychiatric disability," he said.

"The opportunity for earning money to contribute to their own support goes a long way toward rebuilding self-confidence and self-respect.

"For many it provides a work experience where they can function under limited pressure, receive close, personal supervision and relearn useful work habits which may enable them to return to public employment more successfully.

"Realistically, many of the more disabled patients will never return to regular jobs. For them the concept of Operation Buddy still has great value. Association with other people in the program, the experience of being productive and being paid for work produced, the opportunity for self-expression creativity—all of these facets promote healthy aspects of the personality and of the individual's functioning."

Bob Baxter of state Vocational Rehabilitation pledged support. Jack Sartain, speaking for the DeKalb County Health Department, said an application is being made for surplus property at old 48 Hospital for a campus-type concept of health services and space for Operation Buddy would be included if these facilities are obtained.

Mrs. White's dream is to see such a sheltered workshop near every VA hospital in the country. Meanwhile, veterans are painting away in a borrowed room at New Hope Baptist Church, Mableton.

"Eighteen of them are out there now," Mrs. White told the meeting. Some of the products have been on sale at Six Flags and department stores have indicated interest when items are produced in sufficient volume. Veterans next may expand into glass and metal projects.

Mrs. White says the loan of an old dwelling house or warehouse and money to buy supplies are needed. "It would be wonderful if churches would buy brushes or paints," she says.

Anyone who wants to help may send donations to Operation Buddy, South Cobb Bank, Mableton 30059.

The Whites have borrowed money to keep the program going. The five White children address envelopes at night and make ceramic figurines for the men to paint on the next day. Mr. White keeps hooks for the program.

RECORD OF FIRST SESSION, 92D CONGRESS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, much of the story of the first session of the 92d Congress has been written in the last 4 months. Much of that story concerns our Nation's economic health. This is not to suggest that our efforts before the August recess were less noteworthy. Rather the administration did not react to our economic plight until August when President Nixon announced phase I of the wage-price freeze, a complete reversal of his earlier policies. Faced with severe economic dislocation for nearly 3 years, the Congress has continually provided both leadership and support for the President in coming to grips with our inflationary recession. We are not out of the woods yet and there is deep concern that the administration's delay in recognizing the seriousness of the problem may dampen a quicker recovery.

The Congress can be proud of the record it has written in the first session. With the economic field, the health field, human resources and social welfare, foreign policy, environmental and consumer protection, law enforcement, and governmental reform the Congress has demonstrated its willingness to meet its responsibilities. Obviously, each proposal we fashion into law does not satisfy every demand; under our system of government of checks and balances, of give and take, the end product reflects that which is attainable. What has been attained during this session reflects the spirit in the Congress that it is responsible for conducting the public business in a manner conducive to the national well-being.

THE ECONOMIC FIELD

The Economic Stabilization Act of 1971 provides for an extension of the Executive power to maintain wage and price controls. We have been able to see from the actual workings of the President's policies how this legislative extension needed to be modified to correct some of the inequities in the present program that threaten to hurt more than they help. Since 1969, the cost of living has increased 20 percent, while our economic growth has risen only 3.8 percent—$74 billion below the economy's potential. Hopefully, the situation will improve as the President utilizes his new authority.

Narrowing our scope to tax reform, I am happy to report more streamlined taxation formulas, such as increasing the individual deduction to $675 in the Tax Reform Act, which will prove beneficial to the individual taxpayer.

Unemployment continues to be a serious problem. The overall unemployment rate is 6 percent; since January 1969 an additional 2 million Americans are now unemployed, including highly skilled engineers and teachers. Over 10 percent of our black Americans are unemployed, with their unemployment rate close to 40 percent in our central cities. Unfortunately, the President vetoed the accelerated public works measure designed to combat unemployment and help local governments meet pressing local water and sewer requirements.

Fortunately, he did sign the Emergency Employment Act, which authorized $2.25 billion for public service employment and related training and manpower services. This is not enough, however, and certain new measures scheduled for the next session promise to accomplish a great deal in restoring health to our employment picture, such as the legislation I have introduced to create 500,000 public service jobs.

The decline of our economy since 1969 has affected the American farmer, who receives the same amount for his corn and wheat that he received in the 1940's, at a time when farm costs are increasing and food prices to the consumer are also increasing. In an effort to repair some of the damage, the House approved the emergency grain reserve bill, which should improve the prices of agricultural commodities for the purpose of strengthening our food markets. Senate action is pending.

THE HEALTH FIELD

The Congress passed a $1.6 billion attack on cancer and a comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act. Health manpower has become a serious problem and by providing loans for medical students, nurses, and construction assistance grants for schools in the health professions, we should be able to reduce our adverse doctor and nurse to patient ratio to a more suitable level. Another House-passed measure provides assistance to State medical schools.

Attention has been turned to the plight of those afflicted with serious diseases other than cancer, such as sickle cell anemia which affects some 50,000 black Americans.

Black lung disease, which debilitates coal miners, has also been a source of concern, and the House approved an improved program of benefits for those affected.

HUMAN RESOURCES AND SOCIAL WELFARE

The Higher Education Act of 1971, passed by the House and Senate, will provide necessary fiscal relief to our institutions of higher learning. The institutional aid formula will provide Federal assistance on a per capita student basis. I know this will help the colleges in the St. Clair/Madison County area meet their increasing financial burdens of providing quality education.

Both Houses of Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1971, an innovative provision of which would establish a program for a broad range of educational, nutritional, and health services to preschool children. However, the bill was vetoed by the President.

The Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act amendments would permit treatment methods such as the use of methadone, that would control and eliminate the dependence on addicting drugs. Hopefully, the Senate will act on this House-passed bill early in the next session of Congress.

Also awaiting action by the Senate are the Social Security Act Amendments of 1971, which passed the House on June 22. This legislation was delayed by the Senate at the request of the President. It includes a 10-percent across-the-board increase to complement the 5-percent increase that was voted effective January 1, 1971.

The House passed two bills important to our veterans. The one expands the drug treatment program for veterans; the other extends hospital and medical care benefits to veterans' dependents.

Steps were taken to offset the Department of Agriculture's attempt to limit the national school lunch program by insuring that every needy school child receives a free or reduced-price lunch.

ENVIRONMENT AND CONSUMER PROTECTION

The House-passed Federal Environmental Pesticide Control Act of 1971 is a step forward in more comprehensive regulation and control over the manufacture, distribution, and use of pesticides which may be harmful to human health.

Fourteen billion dollars is written into the Water Quality Standards Act of 1971, as passed by the Senate, for the purpose of waste treatment plant construction, plus an additional $2 billion for various other water pollution abatement programs. To establish as Federal policy the goals of making the Nation's waters suitable for fish propagation and swimming by 1981 and of terminating all discharges of pollution into navigable waters by 1985, I urge early passage by the House in the next session.

I am glad to have played a part in the securing an additional appropriation of $8 million for the Kaskaskia River navigation program which insured the continuance of 450 jobs in our area which would otherwise have been lost.

For fiscal year 1971, the Congress appropriated a total $33,480,000 for seven area flood control and navigation projects designed to protect and develop our waterways and communities. The projects include St. Clair-Madison County interior flood program, $250,000 for advance engineering and design; Cahokia Dam construction, $500,000; Kaskaskia navigation project construction, $24,710,000 including the $8,000,000 supplemental appropriation; Alton lock and dam No. 26, advance engineering and design, $1,700,000; Mississippi River navigation channel, operation and maintenance, $6,103,000; Chain of Rocks navigation construction, $200,000; and Silver Creek, general investigation, $25,000.

Zeroing in on more effective consumer protection, the House sent to the Senate the Consumer Protection Act of 1971, which would abolish the outmoded Food and Drug Administration and establish an Office of Consumer Affairs within the Executive Office of the President and an independent Consumer Protection Agency which would set regulations and represent the consumer in certain court suits.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Our crime problem hurts the most when the criminals are juveniles. Congress has enacted the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act to establish an interdepartmental Council on Juvenile Delinquency to coordinate all Federal delinquency programs and to provide financial assistance to State and local enforcement agencies to deal with this problem. Also, the Congress voted additional funding for the comprehensive study of how better to deal with the marihuana and drug abuse problem.

FOREIGN POLICY

The so-called winding down or Vietnamization of the Indochinese conflict is progressing steadily, but there is still room for accelerated troop withdrawals to end the bloodshed as soon as possible. I succeeded in having my Vietnam cease-fire resolution adopted as an amendment to the Military Selective Service Act of 1971, and I have also introduced another resolution to take advantage of the traditional holiday truce by urging a U.S.-initiated cease-fire to extend indefinitely past the holiday period. Our troops, of course, have the right to defend themselves.

The Pakistan-India conflict is of serious concern to the Congress. Certainly we do not want to see the United States involved in another conflict, and serious concern has been expressed over our policies to date. Observers have suggested that the United States by criticizing the Government of India has diminished our chances of remaining neutral in the conflict, tended to reinforce the Russia-India, China-Pakistan lineup, seemingly placed us morally and politically on the side of West Pakistan which has brutally suppressed the East Pakistanis and has restricted our maneuverability with India.

Clearly, President Nixon's forthcoming trip to mainland China is an important change in American foreign policy. As I reported to my constituents after my trip to the Far East with House Speaker ALBERT, concern was expressed over the fate of Taiwan China. It has been my position that if a delegation from mainland China were admitted to the United Nations, the Taiwan-Chinese delegation should retain its membership. Unfortnately, the United Nations voted the other way. We can only hope that the President's trip will establish the groundwork for leading to the peace we all seek.

In the Middle East, the people of Israel still face hostile neighbors who are being supported by Soviet men and materials. Unfortunately, the sale of F-4 Phantom jets to Israel has been reportedly held up for over half a year. The Congress has voted financial credits and has encouraged the administration to assist Israel in meeting its military needs. Toward this goal, I have introduced a resolution calling for the sale of the delayed aircraft to Israel.

GOVERNMENTAL REFORM

Congress, mindful of its responsibilities to the American people, implemented the use of record teller votes for the first time, thus permitting the recording of votes on amendments. This reform has resulted in an 80 percent increase in the number of record votes, a 150 percent increase in the number of Members voting, and record votes for the first time on a number of major issues involving our domestic priorities. Additionally, both the Democratic caucus and the Republican conference modified the seniority system to encourage more leadership opportunities for newer Members.

The House moved toward assuring the legal equality of women by passing the equal rights amendment. Senate action is pending.

One of the most important events during the 92d Congress was ratification of the constitutional amendment extending the right to vote to citizens eighteen years of age or older in all elections. Our young citizens now have the opportunity to become even more actively involved in the electoral process.

Another important aspect of the electoral process involves campaign election reform. The Congress passed the first major legislation in 46 years designed to hold down campaign costs and reveal the source and use of contributions. It imposes a ceiling on the amounts candidates for President and Congress can spend on television and other costly advertising.

Obviously, expenditure limits is only one side of the problem. The source of funds must also be considered. The Congress, in the 1971 Tax Reform Act, moved toward expanding the base of fund raising by enabling taxpayers to claim a credit against their income tax for one-half of their political contributions with a maximum credit of $25. As an alternate to the credit, individuals are permitted to deduct their political contributions up to $100 in the case of a joint return. These provisions apply to contributions made in 1972 and after. A third provision was enacted; the so-called check-off procedure for financing Presidential election campaigns. Taxpayers can designate that the dollar they check off either may be set aside for the candidate of a specific political party or they can designate that it be set aside in a nonpartisan general account or they can make no designation at all. This provision goes into effect in 1976.

In conclusion, the Congress has acted responsibly toward meeting the Nation's public needs. Because of the concern over the impact of Government spending on efforts to control inflation, the Congress cut administration spending requests by over $1.6 billion in nonessential areas while adding funds to important domestic programs. The first session served in part for establishing the legislative priorities for the second session. These priorities include welfare reform, revenue sharing, trade legislation, pension protection and completion of action on bills acted on in the first session. New proposals will be offered and considered carefully on their merits.

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM F. RYAN'S ANNUAL QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in responding to the annual Ryan poll, residents of Manhattan's West Side, Washington Heights and Inwood have overwhelmingly supported an immediate end to the Vietnam War; the protection of freedom of the press; increasing social security benefits; and a Federal take-over of all welfare costs.

Locally, they expressed their concern about crime, believing overwhelmingly that New York City streets are not generally safe.

My office sent out our annual questionnaire at the end of June to residents of the 20th Congressional District of New York. A total of some 9,400 individuals answered the poll.

It is interesting to note that, well before President Nixon announced his planned trip to Peking and new initiatives toward China, 83 percent of the sample stated that the United States should support Communist China's admission to the United Nations. Further, long before the President implemented his new economic policy, with its wage-price-rent controls, 72 percent primarily favored the use of such wage and price controls.

About 50 percent said they considered themselves liberals. More than a third considered themselves "middle of the road." And 12 percent said they were conservatives.

Asked if the administration had been doing a generally good job, 63 percent said not in handling Vietnam, 59 percent said not in handling the Middle East situation; 67 percent said not generally in foreign affairs, and 87 percent said not generally in domestic affairs.

Following are the results:

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Vietnam—I favor withdrawing all American troops immediately, 50%; by December 31, 1971, 32%; only as the Vietnamese take over, 13%; a U.S. military victory, 5%.
2. China—The United States should support Communist China's admission to the United Nations. Yes, 83%; No, 17%.
3. Soviet Jewry—The United States should do more to help Jewish citizens of the Soviet Union. Yes, 63%; No, 37%.
4. New York Times—I believe the New York Times acted properly in publishing the secret Pentagon study on Vietnam. Yes, 79%; No, 21%.
5. Welfare—The Federal government should take over all State and local welfare costs. Yes, 82%; No, 18%.
6. Guaranteed annual income—I favor a Federal guaranteed annual income for a family of four of $2,400—8%; $4,000—20%; $6,500—35%; no guaranteed income—37%.
7. Marijuana—I favor legalizing possession of marijuana. Yes, 52%; No, 48%.
8. Narcotics—The United States should cut off foreign aid to countries that permit narcotics to be shipped to the United States. Yes, 84%; No, 16%.
9. Social Security—I favor increasing Social Security benefits by 15%—26%; by 50%—35%; an increase but neither of those, 32%; no increase, 7%.
10. Inflation—I favor primarily tight money and high interest rates, 4%; a ceiling on interest rates, 12%; wage and price controls, 72%; none of these, 12%.
11. Draft—I favor continuing the draft, 18%; an all-volunteer Army, 35%; no student deferments, 17%; alternate service in non-military ways, 30%.
12. TV News—Television news programs generally are accurate portrayals of the day's events, 54%; have a conservative bias, 21%; have a liberal bias, 25%.
13. FBI—J. Edgar Hoover should resign as Director of the FBI. Yes, 72%; No, 28%.
14. Crime—New York City streets generally are safe. Yes, 10%; No, 90%.
15. Crime—More foot policemen should patrol the streets. Yes, 92%; No, 8%.
16. Crime—I have been the direct victim of street crime. Yes, 34%; No 66%.
17. Corrections—Correctional institutions are generally effective in rehabilitating criminals. Yes, 8%; No, 92%.
18. Wiretapping—Wiretapping should be permitted only with a court order, 53%; at the discretion of the Attorney General without a court order, 19%; never, 28%.
19. Health care—Comprehensive health care should be provided by the Federal government for all citizens, 70%; only for those who cannot afford it, 23%; through private means, 7%.
20. Nixon—The Nixon Administration has been doing a generally good job in handling Vietnam. Yes, 27%; No, 63%.
21. Nixon—The Nixon Administration has been doing a generally good job in handling the Middle East situation. Yes, 41%, No, 59%.
22. Nixon—The Nixon Administration has been doing a generally good job in foreign affairs. Yes, 33%; No, 67%.
23. Nixon—The Nixon Administration has been doing a generally good job in domestic affairs. Yes, 13%; No. 87%.
24. Attitude—I consider myself generally liberal, 52%; conservative, 12%; middle of the road, 36%.

REMARKS BY HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, with permission to revise and extend remarks I insert the remarks of the Honorable GRAHAM PURCELL before the National Agricultural Aviation Association, Dallas, Tex., December 7, 1971:

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE GRAHAM PURCELL

I greatly appreciate the opportunity to be here with you today. I have learned a great deal about the National Agricultural Aviation Association in talking with your very capable Executive Director, Farrell Higbee, and what I have learned is most impressive.

Scientists and historians dispute the exact date on which man may have first appeared on earth. In any case, it is safely recognized that man has inhabited this planet for at least two million years. For well over 99 percent of man's existence he hunted and gathered his food. Anthropologists say he probably never exceeded ten million in number—that's the estimated population that the earth could support under those conditions.

There are now over 3.5 billion people on earth. In hundreds of ways, man has increased the earth's ability to feed its inhabitants.

About ten thousand years ago, he learned to domesticate animals and plants, thus initiating the great transition from hunter to tiller. These people really meant it when they turned their swords into plowshares. Today only a tiny fraction of one percent of the human race still lives by hunting and gathering. The transition is virtually complete.

Scholars agree that the earliest beginnings of agriculture probably occurred in western Asia. Wheat and barley grew there, as did sheep, goats, pigs, cattle, horses, and deer. To this day, some strains of wild barley and wheat still remain there.

In its simplest terms, starting from that point ten thousand years ago, agriculture has been a continuous effort by man to shape his environment to better suit his needs. Man selected certain species of animals and plants—which in nature were quite useful to him as a source of food or clothing—and began favoring these species over all others. For example, wheat, a grain growing naturally in certain areas of the Middle East, is now planted on almost 600 million acres of land once covered by grass or timber.

The history of agriculture is filled with technological advances of varying importance, each one of which increased the earth's ability to sustain a growing population. The development of irrigation agriculture began some 6,000 years ago in the Middle East, probably in the Tigris-Euphrates flood plain. This greatly enhanced man's food-producing capacity.

Roughly 5,000 years ago man discovered that he could harness certain animals much stronger than himself to augment his own muscle power. Once man learned to utilize this source of energy, he was further able to expand his food supply. Early animal-drawn implements were crude—little more than pointed sticks. Hitches were insufficient, often attached directly to the horns of animals. But time and man's ability to think met the challenge and today we have air-conditioned mechanically-powered farm implements.

Interestingly enough, Columbus' voyage in the late 15th century established the link between the Old World and the New as far as crops were concerned. He set in motion an exchange of crops between the two worlds that continues to the present. As this exchange progressed, the world's population-sustaining capacity increased even further.

A good example of the continuing nature of this exchange is grain sorghum. Now the second-ranking feed grain in the United States, it was introduced to the United States in the form of food stores on early slave ships coming from Africa.

Finally, at the beginning of the 19th century, pure-science entered the agriculture picture. A German scientist, von Liebig, identified the importance of the nutrients nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium in plant growth. He demonstrated that soil could be enriched by adding these nutrients in the proper proportions. Eventually farmers learned to substitute fertilizers for land as frontiers disappeared.

It was not until this century, however, that agricultural chemicals gained widespread use as fertilizers and pesticides. Aside from the developments of mechanical power and soil chemistry, the only other major breakthrough for agriculture was in the area of plant genetics. Starting with the work of the European monk, Mendel, plant breeders have now developed sufficient knowledge to alter plant characteristics to fit practically any need. For example, they have extended the northern limit of corn production some 500 miles within the United States. Wheat has been developed which will yield well close to the Equator.

Chemical pesticides are presently going through a development process which parallels the examples which I have outlined. Pesticides were initially used in the late 1800's. As early as 1910 the distribution and use of chemical pesticides reached a level which required Federal regulation for the protection of users, consumers and the general public.

By the late 1940's new plant materials and synthetic chemicals had been developed which greatly increased the number of pesticides available and widened the scope of their usefulness. The Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act was enacted in 1947, as the first truly significant step toward the careful regulation and control under which pesticides are now used.

To those who would shout 'doom" at the mere thought of continued usage of agricultural pesticides, I would strongly and respectfully urge that they wait and consider the subject in its proper historical perspective. As I mentioned earlier, the entire business of agriculture has been nothing more than an effort to alter man's natural environment to suit his own needs for the last ten thousand years.

It was a long, long time between the use of an ox to pull a pointed stick through the ground by its horns and the use of a motorized tractor. But had this development somehow have been prohibited—well, the consequences are too obvious to list.

We are in the midst of the development of further means of improving our ability to produce food and clothing through the use of pesticides. The Swiss scientist, Paul Mueller, who developed DDT, won a Nobel prize in 1948 for doing it. Less than twenty-five years later, its use is being banned in a number of countries.

It is vitally important that herbicide and insecticide development be fostered, not thwarted. If some chemicals are determined unfit—then we must find others. We're no longer able to move onto new land. We've got to do with what we have.

The House of Representatives passed a bill on November 9 which would amend the 1947 Act for the fourth time. The bill is now pending before the Senate Agriculture Committee for their consideration. It is safe to assume that some form of amendments will be passed before the end of 1972.

The House Agriculture Committee spent literally hundreds of hours considering all sides of the role which agricultural chemicals play in the 1970's. I can honestly say that this developmental perspective which I have discussed was maintained throughout our consideration—something which is genuinely in the best interests of every American.

Under the House-passed amendments, the 1947 Act would be extended in its regulation of pesticides to both their manufacture and use. Federal regulatory authorities would govern throughout the States, not just to the interstate commerce of pesticides.

Under the House-passed bill, the registration of pesticide producing establishments would be required. This registration would entail the designation of a use classification for each product of either "general use" or "restricted use." Products under the "restricted use" category would also entail the users being certified or licensed.

Enforcement of pesticide regulations would be strengthened through inspection of establishments as well as books and records, both routine and under warrant, and the taking of samples. Under the present law, only the inspection of books and records is authorized.

The coverage of unlawful acts would be extended beyond the present Act to cover, for example, the misuse of a pesticide or the failure of an establishment to register. "Stop sale," "Stop use," or "remove" orders would be available to the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency when he determines that a violation of the Act has occurred, or when a suspension or cancellation order has been issued.

One of the most highly debated provisions of the House-passed legislation was the scientific review authorization. Throughout our many hearings on the proposed amendments, a very noticeable gap developed between that information which was emotionally inspired and that which was scientifically generated. It was finally decided that the referral to a scientific review committee of issues of scientific fact arising during any administrative action should be provided. This is a step which is wholly consistent with what we all have at stake in the future of the agriculture industry.

This Association has an obvious and vital interest in the development of further regulations affecting the sale and use of agricultural chemicals. Your members, who number over 2,000, operate over 6,100 aircraft which apply some 63 percent of all agricultural pesticides to well over 110 million acres annually.

Your contribution to this country has been overlooked—and in some cases, abused. Among all the other things that might be said to you here today, I would ask that one stick out—"Thank You."

Consider briefly the contributions that agricultural chemicals have made in providing land for other uses—for a better environment. Our production from 17 major crops in 1969, if produced with the yields per acre of 1940, would have required almost 300 million acres more than those actually used. This is an area equivalent to the combined areas of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.

Everyone, whether associated with agriculture or not, should be proud of the tremendous productivity of our Nation's agriculture. In the centuries of man's dependence on agriculture, crop acreage tended to increase with population. A reversal of this trend came only during our generation. Only through continued research and development can we hope to meet food needs without removal of land now required for recreation, expanding cities—and very importantly—conservation.

The knowledge of this need and the practical experience which you have would be invaluable to the Senate as it now takes up this legislation. I would urge each one of you to study these proposals, familiarize yourselves with some of the major problem areas as you see them, and most importantly, let the Senate know about your interest and concern as an Association.

Above all, I would urge you to remember that your role constitutes an integral part in the continued development of an industry that got its start 10,000 years ago. It is to your advantage as businessmen, and in the nation's interest as consumers of food and fiber products, to remember that the goal of technological farming is a continued supply of goods which too many people have come to take for granted.

The stakes are far too high to let the further development of insecticide and herbicide application slip through our fingers. I am genuinely convinced that the House-passed amendments are consistent with the demands of a better environment and a continuous top-notch food supply.

But more important than the merits of this bill is the overriding fact that we are all, in the end, striving for the same thing. It makes no difference whether you are a rancher or farmer, an agribusinessman, an ecologist or naturalist, or an advocate of/or against pesticides. We are first interested in making a decent living for ourselves and our families. All people—and above all, the individuals and groups who would have us eliminate pesticides—must realize that the very existence of every field of endeavor beyond the production of food is possible because there is enough food to support those additional desires.

This Association has played an important role up to now in furthering man's greatest challenge. I urge you to lend your expertise as an Association toward the continuing development of this ten thousand year-old business of agriculture.

HORTON JOINS SALUTE TO MRS. JOHN L. BENNETT

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, if there is a key word in everyone's search for the answers to most all of today's problems, that word is "involvement." The universal plea is that concerned people must become personally involved to help solve the problems facing us.

It is fitting then that we take note of sincere personal involvement when it does occur and that we express our appreciation for it.

A constituent of mine, Mrs. John L. Bennett of Mendon, N.Y., is devoting much of her energies and many of her talents to being involved in a rather unique service to the community.

She is a wife, a mother of three young adults, and only recently the recipient of a degree from the State University College at Geneseo. With all of her many responsibilities, she finds time these days to be the first volunteer probation officer trainee in the Monroe County Family Court.

It was, indeed, a well-earned tribute that was paid Mrs. Bennett recently in the Rochester Times-Union. Authored by Jose Echaniz, Jr., the feature story gives background material on Mrs. John Bennett and while so doing, points up the fact that this is far from the first time this enthusiastic lady has contributed to the betterment of the communities in which she has lived.

She is truly an outstanding example of one who takes seriously the challenge to become personally involved. Hers is an example that people across the Nation can emulate. Problem solving on a person to person basis is among the finest contribution one can make.

I would like to join in saluting Mrs. John L. Bennett and thank her for her efforts toward making this a better world. Now I would like to share with my collegues in the Congress the Times-Union salute to this fine young woman.

The story follows:

TIMES-UNION SALUTES MRS. JOHN L. BENNETT

(By Jose Echaniz, Jr.)

Mrs. John L. Bennett has been on several boards and committees, but as the first volunteer probation officer trainee in Family Court here, she's found that "this job is strictly a one-to-one relationship."

It's a new experience in which she deals with individuals or families in attempting to handle a variety of problems. A probation officer is "a social worker in a legal setting," she says, and the cases vary widely.

Mrs. Bennett, 41, is a native of Victor. She attended Harley School here and Bard College in Red Hook, and was graduated last January from the State University College at Geneseo.

In the meantime, however, she was married, raised three children, lived four years in Alaska, served on the board of the Anchorage League of Women Voters, helped found a Mendon unit of the League, and served a short time on the board of education of the Honeoye Falls-Lima Central Schools.

In the process of earning a B.A. degree in American Civilization at Brockport, she wrote a paper on Family Court service in Livingston County. She discovered then that the Family Court Act provided for volunteer probation officers.

The work interested her and she subsequently became the first volunteer in the Monroe County court. Family Court has other volunteer aides but she is the first in probation.

County Manager Gordon A. Howe recently cited her for "30 hours of volunteer service each week" and her "independent dedication to Family Court . . . without receiving a salary."

Active since last March, Mrs. Bennett has dealt mainly with those making their first contact with Family Court—young and old, seeking aid for marital problems, support, assault and juvenile problems. And she's looking forward to working in training and supervision of clients under the jurisdiction of the court.

Mrs. Bennett's husband, a civil engineer, is president of Stewart & Bennett, Inc., general contractors. They have three children, Peter, 20, Andrew, 16, and Polly, 14. They live at 100 Cheese Factory Road, Mendon.

RAUL FLORENCIO GUEMES' PROGRESS

HON. DURWALD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, in this day of trial and turmoil, occasionally things come out just right, which restores our faith. Some time ago, I was asked to break the gordian knot of redtape to have a foreign nationalist, who had lost both of his hands and forearms in the line of duty, while dismantling a bomb that had been left by a terrorist group, brought to the United States for expert medical aid and assistance not available in his country.

With the cooperation of the Surgeon General of the Army, the Secretary of Defense, and the Administrator of the Veterans' Administration this was accomplished, after all was properly explained. I have had several reports of officer Raul Florencio Guemes' progress, and his deep appreciation to all, especially those dedicated people who have been working with officer Guemes at the Veterans' Administration Prosthetics Center in New York. He made the trip at this country's expense as a tribute of a grateful Government, and I think these progress reports to the American Embassy in Buenos Aires are self-explanatory, and demonstrate MD—medical diplomacy—in our system where the best technology is available.

The progress reports follow:

Subject: Police Officer Guemes.

1. VA Dr. Peizer reports Guemes treatment progressing extremely well. Guemes has been fitted with temporary mechanical arms, permanent fitting and training to begin this week. Entire time for fitting and training not expected to exceed three weeks.

2. States VA will supply two sets of prosthetic devices: conventional mechanical prosthetic device, and pair of electrically driven hands.

ROGERS.

NOVEMBER 1971.

Subject: Progress Report on Officer Raul Florencio Guemes.

1. VA Hospital New York reports Guemes making outstanding progress in use of artificial hands. Now able manipulate buttons to dress and undress without assistance and handling knife/fork/spoon at meals with ease. Driver training and minor vehicle repair training scheduled during coming week.

2. Case physician says Guemes' outgoing personality, eagerness to learn and enthusiastic response to training have captured hearts of entire staff.

3. Anticipated date of departure to Argentina still December 16.

4. VA has filmed Guemes' activities from start at prosthetics center and reports that approximately 30 days after his departure, a ten minute film of his training and progress will be made available to OPS/W. Will forward when available.

ROGERS.

DECEMBER 1971.

Subject: Progress of Officer Raul Florencio Guemes of Argentina.

Late December 1971.

Contact was made this date at 4:00 p.m. with Dr. Peizer at the VA Hospital in New York to inquire as to the progress of Officer Guemes. Dr. Peizer stated that Guemes has been doing extremely well much better than the average amputee.

Dr. Peizer stated that Guemes is now capable of dressing and undressing himself including buttoning and unbuttoning his shirt. He has no problems in a restaurant. He is capable of holding and using his utensils (knife, fork and spoon). He can also type and use the telephone. During this coming week Officer Guemes will be taught to drive and handle minor repairs to a vehicle. This training should be completed by the middle of the week.

Dr. Peizer stated that Officer Guemes' progress has been outstanding and that Guemes has informed him that his goal is to return to Argentina, walk into his office and continue where he left off when he lost his hands.

Dr. Peizer informed us that a friend of his, a member of the International Police Association (IPA) has made arrangements for Guemes and his wife to go to Nassau County Police Department where the police will give them the VIP tour this coming weekend.

It is anticipated that Officer Guemes will be able to return to Argentina on or about the 16th of December. It is also interesting to note that the VA has discovered that Officer Guemes' hobby is shooting and as a bonus feature Officer Guemes will be instructed to shoot firearms with his mechanical hands (rifles).

Numerous pictures have been taken of the various phases of Guemes' training. These will be forwarded to us along with a complete medical history and progress report after Officer Guemes has completed his training.

In addition, after Guemes leaves for Argentina they will prepare about a 10-minute 35 mm film from microfilms they have taken, showing the various phases of training and progress of Guemes. This should be interesting to Ambassador Lodge and he may possibly be able to obtain some political mileage from this film in-country.

QUESTION OF NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS IN ORANGE COUNTY, FLA.

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, in Orange County, Fla., which I have the privilege to represent, the question of neighborhood schools was put to the electorate. I am very pleased to report the following which supports the position I have long held and the principles I have advocated here in the Congress:

BALLOT IN ORANGE COUNTY

On November 2, 1971, the following item was placed on the ballot for the electorate of Orange County, Florida:

"It should be understood that the following statement is presented for the purpose of affording the voters of Orange County an opportunity to express themselves on the issue of neighborhood schools and shall constitute voter opinion for such a constitutional amendment.

"I believe and support the following principle:

"The right of a student to attend the public school nearest his place of residency shall not be denied or abridged for reasons of race, color, national origin, religion or sex, and the Congress and the States shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

☐ For ☐ Against

The results of this election showed a final vote of 42,332 for (88.57%) and 5,465 against (11.43%)—an overwhelming majority in support of neighborhood schools in Orange County.

On November 8, 1971, meeting in official session, the School Board of Orange County unanimously approved the following motion:

"That the Chairman or Board Member who shall be designated by the Chairman, or Superintendent or members of his staff, have full authority from the School Board of Orange County to represent the Board in supporting the proposed constitutional amendment and for using the results of the Orange County November 2, 1971 referendum for whatever purposes might seem helpful in having such a constitutional amendment adopted by the Congress; and further, that they request Senator Gurney and Representative Frey to enter this information in the Congressional Record; and that all Congressmen be advised of the results of the November 2 referendum."

CELEBRATES 40 YEARS OF PUBLIC SERVICE

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, on November 17 friends of one of the great leaders in this Congress gathered to pay tribute and to celebrate the marking of 40 years of public service by my friend and fellow Pennsylvanian, JOHN H. DENT.

Highlights of the evening included "Doc" MORGAN's personal delivery of a statement and plague from Gov. Milton Shapp and the people of Pennsylvania.

The text of the statement follows:

DEAR JOHN: Congratulations on the occasion of your 40th anniversary in the field of public service.

I am proud to forward to you a Certificate of Distinguished Citizenship for your devotion and dedication to the citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania who have been privileged to be associated with you through the years.

Unfortunately, I will not be able to attend the reception due to previous commitment but be assured of my continuing affection and admiration for the efforts of those in our citizenry who bring honor and achievement to our State.

Sincerely,

MILTON J. SHAPP,
Governor.

In addition to the honor bestowed on JOHN by Governor Shapp, two of America's best read food and wine editors, David and Ruth Pursglove were on hand for a "special" presentation. The Pursglove's column is a regular feature of the Washingtonian magazine. In addition the Pursgloves are the publishers of the fascinating and informative Pursglove Wine and Food Newsletter.

I believe the remarks made by the Pursglove's in connection with the presentation of a sterling wine goblet can easily be extended to reflect JOHNNY's entire public life of working for and defending the rights of the man in the street, your kind and my kind of people.

The remarks of the Pursglove's follows:

Members of Congress, honored guests, ladies and gentleman:

I am confident that all Americans share with me tonight this salute to you, Mr. Dent, on the occasion of marking 40 years of public service. Those of us who have followed your career hope that this nation can have another 40 years of your wisdom and leadership.

Your friends had to decide on a single token of expression that best symbolizes your dedicated and untiring service to the people of Pennsylvania and the nation.

We believe that your entire career—beginning with your enlistment in the U.S. Marines at age 16—he wore a mustache even then—to this very day in Congress—is reflected in your outspoken faith and support for American wines.

You've defended and supported America.

You've defended and supported American business and labor.

You've defended and supported the rights of every American.

An so it is little wonder that you would defend and support with courage and conviction the rights of the American wine growers to have fair and equal treatment for their product at home and abroad.

Mr. Dent, we thought that this sterling wine goblet best symbolizes your 40 years of public service—and it is presented with this simple but heartfelt engraving—for all that you have done for all of us with the constant support and love of your wife and family:

"To John H. Dent, Member of Congress, with affection and appreciation from the Wine Grower's and Winedrinker's of America."

SUMMARY OF VETERANS LEGISLATION IN 1971

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 92d Congress took several steps to meet its obligation to veterans.

Legislation was enacted to:

First. Make it easier for veterans to obtain home loans, by permitting the VA Administrator to sell direct loan paper at market prices.

Second. Continue the exchange of medical information between veterans' hospitals and the medical profession to insure the best care for veteran patients.

Third. Provide mortgage protection life insurance for seriously disabled service-connected veterans.

Fourth. Provide a cost-of-living increase in dependency and indemnity compensation benefits payable to survivors of veterans who died as a result of service-incurred disabilities.

Fifth. Increase nonservice-connected pension rates and prevent such pensioners from losing any of their VA pension because of the 1971 increase in their social security benefits.

Sixth. Increase by $300 the income limitations for nonservice-connected pensioners, and prevent the loss of income in the future if a pensioner receives an increase in income from another source, as long as the income does not exceed the annual limitation, and

Seventh. Increase veterans appropriations by $1 billion over last year, including $400 million more for medical care.

Several measures have passed the House and hopefully will be approved by the Senate in 1972, including bills to:

First. Broaden the authority of the VA Administrator to extend drug treatment and rehabilitation services to veterans, and

Second. Use the VA medical system to train additional medical manpower to help relieve the current manpower shortage.

In 1972, I am also hopeful that the Congress will take action on measures improving the national service life insurance system and veterans' education benefits.

THE INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT BENEFITS ACT OF 1971

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on December 14, I cosponsored H.R. 12272, the "Individual Retirement Benefits Act of 1971." The bill, introduced on behalf of the administration, includes comprehensive recomendations to strengthen the private retirement system by providing minimum standards of participation for employer-sponsored pension plans, by encouraging expansion of plans covering self-employed individuals and their employees, by providing an opportunity for individuals either not covered or inadequately covered by private plans to save through plans of their own, and by making other amendments.

In view of the interest in the administration's proposal and the entire subject of pension reform, I am inserting the entire bill in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order to make it more accessible to the public. I might point out that the administration provided a comprehensive explanation of the bill that has already been inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of December 14, 1971, at page 46901.

The bill follows:

H.R. 12272

A bill to strengthen and improve the private retirement system by establishing minimum standards for participation in and for vesting of benefits under pension and profit-sharing retirement plans, by allowing deductions to individuals for personal savings for retirement, and by increasing contribution limitations for self-employed individuals and shareholder-employees of electing small business corporations

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE, ETC.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "Individual Retirement Benefits Act of 1971".

(b) AMENDMENT OF 1954 CODE.—Except as otherwise expressly provided, whenever in this Act an amendment is expressed in terms of an amendment to a section or other provision, the reference is to a section or other provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

SEC. 2. MINIMUM STANDARDS RELATING TO ELIGIBILITY AND VESTING

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 401(a) (relating to requirements for qualification) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(11) A trust shall not constitute a qualified trust under this section if the plan of which such trust is a part requires, as a condition of participation, that an employee—

"(A) have a period of service with the employer in excess of 3 years,

"(B) have attained an age in excess of 30 years, or

"(C) have not attained (as of the first time when he is otherwise eligible to participate) an age which is less than 5 years less than the earliest age under the plan at which an employee may retire and receive benefits which are not actuarially reduced.

In the case of any plan in existence on November 30, 1971, this paragraph shall not apply to plan years beginning before January 1, 1974, and in the case of a union-negotiated plan in existence on November 30, 1971 this paragraph shall not apply to plan years beginning before the termination of the collective bargaining agreement in effect on November 30, 1971.

"(12) (A) A trust shall not constitute a qualified trust under this section unless under the plan of which such trust is a part, an employee's rights in at least 50 percent of his accrued benefit (determined in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate) are nonforfeitable—

"(i) as of the close of the first plan year in which the sum of his age and his period of participation in the plan equals or exceeds 50 years, or

"(ii) after he has participated in the plan for a period equal to 3 years reduced to any period of service with the employer before he was eligible to participate in the plan, whichever occurs later, and his rights in the balance of his accrued benefit become nonforfeitable not less rapidly than rapidly over the succeeding five years.

"(B) Subparagraph (A) shall not be applied to prohibit a plan to which employees are required to contribute as a condition of participation from providing that an employee's rights under the plan will be forfeited if he voluntarily withdraws his contributions upon termination of employment or active participation in the plan.

"(C) This paragraph shall not apply to contributions which under provisions of the plan adopted pursuant to regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate to preclude the discrimination prohibited by paragraph (4), may not be used to provide benefits for designated employees in the event of early termination of the plan.

"(D) This paragraph shall not apply to benefits accrued under any plan in existence on November 30, 1971, during plan years beginning before January 1, 1974, and to benefits accrued under a union-negotiated plan in existence on November 30, 1971, during plan years beginning before the termination of the collective bargaining agreement in effect on November 30, 1971.

"(13) A plan in existence on November 30, 1971, shall not be considered as failing to satisfy the requirements of paragraph (12) merely because it provides that the benefits accrued thereunder during any plan year are forfeitable—

"(A) during which the periodic benefit payments to retired participants exceed the benefit accruals (determined in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate) by active participants, and

"(B) as of the beginning of which, the present actuarial value of accrued plan liabilities to both retired and active participants exceeds the actuarial value of plan assets.

This paragraph shall not apply to benefits accrued during any plan year if the plan is amended to increase benefits directly or indirectly within the 5-year period following the close of such plan year."

(b) PLANS BENEFITING OWNER-EMPLOYEE.—

(1) ELIGIBILITY.—Paragraph (3) of section 401(d) (relating to additional requirements of trusts and plans benefiting owner-employees) is amended by striking out the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof:

"The plan benefits—

"(A) each employee having a period of employment of 3 years or more who has not attained the age of 30 years,

"(B) each employee having a period of employment of 2 years or more who has attained the age of 30 years but has not attained the age of 35 years, and

"(C) each employee having a period of employment of 1 year or more who has attained the age of 35 years."

(2) VESTING.—Paragraph (2) (A) of section 401(d) is amended to read as follows:

"(A) an employee's rights in at least 50 percent of his accrued benefit (determined in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate) are nonforfeitable as of the close of the first plan year in which the sum of his age and his period of participation in the plan equals or exceeds 35 years, and his rights in the balance of his accrued benefit become nonforfeitable not less rapidly than ratably over the succeeding five years; and".

(c) Conditions of Participation and Nonforfeitability of Benefits to Insure Satisfaction of Nondiscrimination Requirements.—Section 401 (relating to pension, profit-sharing, and stock bonus plans) is amended by redesignating (j) as subsection (k) and by inserting after subsection (i) the following new subsection:

"(j) Conditions of Participation and Nonforfeitability of Benefits to Insure Satisfaction of Nondiscrimination Requirements.—

"(1) PROMULGATION OF REGULATIONS.—The Secretary or his delegate shall prescribe regulations setting forth the circumstances under which a plan will, in the judgment of the Secretary or his delegate, satisfy the requirements of subsections (a) (3) (B) and (a) (4) only if the conditions of participation in the plan and the conditions of nonforfeitability of benefits under the plan are less restrictive than those which satisfy subsections (a) (11) and (a) (12), respectively. Such regulations shall also set forth conditions of participation and nonforfeitability of benefits which will, in the judgment of the Secretary or his delegate, insure that the plan will satisfy the requirements of subsections (a) (3) (B) and (a) (4), but which are not more restrictive than conditions of partcipation and nonforfeitability of benefits which are required under subsections (d) (3) and (d) (2) (A), respectively.

"(2) EFFECT OF NONCOMPLIANCE.—If a plan to which this subsection applies does not contain conditions of participation and nonforfeitability of benefits which comply with the regulations prescribed under paragraph (1), no trust forming part of such plan shall constitute a qualified trust under this section.

"(3) PLANS TO WHICH APPLICABLE.—This subsection shall apply to a pension, profit-sharing, or stock bonus plan which provides benefits for an individual who—

"(A) in the case of a partnership, is a partner who is not an owner-employee (as defined in section 401(c) (3)) and who owns—

"(i) more than 5 percent of either the capital interest or the profits interest in such partnership, or

"(ii) more than 1 percent, but not more than 5 percent, of either the capital interest or the profits interest in such partnership if all such partners own more than 50 percent of such interests, or

"(B) in the case of a corporation, is a shareholder who owns (or is considered as owning within the meaning of section 318 (a) (1))—

"(i) more than 5 percent in value of the outstanding stock of such corporation, or

"(ii) more than 1 percent, but not more than 5 percent, in value of the outstanding stock of such corporation if all such shareholders own (or are considered as owning within the meaning of section 318(a) (1)) more than 50 percent in value of the outstanding stock of such corporation.

"(4) TRANSITIONAL RULES.—In the case of a plan in existence on November 30, 1971—

"(A) conditions of participation set forth in regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate under paragraph (1) shall not apply to plan years beginning before January 1, 1974; and

"(B) conditions of nonforfeitability of benefits set forth in such regulations shall not apply to benefits accrued during plan years beginning before January 1, 1974."

(d) CONFRONTING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 404(a) (2) (relating to deduction for contributions of an employer to employees' annuity plan) is amended by striking out "section 401(a) (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), and (8), and, if applicable, the requirements of section 401(a) (9) and (10) and of section 401(d) (other than paragraph (1))," and by inserting in lieu thereof "section 401(a) (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (11), and (12), and, if applicable, the requirements of section 401 (a) (9) and (10) and section 401(d) other than paragraph (1)), and, if applicable, the requirements of regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate under section 401(j)".

(2) Section 805(d) (1) (C) (relating to definition of pension plan reserves) is amended by striking out "and (8)" and by inserting in lieu thereof "(8), (11), and (12), and, if applicable, the requirements of regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate under section 401(j)".

(e) EFFECTIVE DATES.—The amendments made by subsections (a), (b) (2), (c), and (d) shall become effective upon the day after enactment of this Act. The amendment made by subsection (b) (1) shall not apply to plan years beginning before January 1, 1974, except that in the case of a plan which is amended after the day of enactment of this Act but before January 1, 1974, so that it no longer satisfies the requirement of section 401(d) (2) (A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 as in effect on the day of enactment of this Act, the amendment made by subsection (b) (1) shall apply to the plan year for which such amendment is effective and all succeeding plan years.

SEC. 3. DEDUCTION FOR RETIREMENT SAVINGS

(a) IN GENERAL.—Part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 (relating to additional itemized deductions for individuals) is amended by renumbering section 218 as section 219 and by inserting after section 217 the following new section:

"SEC. 218. RETIREMENT SAVINGS

"(a) DEDUCTION ALLOWED.—There shall be allowed as a deduction amounts paid during the taxable year by an individual—

"(1) to a qualified individual retirement account (as defined in section 408(a)),

"(2) to an employees' trust described in section 401(a) which is exempt from tax under section 501(a),

"(3) for the purchase of an annuity contract under a plan which meets the requirements of section 404(a) (2),

"(4) to or under a qualified bond purchase plan (as defined in section 405), or

"(5) for the purchase of an annuity contract described in section 403(b).

"(b) Limitation.—

"(1) GENERAL RULE.—The amount allowable as a deduction under subsection (a) to an individual for any taxable year shall not exceed 20 percent of so much of his earned income for such taxable year as does not exceed $7,500.

"(2) REDUCTION ON ACCOUNT OF EMPLOYER CONTRIBUTIONS TO QUALIFIED PENSION, ETC., PLANS.—The limitation otherwise determined under this subsection for any taxable year shall be reduced by the amount (determined in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate) of any contributions made on behalf of the taxpayer by his employer during the taxpayer's taxable year—

"(A) to an employees' trust *described* in section 401(a) which is exempt from tax under section 501(a),

"(B) for the purchase of an annuity contract under a plan which meets the requirements of section 404(a) (2),

"(C) to or under a qualified bond purchase plan (as defined in section 405), or

"(D) for the purchase of an annuity contract described in section 403(b).

In accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, the amount of any contributions described in the preceding sentence made on behalf of a taxpayer by his employer during his taxable year may, at the option of the taxpayer, be considered to be 7 percent of his earned income for such taxable year attributable to the performance of personal services for such employer.

"(3) REDUCTION APPLICABLE TO CERTAIN PUBLIC AND OTHER EMPLOYEES.—If a taxpayer has earned income for the taxable year which is not subject to tax under chapter 2, 21 or 22, the limitation otherwise determined under this subsection for such taxable year shall be reduced by an amount equal to the tax (or the increase in the tax) that would be imposed upon such income under section 3101 for such taxable year if the personal services from the performance of which such income is derived constituted employment (within the meaning of section 3121(b)).

"(4) MARRIED INDIVIDUALS.—The limitation provided by this subsection in the case of a married individual shall be determined without regard to the earned income of his spouse and without regard to contributions described in paragraph (2) made on behalf of his spouse. For purposes of this subsection, the earned income of a married individual shall be determined without regard to community property laws.

"(5) EARNED INCOME DEFINED.—For purposes of this subsection, the term 'earned income' has the meaning assigned to such term in—

"(A) in the case of a self-employed individual, section 401(c) (2), and

"(B) in the case of an individual who is not a self-employed individual, section 911(b)."

(b) INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNTS.—Part I of subchapter D of chapter 1 (relating to pension, profit-sharing, stock bonus plans, etc.) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 408. INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNTS.

"(a) REQUIREMENTS FOR QUALIFICATIONS.—A trust, custodial account, or other similar arrangement created or organized in the United States shall constitute a qualified individual retirement account under this section only if—

"(1) it is maintained for the purpose of distributing to the individual who established it, his spouse, or his beneficiaries, the contributions thereto and the income therefrom;

"(2) except as otherwise provided in subsections (b) (1) and (2), contributions thereto during any taxable year may not exceed the limitation provided by section 218 (b) for such taxable year and may be made only by the individual who established it or his spouse;

"(3) except as otherwise provided in subsection (b) (3), the assets thereof are not commingled with the other property of the individual who established it or his spouse, and are held in trust by, or in the custody of, a bank (as defined in section 401(d)(1)), a credit union described in section 501(c)(14), or other person who demonstrates to the satisfaction of the Secretary or his delegate that the manner in which he will hold or have custody of such assets will be consistent with the requirements of this paragraph;

"(4) except as otherwise provided in subsection (b)(1), under the plan or other governing instrument, no benefits may be paid to the individual who established it, except in the case of his becoming disabled (within the meaning of section 72(m)(7)), before he or his spouse attains the age of 59½ years;

"(5) under the plan or other governing instrument, the entire interest of the individual who established it will be distributed to him not later than his taxable year in which he attains the age of 70½ years, or will be distributed; commencing not later than such taxable year, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, over—

"(A) the life of such individual or the lives of such individual and his spouse, or

"(B) a period not extending beyond the expectancy of such individual or the life expectancy of such individual and his spouse; and

"(6) if contributions thereto may be used for the purchase of annuity or similar contracts issued by a life insurance company, under the plan or other governing instrument, any refunds of premiums and any amounts in the nature of a dividend or similar distribution must be held by the issuer of such contract and may be applied only toward the payment of future premiums or to the purchase of additional similar benefits.

"(b) SPECIAL RULES.—

"(1) TRANSFER OF ASSETS.—Subsections (a)(2) and (a)(4) shall not be applied to prevent the contribution of amounts to which section 72(p) would otherwise apply to a qualified individual retirement account for the benefit of the same taxpayer or the same taxpayer and his spouse.

"(2) LIMITATION ON CONTRIBUTIONS.—Under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, rules similar to the rules provided in paragraphs (2) and (3) of section 401(e) (relating to excess contributions to a qualified individual retirement account to the extent necessary to carry out the purposes of this section.

"(3) USE OF COMMON TRUST FUNDS.—Subsection (a)(3) shall not be applied to prevent the investment of the assets of a qualified individual retirement account in a common trust fund.

"(c) TREATMENT AS QUALIFIED TRUST BENEFITING OWNER-EMPLOYEE.—For purposes of subchapter F and subtitle F, a qualified individual retirement account shall be treated as a trust described in section 401(a) which is part of a plan providing contributions or benefits for employees some or all of whom are owner-employees (as defined in section 401(c)(3)), the individual who established such qualified individual retirement account and his spouse shall be treated as owner-employees for whom such contributions or benefits are provided, and the person holding or having custody of the assets of such qualified individual retirement account shall be treated as the trustee of such trust."

"(d) TAXABILITY OF BENEFICIARY OF QUALIFIED INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNT.

"(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), the amount actually distributed or made available to any beneficiary by a qualified individual retirement account shall be taxable to him, in the year in which so distributed or made available, under section 72 (relating to annuities).

"(2) RECONTRIBUTED AMOUNTS.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to any amount distributed or made available by a qualified individual retirement account to the individual who established such account to the extent that, within 60 days after the day on which such amount is distributed or made available, such amount is contributed to a qualified individual retirement account for the benefit of such individual or such individual and his spouse.

"(3) APPLICABILITY OF SECTION 72(M).—Under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate, an individual establishing a qualified individual retirement account shall be treated as an owner-employee for purposes of applying paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4) of section 72 (m) (relating to special rules applicable to employee annuities and distributions under employee plans).

"(e) CAPITAL GAINS TREATMENT AND LIMITATION OF TAX NOT TO APPLY TO DISTRIBUTIONS.—Section 72(n), section 402(a)(2), and section 403(a)(2) shall not apply to any amount distributed or made available by a qualified individual retirement account."

(c) TREATMENT OF DISTRIBUTIONS FROM QUALIFIED INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 72 (relating to annuities) is amended by redesignating subsection (p) as subsection (q) and by inserting after subsection (o) the following new subsection:

"(p) PREMATURE DISTRIBUTIONS FROM QUALIFIED INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNTS.—

"(1) APPLICATION OF SUBSECTION.—This subsection shall apply to—

"(A) distributions from a qualified individual retirement account, and

"(B) amounts which are received from a qualified trust described in section 401(a) or under a plan described in section 403(a), but only to the extent attributable under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate to amounts with respect to which a deduction was under section 218 (relating to retirement savings)

which are includible in gross income and which are received by the individual who established such qualified individual retirement account or who was allowed such deduction (or the spouse of such individual) before he or his spouse attains the age of 59½ years, for any reason other than his becoming disabled (within the meaning of subsection (m)(7)), but only to the extent that such amount is not contributed within 60 days after the day on which such amount is distributed or made available to a qualified individual retirement account for the benefit of such individual or such individual and his spouse.

"(2) AMOUNT OF PENALTY.—If an individual is required to include in gross income for the taxable year an amount to which this subsection applies, there shall be imposed an additional tax for such taxable year equal to 30 percent of such amount. Any tax imposed under this paragraph shall not be reduced by any credit under part IV of subchapter A (other than sections 31 and 39 thereof), and shall not be treated as tax imposed by this chapter for purposes of section 56."

(2) INVESTMENT IN THE CONTRACT.—

(A) Subparagraph (A) of section 72(c)(1) (relating to definition of investment in the contract) is amended by inserting after "contract" the following: "for which no deduction was allowed under section 218 (relating to retirement savings)".

(B) Section 72(d)(2) (relating to employees' annuities) is amended by striking out "and" at the end of subparagraph (A), by striking out the period at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting in lieu thereof "; and", and by inserting after subparagraph (B) the following new subparagraph:

"(C) any contribution made with respect to the contract shall not be treated as consideration for the contract contributed by the employee to the extent that a deduction was allowed under section 218 (relating to retirement savings) for such contribution."

(3) AMOUNTS RECEIVED BEFORE ANNUITY STARTING DATE.—Section 72(m)(1) (relating to special rule applicable to amounts received before annuity starting date) is amended to read as follows:

"(1) CERTAIN AMOUNTS RECEIVED BEFORE ANNUITY STARTING DATE.—Any amounts received under an annuity, endowment, or life insurance contract before the annuity starting date which are not received as an annuity (within the meaning of subsection (e)(2)) shall be included in the recipient's gross income for the taxable year in which received to the extent that such amounts, plus all amounts theretofore received under the contract and includible in gross income under this paragraph, do not exceed the aggregate premiums or other consideration paid for the contract—

"(A) while the employee was an owner-employee which were allowed as deductions under section 404 for the taxable year and all prior taxable years, or

"(B) which were allowed as deductions under section 218 for the taxable year and all prior taxable years, except to the extent that, within 60 days after day on which such amounts are received, such amounts are contributed to a qualified individual retirement account for the benefit of the recipient or the recipient and his spouse.

Any such amounts so received which are not includible in gross income under this paragraph shall be subject to the provisions of subsection (e)."

(d) Excise Tax on Excessive Accumulations.—Subtitle D is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new chapter:

"CHAPTER 43.—INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNTS

"SEC. 4960. EXCISE TAX ON INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNTS.

"(a) TAX IMPOSED.—There is hereby imposed for each taxable year on the assets of a qualified individual retirement account (as defined in section 408(a)) a tax equal to 10 percent of the excessive accumulation for such year. The tax imposed by this section shall not apply for any taxable year prior to the taxable year in which any individual who contributed to the plan attains the age of 70½ years.

"(b) EXCESSIVE ACCUMULATION.—For purposes of this section the excessive accumulation for any taxable year is the excess (if any) of—

"(1) an amount equal to the value of the assets held by the plan at the beginning of the taxable year, over

"(2) the present value of a joint and survivor annuity payable to the individual and his spouse, providing for an annual payment payable at the beginning of each year in an amount equal to the total amount actually distributed under the plan to the individual and his spouse during such year.

The present value described in paragraph (2) shall be determined in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate."

(e) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—Section 62 (relating to definition of adjusted gross income) is amended by inserting after paragraph (9) the following new paragraph:

"(10) INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT SAVINGS.—The deduction allowed by section 218."

(2) PENSION PLAN RESERVES.—Section 805(d)(1) (relating to definition of pension plan reserves) is amended by striking out "or" at the end of subparagraph (C), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (D) and inserting in lieu thereof "; or", and by adding at the end thereof the following new subparagraph:

"(E) purchased under contracts entered into with trusts, custodial accounts or other similar arrangements which (as of the time the contracts were entered into) were deemed to be qualified individual retirement accounts (ad defined in section 408(a))."

(3) AVERAGABLE INCOME.—Paragraph (2) (A) of section 1302(a) (relating to definition of averagable income) is amended by striking out "section 72(m) (5)" and inserting in lieu thereof "section 72(m)(5) or 72(p)".

(4) EARNED INCOME.—Section 1348(b)(1) (relating to definition of earned income) is amended by striking out "72(n)" and inserting in lieu thereof "72(n), 72(p)".

(f) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The table of sections for part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by striking out the item relating to section 218 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 218. Retirement savings.

"SEC. 219. Cross references."

(2) The table of sections for part I of subchapter D of chapter 1 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new item:

"SEC. 408. Individual retirement accounts."

(3) The table of chapters for subtitle D is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new item:

"CHAPTER 43. INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNTS."

(g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years ending after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 4. CONTRIBUTION ON BEHALF OF SELF-EMPLOYED INDIVIDUALS AND SHAREHOLDER EMPLOYEES OF ELECTING SMALL BUSINESS CORPORATIONS.

(a) CONTRIBUTIONS ON BEHALF OF SELF-EMPLOYED INDIVIDUALS.—

(1) SPECIAL LIMITATIONS FOR SELF-EMPLOYED INDIVIDUALS.—Section 404(e) (relating to special limitations for self-employed individuals) is amended—

(A) by striking out paragraphs (1) and (2)(A) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a plan included in subsection (a)(1), (2), or (3), which provides contributions or benefits for employees some or all of whom are employees within the meaning of section 401(c) (1), the amounts deductible under subsection (a) in any taxable year with respect to contributions on behalf of any employee within the meaning of section 401(c) (1) shall, subject to the provisions of paragraph (2), not exceed the product of—

"(A) so much of the earned income derived by such employee from the trade or business with respect to which the plan is established as does not exceed $50,000, and

"(B) a rate not in excess of 15 percent. If in the taxable year contributions are paid or accrued under the plan on behalf of an employee within the meaning of section 401(c)(1), the rate specified in subparagraph (B) shall not exceed the lowest rate at which contributions (including amounts which are treated as contributions pursuant to section 401(d)(6)) are paid or accrued on behalf of any employee who is not an employee within the meaning of section 401(c)(1).

"(2) CONTRIBUTIONS MADE UNDER MORE THAN ONE PLAN.—

"(A) OVERALL LIMITATION.—In any taxable year in which amounts are deductible with respect to contributions under two or more plans on behalf of an individual who is an employee within the meaning of section 401 (c)(1) with respect to such plans, the aggregate amount deductible for such taxable year under all such plans with respect to contributions on behalf of such employee shall not exceed the product of—

"(i) so much of the earned income derived by such employee from the trades or businesses with respect to which the plans are established as does not exceed $50,000, and

"(ii) a rate not in excess of 15 percent. If in the taxable year contributions are paid or accrued under any of such plans on behalf of an employee within the meaning of section 401(c)(1), the rate specified in clause (ii) shall not exceed the lowest rate at which contributions (including amounts which are treated as contributions pursuant to section 401(d)(6)) are paid or accrued under any of such plans on behalf of any employee who is not an employee within the meaning of section 401(c)(1)."; and

(B) by renumbering paragraph (3) as paragraph (4) and by inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraph:

"(3) TREATMENT OF FORFEITURES.—The amount determined under paragraphs (1) and (2) with respect to any employee within the meaning of section 401(c)(1) for any taxable year shall be reduced by the amount of any forfeitures credited to his account during such taxable year. For purposes of this paragraph, forfeitures used to reduce the employer's contributions on behalf of all employees under the plan shall not be considered to be credited to the account of any employee."

(2) EXCESS CONTRIBUTIONS ON BEHALF OF OWNER-EMPLOYEES.—

(A) Paragraphs (1)(B)(iv) and (3) of section 401(e) (relating to excess contributions on behalf of owner-employees) are amended by striking out "$2,500" and inserting in lieu thereof "$7,500."

(B) Paragraph (1)(B)(iii) of section 401 (e) is amended to read as follows:

"(iii) the amount of any contribution made by any owner-employee (as an employee) which exceeds 10 percent of so much of the earned income for such taxable year derived by such owner-employee from the trade or business with respect to which the plan is established as does not exceed $50,000; and".

(3) Penalties applicable to certain amounts received by owner-employees.—Section 72(m) (5)(B)(i) (relating to penalties applicable to certain amounts received by owner-employees) is amended by striking out "$2,500" and inserting in lieu thereof "$7,500".

(b) Contributions on Behalf of Shareholder-Employees of Electing Small Business Corporations.—Section 1379(b)(1) (relating to the taxability of shareholder-employee beneficiaries) is amended—

(1) by striking out "the lesser of—" and inserting in lieu thereof "the product of—", and

(2) by striking out subparagraphs (A) and (B) and inserting in lieu thereof—

"(A) compensation otherwise received or accrued by him from such corporation during its taxable year as does not exceed $50,000, and

"(B) a rate not in excess of 15 percent.

If in the taxable year contributions are paid or accrued under the plan on behalf of a shareholder-employee, the rate specified in subparagraph (B) shall not exceed the lowest rate at which contributions are paid or accrued on behalf of any employee who is not a shareholder-employee."

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1972, or, if a taxpayer chooses, to taxable years ending after December 31, 1971.

AMTRAK: IT HAS NOT MADE THE TRAINS RUN ON TIME

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, once again it is interesting to see that what has been common knowledge in Kirksville and Laplata, Mo., since September 1971 is headline news in Washington, December 15, 1971.

I call my colleagues' attention to the article in the Evening Star of December 15, 1971, and urge them to save it for restudy the next time the hat is passed.

The article follows:

AMTRAK: IT HASN'T MADE THE TRAINS RUN ON TIME

(By Stephen M. Aug)

The National Railroad Passenger Corp. (Amtrak) has accomplished little in improving the on-time performance record of most of the nation's railroad passenger trains—although the new corporation appears at least to be trying.

Figures obtained by The Star outlining on-time performance by route and by railroad for the first six months of operations (May 1 through Oct. 29) show that during October Amtrak trains were on time on an average of 79.6 percent of all trips. This compares with an average on-time performance for the first six months of 82.2 percent, indicating performance was higher at some time.

The worst railroad performance during the first six months was by the Southern Pacific Co. which several years ago was the subject of a lengthy investigation by the Interstate Commerce Commission into the deteriorating quality of SoPac's passenger service. (The ICC decided it didn't have the power to force the railroad to improve the quality of service.)

During October, Southern Pacific operated Amtrak trains on time only 51.9 percent of the time. Its six-month average on-time performance was 58.7 percent. SP operates Amtrak trains between New Orleans and Los Angeles; Portland, Ore., and Los Angeles, and Ogden, Utah, and Oakland, Calif.

On one route—between New Orleans and Los Angeles—Amtrak found that between Aug. 27 and Nov. 16, the Sunset Limited was on time only 13.9 percent of the time, and on the average it was late one hour and 42 minutes.

So poor was the performance that Amtrak's vice president for operations, Harold Wanaselja, wrote the railroad's operations vice president, R. D. Spence, that SP was "not making every reasonable effort to maintain the schedule ... as is required" under the contract SP signed with Amtrak. He accused the railroad of "poor, if not negligent dispatching," and indicated strongly that SP was delaying the Sunset for freight operations.

The Wanaselja letter, never made public, contends that during the period in question the Sunset was late at New Orleans a total of 3,150 minutes, while total minutes of freight train interference with the train was 3,162 by the railroad's own records.

SP in the past has been accused of delaying passenger trains for freight trains—a charge it consistently denies. Significantly, the current Official Guide of the Railways confirms that SP does run its freights faster than some passenger trains. SP's Blue Streak Merchandise freight travels the 608 miles between San Antonio and El Paso, Tex., in 10 hours, 40 minutes. It takes the Sunset 13 hours to make the same distance.

SP's Spence explained that freight tonnage between New Orleans and Los Angeles had more than doubled between 1960 and 1970. "Such an increase in freight traffic makes more difficult and subject to possible delay the movement of both freight trains and passenger trains."

Amtrak considers a train late when it is 6 minutes or more overdue. SP's Robert Jochner, general manager for passenger operations, contends "a six-minute measuring stick on a 45-hour transcontinental run is absolutely unrealistic." Actually, Amtrak schedules are relatively unchanged from those the railroads had been running before May 1 when Amtrak took over most passenger service. Traditionally—and especially over long distance—railroad schedules have sufficient slack time to compensate for delays.

Recently, the ICC proposed a rule that would consider a train late only if it failed to arrive within 15 minutes of scheduled time for every 500 miles it traveled.

Among other routes where on-time performance is poor is the Washington-Chicago run. Trains were on time 44.8 percent of trips in October and 55.5 percent for the first six months. Penn Central operates the train.

Service to Miami also has been poor. On-time performance on New York-Miami runs was only 46.4 percent in October, and 49.3 percent for the first six months. By contrast, New York-St. Petersburg trains were on time 75.3 percent of the time during the six months. Seaboard Coast Line operates these trains.

Other poor service was between Seattle and San Diego, (SP, Santa Fe and Burlington Northern), on time 36.5 percent for the first six months; Chicago-Oakland (SP and Union Pacific), 45 percent; Chicago-Miami (Penn Central, Louisville & Nashville, S&L), 37.7 percent.

The best on-time performance for the six months was turned in by Union Pacific, with 94.2 percent of its trains on time. Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific was second with 92.5 percent.

Of trains in the Washington area, service on the Chesapeake & Ohio-Baltimore & Ohio Railroad between Washington and Parkersburg, W. Va., was on time 96.2 percent of the time. New York-Washington service was on time 83.5 percent; Boston-Washington, 88 percent; Cincinnati-Washington 75.9; and Washington-St. Louis, 60.4.

Amtrak prepares a weekly summary of on-time performance for internal use, although copies have been made available to Congress. One such recent compilation also included reasons given by railroads for delays. Seaboard Coast Line, for example, contends that from Nov. 19–25, when on-time performance was only 54.1 percent, more than half the delay time—55.3 percent—was spent waiting for connections with other railroads.

Penn Central, with a 59.2 percent on-time performance from Nov. 19–25, attributed more than 25 percent to derailments, storms and "other" reasons. Burlington Northern, 73.2 percent on-time Nov. 19–25, contended derailments, storms and "other" accounted for 58 percent of delays.

Southern Pacific, on time 73 percent of the time from Nov. 19 to Nov. 25, attributed 38.2 percent of delays to freight train interference.

NIXON COURT'S FIRST TEST

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, it is a generally accepted belief of the American public that a primary cause for the problems of today's society has been far-reaching decisions of the Supreme Court extending "Federal questions" far beyond the bounds of human reason and interfering in matters best left to the States.

We have, in recent days, been bombarded with opinions that this will now change with the Senate approval of the two recent Nixon appointees to the High Court bench. Newsmen of various hue and color offer the opinion and, therefore, the hope that this will change with the new Nixon court.

This remains to be seen, but we shall soon see. Recent news articles dealing with the Supreme Court indicate that the Justices will rule on cases that may have far-reaching effect on the American people. The Court has agreed to hear cases dealing with the constitutionality of gun laws, campus freedoms, and the right of a university to deny recognition to an organization of students, and federally enforced pollution laws as opposed to the right of a State to basic interpretation.

I, too, like the majority of the American people, hope that with the advent of the Nixon court the Supreme Court will come to its senses. It yet remains to be seen.

I include a related news article in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 8, 1971]

COURT TO REVIEW GUN CURB INSPECTION

The Supreme Court agreed yesterday to the constitutionality of the 1968 gun control act's requirements that licensed firearms dealers submit to routine, warrantless inspections of their business premises during business hours.

A lower court struck down the federal law's routine search provision in a decision that the Justice Department said imperils the policing of 138,000 registered gun dealers with an undermanned force of 1,500 Treasury agents.

The Justice Department, which under Attorney General John N. Mitchell has been criticized for failing to press for stiffer weapons controls, said the ruling requiring court warrants for Treasury inspections frustrates "a prompt and meaningful inspection program" and hampers rapid tracing of weapons used for crime.

In an opinion by retired Justice Tom C. Clark sitting with a panel of three judges, the Tenth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the conviction of Loarn Anthony Biswell, a pawnbroker in Hobbs, N. Mex., for possession of two sawed-off shotguns that his federal gun license did not cover.

Biswell submitted to the search which turned up the weapons after an agent showed him the federal law which permitted the inspection without a court order. Clark set aside Biswell's two-year prison sentence, saying the incriminating evidence was seized in violation of the Fourth Amendment.

In other action:

CAMPUS FREEDOMS

The court agreed to hear a claim by the American Civil Liberties Union that Central Connecticut State College had no right to deny official recognition to a chapter of Students for a Democratic Society without showing of "a clear and present danger of violence or campus disruption."

Lower courts ruled that the SDS members were entitled to an administrative hearing before being denied organizational privileges at the New Britain campus. But the courts also held that SDS had the burden—and failed to meet it—of assuring officials of its nonviolent intentions.

The case offers the court an opportunity to spell out the rights of students at state institutions of higher learning and the role of federal courts in reviewing the actions of university officials.

POLLUTION

The court agreed to decide whether federally licensed Great Lakes cargo companies have the right to a prompt test in federal court of Michigan's 1970 water pollution law, which punishes operation of vessels in state waters without special tanks and incinerators for waste material.

Like many consumers advocates, the Lake Carriers Association wants a federal court rather than a state court as a forum for its pollution litigation. But a federal court in Grand Rapids dismissed the lawsuit, saying state courts should have first crack at construing the new law.

The carriers' claim is similar to the argument in other areas where new federal and state laws are beginning to operate and sometimes conflict—that the rigid state law is an unconstitutional burden on interstate commerce in an area pre-empted by a federal law which should apply uniformly in all states.

JOINT EFFORT URGED TO SOLVE HOUSING, ECOLOGY PROBLEMS

HON. EDWIN B. FORSYTHE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. FORSYTHE. Mr. Speaker, our Nation is confronted, as we all know, by serious problems of pollution. Our streams, oceans, and rivers are depositories of waste. Our air is befouled with industrial pollutants.

We are also facing another critical problem—that of providing sufficient housing for our people. Often, in our efforts to resolve one problem, we antagonize another, and this should not occur.

I have just received a letter from Mr. Richard Goodwin, of Mooretown, N.J., an environmentally conscious homebuilder and developer in my district, which expresses the desire of his industry to cooperate with the Federal Government in resolving both problems.

Mr. Goodwin's letter follows:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FORSYTHE: With the adjournment of the 92d Congress, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to you and to others among your colleagues in the House and Senate who have placed the protection and improvement of the environment high on the list of legislative priorities.

As a Life Director of the National Association of Home Builders, former Chairman of the NAHB Subcommittee on Environmental Control, and as Advisor to the President of NAHB on Environmental matters: as a member of the NAHB Land Use and Engineering Committees, the Research and Economic Councils, I view the nation's critical need for new housing as a problem in close interaction with the critical need to protect, and improve the quality of our environment.

The two problem areas cannot be isolated from each other. Along with you, and with many members of our industry, I view their eventual solution as joint objectives, to which the Federal Government and the homebuilding industry must address ourselves in active and continuing partnership.

Little would be served by a detailed exposition on our population growth and shifts. This has been substantiated by the new Census. Suffice it to state that the need for sound new housing in adequate numbers is acute.

Equally acute is the need for continuing focus on the environment. This too has been amply demonstrated, and there is no need to review the many signposts pointing to environmental deterioration.

Less obvious, but totally relevant, is the complete interrelationship between our housing needs and our environmental needs. Recognition of this interplay is, in my view, key to the fulfillment of the responsibilities shared by government and the home building industry.

Both government and industry believe that every American has the right to decent housing.

By the same token, every American has the right to a liveable environment.

A mandatory initial step towards our meeting these critical needs is the recognition that government and the homebuilding industry need not assume adversary positions. Actually, a directly opposite viewpoint must prevail. Government and the homebuilding industry share common ground with respect to these problems, and must work together towards our common objectives.

In this, I am not speaking theoretically, nor do I employ the wornout rhetoric which inevitably signifies lip service and nothing more. The thrust of this letter is towards a working, shirtsleeves effort by government and the homebuilding industry, from the early planning stages down to the actual construction of sound housing for our underhoused people within the framework of our environmental requirements.

At the outset also, it is imperative that we recognize the existence of one negative influence bearing on our efforts to meet the nation's housing needs. I refer to the "pie-in-the-sky" environmental visionaries who charge the atmosphere with emotional, but factually light predictions of doom and gloom if adequate housing programs are undertaken where they are needed so urgently.

I do not minimize the considerable contribution made by some within the ecology movement in alerting us to the very real air and water pollution and conservation problems we face. Unfortunately, many ecology and conservation groups refuse to acknowledge that it is well within the realm of practical possibility to meet the housing needs while at the same time, actually improving the quality of our environment.

In my view, and it is one shared by many in and outside of our industry, housing at the levels which it is needed, and sound, far reaching, and effective environmental upgrading, can be achieved simultaneously, if—and admittedly, this is a big "if"—government and the homebuilding industry pool and share their efforts in meeting these twin challenges.

I urge therefore, that responsible representatives of the homebuilding industry be included in all facets and phases of research and planning bearing on environmental protection. To accomplish this, I urge consideration of a Joint Research and Planning Council within the framework of the Department of Environmental Protection, to consider the interrelated housing and environmental problems.

This Council, I suggest, would be charged with the responsibility for creating environmental guidelines in those areas where the shortage of housing is particularly acute. The Council, composed of representatives of the homebuilding industry, and the government, would not only establish practical and effective environmentally protective controls, but would oversee the even handed implementation of such controls.

Adequate water, sewage facilities, solid waste disposal capability, conservation of power, noise control, and aesthetic considerations, all are factors of the framework within which the homebuilding industry must function in providing housing.

All are factors also with which the government's environmental protection efforts are vitally concerned.

These then, are the cornerstones of the common ground upon which the industry and government can, and must work to meet the nation's housing and environmental responsibilities.

In closing, and to demonstrate the viability of joint government—industry conceived and implemented housing-environmental programs, I cite the 1970 Study, "Man's Health and the Environment", conducted by the Task Force on Research Planning In Environmental Health Science under the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The Study cites inadequacy in housing and planning of living facilities as conditions to which 10,000,000 people are exposed, stating that these conditions contribute substantially to abnormalities of childhood development, aggressive behavior, and increased deterioration among the aged.

The Study concludes this section with the statement that such conditions are difficult to eliminate "in view of the failure to establish adequate criteria, and to provide adequate new housing."

I fully agree with this. These environmental health considerations, however, as well as the more readily recognized environmental problems involving air, water sewage, and noise mentioned earlier, *can be* met by the homebuilding industry and government, working on joint programs to achieve our common ends, namely, a better quality of life for a huge segment of our population.

Very truly yours,

RICHARD C. GOODWIN.

A RESOLUTION DECLARING THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO HOME A NATIONAL HISTORIC SHRINE

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Vincent F. Scarcelli, chief clerk of the House of Representatives in Harrisburg, has brought to my attention a resolution to declare the home of Thaddeus Kosciuszko a National Historic Shrine. This Resolution was adopted by the House of Representatives, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, on November 9, 1971.

I am especially interested in bringing this resolution to the attention of my colleagues inasmuch as Kosciuszko House is located within the Third Congressional District, which I represent.

General Thaddeus Kosciuszko came to America to aid our struggling Nation in its fight for independence, and I feel this great Polish advocate of human freedom deserves a place of honor.

On March 29, I introduced H.R. 6827, to provide for the establishment of the Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Historic Site, and many of my colleagues have introduced similar legislation. It is my earnest hope this legislation can be enacted into law at a very early date.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF CLERK,
Harrisburg, Pa.

RESOLUTION

Whereas, The history of the United States Revolutionary War is an important and indivisible part of our American heritage; and

Whereas, Thaddeus Kosciuszko was an important general in the Continental Army, and leader of the era; and

Whereas, Thaddeus Kosciuszko continued to serve the United States after the Revolutionary War as a secret envoy to Paris thus helping to avert a war with France; and

Whereas, As a final gesture of his belief in the concept of freedom Thaddeus Kosciuszko provided in his will that the assets of his estate in America should be used to buy the freedom of slaves; and

Whereas, The Polish American Congress, Inc., has attempted to have the American home of Thaddeus Kosciuszko at 301 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, declared a National Historical Site; and

Whereas, It is desirable to preserve the home of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, an important contributor to the United States and freedom; therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania memorialize the President, Congress and Department of Interior of the United States to declare the home of Thaddeus Kosciuszko a National Historic Site; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be delivered to the President of the United States, the presiding officers of each House of the Congress of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, and the United States Senators and Congressmen from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

We hereby certify that the foregoing is an exact copy of a Resolution introduced in the House of Representatives by the Honorable Kenneth B. Lee, Roger Raymond Fischer, James J. Ustynoski, Frank J. O'Connell, Jr., William G. Piper, John Pezak, and Bernard J. Dombroski, and adopted by the House of Representatives on the 9th day of November 1971.

HERBERT FINEMAN, *Speaker*.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF THE CONGRESS

HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, as this session of Congress draws to a close, I believe that all of us should strive to remind ourselves of the vast amount of unfinished business still before this body. During the past year, we have debated many bills, enacted some worthwhile ones into law, and defeated some others. But I believe that each of us should give some thought to the question of the extent to which Congress can improve the quality of life in this country, and then the question of how the Congress has acted to fulfill its potential. There can be no doubt but that in several areas, we have fallen far short of the mark. We have in reality done nothing to change the life of the schoolchild who is sent into the world with a substandard education; the worker whose family is struck with illness and who finds himself sinking ever deeper into debt; and the senior citizen whose retirement years are plagued with financial insecurity because of the puny amounts given by Social Security.

An article by Alice Rivlin which appeared in the December 16 issue of the Washington Post details this question, and I would like to commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 16, 1971]

WHAT BECAME OF SOCIAL REFORM?

(By Alice M. Rivlin)

On important social legislation, the administration and the 92d Congress have been battling wearily to a scoreless tie. When the administration carries the ball—as with welfare reform, revenue sharing and health insurance—they get thrown for a loss by

Congress. When the Congress occasionally takes to the air—as with the Child Development Bill—the pass is intercepted by a presidential veto. Time out for the Christmas recess is certainly welcome, but there is no real reason to expect the score to change appreciably before the 1972 election.

This sorry history reveals much administration ineptness in building support for their programs, but it also says some pretty bleak things about the opposition. The liberal (or fairly liberal) Democrats in Congress—one of whom will almost certainly be the party's candidate for President—have shown themselves expert at finding fault with the administration, but they have given little reason to hope they have a plausible program of their own for curing the nation's social ills or even for moving gradually in the right direction.

Finding fault with the administration's proposals has not been a very difficult task. Administration initiatives for social reform have typically contained a germ of a sound idea—one basically compatible with the outlook of the congressional liberals—but the proposed programs have been (1) so small that no one could believe they would make a significant difference and (2) so complicated that no one could understand them. The complexity arose both from efforts to keep the price tag down and from the necessity of compromising divergent positions within the administration.

In the administration's welfare reform proposals, for example, the good ideas were putting a federal floor under welfare benefits and extending aid to the working poor. But the heavy emphasis on saving money meant that the floor was too low—it is hard to get enthusiastic about raising the income of a family of four to $2,400 a year—that families without children were excluded and that some families already on welfare might even be worse off than they are now. Moreover, under the administration's plan, incentives for current welfare recipients to seek work would continue to be extremely weak. Even if they found a job, their welfare benefits would decline almost as fast as their take-home pay would rise. The administration's approach to work for the poor has been to make it compulsory, not to make it worthwhile.

The good idea in the administration's health program was to have the government make sure that everyone was covered by at least a basic package of health insurance benefits. But here again the budget was low and the plan was complicated—one set of rules for the employed and another for those outside the labor force. The part for employees was to be paid by employers—which meant it would likely come out of wages, especially the wages of low-paid workers who are the ones not now covered by health insurance. The part for non-workers did not relieve even the desperately poor of the full burden of medical expenses.

The good idea in the administration's student aid proposal was a guarantee that all needy students would receive assistance if they were admitted to an accredited college or post-high school vocational school. But the effort to save money meant that the poorest students would be aided at the expense of somewhat less needy students now receiving aid. Moreover, the proposal involved so many complex rules for combining scholarships, loans and work study programs into a single student aid package that hardly anyone on the education committees, much less in the rest of the Congress, even understood what was being proposed.

One exception to the complexity charge was the administration's general revenue sharing proposal. There, at least, everyone knew what the proposal was, although many did not like it. The resources to be devoted to general revenue sharing, however, were infinitesimal compared with the problems of state and local government finance. It was hard to believe that distributing $5 billion of federal revenue to state and local governments (about 3 per cent of state and local budgets) would improve the level of these government services appreciably. Moreover, the accompanying proposals for *special* revenue sharing (consolidation of special purpose grants to state and local governments) conformed to the administration's usual prescription for generating political opposition: take a good idea, make it complicated and then underfund it so that some groups now being aided will get less than they are getting now.

With conservatives in both parties against virtually all social programs and liberals in both parties unable to wax enthusiastic about complicated changes they doubted would make much dent in enormous social problems, the predictable result has been stalemate. Welfare reform has passed the House twice, but remains bottled up in the Senate. The revenue sharing plans, like the administration's health proposals, have hardly been given a hearing. The administration's student aid bill was not even seriously considered on either side of the Hill, although both houses have now passed higher education bills of their own whose differences are still unresolved. Prospects for the second session are not much brighter. The President may face the electorate without any substantial legislative accomplishment in the social area at all. There are plenty of signs that the President knows this and may not care. He is neither visibly nor vocally fighting for his social legislation. Indeed, the phrase "New American Revolution" has about as much currency in Washington these days as "Great Society" or "New Frontier."

But if the legislative impasse reflects little credit on the administration, it reflects no more on the opposition, and it does not give a potential Democratic candidate a positive program for which to fight. To be sure, the veto of the Child Development Bill gives the Democrats a chance to point out that they tried to legislate substantial new services for children and were foiled by the President. Passage of a higher education bill (somehow compromising the House and Senate versions) would be a substantial legislative accomplishment for which the Democrats could claim credit, unless of course the bill were so expensive that a presidential veto reduced it to the "we tried and failed" category.

But these two items do not provide much evidence that the Democrats have a coherent program for social reform or an ability to articulate a plausible set of solutions to the social ills that beset the nation. Some very hard work will be necessary if the Democrats are going to convince the country that their leadership would reduce poverty and the evils that accompany it, lead to more effective education or more humane health services, or even begin to reduce the congestion, ugliness and social tension of life in the megalopolis.

GI HOME LOAN PROGRAM IS BEST GOVERNMENT-BACKED HOUSING PLAN

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, since the close of World War II, the Veterans' Administration has administered one of the finest Government-backed housing programs ever passed by the Congress. It is a program which has been responsible for building 1 out of 5 homes in the United States since the close of World War II. More than 7.6 million GI home loans have been made by the VA. More than 3.7 million GI home loans have been repaid in full totaling $36 billion. Another $11 billion has been repaid on outstanding loans.

During the entire history of the program, only about 3 out of every 100 GI loans have been subject to foreclosure and a high percentage of these defaults have been resolved. A recent delinquency survey published by the Mortgage Bankers Association of America as of September 30, 1971, showed that GI loans in foreclosure at the end of the third quarter of 1971 stood at 0.28 percent while under the FHA program the foreclosure percentage at the same comparative period stood at 0.60 percent. The rate of change in foreclosures between VA and FHA showed that VA's rate of increase in foreclosures was about half of the FHA rate despite the high unemployment conditions which exist in our country today.

Mr. Speaker, for the information of my colleagues, I include the foreclosure percentage table which was published by the Mortgage Bankers Association of America as of September 30, 1971:

	Number of mortgage loans serviced or held	Delinquency and in-foreclosure percentages: Delinquent: Total	30 days	60 days	90 days	Placed in foreclosure during quarter	In foreclosure end of quarter
All types of loans:							
Sept. 30, 1971	4,569,563	3.59	2.54	0.62	0.43	0.20	0.41
Change from:							
June 30, 1971		+.32	+.18	+.09	+.05	+.02	+.03
Sept. 30, 1970		+.49	+.28	+.09	+.12	[1]	+.10
Previous high (December 1970)		−.05					
GI:							
Sept. 30, 1971	1,415,431	3.22	2.29	.54	.39	.14	.28
Change from:							
June 30, 1971		+.20	+.11	+.05	+.04	+.02	+.02
Sept. 30, 1970		+.19	+.08	+.03	+.08	[1]	+.04
Previous high (December 1963)		−.55					
FHA:							
Sept. 30, 1971	2,402,135	4.31	3.03	0.76	0.52	0.28	0.60
Change from:							
June 30, 1971		+.46	+.26	+.12	+.08	+.02	+.05
Sept. 30, 1970		+.72	+.42	+.13	+.17	[1]	+.17
Previous high (December 1970)		+.01					
Conventional:							
Sept. 30, 1971	751,997	1.96	1.43	.30	.23	.03	.07
Change from:							
June 30, 1971		+.04	+.07	−.01	−.02	−.01	−.01
Sept. 30, 1970		+.23	+.16	+.03	+.04	[1]	−.01
Previous high (December 1966)		−.09					

[1] Not available.

A PROFESSOR SPEAKS OUT

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I was favorably impressed by a recent article by University of Montana history professor K. Ross Toole, who delivered a devastating criticism of the anarchistic fringe element among those youths of the Nation who are so quick to destroy the pillars of our country, but whose empty hands have thought of nothing with which to replace them.

I include Professor Toole's article for insertion in the RECORD at this point:

I AM A LIBERAL AND I AM SICK OF NONSENSE

(By K. Ross Toole)

I am 49 years old. It took me many years and considerable anguish to get where I am—which isn't much of anyplace except exurbia. I was nurtured in depression; I lost four years to war; I am invested with sweat; I am a "liberal," I am square and I am sick of hippies, Yippies, militants and nonsense.

I am a professor at the University of Montana, and I am tired of being blamed, maimed and contrite; I am tired of tolerance and the reaching out (which is always my function) for understanding. I am sick of the total irrationality of the campus "rebel," whose bearded visage, dirty hair, body odor and "tactics" are childish but brutal, naive but dangerous, and the essence of arrogant tyranny—the tyranny of spoiled brats.

As a professor and as the father of seven children, ranging in age from 7 to 23, I have watched this new generation and concluded that most of them are fine. But a minority are not—and the trouble is that minority threatens to tyrannize the majority and take over. I dislike that minority. I am aghast that the majority "takes" it and allows itself to be used. As one fed-up member of the "Establishment" (which, by the way, is nothing but a euphemism for "society"), I say it's time to call a halt.

We owe the "younger generation" what all "older generations" have owed younger generations—love, protection to a point, and respect when they deserve it. We do not owe them our souls, our privacy, our whole lives—and, above all, we do not owe them immunity from our mistakes, or their own.

Every generation makes mistakes, always has and always will. We have made our share. But my generation has also made America the most affluent country on earth. It has tackled, headon, a racial problem as no nation in history had dared to do. It has publicly declared war on poverty, and it has gone to the moon, it has desegregated schools and abolished polio; it has presided over the beginning of what is probably the greatest social and economic revolution in history. It has begun these things, not finished them. It has declared itself and committed itself, and taxed itself, and damn near run itself into the ground, in the cause of social justice and reform.

Its mistakes are fewer than those of my father's generation—or his father's, or his. Its greatest mistake is not Vietnam, it is the abdication of its first responsibility, its pusillanimous capitulation to its youth. Since when have children ruled this country? By virtue of what right, by what accomplishment should teenagers, wet behind the ears and utterly without the benefit of having lived long enough to have either judgment or wisdom, become the sages of our time?

The psychologists, educators and preachers say the young are rebelling against our archaic mores and morals, our materialism, our failures in diplomacy, our terrible ineptitude in racial matters, our narrowness as parents, our blindness to the root ills of society. Balderdash!

Common courtesy and a regard for the opinions of others are not merely decoration on the pie crust of society—they are the heart of the pie. Too many "youngsters" are egocentric boors. They will not listen and discuss; they will only shout down and throw rocks. Society has classically ostracized arrogance without the backing of demonstrable accomplishment. Why, then, do we tolerate arrogant slobs urinating on our beliefs and defiling our premises? It is not the police we need—our generation and theirs—it is an expression of our disgust and disdain. Yet we do more than permit this behavior, we dignify it with introspective flagellation. Somehow it is our fault. Balderdash again!

Sensitivity was not invented in 1950. The young of any generation have felt the same impulse to reach out to touch the stars, to live freely and to let the mind loose along unexplored corridors. Young men and women have always felt the same vague sense of restraint that separated them from the ultimate experience—the sudden and complete expansion of the mind, the final fulfillment. It is one of the oldest, sweetest and most bitter experiences of mankind.

Today's young people did not invent sensitivity; they do not own it. And what they seek to attain, all mankind has sought to attain, throughout the ages. Shall we, therefore, approve the presumed attainment of it through drugs? And shall we, permissively, let them poison themselves simply because, as in most other respects, we feel vaguely guilty because we brought them into this world?

Again, it is not police raids and tougher laws that we need; it is merely strength. The strength to explain, in our potty, middle-aged way, that what they seek, we sought; that it is somewhere, but sure as hell not in drugs.

Society, the "Establishment," is not a foreign thing we seek to impose on the young. It—along with the 18-year-olds—is the product of thousands of years of the development of mankind. We know it is far from perfect. We did not make it; we have only sought to change it. We win, if we win at all, slowly and painfully. The fact that we have been only minimally successful is the story of all generations—as it will be the story of the generation coming up.

Knowing this, why do we listen subserviently to the violent tacticians of the new generation? Either they solve all problems this week or join a wrecking crew of paranoids. Youth has always been characterized by impatient idealism. If it were not, there would be no change. But impatient idealism does not extend to guns, fire bombs, riots, vicious arrogance and instant gratification. That is not idealism; it is childish tyranny.

The worst of it is that we (professors and faculties in particular), in a paroxysm of self-abnegation, go along, apologize as if we had personally created the ills of the world—and thus lend ourselves to chaos. We are the led, not the leaders. And we are fools.

As a professor I meet the activists and revolutionaries every day. They are inexcusably ignorant. If they want to make a revolution, do they study the ways to do it? Of course not! Their hero is Che Guevara, whose every move was a miscalculation and a mistake. He failed; he died in the jungles of Bolivia with an army of six.

I have yet to talk to an "activist" who has read Crane Brinton's "Anatomy of Revolution," or who is familiar with the works of Jefferson, Washington, Paine, Adams or even Marx or Engels. I have yet to talk to a student militant who has read about racism elsewhere or who understands, even primitively, the long and wondrous struggle of the NAACP.

An old and scarred member of the wars of organized labor in the United States in the 1930s recently remarked to me: "These 'radicals' couldn't organize well enough to produce a sensible platform, let alone revolt their way out of a paper bag." But they can—because we let them—destroy our universities, make our parks untenable, make a shambles of our streets, and insult our flag.

I assert that we are in trouble with this younger generation not because we have failed we have our country, not because of materialism or stupidity, but simply because we have failed to keep that generation in its place, and failed to put it back there when it got out. We have the power; we do not have the will. We have the right; we have not exercised it.

To the extent that we now rely on the police, Mace, the National Guard, tear gas, steel fences and a wringing of hands, we will fail. We need to use not Mace; we need to reassess a weapon we came by the hard way, by travail and labor: firm authority as parents, teachers, businessmen, workers and politicians.

The vast majority of our children from 1 to 20 are fine kids. We need to back this majority with authority and with the firm conviction that we owe it to them and to ourselves. Enough of apology, enough of analysis, enough of our abdication of responsibility, enough of the denial of our own maturity and good sense.

The best place to start is at home. But the most practical and effective place, right now, is our campuses. This does not mean a flood of angry edicts, a sudden clamp-down, a "new" policy. It simply means that faculties should stop playing chicken, that demonstrators should be met not with police but with expulsion. The power to expel (today strangely unused) is one of the oldest rights and necessities of the university community.

Too simple? Not at all. Merely an old process which we seem to have forgotten. It is too direct for those who seek to employ Freudian analysis, too positive for "academic senates" who long for philosophical debate, and too prosaic for those who seek orgiastic self-condemnation.

This is a country full of decent, worried people like myself. It is also a country full of people fed up with nonsense. We need—those of us over 30: tax-ridden, harried, confused, weary and beat up—to reassert our hard-won prerogatives.

It is our country, too. We have fought for it, bled for it, dreamed for it, and we love it. It is time to reclaim it.

MR. NIXON'S WIDER WAR

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday's New York Times carried a column by Tom Wicker which notes quite pointedly the sorry fact that Mr. Nixon is not "winding down" the war in Southeast Asia at all—that, in Mr. Wicker's words, "this is a far wider war than it was when Richard Nixon took over from Lyndon Johnson."

Mr. Nixon is demonstrating once again his utter indifference to the will of the American people. Seventy-five percent of our citizens want us to set a date for withdrawal, contingent upon the release of all American prisoners of war, and to get all of our troops out of Southeast Asia, but the President is gaily trotting off in the opposite direction by resuming the bombing and expanding the war in Cambodia.

I have faith in the American people, and I believe that when the votes are counted next November 7 Mr. Nixon will rue his duplicity.

I include the full text of Mr. Wicker's story at this point in the RECORD:

SOME WAR QUESTIONS

(By Tom Wicker)

Saigon, reads the dateline, and part of the story goes as follows:

"The reported drive is . . . aimed at keeping North Vietnamese forces away from South Vietnam's Military Region III. That region includes Saigon and eleven surrounding provinces and shares 231 miles of border with Cambodia.

"Other objectives . . . are to disrupt North Vietnamese supply routes and to destroy enemy base camps and material in order to prevent the enemy assaults against South Vietnamese bases."

Sound familiar? It certainly does, but this is not May 1970 and those are not American but South Vietnamese troops staging an "incursion" into Cambodia. Otherwise, not much as changed; the sanctuaries still have to be cleaned out, North Vietnamese supplies still have to be destroyed, enemy build-ups still have to be countered, despite the glowing claims of other days.

Of course, the B-52's were out ahead of the 25,000 South Vietnamese who mounted this most recent assault into Cambodia. From above the clouds, the Americans piloting them spread the random destruction that is their hallmark, while nearer the earth American-supplied helicopters and fighter planes played close-support roles. As in earlier invasions, some of these, now or later, may even be flown by American personnel.

Farther to the west and north of Phnompenh, meanwhile, the American-supplied and trained Cambodian Army has suffered major setbacks at the hands of tough North Vietnamese forces. American officials believe Hanoi's operations in Cambodia are directed primarily at easier military access to South Vietnam, rather than at Combodia itself; but any way you study the situation, it hardly augurs well for Cambodia.

Aside from the fact that it was precisely this kind of situation that the American invasion of 1970 was supposed to prevent, the continuing battle in Cambodia raises some pointed questions, the answers to which could reverberate loudly in American politics.

Is the war really "winding down"? Obviously, it is not. The Nixon Administration has resumed the bombing of North Vietnam any time it declares a military necessity to do so, and the shadowy fighting in Laos continues; now the new incursion into Cambodia comes as a graphic reminder that this is a far "wider" war than it was when Richard Nixon took it over from Lyndon Johnson.

It is true that Mr. Nixon has reduced the American ground combat role and its consequent casualties, and no doubt he intends to cut them even further; it may also be true that constant pounding has reduced North Vietnamese and Vietcong strength. But there is nothing to show a slackening of will on Hanoi's part, and the Cambodian operations are ominous portents for the future.

Will pulling out American ground troops end the war for Americans? It is by no means clear that Mr. Nixon plans to pull them all out, but even if he did the United States almost certainly will have to retain a major role in the wider war now being fought and that remains in prospect for the future.

For one thing, the United States is the principal supplier of both the Cambodian and South Vietnamese armies and owns Loatian forces lock, stock and gunbarrel. For another, the only thing that comes close to equalizing these forces with those of North Vietnam and the Vietcong is American air power. And these factors, which suggest that the United States is nowhere close to extricating itself from Indochina, are reinforced by still another question.

Can South Vietnamese forces defend Cambodia as well as South Vietnam? The South Vietnamese have not even established their ability to defend themselves, once more American combat troops are out of the war zone and if a determined Communist offensive begins. Most certainly, the Cambodian Army, improved through it may be, has yet to show that it can seal off the Cambodian approaches to South Vietnam.

The plain truth is that Cambodia flanks South Vietnam to the west, and that no matter how well Saigon's army may defend its own territory, it can only do so if that flank is secure. Further setbacks to Cambodian forces may well spread the South Vietnamese too thin in both countries, a situation that could result in even greater commitment of American air power—or worse, the reintroduction of American ground forces to help hold the line.

So these questions are in order, too: Is Mr. Nixon's Vietnamization program building toward a final triumphant withdrawal of ground forces just before the election—or toward a new Communist onslaught and the possibility of a major military setback? And what are his intentions, if that possiiblity should become a probability in the year ahead? Can even he answer those questions with any certainty?

CONGRESSMAN DERWINSKI

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, a column by Mr. Dumitru Danielopol in the December 9, 1971, edition of the Aurora Beacon-News of Aurora, Ill., spotlights once again the courage and candor of our colleague, Congressman DERWINSKI, in his capacity as a member of our delegation to the United Nations. I include the column in the RECORD at this point:

CONGRESSMAN DERWINSKI

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—After weeks of listening to anti-American propaganda, invectives, insults and accusations of "imperialism", etc. at the United Nations, Rep. Edward J. Derwinski, R-Ill., one of President Nixon's special UN delegates had enough. He set the record straight in a tongue lashing speech that the Soviets won't soon forget.

It's about time.

Speaking on the right of self-determination, which the United States recognizes for all nations, the Illinois congressman accused the Soviet Union of practicing colonialism and imperialism in eastern Europe and in non-Russian states within the Soviet Union.

Delegates should have squirmed when he got specific about the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia that were forcibly incorporated into the USSR.

Derwinski denounced the Soviet Union of deliberately changing the ethnic character of the Baltic nations by resettling many thousands of families in Siberia and other parts of the Soviet Union.

"This wholesale exchange of populations was deliberately designed to radically alter the historic control of their own areas that the peoples of the Baltic States had previously exercised," he said.

Derwinski also recalled the "grim events of Hungary in 1956 and 1968 in Czechoslovakia when brave peoples seeking merely the rights guaranteed by the universal declaration of human rights—to live in freedom and dignity—were ruthlessly suppressed by external force of arms."

The congressman accused the USSR of using the world organization as an anti-American propaganda platform.

"It ill behooves a country (the USSR) which in fact is the world's largest practitioner of colonialism and imperialism," Derwinski said, "to continually use the U.N. as a forum for anti-American cliches which in the exposure of free press and proper information falls far short of reality."

The Soviet delegation didn't like it one bit. They replied through a Lithuanian stooge, V. M. Zenkyiavichus, who accused Derwinski of the "lowest kind of invention and falsification to distract other delegates' attention from criticism of US policy as practiced in Vietnam."

Re-writing history, the Soviet delegate said that the Baltic people took their power into their own hands and "asked the USSR to accept them into the Soviet Union."

Mr. Zenkyiavichus is a liar and he knows it.

The Baltic States became part of the USSR as a consequence of the Hitler-Stalin deal of Aug. 1939. They were occupied in 1940 by Soviet forces. Puppet regimes were installed and were forced to vote themselves into the USSR.

Ousted by the Nazi army in 1941, the Soviet returned to the Baltic States in 1944 and again forced them into submission.

Rep. Derwinski was less blunt than I have been, but he had the last word.

"I have a great and truly sincere interest in the plight of some of the Soviet delegates," he replied. ". . . the tendency in their country to totally rewrite history must be quite upsetting to them as individuals."

He went on to point out that neither Nikita Khrushchev nor Josef Stalin "who led the Soviet Union through major periods of their history," can be found anymore in Soviet history books.

"I can't help but wonder what sort of negotiations our President could have, (in Moscow)," Derwinski added. "He won't know who he is dealing with or how long they will be around, much less if they will be in history books."

HORTON SALUTES TONI BEZONA FOR HER AID TO HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, whenever one extends a helping hand to one less fortunate than he, it is truly noteworthy. When that helping hand is given to handicapped children, it is inspiring, and the deed should be shared.

The great efforts of a fine young woman have come to my attention and because her contribution to her community consists of specialized teaching of music to handicapped youngsters, I wish to pay her tribute.

She is Mrs. David Bezona of 3250 East Avenue, in Rochester. Known as Toni to her friends and her students, she teaches music at the David Hochstein School. She holds a bachelor's degree in music education from the University of Texas.

She became aware of the great needs of musically inclined, but handicapped children, while she was student teaching in Austin, Tex. When she learned that no one else in the school system was working with youngsters with disabilities, she decided that would be her specialty. She has been eminently successful in this field, giving special attention and assistance to these children to help them learn to overcome their handicaps.

Some of Toni Bezona's innovations in this area are truly remarkable. For a child with one arm shorter than the other, she formulated a technique of seating the little girl on a small stool and turning her almost sideways so she could make use of both arms in playing the piano. This is just one example of Mrs. Bezona's talents in bringing the riches of music to the handicapped.

After doing graduate work in the field, Mrs. Bezona used her talents at several locations. She is located in my congressional district. Once discouraged in this specialty even by other teachers, she now is accepted and respected as an outstanding teacher whose methods will no doubt soon, if not already, be emulated by others who also want to bring the joys of musical performance to the handicapped. Mrs. Bezona exemplifies the kind of service to individuals and the community that we should as a nation try to foster.

Toni Bezona was recently the subject of a feature story in the Rochester Times-Union and I include it herewith as my tribute to a talented young woman who has carved out a remarkable career for herself.

The story follows:

SHE TEACHES MUSIC TO HANDICAPPED

(By Linda Hansen)

Toni Bezona's specialty is teaching handicapped and retarded children to make their own kind of music.

"Such children need more attention, more patience, more practice than others," she says, "and often they don't get it because a teacher hasn't the time to work extensively with each individual student.

"I'm not talking about playing music for them to listen to, or about letting them plunk out the rudiments on a simple instrument. I work with them to develop skills in music."

The pretty young blue-eyed brunette is a native of Odessa, Tex., and holds a bachelor's degree in music education from the University of Texas, where she also has done graduate study in music therapy.

She is presently employed by the David Hochstein School on Hoeltzer Street.

She says she "sort of fell into" her career while she was student teaching in Austin, Tex. "I volunteered to give music lessons to children with disabilities because nobody else in the school system was working with them.

"At first, the other teachers tried to discourage me by telling me it was a waste of time to try to work with special children, and that there wasn't any use trying with the older children because all they wanted to do anyway was listen to rock and roll records, things like that."

She divided them into small groups and worked with them in her spare time for a semester. And Toni says, "There was such a change! The children were fascinated with the different instruments, they worked so hard and most began to prefer classical music. With every little mastery, they develop self-confidence, think better of themselves.

"And it was so rewarding for me that I decided this would be my specialty."

She returned to the University of Texas to do graduate work in the field, and gave private lessons. She has taught music to special students in the Lawrence, Kan. school system, at state schools in Abilene and Austin, Tex., and at the College Conservatory of Music in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Toni's husband, David Bezona, is a tenor working for his Ph. D. in music at the Eastman School here. They live at 3250 East Ave. with their 1-year-old daughter, Laura.

Among her happiest memories, Toni counts work she did with a little girl in Cincinnati. "She loved to play the piano, but had been born with one arm much shorter than the other. Her mother had been buying her special music she could work with one hand on the piano, but the little girl wanted to do more.

"We worked out a new approach to the piano for her, seating her on a small stool and turning her almost sideways—that way she could use both hands.

"Another handicapped youngster I worked with in Kansas was very bright but he had one hand that was very stiff and clenched due to a birth defect. In private lessons we worked on different methods of putting that hand to use until we found the answer—inserting a tongue depressor in the palm of the hand spread his fingers so he could use them to play piano. Today, he's in college in Maryland studying music composition."

But she works with children of all ages and with interest in many different instruments, or with singing, as well as piano.

Work progresses from copying rhythms on simple instruments to instruction in theory and composition, depending on the age and abilities of each child.

Mrs. Bezona has worked with very retarded children, hyperactive youngsters, and formed a chorus for handicapped youngsters in Texas. "We had several droolers in the group," she recalls, "but that's not important. What's important is that the children enjoy the music and benefit from the experience."

At Hochstein School she's working on a flexible schedule that allows her to group children according to handicap and age and to give lessons while other students are not in the building.

UNITED STATES GUILTY OF EXCESS CLASSIFICATION: TOO MUCH INFORMATION UNNECESSARILY KEPT FROM CITIZENS AND CONGRESS

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, last summer during the height of the controversy over the Pentagon papers, my Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Government Information held 7 days of hearings on the Government's information and classification policies.

We found that far too many insignificant and unnecessary items wound up with a "Secret" or "Top Secret" stamp on them. Consequently the information contained therein was lost to the public and Congress for periods of years.

One of the witnesses before the subcommittee was William G. Florence, a retired Air Force classification expert with some 40-plus years of experience.

It was Mr. Florence who testified that less than one-half of 1 percent—0.5 percent—of all classified items, deserved to be so.

Mr. Florence has spoken extensively on this subject around the Nation and last Sunday recorded his views in an article in the Washington Post.

I am inserting that article in the RECORD and urge my colleagues to read the article and become aware of the growing amount of secrecy, for secrecy's sake, at our highest levels of Government:

A MADNESS FOR SECRECY

(By William G. Florence)

Every day they sit in the Pentagon, thousands of workers with rubber stamps marked "Confidential" and "Secret" and "Top Secret," and they stamp this paper and that, with little regard for what they are doing. It is a mass exercise in wish-fulfillment, a giant attempt to keep secret what is already public knowledge, what is bound to become widely known, or what is so trivial that it cannot possibly be of use to anyone.

In the process, the buying of toilet paper for some military men becomes a national secret. Purchases of paper clips and paint and long winter underwear can turn into guarded statistics. The purpose and dimensions of a new aircraft, long trumpeted in congressional hearings, remain, to the Pentagon's way of thinking, "Top Secret" matters. Literally millions of documents are needlessly classified alongside the relatively few—I would estimate from 1 to 5 per cent in the Pentagon—which must legitimately be guarded in the national interest.

All this would be rather humorous if it did not have serious consequences. But the fact is that the widespread abuse of secrecy provisions wastes staggering sums of money, undermines the integrity of our security system, and, as with the Pentagon Papers, conceals information which the public has a right to know.

This is not to suggest that there is a Pentagon conspiracy to hide embarrassing documents by stamping "Secret" on them. While that is sometimes the result, the secret-stampers rarely take the trouble to distinguish between what may or may not be embarrassing. Indeed, they rarely make distinctions about much else in the documents either. Which is precisely the trouble. They simply stamp away.

A BIZARRE EXERCISE

Tracing the causes and effects of this classification craze can be an exercise in the bizarre, one which I went through many times during my years at Air Force headquarters. It often begins, as it did in one case involving the F-111 fighter-bomber, with a single person at a single installation deciding that some piece of information should be closely protected. In this particular case, the person was in the Avionics Laboratory at Wright Patterson Air Force Base outside Dayton, Ohio, and what he wanted to protect was the process for turning out a metal used in the F-111.

The metal, tile-shaped pieces of ferrite developed privately by Conductron Corp. in Ann Arbor, Mich., "absorbs" radar signals. This distorts the plane's image on an enemy's radar screen.

As it happened, the same type of material had already been developed in the Netherlands, and similar radar absorbers were patented shortly afterward in Sweden. Moreover, Conductron had been generously scattering the metal tiles about in its sales effort. Despite all this, the Air Force man stamped "Confidential" on both the production process and the titles themselves, an action which nobody above him questioned. To his mind, these were U.S. secrets, and Conductron and General Dynamics Corp., the prime F-111 contractor, were ordered to keep them so.

This was no small task. The companies, among other things, had to have special facilities to store all waste metal left from their work. The reason: The waste could not be destroyed by simple burning or shredding, the standard methods of getting rid of paper secrets. So it had to be hoarded.

From the mid-1960s until September 1970, Conductron actually stored about 28,500 pounds of waste metal. At General Dynamics' Fort Worth, Tex., plant, where the tiles were fashioned to fit the plane's body, about 285 barrels of waste accumulated over this period. This was in addition to special guards at the plants, barriers erected to make sure nobody could get a hand on a grain of the metal, and other precautions required by the government for "Confidential" information. The overall extra cost for these measures was in the neighborhood of $400,000.

The cost would have kept rising if General Dynamics did not begin to run out of storage space. The company was faced with the choice of either putting up an additional building to hide the waste or finding some way to destroy it. A destruction study was even conducted: The best way to eliminate these leftovers, it found, was to ship the waste under guard to San Antonio, where it could be melted back to molten iron. The extra cost calculated by General Dynamics and the government: $600,000.

This, however, was not how the dilemma was solved. Rather, federal security inspectors finally asked Air Force headquarters in Washington whether the "Confidential" marking had been necessary in the first place. The question came to me, and I received assurances from the office of John S. Foster, director of defense research and engineering, that there had never been any need for protecting the metal tiles. I spent the next 10 months trying to get the classification for the tiles canceled. It was finally dropped in September 1970, after being in effect for about seven years.

But the Avionics Laboratory was able to retain the "Confidential" classification on Conductron's pending patent application. That classification, at last report, still was in effect.

AN EXPENSIVE HABIT

This is by no means an isolated case. Guarding information that is already well known is something of a habit with many defense men. One officer at the Air Force's Aeronautical Systems Division in Ohio, for example, decided one day in late 1969 that the nation should keep a close watch on information about the new B-1 manned bomber. Mainly, he wanted to keep secret such details as the plane's purpose, its length and wing span, its take-off weight, how high it can fly, and what it looks like in a photograph.

I suppose this all would have been nice, except that it was absurd—these details had all been proclaimed for the world to hear while the Pentagon was pleading with Congress to authorize the bomber in the first place. The information had to be disclosed before a dime was approved.

But this did not deter the Aeronautical Systems officer. He insisted that the nation guard the information. So he stamped the instructions to the plane's contractor, North American Aviation, as "Secret," advising the company to keep these details under wraps.

North American, in July of 1970, forwarded some advice of its own. The initial cost for remodeling facilities and taking numerous other steps to comply with the "Secret" classification, it said, would be about $1.2 million. This did not include similar measures and expenses that would be required by subcontractors and suppliers.

Luckily, this nonsense was halted before it went went too far. The security adviser at the Aeronautical Systems Division, who had opposed the classification, also phoned Washington about the problem. Instructions cancelling the classification were prepared by myself and others. The classification eventually was dropped in early 1971, and another expensive exercise in wish-fulfillment averted.

I would estimate, however, that at least $50 million a year is still spent on storing, protecting and inspecting unnecessarily classified defense information.

While many defense planners do not like to admit it, relatively little of what they do actually can be kept secret very long. This is particularly true in the scientific and technical area.

In early 1970, for example, a group called the Task Force on Secrecy, set up by the Pentagon and including such leading scientists as nuclear physicist Edward Teller, reported:

"Security has a limited effectiveness. One may guess that tightly controlled information will remain secret—on the average—perhaps five years. But on vital information, one should not rely on effective secrecy for more than a year. The Task Force believes that classification is sometimes more effective in withholding information from our friends than from potential enemies."

The Task Force, finding that secrecy hampers the flow of scientifically useful information here and abroad, estimated that the "amount of scientific and technical information which is classified could profitably be decreased perhaps as much as 90 per cent." Little has become of that report. It does not sit well with Pentagon psychology.

THE STAMPERS' BIBLE

The Bible of security-stamping is called Executive Order 10501. Issued Nov. 5, 1953, by President Eisenhower, its nine pages contain commandments on what the executive branch shall classify, how sensitive information shall be stored and other rituals for keeping big secrets. It does not, however, make it very clear who shall decide what is a secret. It commands only that affected departments limit this power "as severely as is consistent with the orderly and expeditious transaction of government business."

That, which can mean almost anyone, is one reason for the classification craze. It is why thousands of bureaucrats have rubber stamps, which they can order fairly easily from supply units. At the Pentagon, desk after desk has a little tree-like stand with "Secret" and "Top Secret" hanging from its wrought-iron branches.

A second reason for the stamping binge is the security "orientation" given to new arrivals. At these, films on communism are sometimes shown and lectures on secret-keeping delivered. But rarely, if ever, is it stressed that stamping should be done sparingly—"Top Secret" if disclosure would cause "exceptionally grave damage to the nation," "Secret" if it would cause "serious" damage, and "Confidential" if it would "prejudice" the national defense.

Rather, the orientations tend to intimidate new arrivals with myths about classification—that there is some mysterious "law" dictating what must be kept secret, which there isn't, or that divulging classified information is necessarily a crime, which it isn't.

Security-stamping is done entirely on the initiative of the executive branch, governed by its own Executive Order 10501. No law specifies what the government must keep secret. The espionage laws do make it a crime to disclose defense information in some cases—but only if it can be proved, first, that disclosure would damage the nation or help an adversary, and, second, that the *intention* was to cause this damage. Otherwise, there is no crime in giving out information marked "Top Secret."

Indeed, millions of currently secret documents could be read on television and broadcast to all of our potential enemies without any crime being committed, except perhaps to bore everyone to death. The point is that the indiscriminately applied security markings in themselves do not make anything subject to the espionage laws. That would be absurd. The legal tests are damage and intent to damage. It was on the damage test that the Supreme Court upheld the right of newspapers to publish from the Pentagon Papers, regardless of the "Top Secret" stamped on that vast study of U.S. decision-making on the Vietnam war.

THREAT OF PUNISHMENT

If Bureaucrats should not worry much about criminal prosecutions, they should and do worry about being punished administratively, as any boss punishes a worker, for what the government may consider a violation of its security bible. This constant threat of punishment hanging over the heads of Pentagon workers considerably reinforces the mania for classification.

Nightly and on weekends, security police prowl the Pentagon in search of any evidence that the commandments of Executive Order 10501 are not being heeded. In the mornings, those whose offices have been searched usually find on their desks a calling card from their service's security force. The Air Forces version of this greeting is:

"The USAF Security Force did not discover any improperly stored classified information during its check of this area."

More than once, though, the snoopers do find what is, to the strange way of thinking, a violation. One morning early this year, while searching a desk in Air Force headquarters, for example, they came upon some unclassified pages from a Rand Corporation document. The pages listed electronic equipment for six old aircraft, including the ancient B-58 bomber.

The security checkers felt the lists should have been classified and locked in a safe. It apparently made no difference to them that the Air Force had distributed the information throughout the world for years as unclassified. They believed the information should be guarded, and they carry considerable weight. The snoopers reported their finding to the employee's superior, who ordered the worker to forfeit a day's pay.

A similar incident occured last year at TRW Systems, Redondo Beach, Calif., one of the more than 13,000 contractors cleared for access to classified information. (Hundreds of thousands of employees at the contractors' plants are forced to sign statements that they understand improper disclosure of classified information "may be punishable under federal criminal statutes," which is simply not true.) A TRW engineer there was charged by security enforcers with improper disclosure of the scheduled operational date for the Minuteman III missile, the booster for the multi-warhead MIRV system.

That was ridiculous. The June 1970, date was known all over the Northwest, where the missile was being put into place, as well as all over the world. Such actions cannot be kept secret very long; they are self-revealing. Indeed, Air Force Secretary Robert Seamans shortly afterward publicly mentioned the Minuteman III date. Still, the engineer was punished by his company, which acted under threat of penalty by the government.

NEEDED: LEGISLATION

These are only two of thousands of cases each year in which government and private employees are charged with security violations, most of which have no bearing whatsoever on the defense interests of this country. (At the Pentagon, the security snoopers have even left their calling cards several times in press room typewriters used by newsmen.)

Considering the inadequate executive order, the intimidating lectures and this overzealous enforcement, it is little wonder that defense workers have cultivated a mania for stamping "Secret" on everything.

If all this were not bad enough, President Nixon would now like to start a massive effort to declassify piles of old records that have already been declassified for more than 13 years. On Aug. 3, in the wake of the Pentagon Papers case, he asked Congress for an initial $636,000 to "begin an immediate and systematic effort to declassify documents of World War II." The total cost for five years of reviewing a "substantial" portion of 160 million pages of records was put at $6 million.

The intention is fine, but the fact is that the bulk of the Defense Department's World War II records were declassified or downgraded on Sept. 27, 1958, by DOD Directive 5200.9, which I wrote.

Even if that directive did not exist, a $6 million drive to read all these musty records and cancel classification markings would be a vast waste of funds. It would be far easier and less costly to wait until the records are requested, and to physically cancel the markings when the papers are withdrawn.

But canceling ancient classifications, while it may have some political appeal, is not a very lasting solution to the problem. It would help if millions of later records were declassified, but that, too, would not really be an answer. What is needed is to declassify millions of current records, and to make sure, through tighter controls on secrecy-stamping, that more do not swiftly pile up.

At present, an executive branch committee—set up under Assistant Attorney General and Supreme Court nominee William Rehnquist—is developing recommendations for improving Executive Order 10501. But chances are slim that its proposals will get to the heart of the matter. It is seeking to eliminate some classification authority, such as that now held by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and to cut the time period during which a document can remain classified. But far deeper change is needed, and it should be brought about by law, not by executive order.

We need to define, legally, what critical information may be classified—legislation perhaps similar to the 1954 Atomic Energy Act's provisions for protecting "restricted data"—and who may do the classifying. Only then could we begin to have secrets that are worth keeping and to tear down the current classification madhouse.

A TASK FORCE'S VIEW OF SECRECY

(NOTE.—Following is the summary of the 1970 report of the Task Force on Secrecy established by the Pentagon's Defense Science Board. The nine-member Task Force was chaired by Frederick Seitz, former president of the National Academy of Sciences, and included such prominent scientists as nuclear physicist Edward Teller and former Atomic Energy Commission member Gerald A. Tape.)

1. The task force considered the matter of classification from several viewpoints. However, it focused its main attention on the classification of scientific and technical information.

2. The task force noted that it is unlikely that classified information will remain secure for periods as long as five years and that it is more reasonable to assume its knowledge by others in periods as short as a year through independent discovery, clandestine disclosure or other means.

3. The task force noted that the classification of information has both negative as well as positive aspects. On the negative side, beyond the dollar costs of making decisions on classification and maintaining information secure, classification establishes barriers between nations, friendly as well as not, creates areas of uncertainty in the public mind on public issues and impedes the flow of useful information within our own country as well as abroad.

4. The task force noted that more might be gained than lost if our nation were to adopt, unilaterally if necessary, a policy of complete openness in all areas of information, but agreed that in spite of the great advantages that might accrue from such a policy, it is not a practical proposal at the present time. The task force believes such would not be acceptable within the current framework of attitudes, both national and international, toward classification. . . .

5. The task force noted that the types of scientific and technical information which most deserve classification lie in areas close to design and production, having to do with detailed drawings and special techniques of manufacture. Such information is similar to that which industry often treats as proprietary and is not infrequently closer to the technical arts than to science. The task force believes that most of the forces of attention of classification of technical information be directed to such areas instead of to research and exploratory development.

6. It is the opinion of the task force that the amount of scientific and technical information which is classified could profitably be decreased perhaps by as much as 90 per cent by limiting the amount of information classified and the duration of its classification. Such action would serve better the protection of necessarily classified information since the regulation concerning the enforcement of the residual could be applied more rigorously than at present.

WRAP-UP WASHINGTON REPORT

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, I shall soon be sending to the people of the 12th District of Massachusetts my wrap-up Washington Report of this first session of the 92d Congress concerning my continuing legislative duties and responsibilities.

In the interest of exchanging information, with particular reference to the types of congressional activities of particular interest to the people of my constituency, I include in the RECORD my Washington Report dated December, 1971:

WASHINGTON REPORT

This is my wrapup Washington Report of this session of Congress. As you read it, I am back home, meeting with as many constituents as I possibly can.

In the next session, I'll represent the 12th District, as now constituted, for the final time—For, in 1973, the Legislature's Redistricting Plan will be in effect!

Abington, Whitman, Halifax, Hanson, Bridgewater will be out of the District.

I regret that my hometown and the others were cut from the District.

I have enjoyed my relationship with these communities and representing their citizens in the Congress.

All this has caused the press to ask me: "Will you move to a town within the new 12th District?" Will you seek re-election?" Will you accept a White House assignment?"

I haven't answered any of these questions. I've been too busy with Congressional problems at hand.

As Louise and I move throughout the District during the recess (so-called) we will have a chance to talk with you and try to come up with the answers.

Mr. and Mrs. Jack Gould, of Hingham, Mrs. Michael Vetrano, of Harwich, Mr. Norman Mason, of Harwich, and Mr. Donald Strong, of Hingham, attended the recent White House Conference on Aging.

I've asked them to join me in District-wide panel discussions through which information from the Conference can be shared with city and town aging councils—and with others interested in our elder citizens. Notices of these meetings will soon go out.

The House passed campaign spending bill was good and necessary reform legislation. It makes it more difficult to "buy" an election. It imposes a ceiling on spending for campaign advertising—particularly for TV—and it requires candidates to show where the money comes from. If we hadn't passed some sort of reform we'd have ended up with candidates who were all millionaires—or who were heavily financed by special interests.

With mass merchandising and Madison Avenue advertising campaigns, the consumer was being relegated to low man on the totem pole. Flammable fabrics, dangerous toys and phoney gadgets were sneaking into the market place. Aided by Nader's Raiders, Congress has come up with a Consumer Protection Bill which creates an agency with enough power to protect consumers.

On Dec. 7th, the House, without my support, passed and sent to the President the Economic Opportunity amendments which he had threatened to veto. Two days later, in a veto message, Mr. Nixon called the bill "ill-advised and restrictive." The Senate agreed—the veto held.

Congressional critics of the measure had called it "an administrative monstrosity." Oregon's Democratic Congresswoman, Edith Green, the House's leading authority on Education, said, in debate, that she would "never again support the OEO programs unless there is a drastic change . . . so the billions spent will actually benefit the poor."

Cancer has continued to be the most unconquerable of all mankind's diseases. Until now our attack against it has been on a broad front. Thanks to the President and to the responsiveness of Congress, we've now enacted a $1.5 billion, three-year program for Cancer Research. Hopefully, this will enable us to make substantial headway against this dread disease.

Former House Speaker John McCormack is of a generation earlier than mine—and of different political persuasion. But I treasure my associations with him as much as I do with any Member of Congress, young or old, Democrat or Republican. Attending the funeral of his beloved Harriet was a memorable and moving experience—made all the more so by the presence of former President Lyndon Johnson.

The Brockton Enterprise summed up the McCormack marriage this way: "In this day and age when the news is cluttered with stories of free love, broken marriages and an indifference by many to the rules of wedded life, it is refreshing to read of a long and happy married life such as that of John and Harriet McCormack."

The year of celebration of the 350th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims ended, Nov. 30, with a reception at the Smithsonian Institution. The hosts were the members the Presidentially-appointed Plymouth-Provincetown Celebration Commission. The honored guest was the Lord Mayor Alderman Dorothy F. W. Innes, of Plymouth, England.

Earlier in the day, I greeted Lord Mayor Innes at the Capitol. She was accompanied by Cyril Kane, her sergeant at Mace, and by Miss Martha Reardon, Executive Director of the Celebration Commission.

Commission Chairman George C. P. Olsson and the other members of the Commission and its Staff are to be congratulated for an outstanding job.

When I first came to Congress, scallops were 28¢ a pound—and millions of pounds were in storage. Haddock was plentiful—today, it's so scarce that, by international agreement, we have to have closed seasons. The threat (of no more fish) is world-wide. Whales are nearly extinct. Lobsters are prohibitively priced. The Atlantic salmon could go the way of the passenger pigeon and the heath hen.

Only international regulation, firmly enforced, can rebuild the ocean's resources. Congressional jurisdiction is too limited. The Chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee has asked me to work with UN officials to save our fish. We must coordinate our National effort with that of other countries.

Symptomatic of the problem are small meshed fish nets offered in evidence by Captain Mathias Bendiksen of Fairhaven. Highly respected in the industry he, like other fishermen, is gravely concerned with this problem and its disastrous effects. The Law of the Sea Conference to be held in 1973 may well be man's last chance to prevent extinction of many of the world's fisheries resources.

Since the last law of the sea conference, mining interests have been seeking increased resources from the sea bed. The fishing interests—national and worldwide—must be strongly represented at the 1973 Conference if they are to be fairly treated in such fast company.

The Soviet Union has begun to pass us in certain areas of military superiority. Its merchant marine capability has paralleled that of its navy. This is no surprise. I warned of this in my 1966 Congressional Report, "The Soviets and the Seas" . . .

Consider these excerpts from that 1966 Report:

Although the Soviets are giving top priority to their programs, designed to gain control of the seas, our merchant marine is on the decline.

The statistics are alarming:

U.S. shipyards began 1966 with 41 merchant ships on order. At the end of 1965 the Soviets had 464 merchant ships of over 1,000 gross tons on order.

About 70 percent of all U.S.-flag ships is more than 20 years old—20 years is considered a reasonable lifetime for a ship—while 80 percent of the Soviet commercial fleet is less than 10 years old.

During time of war, more than ever, a nation needs a strong merchant marine. The merchant marine has often been called our fourth arm of defense, but today, it can be termed our "withered arm of defense." So pitiful is U.S. shipping capacity that it has become necessary for us to charter foreign vessels to carry war materials to Vietnam.

The programs of the U.S.S.R. to gain superiority on the sea are (1) well planned both from the short- and the long-range point of view; (2) encompass political, military, economic, and scientific objectives; (3) the organizations with responsibility to implement them are competently staffed and well coordinated. In short, we conclude that the entire Soviet maritime policy has already gone a long way toward achieving supremacy at sea, and unless effectively challenged by the free world, can be expected to achieve this strategic objective well before the end of this century.

Consider these excerpts from a U.S. NEWS Interview (Sept. 13, 1971) with Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.:

". . . The Vietnam War . . . in essence . . . cost us the equivalent of about a generation of shipbuilding. What increases there were in Navy budgets have been spent largely on attrition aircraft, bombs, bullets and increased operating expenses . . . The Navy was down to less than a billion dollars a year at a time when we should have been spending 3 billion dollars a year on new ships . . . Navy's responsibilities are greater than . . . ever . . . The Soviet Navy is dramatically more powerful than it was 10 years ago . . . If the U.S. continues to reduce and the Soviet Union continues to increase, it's got to be inevitable that the day will come when the result will go against the U.S. . . .

Judging from these words of our Chief of

Naval Operations, we can conclude that, should we become involved in future confrontations with the Communist powers, our ability to attract and to hold Third World Nations as friends and allies would be greatly lessened by our relatively weakened defensive capability.

In the closing days of the first session of the 92d Congress, we appropriated $3.5 Billion for Navy shipbuilding and conversion. I have strong hopes that some of this will be invested in the construction of at least one—hopefully two—Naval vessels which can, and will, keep the General Dynamics Yard at Quincy operational.

As this letter goes to press, we are encouraging (and the chances seem to be good) the Department of Commerce to approve one—perhaps two—more Lykes ships. These are the largest dry cargo vessels in the world. They are over 850 feet long. Similar to the three currently under construction at the Yard, they cost more than $45-Million apiece. They are technically superior to any other Merchant vessels on the high seas.

In my last Washington Report, I sought your "advice and comment" as to whether the President, "as the Commander-in-Chief," should continue "to make the determination as to when, how and in what manner we extricate ourselves from Vietnam. Your response was helpful. It contributed to my decision to vote against tying the President's hands in resolving the Vietnam problem.

This year, the Congress said "yes" to more money than ever. I voted "No" to such proposals more often than in previous Congresses. My position on these matters is consistent with the fact that the 12th District is the most moderate in Massachusetts. I believe you want me to say "No" once in awhile, no matter how momentarily unpopular—and—unpolitical—it might be.

This position is necessary if we're to reverse the costly trend of "tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect." I hope the days of "spend and elect (and tax)" are numbered. If not, the Nation will be in the same bind in which Massachusetts finds itself. The State's spendingest newspaper, The Globe, notes retiring State Commerce Commissioner Carroll Sheehan's concern that "the number of manufacturing jobs in the state has sunk below 500,000 (from a post-war high of nearly 900,000)."

The Globe quotes Commissioner Sheehan as saying: "Don't tell me not to worry about the loss of manufacturing jobs because the number of service jobs is increasing. There is a limit to the number of hamburgers we can sell each other. Without manufacturing jobs the service industry cannot survive."

Commissioner Sheehan's concern with this problem coincides with my own long-standing fear that, unless we cut out wasteful spending and draining taxation at the National level, our competitive position amongst the nations of the world may parallel that of Massachusetts.

Were it not for the economic philosophy of moderates in the Congress and in the Administration, such a National disaster could befall us.

ST. NICHOLAS BENEFIT

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend I had the privilege and pleasure of participating in the 15th annual St. Nicholas Benefit for the Byzantine Catholic Seminary in Pittsburgh, Pa.

It was a most impressive affair attended by more than 1,000 people of the Byzantine faith and their guests. Unquestionably, the high point of the evening's proceedings was the singling out for special recognition nine members of the Byzantine Rite for "outstanding service" to their church and their communities.

These men were not people of prominence, nor men of community stature. They were hard-working, God-fearing, unashamed of their love for their church and their country. They were symbolic of the type of individuals who made America the greatest Nation on the face of the earth.

I would like to insert their names into the RECORD, for I feel they have set an example that each and every American would do well to follow. They make up the heart and backbone of our Nation.

Michael Hritz, representing the Clairton Deanery of the Byzantine Church; John Babyak, Johnstown Deanery; John Dirda, Mon-Valley Deanery; Ivan Braszo, Pittsburgh Deanery; Henry Sweka, Punxsutawney Deanery; John Shymchyk, Jr., Tri-State Deanery; John Gates, Youngstown Deanery.

I wish my colleagues could have heard the tributes publicly paid these men and so richly deserved. I wish they could have heard the inspired messages of Archbishop Stephen J. Kocisko and Bishops Emil J. Mihalik and Michael J. Dudick, who called for a rededication to serving our fellow men and a return to the teachings of the church.

The deep-rooted faith these people have in their church and spiritual leaders was graphically illustrated in the substantial contribution made to the Byzantine Seminary by Mr. George Batyko, president of the Greek Catholic Union, for the education of future priests.

Mr. Speaker, in the course of the evening, I was made the recipient of the 1971 St. Nicholas Award. Saint Nicholas is the patron saint of the Byzantine Rite, and the award is one of the highest the church can bestow on a layman. I am humble, I am grateful. I will attempt to live up to the trust and responsibilities placed in me by the Byzantine Church and its people.

OPPOSITION TO PROPOSED REGULATION OF PLANT NUTRIENTS AND GRAZING REGULATIONS ON PRIVATE LANDS

HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the following statement by Louis Fieber, Edwards County, Ill., regarding his opposition to proposed regulation of plant nutrients and grazing regulations on private lands:

PROTEST OF PROPOSED REGULATION OF PLANT NUTRIENTS AND GRAZING REGULATIONS ON PRIVATE LANDS

My name is Louis Fieber, I was born and raised on an Illinois farm and currently till 2,000 acres in Edwards County.

I am here to protest the enactment of your proposed plant nutrient application rates, and livestock grazing regulations.

There are those who seem to forget that we live on the land we farm, we obtain the water we drink from the land we farm. I would rather drink the water that flows from my tile drains than to drink the water flowing from a municipal sewage disposal plant.

The article entitled "Pollution—Are Fertilizers at Fault" written by Fred P. Miller, appearing in the August-September, 1970 issue of Crops and Soils states and I quote, "Americans are consuming close to 9 million tons of nitrogen annually as protein in their diets Almost 30% more than that is being applied as fertilizer." And also further states, "There is little opportunity for Nitrogen loss by leaching during the growing season under most farming conditions. Several researchers have said it is doubtful that any more Nitrogen is lost from any farming region where erosion is controlled than is lost under virgin forest or grassland conditions. This last statement was reported by W. H. Garmin in the 1969 Plant Food Review." Upon reading this article it would appear that the case against fertilizers has been unfounded and overstated by unknowledgeable persons.

We have not poisoned the water hole, we must also drink from it. Why must we be used as the Scapegoat? We are unjustly blamed for:

(1) Plant nutrient excesses
(2) High food prices
(3) Unsafe working conditions
(4) Feed lot pollution
(5) Pesticide abuses

Many people seem to forget that potential pollutants originating from agricultural sources are considered by farmers to be assets whereas pollutants originating from municipalities and industrial sources are considered as liabilities since they usually cost cities and business considerable sums of money if they are to make safe disposal.

Farmers live with nature. We respect it. We attempt to preserve an environment in which we will not starve; one in which we can make a reasonable profit; one which our children will be proud.

The agricultural segment of our economy is by far the most efficient and productive and has had a profound effect on Foreign Trade and a favorable record in our International Balance of Payments. According to Royal Fraedrich in the Editorial of the October 1971 issue, Volume 43, No. 7 of Big Farmer: "We are now exporting the production from one out of every four acres compared to only one in seven acres 20 years ago." We have consistently supplied you in this country and the world with wholesome food at very economical prices while at the same time making a profit and aggresively competing on the World Market. An article entitled "Agriculture's Contribution to U.S. Foreign Trade Balance" by C. Curtis Cable and Elmer L. Menzie appearing in the July-August 1971 issue of "Progressive Agriculture in Arizona" states "Agriculture's contribution to U.S. trade balance has been more stable than has the contribution from other industries." We have this enviable record despite rail strikes, dock strikes, increased taxes, poorly managed Government Agricultural Programs, and higher prices for almost all of our production input items.

Illinois and American Agriculture has this successful record primarily because of the implementation of practices advocated by our Land Grant Colleges and our Co-operative Extension services. We, in Edwards County, rely on our State University, our Dixon Springs Agricultural Research Center, numerous state soil experiment stations and our very able County Extension Agent, Ken Hestand, in reaching decisions on fertilizer and pesticide application rates. If you, as a State and Nation, desire the continued supply of cheap abundant food and farm surpluses to export, we in agriculture must be allowed to function as an independent free enterprise unhampered by State and National Bureaucrats, who know little or nothing about the problems inherent to our business.

Do not forget that we are in competition with the world. If other countries can produce quality food for less than our cost because of non-regulation of plant nutrients, and cheaper labor, they will get the World Trade our country needs. Remember when Chairman Khrushchev said "We Will Bury You." If Nikita were alive today, I am sure he would click his heels with glee at the thought of the most productive Agricultural Nation in the World adopting regulations to control application of plant nutrients especially when the governing board is composed of Bureaucrats and doesn't even contain one Knowledgeable Red-necked Dirt Farmer. Bureaucrats have far too much power. They are not elected by the people who pay their salaries. In their effort to control everything from application of plant nutrients, grazing of livestock on private tax paying lands, the content of peanut butter, your employment practices, and the busing of students to far off places to fulfill some obscure guideline, they have demonstrated their complete disregard for due Process of Law, for Constitutional Rights, for free Enterprise and Capitalism. Bureaucrats can assume you guilty and you must prove your innocence. This is contrary to our basic legal doctrine.

If your agency adopts these controls on plant nutrient application rates, I predict it will be no more effective than the O.P.A. was in controlling prices during World War II. You will only create a Black Market for fertilizer because your proposal is unjust, unfair and does not take into consideration the vast difference in climate, soil types, and farming systems existing in our state.

For Instance:

(1) There is considerable difference between a soil that is frozen 1 foot deep and frosty soil that is frozen only 3 or 4 inches and thaws out each day.

(2) You have failed to take into consideration the vast difference in natural nitrogen supplying ability of different soil types. Given adequate nitrogen there are many deep light colored alluvial soils in our state that are capable of as high or higher yields as the dark colored soils. In other words, soils such as soil type No. 382 Belknap silt loam may require more supplemental nitrogen than soil type No. 126 Bonpas silty clay loam, but still have a higher corn yield potential in Edwards County because of a more favorable water holding capacity.

(3) I would very seriously question any potential yield loss for planting corn after April 25, especially when referring to our deep alluvial soils that have a high moisture supplying ability. My personal experience would indicate no substantial yield difference on Belknap silt loam planted any time between April 15 and June 15 in our area.

(4) You fail to take into consideration such practices as narrow rows, no-till and varietal differences in your recommendations. According to leaflet 310-A, entitled "No-tillage Systems for Grain Production" written by Shirley H. Phillips, W. R. McClure, and J. W. Herron published by the Co-operative Extension Service of the University of Kentucky, For No-Till corn "Nitrogen levels should be increased 20 to 30 percent over that used in conventional planting."

(5) You have failed to make any adjustment for double cropping corn after wheat. From our area on south we can grow Blueboy wheat that yields from 40 bushel to 100 bushel per acre and follow with a possible 100 bushel plus second crop of corn. Your N. application rates would not be enough to decompose the wheat straw and grow a good corn crop. Agronomy News No. 427 published September 27, 1971, by Co-operative Extension Service, University of Ill. indicates the 1970–71 average yield of Blueboy wheat at Brownston Experiment station to be 76 bushel per acre. An article entitled "Double Cropping in Illinois" written by George Mckibben and John W. Pendleton and published in summer 1968 issue of Illinois Research indicates a 3 year average corn yield of 106 bushel following wheat and this was on a 12% slope. This was not a deep alluvial soil.

(6) You do not suggest any economical satisfactory alternate method for us to apply nitrogen on our winter wheat. We have customarily in this area applied nitrogen to our wheat crop on frozen soils. This is based upon the recommendations from Dixon Springs, University of Ill., Purdue University, and the University of Kentucky. If we postpone N. application until the ground is firm enough to support fertilizer applicators because of a ban on making the application on frozen soil, our wheat could be knee high.

Upon refering to the article entitled "General Information Relating to U.S. Agriculture" in the July 30, 1971 issue of the California Potatorama on Page 14, I observe farming is the nation's biggest industry. "Farming employs 4.6 million workers—more than the combined employment in transportation, public utilities, the steel industry and the automobile industry. Agriculture's assets total 307 Billion, equal to about ⅔ of the value of current assets of all corporations in the U.S.; or about ½ the market value of all corporations on the New York Stock Exchange." "Three out of every 10 jobs in private employment are related to agriculture." Realizing these facts, I seriously question the qualifications of the present Pollution Control Board to impose these un-necessary, unfair regulations, because agriculture is not fairly represented. At least 2 or 3 members of the Pollution Control Board should be knowledgeable farmers!

If you adopt these proposed regulations you could very easily contribute to the death of the Goose that lays the Golden Egg of Foreign Agricultural Trade.

In conclusion I believe Henry David Thoreau summed it up quite well several years ago when he stated in his Civil Disobedience speech that "The government that governs best governs least."

DRUG PROBLEM IN UNITED STATES

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call my colleagues' attention to the continuing problem of drug addiction, especially among this Nation's youth.

The use of heroin in the United States, with all its concomitant consequences, has grown to crisis proportions.

President Nixon declared in his message to Congress on June 17, 1971:

> The problem has assumed the dimensions of a national emergency.

The President added:

> If we cannot destroy the drug menace in America, then it will surely in time destroy us.

The National Institute of Mental Health estimated in May that the addict population totaled 250,000. However, John E. Ingersoll, Director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, says the figure is even higher. His most recent estimate places the number of addicts in this country at 330,000.

In the past few years, drug-related arrests have increased astronomically from 50,000 in 1965 to 232,690 in 1969. At least five Americans die each day as a result of narcotics abuse. This figure is undoubtedly higher, however, because of the difficulty of accurately reporting and determining drug-related deaths.

The effects of addiction are not restricted merely to the user. Up to 50 percent of all metropolitan area property crimes stem from the addict's need to support his habit; the total drain on the U.S. economy, including both thefts and enforcement costs, has been estimated by several authorities at more than $8 billion a year. An addict can cost our society $50,000 to $100,000 annually. If the addict is enrolled in an outpatient methadone program, the cost to the taxpayer is about $1,200. The cost of residential therapeutic treatment is $3,200 per year for each addict committed. The expenditure of Federal funds alone in the areas of enforcement, treatment, rehabilitation, research, education, and training increased dramatically from $67.9 million in 1969, $105.1 million in 1970, $166.4 million in 1971 to a projected $370 million for the present fiscal year—a total cost to the American taxpayer of $709.4 million.

My own State of New York bears a disproportionate share of the agonizing narcotics problem. Latest figures place the number of addicts in the State at 157,000. Total felony narcotics arrests have risen from 1,807 in 1960 to more than 30,000 in 1970. In New York City, 1,205 drug-related deaths have been confirmed by autopsy, and another 200 may yet be confirmed. Five hundred eighty-eight drug-related deaths have been recorded for the first 6 months of 1971 and the Office of the Chief Medical Examiner of New York warns that this figure will rise by 20 to 30 percent when all the statistics are in.

In Los Angeles, the number of drug-related deaths is equally frightening. During fiscal year 1970, from July 1, 1969, to June 30, 1970, 1,139 persons died as the result of drugs. Specifically, there were 359 accidental overdose deaths, 679 overdose deaths by suicide, and 101 overdose deaths in which the motive was unknown.

A recent analysis of the impact of narcotics use in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, N.Y., reported an increase in felonious assaults from 451 in 1960 to 1,107 in 1969, despite a decrease in population of almost 25 percent. Burglaries and robberies in this community multiplied nearly tenfold over the decade. The report's evidence is incontrovertible: drug addicts were responsible for the majority of these crimes.

Drug-related crimes have also taken their toll in all the urban centers of the Nation. In Los Angeles, for example, in 1970 there was a total of 27,544 arrests in all drug categories. A total of 21,479 adults and 6,065 juveniles were arrested for drug offense.

Drug usage and ultimate heroin addiction respect no boundaries. Education, class, race, economic conditions, and age are no longer determinant factors in drug abuse. All walks of life are susceptible to this menace. What has become perhaps most tragic is the increasing usage of drugs among our youth.

I wish to submit to the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, an excellent article, published in the Long Island Daily Press earlier this year, in which an ex-addict describes how her life became a living hell. This girl was only 15 years old when she began experimenting with pep pills, but soon to fall prey of the deadly menace of hard narcotics—a plague which is sure to decimate American youth if left unchecked. The author of the article, Lee Linder, is to be commended on the excellence of this reporting. The battle against heroin addiction is surely furthered by the publishing of just such stories as that of the young girl described in this article.

[From the Long Island Press, June 4, 1971]

CHAINED TO THE DEVIL—HEROIN ADDICT'S LIFE BECAME A LIVING HELL

(NOTE.—She first got turned on at 15, in high school, on pep pills. Soon, she moved on to marijuana, then speed, then heroin—in the Big H—while at college. Her life became a living hell. She got unhooked six years later, after finding two ways left to go; to the grave or to jail. Here is her story, much like too many others.

(By an Ex-Drug Addict as Told to Lee Linder)

PHILADELPHIA.—The needle made a hole in her arm, and I had all this warm blood spurting over me, and I watched it drip down on the floor, and I started to get sick.

I threw up violently . . . not from the lousy stuff, the heroin, but from my own sense of letdown. Just that I let myself degenerate to such a point. I wasn't even a dog. I wasn't even an ant. I was just nowhere. I was in complete limbo. And I just watched this blood dripping on the floor of the john and I said, "That's it. That's it. I can't make it any more."

Coming back was hard. Real agony. Yet it's not hopeless, you can tear off that monkey, you can beat it, but you need to really want to. Too many say . . . tomorrow, tomorrow . . . and tomorrow never comes.

Starting on the stuff was so much easier, and that's what's so damning. You slip into it, for fun, for games, for power. And you end up a slave, chained to the devil.

It began in high school, with pep pills at 15. You better believe it . . . it was a big mistake. Big. It took six years to erase, but not until I was nearly dead.

I didn't know in the beginning it was wrong, didn't want to know. Isn't that what everybody says? All I knew was I felt good. Isn't that what everybody says, too?

I withdrew, not only because taking drugs was illegal, but in terms of my own human life I could not afford it. I had only two alternatives; either be dead, or I could be in jail. I wanted to be alive and in complete control of my facilities. And I want to have children, a lot of them . . . after I'm married this spring . . . and I'm wondering now how much physical damage drugs caused me and my boy friend. That's something that's very scary.

But that's running ahead of my drug scene, and how I got in deeper and deeper, and finally turned it all around.

High school was just a little piece of action. Pills only. Small towns in the early 1960s were pretty clean. Grass marijuana started to blow my mind in college . . . and then, into the harder stuff. I'd try anything for kicks . . . opium, cocaine, LSD, speed, you name it.

I moved out of the college dorm and into an apartment with three other girls, and we started buying kilos of grass and we'd sell it. That's the utopia in the drug world: every user has to be a dealer. You deal in what you're fond of. And it also helps pay for the habit.

I dropped out of college in 1965, returned the next year but never finished. I was still using grass, but I was heavy on methamphetamine. That was the mainstay . . . meth, monster, speed, Mary. It got me up in the morning, and kept me up. I was high, but I was not pickled. It's a hard drug, and I think the toll meth takes is far worse than heroin.

As I took more and more grass and meth it never occurred to me that I was getting hooked. I didn't want to drop drugs. It was part of my whole life style. It was my way of living. I was never without them.

You have to understand when I first started out it was flowers, beads, love. It was the flower power movement. Everything was beautiful, everybody was walking around with stars in their eyes. Then meth came and things started to go haywire, but I didn't want to open my eyes now because it felt so good.

I got hooked on heroin by a pusher, a rich guy, a friend. He dug seeing people immobilized. He put out enough heroin to get me and my boy friend interested and then when we didn't have the money to buy, he'd lay it on us, give it to us free, and then one day came the day when he said, "Well you're going to have to pay me back."

He would lend us money, not to live on but to get high on. He knew we were going to get in above our heads with this thing, and yet he introduced this to us. A true friend would say, no man. Get away from it. Keep away. In the drug world, though, there are no true friends. Cats stick with you just to get some stuff, to move in on your connections, to squeeze you, to make you dependent.

It happened to us when my boy friend and I went to a party and this rich guy suggested we get cooled out on heroin. I said, "No, no, no." Tripping with meth was enough.

But my guy tried the skag, the H. And I can remember him hanging off the refrigerator door, throwing up like a maniac. And I was screaming at him. "You S.O.B. How could you do that? I'm going to take so much heroin that you are going to have to fish me out of trouble."

And that's the way I started into it. Revenge. Spite work.

Heroin gives you a sense of complete peace, a sense of complete relaxation. Euphoria. You can feel it. It's like a cover coming over the bird cage, closing off everythnig. Did you ever watch mercury when it falls on the floor? How it glides and splatters all over. Taking heroin is like being covered with mercury. You can feel all your bodily aches just disappear, melt away.

I loved it, I did. It was a gorgeous, gorgeous high, the most beautiful in the world. That's what is so damnable about it. You cannot deny the physical pleasures of it.

By the fall of 1967 I was shooting. A girl who was shooting heroin a lot offered to shoot me up . . . after my boy friend started using the needle . . . and she said she would not hurt me. And first I said, "No, no, no." And then I watched both of them take off, and it got to me, I liked what I saw. Like they were in absolute heaven. I remember I held my arm way out, straight up, and turned my head. I couldn't even look. For two years I don't think I looked.

It is rough when you're on H and need it. It's a part of your daily life. You have to have it. You have to have it every day. You can't lead a normal life without it. You can't go about your daily business. You can't do anything, because it is a miserable, miserable thing. It is a hell.

On heroin I did things that if somebody had told me to do before, I would have told them, "No, no, you're insane." I wrote bad checks. Borrowed money from all kinds of people. Humbled myself to all kinds of people. Associated with people I would never give a second look to on the street, but I took them into my home and I took them into my . . . well, you know . . . right into my hearth because they had skag.

I had many bad times. Times when I was down and out. Times when there was no food in the house, when we were hustling just to get money. And I sold things that I loved and cherished. I sold my musical instruments. I put clothes in hock.

My employers never had any idea I was on heroin. I was a little edgy, sometimes, but I'm a pretty good actress. You have to be in the drug world. You have to learn how to live with certain situations, and looking clean at work was one of them.

There came a time, of course, when I stopped working. I gave up the ghost. I just couldn't fake it anymore, the skag was starting to tell on me. That was in February 1969. That was the beginning of the end.

I started getting sicker and sicker and sicker every day. I still had physical longings but it was getting nowhere. Nowhere.

Then I came down with hepatitis. I turned, my God, so green. I almost died from hepatitis. And we had been very careful with our spikes. I went to a hospital clinic for treatment, and they knew I was shooting, they could see the tracks, and they warned me to stop. But I couldn't. I liked it. I needed it.

Then came the end. One day, and I'll remember this as long as I live. It was a Thursday in early May. We had just shot up, and we weren't even concerned.

The ritual had changed. We didn't bother about the flowered tourniquet or whether we had dirty spikes. We'd use the same spike 16 times and then hone down the point on the back side of a match book. We weren't even concerned whether we had anything to sop up the blood with after we hit the vein. He would just jab me. He didn't even care how he hit me, whether he hurt me or not.

It was just get it over with, get the stuff in you as fast as possible. There was no feeling whatsoever. He said, "Put your finger over the hole."

I put my finger over the hole . . . and I had all this warm blood spurting over me . . . and I threw up for the first time in years . . . I started screaming.

We had a big fight. He threw the chest of drawers down on me. He was nutsed up. I threw a knife at him, which missed. I said, "I'm splitting, I'm going home to Mother and Daddy. I'm going to cut this thing dead, and I'm going to cut you dead. You're the evil. You're the cancer." But he was no cancer. I was the cancer. We were both cancers.

I didn't go home at first. We tried to kick it, the two of us, together. Cold. The fights . . . wow! I walked around with a black eye for five days. I waited until the black eye went away. I packed up my stuff; all my gear, that I could fit into one suitcase and I went home.

I couldn't tell Mother and Daddy what was happening. I had a wedding to go to when I first got home. Imagine. I went there in the middle of my 'jonesing' my withdrawing. I was sweating, and freezing, and sweating and freezing.

Withdrawal hits you heaviest in about a day-and-a-half . . . doctors say the drug leaves the body completely in around 72 hours . . . and then the agonies begin.

You can maybe sleep the first night, then you don't sleep. You get pains in the back of your calves that are so severe you can't even walk. Your belly hurts. You get the runs. You get insane gas, and you blow all over the place like a gas engine. It's just unbearable. You get burning. You get nausea. You throw up, you keep throwing up. Your system has become so sensitized that it tears you apart, makes you wish you were dead without it.

My mother kept asking what was wrong, and I told her it was from the hepatitis. I went to bed. I let her feed me, take care of me, and I did my jones.

I remember, after that, I went to the race track with my father and on the way there I was praying, "Dear God, if you let me win so I can go to Europe I'll never do anything bad again." Childish whim, right? I won $270 the first day, $190 the second night and that was when I closed the chapter.

I finally told my mother everything. She cried. Oh, she cried. She couldn't, wouldn't believe me at first. Then, like a dawning, she cried, "How could you do this thing to me?"

Hell . . . how could I have done it to myself.

CRIME AND CORRECTIONS

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to introduce into the RECORD an article prepared by Mr. Louis E. Wolfson on the subject of crime and corrections.

The crime rate in America has been escalating dramatically, and our response—both in terms of more effective enforcement and more enlightened correction—has been far from adequate.

In the interests of furthering public debate on just how these interrelated problems must be approached, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues this analysis done by Mr. Wolfson. It is only through open evaluation of every proposed solution to the dilemma of increasing crime and ineffective prison rehabilitation that we will begin to formulate an appropriate remedy. The article follows:

DRAFT OF ARTICLE BY MR. LOUIS E. WOLFSON, OCTOBER 8, 1971

"Crime is the most serious problem in American life today." That was a statement last year by former Chief Justice Earl Warren of the U.S. Supreme Court. In late August, 1971, F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover released figures showing that crime in America had increased 11% over last year. I accuse our government as being responsible for this increase in crime. I make this statement because statistics prove that more than 60% of all serious crimes are drug related and it is a fact that the tragedies of Viet Nam and the returning American veterans have added more than 20% to the total number of drug addicts in our nation. It would appear, therefore, that it is *impossible* to reduce crime with the same people in authority and under the present policies that exist throughout our government. Harsher punishment will only trigger more violence and crimes.

Crime, delinquency, drug addiction, the welfare costs and other human problems are growing much faster than our population. Unless our society is able to find far better and more economical practical solutions to these exploding social problems, we shall face social and economic chaos. And every family in our nation will be affected! In 1970 the cost of some of such problems totaled in excess of $300 billion. Crime and delinquency were approximately $51 billion; social welfare about $150 billion; mental illness, $20 billion, and war and defense, $80 billion.

In 1970, former Chief Justice Warren also stated that organized crime cannot exist unless certain law enforcement agencies are corrupted. Extensive research clearly indicates that our penal system, our parole and probation procedures, our methods of prosecution and judging are convincing cases of failure. The Nixon administration has issued statements concurring with this opinion.

A further note of alarm was sounded in London, England on July 16, 1971, when Attorney General John N. Mitchell stated before a session of the American Bar Association in convention that according to recent polls only 23% of the American people have any confidence in their legal system. This is a shocking admission! Additionally, many people believe that there are unenforceable laws in our land enacted by corrupt politicians and attorneys for the direct benefit of organized crime and corrupt business.

The reasons for this lack of confidence in our legal system and in our public officials is easily understood when one considers selective prosecution and double standards of justice that have occurred in our nation. We have learned in recent years that the public does not want involvement with our government officials. People have witnessed crimes and murders being committed and refuse to become involved. It may well be that the breakdown in morality and ethics has lead to a disrespect for the law among law enforcement groups themselves as well as the general public. Many laws are not respected because they appear to be unjust and are applied and enforced unfairly. In many cases, prosecutors and judges intentionally and conveniently permit legal errors to be made that bring about dismissals of cases, particularly among cases involving members of organized crime. Here are a few specific instances that have caused, as Attorney General Mitchell says, only 23% of the American people to have confidence in our legal system:

1. There is strong evidence that the late U.S. Senator Thomas Dodd, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, and other governmental officials, were guilty of pay-offs, bribery, tax evasion and other crimes, but they were never any indictments or prosecution against these members of government.

2. Former U.S. Attorney Morgenthau of New York may be guilty of selective prosecution while he was in office as his successor, Whitney North Seymour, Jr., found indictments as much as ten years old stored in file cabinets and never prosecuted. Criticism has been levelled at the tactics used by former U.S. Attorney Robert Morgenthau and his staff. There is a sworn affidavit that a Morgenthau Assistant Attorney, Thomas J. Cahill, used pressure, harassment and threats in efforts to make a man change his testimony previously given before a grand jury and to lie. A statement by Assistant U.S. Attorney Cahill from this affidavit reads: "Look, John, we're both Irish or Irish extraction, we're both Catholic. I'm not interested in you. I'm interested in that dirty, lousy Jew bastard, Blummer." Morgenthau's office used fraudulent documents to railroad innocent people in the Continental Enterprises case, the Antonio John Fargas case and the Tony Marshall Hudson, Jr., case.

3. Illinois State Attorney Edward Hanrahan's and 13 other law enforcement officials were indicted August 24 on charges of conspiring to obstruct justice following the December 4, 1969, police raid in which Panthers Mark Clark and Fred Hampton were killed. (Reference Miami Herald 9/3/71.)

4. The case of Mr. John J. Hafer, Sr. who for years was harassed by the Internal Revenue Service; indicted; taken to trial and certainly physically and almost financially broken. After his death, he was proven innocent.

5. A Russian spy by the name of Igor A. Ivanov, under $100,000 bond, got the consent of our government in January of this year to visit the Soviet Union in order to visit his ailing parents. Up to now, he has not returned. On the other hand, every day Americans in prison are refused opportuni-

ties to visit even for 48 or 60 hours any members of their families who are seriously ill.

6. In New York City, 90% of all organized crime cases are tried among the same few judges and the decisions by the judges in many of these cases are unbelievable, amazing, shocking, and even contrasting and conflicting. Information has been published that judgeships are sold in New York at an average price of $80,000.00, which must be paid in currency.

7. The indictment of New York State Supreme Court Judge Joseph P. Pfingst charging that he paid $50,000 to a Republican leader for his nomination to the judgeship in 1968. He was indicted by a Brooklyn federal grand jury on or about September 2, 1971, for bribery and conspiracy.

8. Recent charges made against New York State Supreme Court Justice Mitchell D. Schweitzer that he accepted two $25,000 bribes to go lightly on sentencing, were made by a convicted stock manipulator.

9. U. S. Federal Judge James B. Parsons was quoted in an article December 31, 1969, as having said, upon dismissing draft evasion charges against a law school graduate, "Sometimes when I turn people loose, I hope they go out and get hit by a car." He was quoted further in this article as having said, "These college brats are always conniving."

10. San Jose Superior Court Judge Jerald S. Chargin, in a court transcript, was quoted as telling a 17-year-old Mexican-American youth, "Maybe Hitler was right. The animals in our society probably should be destroyed." According to the article, this same judge then referred to Mexican-Americans in general as "just miserable, lousy, rotten people".

11. U. S. Federal Judge in the Southern District of New York, Edmund L. Palmieri, was accused in a motion filed in Florida in 1969 with having association with the Mafia. After this motion was filed in Florida, it was forwarded to the U. S. Southern District of New York and the Chief Judge of the Southern District assigned the motion back to Judge Palmieri's Court—the same judge that the motion accused was allowed to deny this motion.

Judge Palmieri also handled the following cases:

(a) The case of Uesebio Pimieneto, et al, (C151/291) for the unlawful sale of heroin and for conspiracy, June 19, 1957, the sentence was two years and was suspended with probation for one day.

(b) The case of Michael Dotto (Case No. C151/285) conspiracy to violate the narcotics laws of the United States, November 21, 1957, the sentence was two years, was suspended with unsupervised probation for two years.

(c) Arthur Tortorello (Docket 64, Criminal 655, File 71454) had eleven months suspended sentence on a $3,000 bond with two years unsupervised probation on which special conditions of probation were that the defendant refrain from any participation in the securities business, particularly the selling of securities. He is an alleged Mafia member with eight felonies. Since this, he has been indicted again.

(d) (C136/148 Carmello Sansone: Unlawful sale and conspiracy to sell narcotics (9/24/54). One year sentence; released on $2,000 bail. Government moved to increase bail; motion denied.

I am convinced, as are some of our national political leaders, that drug addicts and the trafficking in drugs could completely destroy our nation.

The records reveal that the crime rate has increased almost directly with the expansion and growth in the number of narcotic addicts in our nation. The danger of the crime rise is frightening to every American. Narcotics addicts, as well as alcoholics, cannot be helped by serving terms in the penitentiary. This in no way can provide rehabilitation. Medical treatment is required in order to have any sort of effective program for the addicts. More than 60% of all serious crimes are drug-related and alcoholics account for more than 50% of all arrests in America. Why have we not spent sufficient funds to research this ugly and dangerous and destructive cancer within our own society? Could it possibly be because too many people in various levels in our government participate in the billions of dollars of profits from drugs? Federal funds are provided to research hoof and mouth disease for cattle and for research for health and welfare of other animals, but not enough funds are available for human beings!

Published reports state that approximately 10% to 15%, or 30,000 to 40,000 of the 250,000 Americans in Viet Nam are heroin addicts. I question these low estimates and I also remind you that more than 2,500,000 American boys have previously served there. The possibility exists that many of them could have become addicted to heroin or other drugs. As a result, there could be in excess of 100,000 added to the approximately 400,000 estimated drug addicts already in our nation, and shockingly, such addicts in order to satisfy their needs must need cash in an amount on an average of $100 per day. This would represent nationally a need of $50,000,000 per day, or $350,000,000 per week, or a total of 18 billion, 200 million dollars per year. The costs could reach these figures, so we must try to comprehend the amount of crime that may result throughout our nation. If you discount by 50% the possible figures stated, the astounding sum of $9 billion, 100 million would still be required annually. Consider, then, the amount of properties or items of value that would have to be stolen for resale at a fraction of their worth—and realize these figures may well be on the low side.

In my address to the Columbia University Law School Forum on October 22, 1970, I said, "If crime resulting from increased drug use is not attacked in a new way, we will have allowed not just a drug culture to develop, but rather a culture of criminality." I believe it is vitally necessary to revamp our entire policing of the traffic in drugs from its very source. Why do we have only about 1,000 narcotic agents operating in the U.S. Treasury Division and more than 8,000 FBI agents devoting virtually full time to crime problems that certainly are not as serious as narcotics? *It is imperative that we get to the very root of these crime problems!*

Now the politicians are showing great interest and are exploiting the public with their displays of interest. I am convinced that the people themselves, we, the people, will have to become more and more involved in our political environment if we ever hope to solve these grave problems.

It is estimated that more than 10,000,000 people are now using marijuana regularly in open violation of the law. Certainly there has been insufficient research to determine the dangers of such usage, if any exist. Research may prove marijuana to be no more harmful than alcohol or tobacco, and if that is the case, it certainly should be legalized.

There are some who advocate the legalization of hashish, more commonly known as "hash". These voices will become quieter when information is revealed that resulted from the World Narcotics Conference in Vienna. The conclusion was drawn there that THC, the active substance in hashish, is dangerous enough to rank with LSD. Dr. Olav Braenden, a Norwegian who heads the United Nations Drug Laboratory in Geneva, says flatly, "Those who claim that cannabis (a substance found in both marijuana and hashish) is harmless don't know what they talk about. Four years of intense research has not even enabled us to indicate the effects of marijuana or hashish. Cannabis may just be the factor which triggers insanity."

Profits from sales of drugs, as well as the graft that is incumbent, are so great that dealers who are caught and jailed are promptly replaced by others eager to serve as such dealers. It is impossible to jail the millions of people who violate existing narcotics laws. As a result, a selection of the population is jailed and again serious implications are made that the law applies only to those people whom the police select to be victims of their enforcement.

There have been some extraordinary administrations of "justice" in the courts in cases involving marijuana. John Sinclair, the poet and political activist, received a ten year sentence for possession of two marijuana cigarettes. Are you familiar with the case of Lee Otis Johnson, the SNCC leader, who received a 30-year sentence for giving (not selling) one marijuana cigarette to an undercover agent! There is the shocking case of William Baugher, a youngster picked up on the streets of Gainesville, Florida, for smoking a marijuana cigarette and placed in the county jail at Gainesville. There he was raped, beaten, and shortly thereafter found dead. The authorities listed death as suicide until a few indignant people in Gainesville insisted on a Grand Jury investigation. An indictment against an 18-year old boy for the murder of Baugher resulted from this investigation. These are just a few cases in point, but there are thousands of other young Americans committed to prison on drug charges, while on the other hand, members of some prominent families including those of Governors, Senators, Congressmen, and business leaders are placed on probation.

Statistics show that in Washington, D.C. in a period of 18 months, the number of listed addicts rose from 1,100 to 16,000. Another example is Dade County, Florida (the Miami area) which now has 15,000 estimated hard drug addicts; the figure in New York City is over 100,000.

These people represent an uncontrollable factor in the nation's crime picture. It is impossible to operate any system of criminal justice and to reduce crime if we do not get these addicts off the streets and under controlled programs. I remind you that only one-third of drug addicts are caught and jailed, and the rate of recidivism (repeaters) is 75% to 90%.

Syria and Turkey are the principal countries that grow poppies. Ten thousand dollars worth of opium poppies in these countries can be worth as much as $4,000,000 in this country. Profits such as this can breed unlimited corruption and graft. Even in countries where there is an automatic death penalty for smuggling, the profits are so enormous that the extreme penalty has not stopped or decreased the illicit activities with the opium poppy.

President Nixon's concept of subsidizing farmers in these countries (Syria and Turkey) in amounts annually of $3,000,000 to $5,000,000 will not stop other countries from growing drugs. It would be a disgrace in my opinion, for our nation to subsidize farmers in foreign lands in order to stop them from growing the opium poppy. We must provide either treatment facilities or enforcement manpower so that the enormous profits achieved in this horrifying operation can be reduced and ultimately eliminated. President Nixon's proposed subsidy program is no answer whatsoever.

I believe it is a simple fact, and most doctors know it, that treatment of the most seriously addicted needle addicts is hopeless without compulsory measures. If democracy cannot handle youth narcotics addiction, then democracy is a failure. This can, sooner than anyone knows, become a question of the very survival of our own civilization. The people of America, in fact, the people of the entire world must resolve that it will take maximum communal determination and the assistance of our most brilliant scientists to solve the drug problems that face us. My proposals shall be outlined later in this article.

Many people in authority in government are contributing intentionally and unintentionally to the increase of crime. Two such factors, for example, are: (1) the lack of uniform sentencing for similar crimes and under same conditions; and (2) the failure of parole boards, when denying parole, to advise the reasons so the person can correct his deficiencies before his next eligibility. Under present parole procedures, the existent possibilities of payoffs and graft are quite apparent.

I strongly recommend the enactment of laws that will provide uniform sentencing and will make it mandatory for parole boards to explain denials to prisoners when paroles are denied. Such action will eliminate tremendous bitterness among prisoners and facilitate rehabilitation if such is possible.

Techniques used by people in authority are seldom successful in treating habitual criminals. Responsible psychologists see destructive behavior to self and others as an attempt to cope with psychological deficiencies and the treatment for criminals is not essentially different from that in use for alcoholics, drug addicts and the mentally disturbed. Research by means of experimental tests has proven that it costs about $400.00 to rehabilitate a hardened convict, but to keep him in prison the cost to the government is about $4,000.00 each year. Approximately 65% of the so-called "hardened" criminals were rehabilitated under this recent experimental program. Only one out of every two crimes are even reported, and only about 10% of the guilty are actually jailed. We must conclude, therefore, that only one of every 20 guilty persons are ever placed in prisons.

Let's examine the procedures in our legal system. Dangerous criminals, including members of organized crime, are released on bail to await trial. It may be well known that they are guilty and most likely will be sentenced, but our judicial process may take years before they are actually committed to prison. In the meantime, they go out and commit more crimes in order to pay bondsmen and attorneys who, along with our officials, know that they must commit other crimes to obtain money for these purposes. On an average day, there are 400,000 people in prisons in America. Over 50 per cent are under 25 years of age. Fifty-two per cent are not yet even convicted in the city and county jails. Four out of five are eligible for bail but do not have the money to be released while awaiting trial. Many are kept in jail 9 to 18 months. Many who are acquitted are innocent; but their lives have been stripped of human dignity and virtually destroyed.

I have long advocated that non-dangerous first offenders should be released; even second offenders who are non-dangerous should have their sentences evaluated for possible immediate release pending trial.

The recent U.S. Supreme Court decision declared the State of Connecticut's fees in divorce cases unconstitutional for those who cannot pay them. Yet other people must go to jail if they cannot pay their fines. If a poor man cannot be jailed after conviction because he is poor, how can he be held for that very reason (inability to provide bail) when he has not been tried and is presumed innocent? The Supreme Court decision may change the entire bail bond system in the future.

The "law and order package" bills of President Nixon have been passed by Congress, and they indicate that some improvements in coping with crime problems may materialize. It appears certain, however, that there will be further shifting of balance in favor of the Government against the accused. A tremendous imbalance has always existed in favor of the Government, and whatever reduction in crime is accomplished may be at the cost of justice. It will expand the few "kangaroo courts" into large numbers and some incompetent, morally, and basically dishonest prosecutors can have a field day on any selective, political prosecution.

President Nixon's proposals include financial grants to be made in amounts of $50,000 to each family of every police officer killed in the line of duty. This is a gesture that in no way is relevant to the important task of deterring and halting attacks on police officers. The enactment of a *strict gun law* would do much more toward protecting our police and would make such a grant by the government unnecessary. Wives and children of police officers would rather have their husbands and fathers than a federal grant.

In every major city in our nation, two out of every three arrests are made among only 2% of the population. They are the people who live in ghetto and slum areas and their life expectancy is 10 years less than other Americans. The many and varied poverty and welfare programs have not been effective in reducing crime. Senator Ribicoff recently questioned the feasibility of the massive amounts our nation is expending for its poverty and welfare programs. He is reported to have stated that if all of them were eliminated entirely the government would be able to utilize the total sum for outright grants of $4,800 per year to each poverty family!

In recent years there have been many outstanding commissions inquiring about crime and they have submitted excellent reports and recommendations. One example is the Scranton Commission appointed by the Nixon administration to investigate the campus killings. Their report was not acceptable, did not meet the approval of people in authority and was, therefore, not utilized. Similarly, other commissions fell by the wayside because their reports were contrary to the thinking of people in authority. Too often the commissions that are appointed are the *investigated* conducting the *investigations*.

There is much evidence of selective enforcement of the law which points to discrimination—for example, for every white man arrested for gambling last year, about 25 blacks were arrested. Such a ratio is inconceivable, but what is apparent to me is that, regrettably, racial prejudices play a major role in law enforcement. Since many more crimes are committed than can be handled within our system of criminal justice, how and on what basis is it determined that laws shall be enforced against some citizens but not against others? Double standards will destroy our free society if we the people permit them to continue!

I sincerely believe that most people occupying high places in our government are honest and dedicated and I refer to all branches, executive, legislative and judicial. Too often, however, some officials fail to get all the facts and, therefore, lack full knowledge. I recall the comment of former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, who stated that most judges who commit persons to institutions commit them to institutions they have never visited. They get their knowledge of prisons from newspapers, from stories told by inmates, and from law enforcement people.

I am a firm advocate for the enactment of *full financial disclosure laws*. There should be such disclosures by the President, the Vice President, Senators and Congressmen, Cabinet Members, all Federal Agency staffs, Presidential appointees, registered lobbyists, judges, members of the Parole Board, certain high positioned personnel of the penal system, and of the Armed Forces. This should include full disclosures of their net worth, their annual income and expenses; and this information should be made available to the press and to the public. The full disclosure provision should be rigidly enforced and, if violated—and such violation proven—it should carry a provision for imprisonment, the automatic return of any monies, fees, or illegal compensation received, and wherever applicable, the cancellation of pensions and other such employee benefits. Too severe, too tough? I can think of *nothing* that would go farther in restoring the confidence and trust of the American people in our government and its officials.

A code of silence exists among our Congressmen and Senators and among members of the judiciary when it comes to speaking out against its own members. That silence is even more pronounced than the well-known alleged solemn oath of members of the Mafia to observe the code. I am convinced, as are many Americans, that a *strong*, full financial disclosure law could be the most effective deterrent to graft, to the corruption of politicians, to organized crime, and to unsavory persons within our government.

Addtionally, I have been recommending that every eight years all judges should come up for reaffirmation either by both Houses of Congress, or by the public, or both. Consider for a moment the limits on the amount of time that can be served in other high offices without reelection, such as the terms of our Senators and representatives. And, also consider that since they represent the voice of the people, they should have the responsibility of reaffirming the judges. At least then, if initial confirmations are in error, such errors can be erased procedurally and without facing the almost impossible impeachment method. That such errors can be made from time to time was recognized by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in the report which it issued to the American people in 1966 entitled, "The Challenge of Crime In A Free Society." The voice of the people can then be heard, and such a recall law would be an important step in curbing or eliminating entirely bias, prejudice, corruption and senility that may have developed over a period of years of constant service on the bench. Under the existing laws, it is practically impossible to remove an incompetent federal judge. Democracy was constructed under a system of checks and balances with separation of the executive, legislative and judicial branches. My recommendations are a realistic confirmation of that separation as designed in the constitution.

I am pleased to report that Senator Byrd of Virginia and Congressman Chappell of Florida are preparing legislation for the recall of federal judges along the lines of my recommendations.

At my press conference in Jacksonville, Florida, on March 3, 1970, I stated that great strides could be made quickly in retarding organized crime, apprehending corrupt public officials, and lessening the possibility of further corruption of public officials by business, labor, and others if existing American currency were called in and new currency issued and exchanged. Those exchanging huge amounts of currency may find it difficult to explain if such amounts were not reflected on their tax returns. And wouldn't such new currency requirements bring out of hiding the billions of dollars in Swiss and other banks? Either that, or it would deny to those who put the money there all the benefits by reason of such illegality. It is my understanding that Congressman Murphy of New York is preparing to introduce a bill calling for the exchange of currency, presently estimated to be 54 billion dollars.

I have made many recommendations and proposals. Now the time has come when I hope to obtain some solutions and answers to the apparent problems, and I believe this may be done through highly specialized group study and analysis. I have been evaluating the theories and opinions of experts in the field of penal and judiciary reform. There have been meetings conducted with knowledgeable people in these fields, and I have found that they differ considerably in their approaches and analyses of the problems. Actually, I find that they can agree only in one area: They are unanimous that our judiciary, parole, probation and penal systems represent convincing cases of failure.

I, and many others, have spent considerable time, effort and money trying to find answers to these grave social problems. Since scientists and physicists have achieved such unbelievable and miraculous accomplishments in their own fields, I am beginning to believe that they should endeavor to find solutions to all of our problems. I have already met and conferred with a number of prominent persons in the field of physics and other sciences, and I have conveyed some of my thoughts to them. Our discussions dealt with the possibility of initiating a scientific approach to the solution of some important problems. Research is well under way and plans are being formulated to arrange a meeting in the U.S. in 1972 among the top leaders in these fields from throughout the world, including some Nobel Prize winners. I have agreed to work with them in every possible way in an all out effort to find solutions where our politicians and our governmental leaders have failed. I fervently hope that out of these conferences some contributions can be made that will make our nation and the entire world free of the horrendous and dangerous problems that now confront us.

Some of these suggestions and problems that I have outlined herein would be studied and researched at this proposed and contemplated conclave of international scientists and physicists. Included on the agenda would be matters such as the following:

A. Some of our leading medical authorities claim that heroin addicts are incurable. Knowledgeable people in this field have indicated that, if the parents are drug addicts, this could be passed on to the unborn infant. The hereditary aspects should be researched. If research confirms this theory, then I strongly recommend that an immediate study be made and consideration be given by our Government to the construction of a new city for addicts, or perhaps as many as four new cities, strategically located in geographical areas to cover our population requirements. There should be sufficient acreage available so that all incurable addicts would be able to make new lives for themselves, working and living as human beings, receiving proper medical treatment, given narcotics free or at a nominal cost in quantities to satisfy their needs so that it will not be necessary for them to commit crimes in order to exist because of their "sickness".

The problem is mammoth! Creation of federal cities, I believe, would provide the answer. Envision, if you will, such communities arising out of present wildernesses offering havens of security and decent lives to humans now existing only as shells.

We know that the experience at federal narcotics hospitals at Ft. Worth, Texas and Lexington, Kentucky shows a very dismal success rate. Less than 2% among those who went there for treatment were cured. I remind you again that knowledgeable law enforcement persons in New York City estimate that *70% of all crimes committed there are related to drug addicts.*

This type of program would definitely reduce the number of new drug users who are given narcotics free by pushers in order to get them "hooked" so that they can then be supplied by addicts who need to make the sales for their own requirements. It is presently almost impossible to stop the growth of addicts in our nation; they multiply themselves under such conditions.

Crime problems will never be solved until we solve the drug problem, which is why I am advocating separate cities for drug addicts. This type of governmental action could chop the crime rate incredibly—cities where addicts could again be human beings! Actually, fast action could be implemented with the immediate establishment of drug treatment centers in principal cities in *every state* under very strong security with the maintenance of excellent records and under professional supervision. This would take the profit out of drugs which would be administered to addicts either free or for a nominal charge. Make certain, however, that addicts do not have to commit crimes to secure money for their drug-disease (remembering that 60% of all serious crimes in America are drug related.) Our government can thus eliminate the enormous drug industry that has been developed by organized crime with the help of corrupt people in our government—and this program would eliminate pushers and dealers in drugs.

B. Consider the advisability and practicability of placing all prisons in America under the jurisdiction of the federal government so that minimum standards and facilities can be maintained. Additionally, it may be possible to secure highly trained and qualified personnel by virtue of such a system. The cities, counties and states would reimburse the federal government the cost of maintaining their respective prison budgets. Although it may be against one's basic philosophy to advocate a highly centralized federal government system, such may be wanted in the case of the administration of our penal system. It is obvious that a federal operation could provide our society with many advantages not available to municipalities, counties or even state governments.

C. Consider the possibility and advisability of utilizing islands many miles away from the shores of our nation on which we would place dangerous, violent, chronic criminals. These would be maximum security islands which could not be reached except by boat or plane and which would be escape proof. It is estimated that about 20% of all people in our prisons could be thus categorized and they should be completely separated from the other non-violent and non-dangerous prisoners.

Such a program could lead to the elimination of all prisons in our Nation and could move toward a modified concept of the present half-way houses. These would be supervised by competent, highly-trained, qualified personnel. Under this program with no dangerous, or violent, or chronic criminals, inmates could work each day outside of the half-way house and report in at night, help remove their families from the welfare rolls, and at the same time acquire savings accounts by virtue of their daily earnings. They would receive this money when they were released and would thus have a start when they returned to society.

D. New federal and state laws should be enacted which would require treatment of drug addicts and alcoholics as sick persons to be given medical care, not as prisoners, or inmates of jails. They should be helped in an expanded program similar to the Alcoholics Anonymous organization that is already established and which has proven to be effective in its efforts to cure alcoholism in our Nation.

E. A study should be made as to the feasibility of taking the Parole Board, the federal judges, and the Bureau of Prisons from under the jurisdiction of the Justice Department and establishing a new cabinet post which would have the responsibility of recommending, clearing and assessing the qualifications of all federal judges, all Parole Board members, and Bureau of Prisons personnel. As an alternative, the Bureau of Prisons and the Parole Board could be taken from the Justice Department and become part of the Health, Education and Welfare Department.

F. In its April, 1971 survey, Morgan Guaranty Trust commented at length concerning Professor C. Northcote Parkinson's theories regarding encroaching bureaucracy in Great Britain. The Professor projected the uptrend in British public employment at a rate by which he calculated that by the year 2195 everyone in Britain would be working for the government. Some shocking statistics can be derived using the Parkinson theory for the U.S. In 1960, the U.S. civilian labor force numbered 69.6 million. In 1970, it numbered 82.7 million—an increase of 18.8 percent, or 1.75 percent annually. Government employment, counting all levels of government, not including the armed services, amounted to 8.4 million in 1960. Ten years later it climbed to 12.6 million—a rise of 50.8 percent or 4.2 percent annually. So, by the year 2049, according to this projection, every one in America will be working for the government!

G. In March, 1970, I suggested that a thorough study be made as to the practicability of prison visitation and sex programs. It is an acknowledged fact that in most prisons there are sexual tensions and undercurrents of violence. Most of the violence and murders result from sex activities and gambling. The governing rules of the penal system should provide procedures to work out a program granting such privileges. They could be taken away from the inmate for any serious violation of disciplinary regulations. Conjugal visits, when earned by good behavior and work records, would reduce much violence. Such visits may give the lost souls who occupy our prisons some purpose and hope before their lives are completely destroyed or before they destroy the lives of others. (I was pleased to note that in the state of California, according to an article in Life Magazine, August 13, 1971, convicts are receiving conjugal visits in maximum security prisons.) The study should endeavor to present a program that would restore a sense of dignity, responsibility, and respect for law and order by virtue of humane treatment—which would replace the hate and resentment that exists throughout the prisons of our nation today.

H. In endeavoring to solve the penal problems, we must find out what motivates human beings to have such hatred and bitterness toward each other. This is so evident among prison personnel who in many cases are sadistic and have brutal attitudes and resort to barbaric treatment against prisoners who are there for violating or breaking laws. Some of these very same prison authorities dealing such treatment have broken similar laws but have not been caught. Our scientific research must endeavor to discover the motivation for such psychological punishment desires.

The "keepers," based on their actions, prove themselves more vicious, bloodthirsty, and inefficient than the "kept." Of course, there is some hope for reclamation of a prison, but there is almost none for a prison guard.

The punishment dealt by authorities in some prisons is as barbaric and inhuman as any ever devised by man.

I. Most prisoners in our prisons are American people. Our government will sit and negotiate with known, proven enemies and will manipulate a peaceful settlement in wars, trade matters, and other important international issues which pertain to the future destiny of our country—and they do so with maximum courtesy and respect.

On the other hand, however, violence and punishment are used against American people in our prisons and they are treated with bitterness, brutality, and both mental and physical punishment are administered. Why can we not sit and negotiate problems amicably with our own people as we do with our enemy nations? This is especially true when we realize that 19 out of every 20 persons in our prisons will eventually return to society. They could be so frustrated and confused with no hope or purpose in life that this could bring chaos to this country. *Everyone* in our society will be the loser.

J. The right to own a gun is deeply imbedded in the American psyche where honest, hard-working people kill each other with guns every day. Because of pressures and tensions of life in America and because of individual guilt and anger, such people go temporarily beserk and shoot other people. Hopefully, our "gun" society can some day in some way be eliminated.

K. We ask what motivates people within our prison system, as well as on our parole boards, and in our judiciary, to become professional punishers of other people who are confined to prison and required to pay their debt to society? After this debt is paid, society has an obligation to help a person become rehabilitated because society must live with that person. We must realize that if we fail to rehabilitate, all Americans will be affected one way or another.

L. The scientists and physicists should research the possibilities of establishing prison Ombudsmen and legal Ombudsmen. It must be obvious to everyone that we have failed in our present administration of our prisons. Drastic, radical changes must be made!

M. I recommend that a complete analysis, intense research, and a comprehensive study be made to determine the feasibility of turning over the total administration of the poverty and welfare programs to 10 or 15 of our nation's largest private foundations. Disbursements for such administration would be at the expense of the foundations and at no cost to the government. This could eliminate the waste, corruption and gross inefficiencies that are so apparent at present within the government.

N. In the District of Columbia in 1958 there were 709 robberies reported and in 1969, 12,423 were reported. The court system of Washington, D.C., or any city simply cannot handle large numbers of serious criminal cases. Strangely, however, in spite of the enormous increase in crime, the number of felony indictments and prosecutions remain constant, which reveals an inefficient and outmoded court system. There are about the same number of prosecutions in the District now as there were 20 years ago. Homicides increased there from 79 in 1958 to 239 in 1969, while the population remained virtually constant.

O. Procedures involving the use of attorneys in all industrious and prosperous countries comparable to America function in a highly superior manner to the U.S. Most countries seem to get along with one-fourth to one-half as many lawyers per capita as we do. The American who becomes involved with an attorney because of an accident or some other matter is almost routinely subjected to legal practices which may be regarded as highly unethical. Using Japan as an illustration, that nation has only one lawyer for every 10,000 people, which is 15 times fewer lawyers per capita than in the U.S.!

In the U.S., our judges seem afraid to control the antics of attorneys because the bar associations have so much influence over the appointments and election of judges. This entire system of the selection of the judiciary must be re-evaluated because it too has contributed to the failures apparent within our nation.

P. I am hopeful that the study group will fairly analyze the youth problems, real and emotional, that have become so vital to the future of our democratic society. What causes criminality in youth? There are many answers and many questions. Some of the violence and reactions among young people might have been triggered by something seemingly quite trivial. Envy and jealousies by certain students in their elementary schools because they were not able to dress as well as some of their fellow students might trigger bitterness and an eventual tendency toward crime. Such matters, undoubtedly, cause complexes to be developed among young people. Our psychologists and psychiatrists would probably be able to furnish many reasons why a uniform dress code, or identical clothing for the elementary school students would not be desirable, but I do believe it is a matter worthy of further study and consideration.

Arnold Toynbee has described the failure of twenty-one civilizations, stating that nineteen of them perished not from external forces but from internal decay. Our society is now too far down the road of irresponsibility to rely on recovery by accident. We are heading for social and economic disaster unless drastic improvements are achieved by the people. Our methods involve inadequate and often erroneous theories about human behavior and our lack of organized, concentrated, systematic attempts to solve our social problems are a shameful commentary on our civilization.

CONCLUSION

Our democratic way of life, our free society, our very lives are in jeopardy because of our failure to make our form of government function as it is capable of doing. It is without doubt the greatest form of government ever devised by man, but we must act aggressively and in perhaps the most unorthodox of ways to correct the severe deficiencies and serious problems.

The recommendations and suggestions I have outlined for study by a group of the world's greatest scientific minds have, I sincerely believe, the potential to reduce and even eliminate the growth of crime. Assuredly, I feel we can halt the spread of "schools of crime" that have developed so very rapidly throughout our nation because of our decadent prison system. Costs to the American taxpayers can be much less than past costs of our penal programs and the costs of the programs we are continuing to follow.

Once the brilliant minds are applied and motivation is determined, I feel it will become apparent that there is urgent need for a complete overhauling and revamping of our thinking and of our programming in order for us to emerge from the present chaotic situation. All we now have is a convincing case of failure.

It is my fervent hope that from the 1972 conclave of these great minds will come some solutions to the problems and existent evils. People in our government have not made the necessary changes and we have no reason or indication that they are the ones who should make studies and introduce the changes. We must, therefore, rely on new minds to study, make recommendations and then hope the public will demand that the innovations be instituted. Let us not depend on our politicians for improvements as these problems have existed for many years and have been permitted to grow increasingly worse. They have not changed them!

The public, we the people, must become involved directly or we must face the dire consequences, perhaps the loss of our freedom.

SUMMARY OF EDUCATION LEGISLATION IN 1971

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 92d Congress took several steps to improve the quality of American education.

Legislation was enacted to:

First. Assure the payment to teachers of retroactive pay increases in most cases.

Second. Increase education appropriations by $560 million over last year, and

Third. Provide free or reduced price lunches to all needy school children.

Final congressional action is expected early next year on a bill to:

First. Extend and create programs of institutional and student aid in higher education.

Second. Create a National Institute of Education to promote educational reform and experimentation.

Third. Increase support for vocational education and counseling, and

Fourth. Provide funds for school desegregation.

A bill that has passed the House and hopefully will be approved by the Senate in 1972 contains provisions to extend medicare coverage to teachers and to amend the tax code concerning tax treatment of retired teachers.

I am also hopeful that the Congress will take action in 1972 on measures to permit teachers to move across State lines without losing retirement benefits, and provide general financial assistance for elementary and secondary education.

THEY PITCHED IN

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, in a busy and often calloused world it is heartening to learn that people still care about their neighbors and relatives.

The news media have served well on many occasions to call the public's attention to real need. A notable instance of emergency need and the public's response occurred in my district last week when Mr. Franklin Thigpen, of Uvalda, Ga., underwent surgery for a kidney transplant at the Grady Memorial Hospital in Atlanta. His sister, Mrs. Shelby Jean Donaldson, of Clyo, Ga., donated one of her kidneys for the operation. Many citizens over the State contributed toward the cost of the operation.

I would like for my colleagues to know the comments of the Savannah Morning News of December 4, 1971, concerning the case. The editorial entitled "They Pitched In," follows:

THEY PITCHED IN

A successful kidney transplant is still rather a modern medical miracle, though not as dangerous an operation as it once was. And, like some other operations, the patient and his doctors must wait many months before they can be certain of its success.

The waiting began this week for Franklin Thigpen of Uvalda.

Mr. Thigpen, 28, underwent surgery at Grady Memorial Hospital in Atlanta. The operation lasted five hours, included a team of doctors, and cost in excess of $15,000. But this does not indicate the whole story. One of his sisters, Mrs. Shelby Jean Donaldson of Clyo, donated one of her kidneys for the operation. Moreover, citizens and banks across the state have pitched in to help with the expenses—not only for the operation but for a $40,000 medical debt that has piled up since Franklin was stricken in 1968. That money went for constant treatment, including use of a kidney machine that purifies the patient's blood so that he can continue to live.

It is a continuing drama of debts and of a man's attempt to regain a normal life. It is one of family loyalty and love, and of warm-hearted response from strangers and neighbors. Mr. Thigpen's illness is still a fairly rare one, but it is good to think that the reaction of so many who have attempted to be of help is not such a rare thing. And we join with thousands of others to wish him a successful recovery.

PATROLMAN RAUL O. GUERRERO RECEIVES RED CROSS CERTIFICATE OF MERIT

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, Lawrence, Kans., patrolman Raul O. Guerrero, has been named to receive the Red Cross Certificate of Merit for having used Red Cross first aid training so effectively as to save a life in a moment of emergency.

Following is the text of a letter I received from the President of the American Red Cross detailing the humane action which prompted recognition for Patrolman Guerrero:

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS,
Washington, D.C., October 5, 1971.

Hon. LARRY WINN, Jr.,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WINN: I wish to bring to your attention a noteworthy act of mercy undertaken by one of your constituents, Patrolman Raul O. Guerrero, 302 Michigan Street, Lawrence, Kans. 66044, who has been named to receive the Red Cross Certificate of Merit. This is the highest award given by the American Red Cross to a person who saves a life by using skills learned in a Red Cross first aid, small craft, or water safety course. The Certificate bears the signatures of the President of the United States, Honorary Chairman, and E. Roland Harriman, Chairman of the American National Red Cross. Presentation will be made by the Douglas County Chapter, Lawrence.

On August 18, 1971, Patrolman Guerrero who has been trained in Red Cross first aid, was at the scene of a motorcycle accident. The rider had been thrown some fifteen feet from his motorcycle through a plate glass window. He was bleeding profusely from neck lacerations. Patrolman Guerrero called for an ambulance and using materials from the first aid kit he carried in his patrol car, applied pads and direct pressure to stem the bleeding. Because of the obvious seriousness of the injuries, he knew that direct pressure had to be maintained until medical help could be reached. When another officer arrived he was directed to wrap bandages around the victim's injuries *and* Patrolman Guerrero's hand. In this manner the rescuer continued to apply pressure, going with the victim in the ambulance to the hospital. It is estimated that he held the pressure for some 45 minutes. An attending physician stated: "There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that Patrolman Raul O. Guerrero, by his prompt and attentive treatment of this patient and his continued efforts to maintain pressure on the victim's internal jugular vein saved the victim's life, for had he not performed the first aid measures which he applied so correctly, the victim would have definitely bled to death before he could have been brought to the hospital."

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

Sincerely,

GEORGE M. ELSEY.

WEEKLY REPORT TO NINTH DISTRICT CONSTITUENTS, DECEMBER 13, 1971

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of my weekly report of December 13 which is the first of a three part series on the United Nations:

WASHINGTON REPORT, CONGRESSMAN LEE HAMILTON, NINTH DISTRICT, INDIANA

The United Nations today probably enjoys less confidence, both on the part of its members and the American public, than at any time in its 26-year history. People doubt its ability to deal with the great questions of war and peace in the world, and they are increasingly critical of the UN's financial and organizational inadequacies.

The admittance of mainland China and the expulsion of Nationalist China brought demands that the U.S. contribution to the UN be curtailed and that the United States pull out of the UN. In recent days the UN's apparent failure to prevent a conflict between India and Pakistan also has further eroded confidence in the world organization.

A Gallup poll, taken last month after the admission of mainland China, showed that the prestige of the United Nations dropped to an all-time low in the U.S. Only 35 percent of those polled said the UN was doing a good job in solving the problems it has faced. The UN had a 44 percent "good" rating in 1970, and a 49 percent "good" rating in 1967.

Although world leaders always pay their respects to the UN, even they acknowledge a crisis of confidence in the UN and acknowledge that it is increasingly by-passed or ignored by its members as they deal with the central problems of the day.

There are many reasons for the decline in confidence in the UN. It has been oversold, and misunderstood. Many forget that the UN was built on the assumption that the leading powers would remain unified and would use the UN to impose stability and peace.

The most important reason for the decline in confidence is that all of us are disappointed in the UN's performance. Our aspirations for it have far outstripped its performance. The UN has failed to stop conflict when the big powers disagree, as was made clear again last week when the Soviet Union vetoed the cease fire resolution to halt the India-Pakistan War.

The failures of the UN are easy to spot. It has failed to bring peace to Vietnam, to prevent Soviet intervention in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, or the end of colonialism and racism in Africa, or slow down the arms race. Much of the debate in the General Assembly seems unhitched from reality. Its financial status is approaching bankruptcy and its procedures are antiquated.

The strange thing, then, is that although few people are happy with the United Nations, almost all member nations want it to go on. It has assumed the recognition of a permanent world institution, and that, in itself, is no small accomplishment. Its predecessor, the League of Nations, lasted 26 years—the current age of the UN—but the last eight years of the League's existence accomplish nothing of consequence because of indifference, antiquated procedures and ineffectiveness.

When founded, the UN had 51 member nations, most of them white, old, industrialized, and well off. Today it has 131 members, most of them non-white, young, underdeveloped and poor. The polarization today is less between East and West, than North and South, rich and poor, white and non-white. Secretary General U Thant has observed that half of the world's population was born after the UN was founded.

From its inception, the United States has consistently supported the United Nations. On the 25th anniversary of the founding of the UN last year, President Nixon echoed the commitments of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson when he said: ". . . the United States will go the extra mile in doing our part toward making the UN succeed."

This consistent record of support for the UN may appear puzzling in light of its failures and imperfections, but there are good reasons for it as I will discuss in next week's newsletter.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE WILDERNESS PLAN

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, the proposed National Park Service wilderness plan, in Alaska, has caused much controversy in the Bristol Bay Borough in Naknek, Alaska.

The presiding officer of the Bristol Bay Borough Assembly, Mr. Gary Bradford, has forwarded to me a resolution passed by the assembly that expresses the concern of the citizens of that area. At this time, I call this resolution to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress as well as the Department of the Interior:

RESOLUTION

A resolution in opposition to the proposed National Park Service wilderness plan and showing support for a transpeninsula road through Katmai National Monument

Whereas an adequate study was not made of geothermal energy, minerals and economic potentials so necessary to the Nation and

Whereas the Borough wishes to reserve the right to State fisheries management and

Whereas wilderness area status would deprive use of a vast region for any purpose other than limited recreation and

Whereas this would deprive the Borough of the most feasible road route and a prospective Pacific port facility and

Whereas the alternative road route would be more expensive, more detrimental to the environment and would be less pleasing to the public which seeks access to see our great monument and

Whereas the State of Alaska and the Bristol Bay Borough Assembly and Planning and Zoning Commission still wishes further studies to make them more comprehensive

Whereas public hearings were not held within the borough or convenient to our locally affected area as required by the Wilderness act.

Therefore, let it be known that the Bristol Bay Borough opposes the Department of Interior, National Park Service Wilderness plan. Copies will be made available to Rogers Morton, Secretary of Interior; Governor William Egan, U.S. Senator Ted Stevens, U.S. Senator Mike Gravel, U.S. Representative Nick Begich, Katmai National Monument Superintendent Gil Blinn.

CAREERS FOR 1970'S

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, during the 1970's about 40 million Americans will enter the work force.

Millions of students who are selecting courses of study and making career choices need as much information as possible about job prospects in the years ahead.

The Department of Labor has published a comprehensive occupational outlook handbook which is widely used by counselors and educators who advise young people.

I ask unanimous consent that a summary of the handbook, entitled "Occupational Outline Handbook in Brief," be printed in the RECORD.

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

OCCUPATIONAL OUTLOOK HANDBOOK IN BRIEF, 1970-71 EDITION

PROFESSIONAL AND RELATED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980 [1]	Employment prospects [2]
Business Administration and Related Professions:			
Accountants	500,000	33,000	Excellent opportunities. Strong demand for college trained applicants. Graduates of business and other schools offering thorough training in accounting should have good prospects.
Advertising workers	140,000	5,700	Many young people attracted to this field. Hence, stiff competition, but good opportunities will continue for those having college-level training in marketing, journalism, or business administration and a flair for language.
Marketing research workers.	20,000	2,700	Very good opportunities for college graduates well prepared in marketing research methods and statistics. Marketing research organizations expected to expand, and many new ones will emerge.
Personnel workers	110,000	6,900	Favorable outlook. Opportunities best for college graduates. New workers needed for recruiting, interviewing, and related activities. More people will probably be engaged in psychological testing and labor-management relations.
Public relations workers	100,000	8,800	Demand expected to grow as population increases and general level of business rises. Increases in amount of funds spent on public relations will continue.
Clergymen:			
Protestant clergymen	244,000	11,000	Supply of well-qualified Protestant ministers will probably continue to be less than demand.
Rabbis	6,000	300	The supply of rabbis will probably be inadequate to meet expanding needs of Jewish congregations and other organizations desiring their services.
Roman Catholic priests	62,000	2,800	Growing number needed. Number of ordained priests insufficient to meet the needs of newly established parishes, expanding colleges, and institutional needs.
Conservation occupations:			
Foresters	25,000	1,000	Good opportunities. Factors contributing to increased demand are expanded need for forest products; use of forests for recreational purposes; and growing awareness of need to conserve and replenish our forest resources.
Forestry aids	13,000	900	Prospects will be especially good for those with post-high school training in a forestry curriculum.
Range managers	4,000	200	Favorable opportunities, particularly in Federal agencies. Demand will be especially good for well-qualified persons having advanced degrees to fill research and teaching positions.
Counseling occupations:			
Employment counselors	5,300	700	Excellent opportunities for those having a master's degree or recognized experience in the field. College graduates with a bachelor's degree and 15 hours in counseling courses will find many opportunities as trainees in State and local employment service offices.
Rehabilitation counselors	12,000	1,050	Shortage occupation; excellent opportunities particularly for persons having graduate training in rehabilitation counseling or in related fields.
School counselors	54,000	3,800	Shortage area. Excellent opportunities. Very rapid employment increase, reflecting continued strengthening of counseling services and some increase in secondary school enrollments.

PROFESSIONAL AND RELATED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980 [1]	Employment prospects [2]
Engineers	1,100,000	53,000	Very good opportunities. Applicants need to be well-grounded in fundamentals to avoid skill obsolescence.
Aerospace	65,000	1,400	Favorable opportunities and moderate increase in requirements related to continuing developments in supersonic, subsonic, and vertical lift aircraft as well as advancement in space and missile activities.
Agricultural	12,000	400	Moderate growth in demand stimulated by growing mechanization of farm operations, increasing emphasis on conservation of resources, and the broadening use of agricultural products and wastes as industrial raw materials.
Ceramic	10,000	400	Excellent opportunities for new graduates. Growth of programs related to nuclear energy, electronics, and space programs will provide many opportunties.
Chemical	50,000	1,600	Excellent opportunities. Growth factors related to expansion of the chemical industry and large expenditures for research and development.
Civil	180,000	11,500	Expanding opportunities related to growing needs for housing, industrial buildings, and highway transportation systems. Work related to urban environmental problems such as air pollution may also require additional civil engineers.
Electrical	230,000	12,500	Rapid growth related to demand for electrical equipment to automate and mechanize production processes, especially for items such as computers and numerical controls for machine tools and for electrical and electronic consumer goods.
Industrial	12,000	7,200	Increasing complexity of industrial operations, expansion of automated processes and continued growth of the Nation's industries are expected to increase demand.
Mechanical	215,000	8,600	Rapid employment growth due to demand for industrial machinery and machine tolls and increasing technological complexity of industrial machinery and processes.
Metallurgical	6,000	300	Increasing number of workers will be needed to develop new metals and alloys as well as adapt current ones to new needs, and to solve metallurgical problems connected with efficient use of nuclear energy.
Mining	5,000	100	Growing demand, to work with newly discovered mineral deposits and devise more efficient methods to mine low grade ores, as well as develop oil shale deposits.
Health service occupations:			
Physicians	295,000	20,000	Shortage occupation. Excellent opportunities. Limited capacity of medical schools restricts supply as demand increases steadily.
Osteopathic physicians	12,000	800	Excellent job prospects. Greatest demand in areas where osteopathy is widely accepted method of treatment.
Dentists	100,000	4,900	Very good opportunities. However, limited capacity of dental schools will restrict entrants.
Dental hygienists	16,000	2,400	Demand will continue to exceed supply. Excellent opportunities, particularly for part-time workers.

Footnotes at end of speech.

PROFESSIONAL AND RELATED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980[1]	Employment prospects[2]
Health service—Continued			
Dental laboratory technicians.	27,000	2,100	Very good opportunities for well-qualified technicians and trainees. Best sources for salaried jobs are commercial lavoratories and the Federal Government.
Registered nurses	660,000	65,000	Current shortage; very favorable opportunities. Steadily rising demand accompanied by increasing supply, as training facilities and financial aid expand.
Licensed practical nurses	320,000	48,000	Employment opportunities will increase rapidly as these workers are utilized to a greater extent to provide increasing nursing services.
Optometrists	17,000	800	Favorable prospects. Graduates of optometry schools expected to lag behind demand.
Pharmacists	121,000	4,400	Gradual increase in new positions anticipated.
Podiatrists	8,500	200	Favorable opportunities for new graduates to establish their own practices as well as to enter salaried positions.
Chiropractors	16,000	900	Outlook favorable; uncrowded field. Prospects will be best in areas where chiropractic is most fully accepted as a method of treatment.
Occupational therapists	7,000	1,500	Shortage occupation. Public interest in rehabilitation of the disabled and the success of established therapy programs will continue to stimulate demand.
Physical therapists	14,000	2,800	Excellent prospects. Demand expected to exceed supply, as rehabilitation services expand.
Speech pathologists and audiologists.	18,000	2,300	Good opportunities. Since most States require master's degree, trained applicants are in limited supply.
Medical laboratory workers.	100,000	12,800	Expanding opportunities as physicians increasingly depend upon laboratory tests in routine physical checkups as well as in the diagnosis and treatment of disease. Particularly strong demand for technologists having graduate training in biochemistry, microbiology, immunology, and virology.
Radiologic technologists	75,000	7,300	Very good prospects for both full-time and part-time employment. Expansion in use of X-ray equipment in diagnosing and treating diseases strong factors underlying rise in demand.
Medical record librarians	12,000	1,400	Shortage field; very good opportunities. More hospitals and increasing volume and complexity of hospital records will contribute to growing demand.
Dietitians	30,000	2,700	Shortage occupation. Increasing opportunities for full-time and part-time work. Growth related to expansion of hospitals and nursing homes.
Hospital administrators	15,000	900	Excellent prospects for those with master's degree in hospital administration. Applicants will have difficulty entering this field without graduate training.
Sanitarians	10,000	600	Very favorable prospects as State and local health agencies expand activities in environmental health.
Veterinarians	24,000	1,400	Very good prospects. Although demand is expected to expand, supply will be restricted by limited capacities of schools of veterinary medicine.
Mathematics and related occupations:			
Mathematicians	65,000	4,600	Favorable employment opportunities for those having graduate degrees and for well-qualified persons having bachelor's degrees.
Statisticians	23,000	1,600	Good opportunities. Widespread application of statistical methods should strengthen demand in industry, government, and in colleges and universities.
Actuaries	4,000	300	Excellent opportunities because of rising number of insurance policies. Qualified graduates who have passed some actuarial examinations will be in particular demand as trainees.
Natural science occupations:			
Geologists	22,800	800	Favorable prospects for persons who have graduate degrees; those with only the bachelor's degree, including those who rank high academically, will face some competition for the few available entry positions.
Geophysicists	6,800	300	Good job prospects especially for those having a graduate degree.
Meteorologists	4,000	200	Good opportunities. Space-age activities contributing to demand. Those with advanced degrees will be in special demand to conduct research, teach in colleges and universities, and engage in management and consulting work.

PROFESSIONAL AND RELATED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980[1]	Employment prospects[2]
Oceanographers	5,200	500	Those with advanced degrees will have best opportunities. Growing recognition of importance of the oceans to the Nation's welfare and security has heightened interest in oceanography and has opened new fields for specialists.
Life science occupations:			
Life scientists	170,000	9,900	Very good opportunities for graduate degree holders, particularly for research in medicine, health, and environmental quality control. Those having only a bachelor's degree may work as research assistants or technicians.
Biochemists	11,000	700	Very good prospects. Ph.D's will be in special demand to do independent research and teach. Greatest demand for medical research.
Physical scientists:			
Chemists	130,000	8,800	Very good prospects, especially for those having advanced degrees, to teach and do research. Increased research and development expenditures will create new jobs. New products resulting from research also create other types of work.
Physicists	45,000	3,200	Favorable opportunities, particularly for those having advanced degrees. Strong demand in teaching, research, and in various science and engineering programs.
Astronomers	1,400	100	The higher level professional positions will continue to be filled mainly by persons having the doctorate. Well qualified persons having only a bachelor's or a master's degree will have good prospects primarily as research and technical assistants.
Performing artists:			
Actors and actresses	14,000	900	Overcrowding to persist. Applicants outnumber many times the jobs available. Moreover, many actors are employed in their profession for only a small part of the year.
Dancers	23,000	1,400	Few full-time jobs and large number of applicants. Outlook for those qualified to teach will be much bettter than for those trained only as performers.
Musicians and music teachers.	166,000	8,600	Overcrowded field. Keen competition for performers; prospects brightest for teaching. Slight employment increase expected.
Singers and singing teachers.	60,000	3,100	Keen competition for performers. Better chances for teachers. Little growth likely.
Social scientists:			
Anthropologists	3,000	200	Excellent opportunities for Ph. D.'s. Those with only the master's likely to face persistent competition.
Economists	31,000	2,200	Excellent opportunities for those having graduate degrees, particularly in teaching and research. Applicants having B.A. degrees will find many opportunities in government and as management trainees in industry.
Geographers	3,900	200	Favorable outlook. Strong demand in teaching and research for those with graduate degrees. Government needs are related to regional development, urban and resource management planning, and interpretation of maps.
Historians	14,000	800	Excellent opportunities in teaching and archival work for Ph. D.'s. Those with only a master's or less will find positions scarce; high school teaching available for those meeting certification requirements.
Political scientists	11,400	800	Very good prospects, especially for Ph. D.'s interested in college teaching. More limited prospects for those having only a master's or less. Demand in Government for work related to foreign affairs.
Sociologists	10,000	600	Majority of new positions will be in teaching. Best opportunities for Ph. D.'s. Very good opportunities for research workers in rural sociology, community development, population analysis, pubic opinion research, and medical sociology.
Teachers:			
College and university teachers.	286,000	17,000	Good opportunities, especially for Ph. D.'s; many opportunities, particularly in junior colleges, for those having master's degrees. Shortages likely in some subject fields.

OCCUPATIONAL OUTLOOK HANDBOOK IN BRIEF, 1970-71 EDITION—Continued

PROFESSIONAL AND RELATED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980 [1]	Employment prospects [2]
Teachers—Continued			
Kindergarten and elementary school teachers.	1,230,000	56,300	Number of qualified teachers may exceed openings if present enrollment projections and trends in number of newly trained teachers continues. Greater emphasis expected to be placed on quality of applicant's training and academic achievement.
Secondary school teachers.	940,000	40,000	A slowing of enrollment growth may be accompanied by an increase in college graduates trained to teach. Greater emphasis expected to be placed on type and quality of an applicant's training and academic achievement. Demand may exceed supply in some geographical areas and in some subjects.
Technicians:			
Draftsmen	295,000	15,300	Favorable prospects, especially for those having post-high school drafting training. Well-qualified high school graduates in demand for some types of jobs.
Engineering and science technicians.	620,000	31,000	Very good opportunities. Demand strongest for graduates of post-secondary technician training schools to fill more responsible jobs. Industrial expansion, complexity of products, and manufacturing processes increasing demand.
Writing occupations:			
Newspaper reporters	37,000	1,800	Good opportunities for the well-qualified who have demonstrated talent. Others face competition, especially on large city dailies. Small town papers offer most openings.
Technical writers	30,000	1,300	Very good prospects for well-qualified writers. Many opportunities for beginners having good writing ability and appropriate education.
Other professional and related occupations:			
Airline dispatchers	1,200	50	Little or no employment change as improved communication facilities enable dispatchers at major terminals to dispatch aircraft at other airports.
Air traffic controllers	14,600	425	Moderate employment increase, despite greater use of automated equipment, as airline traffic increases.
Architects	34,000	2,300	Good prospects in this rapidly growing field as volume of nonresidential construction expands. Demand will be stimulated also by urban redevelopment and city and community planning projects.
Broadcast technicians	20,000	400	Slight increase in employment, despite technical advances, such as automatic switching and programing, automatic operation logging, and remote control of transmitters which limit job opportunities. Color television, which requires more maintenance and skill than black and white equipment, will increase demand.
College placement officers	2,500	200	Prospects best for recent college graduates seeking beginning positions, particularly at their own alma maters. College and university emphasis on the student personnel service aspect of higher education will increase demand.
Commercial artists	50,000	1,900	Good opportunities for the talented and well trained. Young people having only average ability and little specialized training will encounter competition for beginning jobs and limited opportunities for advancement.
Flight engineers	7,500	225	Rapid increase in employment as heavier jet-powered aircraft, requiring flight engineers, come into wider use.
Ground radio operators and teletypists.	8,200	225	Employment may decline somewhat because of more automatic communications equipment.
Home economists	100,000	7,800	Greatest demand will be for teachers. Increased national focus on the needs of low-income families may also increase demand.
Industrial designers	10,000	300	Employers will seek applicants with a college degree and outstanding talent. Entrants likely to encounter keen competition from creative persons with engineering, architectural, and related educational backgrounds.
Interior designers and decorators.	15,000	700	Good opportunities for talented graduates. Those having no formal training will find jobs increasingly difficult to obtain.
Landscape architects	8,500	500	Profession will expand because of continued growth of metropolitan areas with their needs for parks and recreational facilities, increasing public construction including housing, and rising interest in city and regional planning.
Lawyers	270,000	14,500	Very good prospects for graduates from widely recognized law schools and those who rank high in class. Others may encounter difficulty finding salaried jobs as lawyers. The increased use of legal services by low- and middle-income groups will add to the long-term growth in demand.
Librarians	106,000	8,200	Excellent prospects. Shortages, particularly in school libraries, expected to continue despite anticipated increase in number of library school graduates.
Models	50,000	1,700	Full-time modeling should remain highly competitive. Favorable part-time opportunities.
Photographers	60,000	2,200	Competition keen in portrait and commercial fields, but demand will continue strong for industrial photographers.
Pilots and copilots	52,000	1,800	Very rapid increase in employment to the extent that increased traffic exceeds increased carrier capacity.
Programers	175,000	23,000	Sharpest employment increase in firms using computers to process business records and control manufacturing processes. Changes in job function related to advances in techniques and equipment will eliminate much routine work. Increasing demand for qualified programers and systems analysts in science and engineering programs.
Psychologists	32,000	3,100	Excellent opportunities for those having a Ph.D. Competition likely to be keen for those having an M.A. Expansion of health services, counseling, testing, and teaching will contribute to demand.
Radio and television announcers.	14,000	600	Moderate increase in employment as new radio and television stations open; however, automatic programing will limit growth. Entry jobs easier to get in radio than in television because of the greater number of radio stations, especially small ones, that hire beginners.
Recreation workers	40,000	4,100	Current shortage. Excellent opportunity for well-qualified workers, particularly in local governments, voluntary agencies, hospitals, and youth-serving organizations.
Social workers	160,000	16,700	Excellent opportunities for those having master's degree in social work; very good opportunities for those having a bachelor's degree. Many part-time jobs for qualified and experienced women.
Surveyors	45,000	2,600	Best prospects for persons having post-secondary school training in surveying. Demand will be stimulated by expanding urban and highway development.
Systems analysts	150,000	27,000	Excellent opportunities; one of fastest growing professions. Qualified workers difficult to obtain because of competition from other fields, especially mathematics and science.
Urban planners	7,000	800	Shortage of qualified planners in this small, rapidly growing field. Very good prospects with government in health planning, model cities programs, and intergovernment planning relations.

MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980 [1]	Employment prospects [2]
Bank officers	125,000	9,900	Very rapid employment increase, as banks expand. However, competition keen, as banks rely on promotion from within to fill most positions.
Conductors (railroad)	38,000	2,500	Despite increased freight traffic, little employment change. As passenger traffic continues to decline, freight trains get longer and yard operations become more mechanized.
Industrial traffic managers	15,000	500	Strong demand expected for specialists who know how to classify products to obtain the lowest possible freight rates, choose carriers best able to handle each shipment, and otherwise protect their companies from excessive shipping charges.
Managers and assistants (hotel).	150,000	9,500	Moderate employment increase as additional hotels, motels, and motor hotels are built. Hotel administration graduates will have advantage.
Purchasing agents	140,000	6,700	Very good opportunities. Demand strong for business administration graduates who have had courses in purchasing or engineering and science to work in firms manufacturing chemicals, complex machines, and other technical products.

Footnotes at end of speech.

CLERICAL AND RELATED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980 [1]	Employment prospects [2]
Bank clerks	400,000	29,500	Moderate employment increase. Data processing will slow growth. Sharpest increases in clerical vocations related to data processing. Decline may occur in occupations such as check sorters and bookkeeping machine operators.
Bank tellers	230,000	20,000	Very rapid employment growth as banks expand services to urban population. Increasing proportion will be part-time tellers for peak hours.
Bookkeeping workers	1,200,000	78,000	Demand expected to outpace labor-saving impact of office machines.
Cashiers	730,000	69,000	Opportunities best for persons having typing, bookkeeping, or other special skills. Many opportunities for part-time workers.
Clerks (railroad)	93,000	2,700	Continued decline in employment as electronic business machines process freight bills and record freight car movements.
Dental assistants	100,000	9,000	Excellent opportunities, especially for graduates of academic programs.
Electronic computer operating personnel.	175,000	20,400	Although staff required to operate a computer installation may be reduced as new equipment is developed, total number of computer and auxiliary operators expected to increase very rapidly.
Front office clerks (hotel)	50,000	3,200	Moderate increase in employment as number of hotels, motels, and motor hotels increases.
Library technicians	70,000	9,000	Outlook excellent, particularly for graduates of academic programs. The continuous shortage of professional librarians contributes to very rapid growth
Mail carriers	246,000	12,200	Rapid employment increase as populations spread into suburban areas. Increasing use of motor vehicles will limit growth somewhat.
Office machine operators	325,000	25,000	Rapid increase despite automated recordkeeping systems, advances in interoffice communications, devices for transmitting data, and electronic computer technology, which permit centralized recordkeeping.
Postal clerks	290,000	14,600	Rapid employment growth resulting from increases in population and business. However, employment expected to grow more slowly than mail volume because of technological developments.
Receptionists	240,000	30,000	Despite rapid increase, young applicants will face keen competition from older and more experienced workers. Unlikely to be affected by automation because work is of a personal nature.
Shipping and receiving clerks.	370,000	12,400	Employment will not increase as fast as the volume of goods distributed. Labor-saving equipment enables large firms to handle a greater volume of merchandise, using fewer clerks.
Station agents (railroad)	10,900	−225	Decline in employment as railroads discontinue or consolidate passenger and freight services. However, trend may be slowed if rapid transit rail systems are developed on large scale.
Stenographers and secretaries.	2,650,000	237,000	Very good opportunities. Increasing use of dictating, duplicating, and other office machines is not expected to affect growth greatly.
Telegraphers, telephoners, and towermen (railroad).	13,200	100	Declining employment resulting from mechanization of yard operations, new communications devices, and extension of centralized traffic control.
Telephone operators	400,000	28,000	Direct dialing and other automatic devices will offset employment impact of expanding business. Most growth will be in PBX installations where technological advances are minimal.
Traffic agents and clerks (civil aviation).	37,500	2,600	Rapid employment increase, mainly because of anticipated growth in air passenger and cargo traffic. Mechanization of reservation processing and recordkeeping will limit growth of clerical jobs.
Typists	700,000	63,000	Very good opportunities. Demand strongest for typists to do difficult work in senior jobs and for those combining typing and other office work.

SALES OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980 [1]	Employment prospects [2]
Insurance brokers and agents.	410,000	16,200	Field will remain keenly competitive despite expected increase in number of insurance policies issued.
Manufacturers' salesmen	500,000	32,000	Very good opportunities for well-trained workers, but employers will be selective. Demand strong for those trained to handle technical products.
Real estate salesmen and brokers.	225,000	14,200	Many new positions will be created to serve growing population, but most openings will result from turnover.
Retail trade salesworkers	2,800,000	150,000	Many opportunities for full- and part-time work. Employment will increase more slowly than volume of sales. Most demand for workers who are well informed about their merchandise and skilled in salesmanship.
Automobile parts countermen.	65,000	2,500	Continued employment growth related to increasing number of motor vehicles and a growing variety of replacement parts.
Automobile salesmen	120,000	4,400	Employment fluctuates, but tends to be more stable than car sales, which are affected by general business conditions, consumer preference, and availability of credit. Sales of new and used cars will increase as a result of increases in driving age population, multiple care ownership, and personal income.
Automobile service advisors	10,000	300	Complexity and larger number of cars expected to increase employment in this relatively small occupation.
Securities salesmen	135,000	7,400	Good opportunities. Many new and replacement openings for salesmen to serve growing number of individuals and institutions investing in securities.
Wholesale trade saleworkers.	530,000	25,200	Good opportunities. Demand will be stimulated by increase in business transacted and specialized services offered by wholesale houses.

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980 [1]	Employment prospects [2]
Barbers	210,000	12,800	A growing population and the trend toward hair styling for men will probably create many new jobs. Shops having one or two barbers will probably remain most common.
Bellmen and bell captains (hotel).	30,000	1,100	Although many new hotels, motels and motor hotels will be built, employment expected to increase only slightly because of the type of construction and the emphasis on informality. Keen competition for the few bell captains' jobs that become available.
Building custodians	1,100,000	80,000	Very favorable opportunities despite improvements in cleaning maintenance technology wihch reduces the time needed to perform tasks.
Cooks and chefs	670,000	48,000	Excellent opportunities. Small establishments offer most opportunities for beginners. Acute shortage of skilled cooks and chefs.
Cosmetologists	475,000	38,000	Very good opportunities. Employment will rise because of increase in population and more frequent use of beauty salons.
FBI special agents	6,600	(3)	Employment expected to rise with growing FBI responsibilities. Turnover rate traditionally low.
Firefighters	180,000	7,700	Many new jobs created, as city fire departments enlarge staffs and as paid firefighters replace volunteers.
Licensed practical nurses	320,000	48,000	Opportunities will increase rapidly as these workers are utilized more commonly to fill demand for nursing services.
Hospital attendants	800,000	100,000	Very rapid rise in employment. Most openings will be in hospitals, but many will be in nursing and convalescent homes and other long-term care facilities.
Housekeepers and assistants (hotel).	25,000	2,400	Increase in employment related to growing number of hotels, large motor hotelss and luxury motels. Established hotel-fill most openings by promoting assist, ant housekeepers and maids.

OCCUPATIONAL OUTLOOK HANDBOOK IN BRIEF, 1970-71 EDITION—Continued

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980 [1]	Employment prospects [2]
Police officers (municipal)	285,000	15,000	Very good opportunities although future jobs are likely to be affected by current changes in police methods and equipment. Specialists becoming more essential.
Private household workers	1,700,000	121,000	Large number of openings. Demand stimulated by rising family incomes and larger number of women working outside the home.
State police officers	35,000	2,800	Opportunities excellent. Number of applications restricted in some States by State Civil Service and other entry requirements.
Stewardesses (civil aviation).	25,000	[3]	Very rapid increase expected because of more air travel and high turnover; 30 percent of stewardesses leave jobs each year.
Waiters and waitresses	960,000	67,000	Employment will increase rapidly despite growth in use of vending machines.

CRAFTSMEN

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980 [1]	Employment prospects [2]
Building trades:			
Asbestos and insulating workers.	22,000	800	Moderate employment increase as construction expands and industrial pipe is used more widely in manufacturing.
Bricklayers	175,000	7,600	Moderate employment increase as construction expands and more structural and ornamental brick is used.
Carpenters	869,000	39,300	Moderate employment increase resulting from large rise in construction activity, but growth will be limited by technological developments.
Cement masons (cement and concrete finishers).	60,000	3,600	Rapid employment increase resulting from rapid expansion of construction and growing use of concrete and concrete products.
Electricians (construction)	190,000	10,500	Very rapid increase in employment expected in construction requiring electrical wiring for appliances, air-conditioning systems, electronic data processing equipment, and electrical control devices.
Elevator constructors	14,500	500	Slow employment increase. Some workers needed as industrial and commercial building activity expands and old structures are modernized.
Floor covering installers	37,000	1,700	Moderate employment increase resulting from expansion of construction activity and wider use of resilient floor coverings and wall-to-wall carpeting.
Glaziers	9,000	500	Very rapid increase in employment. Expansion of construction activity and the increasing use of glass in building construction will create very favorable long-range outlook.
Lathers	30,000	1,250	Moderate increase related to anticipated growth in construction and to new kinds of plaster that require lathing.
Operating engineers (construction machinery operators).	285,000	16,200	Very rapid employment growth resulting from increasing use of machinery for construction, particularly for highways.
Painters and paperhangers.	430,000	23,200	Expected increase in construction points to moderate employment increase for painters. Painters also needed in maintenance and in use of such new materials as polyester and vinyl coatings and epoxys. Moderate employment increase for paperhangers because of wider use of fabric, plastic, and other wall coverings. Use of interior wall paint and wallpapers for "do-it-yourselfers" will limit growth.
Plasterers	40,000	1,150	Moderate increase resulting from growth in construction. New materials and methods have expanded use of plaster; but drywall construction will limit employment growth.
Plumbers and pipefitters	330,000	19,500	Rapid growth, as construction increases. Maintenance, repair, and modernization of existing plumbing and heating systems will create additional jobs.
Roofers	55,000	3,000	Rapid increase resulting mainly from construction growth. Technological innovations may limit growth somewhat.
Sheet-metal workers	50,000	2,500	Very rapid increase, due to expansion of construction that will use air-conditioning and refrigeration systems.
Stonemasons, marble setters, tile setters, and terrazzo workers.	30,000	850	Little employment increase for stonemasons, due to decline of stonemasonry in modern architecture. Little change for marble setters. Moderate increase for tile setters, limited by increasing use of competing materials. Rapid increase for terrazzo workers due to expanding use of terrazzo materials.
Structural-, ornamental-, and reinforcing-iron workers; riggers; and machine movers.	75,000	3,900	Rapid increase, as a result of expected growth of construction and because metals are expected to become more competitive with other building materials.
Machine occupations:			
All-round machinists [4]	400,000	12,600	Slow employment increase, with most openings resulting from need for replacements.
Layout men	[3]	[3]	Little or no change expected because of increasing use of numerically controlled machines.
Instrument makers—mechanical.	[3]	[3]	Rapid increase, as result of growing use of instruments in manufacturing, research and development, and metalworking.
Setup men (machine tools).	70,000	2,600	Moderate increase, as a result of anticipated expansion of metalworking activities. Numerically controlled machine tools may change job duties.
Tool and die makers	150,000	3,700	Despite technological advances in toolmaking, employment is expected to increase slowly because of anticipated long-range expansion of metalworking industries.
Mechanics and repairmen:			
Air-conditioning, refrigeration, and heating mechanics.	100,000	5,000	Continued fast growth of home air conditioning will contribute to very rapid employment increase for air-conditioning mechanics. Oil burner mechanics may find openings limited, since relatively new homes have oil heating systems.
Aircraft mechanics	135,000	9,700	Rapid increase due to substantial increase in the number of aircraft in operation.
Appliance servicemen	205,000	8,600	Rapid increase because of the larger number of household appliances. Increased efficiency of service will limit growth.
Automobile body repairmen.	100,000	3,550	Moderate increase, primarily as a result of growing number of motor vehicle accidents.
Automobile mechanics	615,000	20,000	Moderate increase as a result of more automobiles and their new features such as air-conditioning, power steering, power brakes, and devices that reduce exhaust fumes. Greater shop efficiency will limit growth.
Bowling-pin machine mechanics.	6,500	50	Little or no employment change. Despite growing popularity of bowling, improvements in manufacture of pinsetting machines result in fewer repairs.
Business machine servicemen.	115,000	8,500	Outlook particularly favorable for those who have good mechanical ability and knowledge of electricity or electronics.
Electric sign servicemen	6,100	300	Rapid increase despite trend toward illuminated plastic signs.
Farm equipment mechanics.	40,000	1,100	Slow increase due to declining number of farms and increased reliability of farm machinery.
Industrial machinery repairmen.	175,000	7,550	Moderate increase as result of anticipated use of more machinery and equipment to fabricate, process, assemble, inspect, and handle industrial production materials.
Instrument repairmen	85,000	4,600	Very rapid increase because the use of instruments for scientific industrial, and technical purposes will increase.
Maintenance electricians	240,000	9,900	Moderate increase because of growing volume of electrica and electronic equipment.
Millwrights	75,000	2,400	Slow increase, related to new plants, additions of new machinery, changes in plant layouts, and maintenance of increasing amounts of heavy equipment.
Television and radio service technicians.	125,000	3,000	Moderate increase related to growing number of radios, television receivers, phonographs, and other home entertainment products.
Truck mechanics and bus mechanics.	110,000	2,900	Moderate increase resulting from more freight transportation by truck. Favorable effect of increased intercity bus travel is expected to be offset by declining local bus transit.
Vending machine mechanics.	16,000	650	Moderate increase of qualified mechanics, resulting from expansion of automatic merchandising.
Watch repairmen	20,000	1,400	Inadequate supply of skilled workers expected to continue. Well-trained workers in demand to produce miniaturized devices, especially in industries making scientific instruments and electronics.

Footnotes at end of speech.

CRAFTSMEN

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980[1]	Employment prospects[3]
Printing (Graphic Arts) occupations:			
Bookbinders and related workers.	30,000	400	Some employment decrease despite anticipated growth of bound printed material, because of increasing mechanization of bindery operations.
Composing room occupations.	190,000	3,200	Slow decline caused by technological changes, despite greater volume of printing. Knowledge of electronic principles increasingly important for operation of new typesetting equipment.
Electrotypers and stereotypers.	8,000	−25	Moderate decline caused by technological change, despite increased printing volume.
Lithographic occupations	73,000	1,800	Slow increase despite expansion of offset printing. Technological developments expected to slow employment increase.
Photoengravers	18,000	300	No increase despite growing use of photographs and other illustrations and increasing use of color. Technological change in etching and engraving and greater use of offset printing will limit growth.
Printing pressmen and assistants.	90,000	2,850	Moderate increase as volume of printing and use of color expands, requiring larger and more complex presses. Technological improvements will limit growth.
Telephone industry occupations:			
Central office craftsmen	80,000	2,700	Moderate employment increase, resulting mainly from greater demand for telephone service and data communication systems. Electronic and automatic devices will restrict growth.
Central office equipment installers.	22,000	400	No change in employment; however, increasingly complex central office equipment will require manpower having more and higher skills in electronics.
Linemen and cable splicers.	40,000	600	Trends will differ among individual occupations. Very small growth is expected in number of cable splicers because of technological developments that increase worker efficiency. Employment of linemen not expected to increase significantly because of increased mechanization.
Telephone and PBX installers and repairmen.	86,000	3,000	Moderate increase. Growing number of telephones and specialized equipment expected to cause some growth in volume of service.
Other craft occupations:			
Automobile trimmers and installation men (automobile upholsterers).	8,000	350	Moderate employment growth because of increased demand for custom-made automobile upholstery and other fabric products.
Blacksmiths	15,000	500	Slow decline because work formerly done by blacksmiths is increasingly done by other workers such as forge-shop craftsmen and welders, and because replacing small articles is cheaper than repairing them.
Boilermaking occupations	25,000	1,000	Moderate increase mainly because of expansion in industries that use boiler products, as well as increasing use of complex custom-made boilers.
Dispensing opticians and optical mechanics.	22,000	500	Moderate increase in employment of dispensing opticians resulting from increased production of prescription lenses. However, little or no employment change for optical mechanics because of more efficient production methods and improved equipment.
Foremen	1,444,000	56,200	Moderate increase. But very rapid growth for construction foremen, and rapid growth in nonmanufacturing industries.
Furniture upholsterers	32,000	800	Shortage of trained workers expected to continue.
Jewelers and jewelry repairmen.	25,000	200	Shortage of workers expected to continue.
Locomotive engineers	35,000	1,350	Slow decline in employment, due to continuation of decline in passenger business and increasing multiple-unit operation of diesel locomotives.
Motion picture projectionists.	16,000	750	Slow increase because of expected slight increase in number of motion picture theaters. Competition for openings likely to continue.
Shoe repairmen	30,000	1,500	Shortage expected to continue. Growth limited by popularity of footwear that cannot be repaired easily or is very durable.
Shop trades (railroad)	87,000	2,250	Decline, despite the need for more rolling stock to handle the anticipated increase in freight traffic.

CRAFTSMEN

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980[1]	Employment prospects[3]
Stationary engineers	260,000	7,050	Slow increase, as improved equipment and better worker utilization limit the growth from continued use of large stationary boilers, refrigeration, and air-conditioning equipment in factories, powerplants, and other buildings.

OPERATIVES

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980[1]	Employment prospects[3]
Driving occupations:			
Busdrivers, intercity	24,000	900	Moderate employment increase as a result of more intercity bus travel. Charter service, bus delivery of package express and 1st-class mail, and further curtailment of railroad service will increase intercity bus traffic.
Busdriver, local transit	65,000	500	Little employment change expected as more people drive automobiles.
Routemen	235,000	3,800	Employment, which declined during the 1950's will increase slowly as demand rises for suburban deliveries.
Taxi drivers	85,000	1,200	Although number of drivers is declining, high turnover results in need for many replacements.
Truckdrivers, local	1,200,000	37,000	Moderate increase because of anticipated increase in volume of freight as total business activity rises.
Truckdrivers, over-the-road.	640,000	21,600	Moderate rise. As commercial and industrial activity grows and industry continues to decentralize, intercity freight will increase.
Other operative occupations:			
Assemblers	785,000	26,000	Slow increase in employment as technological developments curb growth. Many replacements needed, however.
Automobile painters	30,000	1,200	Moderate increase resulting from larger number of motor vehicle accidents.
Brakeman (railroad)	74,000	1,000	Declining employment as railroad yards become more mechanized. Some replacement opportunities.
Electroplaters	13,000	600	Moderate increase, related to longrun expansion in metalworking and machinery industries and use of electroplating process on more metals and plastics. Continuing mechanization and reassignment of duties to other workers will limit growth.
Gasoline service station attendants.	400,000	10,900	Moderate increase resulting from growing consumption of gasoline and other service station products and services.
Inspectors (manufacturing).	585,000	19,200	Slow increase. Use of mechanized and automatic inspection equipment will offset rising need for inspectors.
Machine tool operators	500,000	10,500	Little change despite anticipated expansion of metalworking activities. Technological developments, including numerically controlled machine tools, will affect number and skills of machine tool operators.
Meat cutters	200,000	4,500	Little or no increase as technological developments increase worker productivity. Nevertheless, many replacement opportunities.
Photographic laboratory occupations.	30,000	1,600	Moderate increase tied to growth of amateur, business, and government photography. However, greater use of improved mechanized film processing equipment will keep employment from growing as fast as volume of processing.
Power truck operators	163,000	4,100	Increase will be slow, as more efficient power trucks and other mechanized materials-handling equipment are developed.
Production painters	160,000	4,000	Employment to remain relatively stable as increasing use of mechanized and automatic equipment offsets rising demand for painting services.
Signal department workers (railroad).	12,100	−450	Slow decline as improved signaling and communications systems require less maintenance and repairs.
Stationary firemen (boiler).	73,000	−600	Employment expected to decrease moderately as result of more automatic, centralized equipment.
Waste water treatment plant operators.	23,500	2,500	Rapid increase as result of construction of new treatment plants for industrial and domestic waste water.
Welders and oxygen and arc cutters.	480,000	23,000	Rapid increase as a result of favorable long-run outlook for metalworking industries and wider use of welding.

OCCUPATIONAL OUTLOOK HANDBOOK IN BRIEF, 1970–71 EDITION—Continued

OPERATIVES

Occupation	Estimated employment, 1968	Average annual openings to 1980[1]	Employment prospects[2]
Other operative occupations—Continued			
Bridge and building workers (railroad).	11,200	275	Decline in employment expected to continue because of the increased use of power tools and other labor-saving equipment and of new materials that require less maintenance and repair.
Track workers (railroad)	57,000	1,300	Employment decline, as mechanized equipment and new materials reduce number of men employed in maintenance-of-way work.
Construction laborers and and hod carriers.	750,000	29,000	Some growth will result from increased construction, but use of mechanized equipment will limit opportunities.

[1] Due to growth and death, retirement, and other separations from the labor force. Does not include transfers out of the occupation.

[2] The Bureau of Labor Statistics assessment of the 1980 occupational and industry outlook is based on a projected labor force of 100.7 million in 1980, Armed Forces of 2.7 million, and a resulting civilian labor force of 98 million. The employment outlook presented in the Handbook also assumes (a) maintenance of high levels of employment through the 1970's, (b) that no major event will alter economic growth substantially, (c) that economic and social patterns and relationships will change at about the same rate as in the recent past, (d) that scientific and technological advancement will continue at about the same rate as in recent years, and (e) that defense expenditures in 1980 will approximate the 1963 level which is somewhat higher than the levels before the Vietnam buildup.

[3] Estimates not available.

[4] Includes layout men and instrument men.

VICTOR W. KEARNS, JR., AWARDED CARNEGIE MEDAL

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, a man never really knows what he is capable of until an emergency arises to test his courage. One such test, which occurred in my district, involved a Douglas County commissioner, Victor W. Kearns, Jr., who was himself injured as he helped to free an injured truckdriver from the burning cab of his rig.

For this act of heroism, Victor Kearns has been awarded a Carnegie Medal from the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission. Following is the text of the certificate awarded to Mr. Kearns:

CARNEGIE HERO FUND COMMISSION

This certifies that Victor W. Kearns, Jr. has been awarded a Carnegie Medal in recognition of an outstanding act of heroism:

Bronze Medal awarded to Victor W. Kearns, Jr., who helped to rescue Ronald E. Sheriff from burning, Lawrence, Kans., April 21, 1970. A tractor-trailer driven by Sheriff, aged 23, truckdriver, was involved in an accident and moved from the highway onto grass-covered terrain, where the detached cab of the rig landed upright on the ground alongside the trailer. Escaping fuel caught fire, and flames burned on the trailer and one side of the cab. Kearns, aged 35, county commissioner, ran to the other side of the cab and was trying without success to open the door when another man arrived. Flames increased as the two men then managed to lower the window. The other man reached into the cab, grasped Sheriff, and pulled him partially through the window opening. Kearns then also took hold of Sheriff, who had suffered extensive burns. Together, Kearns and the other man drew Sheriff out of the cab and moved him away from it. About a minute later the flames increased when a fuel tank exploded. Sheriff and Kearns recovered from burns they had sustained.

DR. RALPH BUNCHE

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, from the simple background of a Detroit barber's son, orphaned at age 13, Ralph Bunche rose to the position of an honored and distinguished diplomatic craftsman.

He entered college with an athletic scholarship and left with a Phi Beta Kappa key and a Ph. D. in government and international relations.

Among many other distinguished accomplishments Ralph Bunche was the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950, Under Secretary of the United Nations for Political Affairs 1958–67, and Under Secretary General since 1968.

Yet even more than these high honors, the real greatness of Ralph Bunche was symbolized by his personal warmth, compassion and tireless dedication. He was a man respected and admired throughout the world. He was a man whose sincere efforts for the goal of peace will forever be etched into the history of this century.

His untimely death takes from this country, and the world, a distinguished scholar and skillful international arbitrator.

Mrs. Rhodes joins me in extending our sincere sympathy to Mrs. Bunche, to Ralph Jr., his daughter Joan, and his three grandchildren.

SUMMARY OF FARM LEGISLATION IN 1971

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 92d Congress took several steps to meet its obligation to farmers.

Legislation was enacted to:

First, broaden and strengthen the operation of the Federal farm credit system;

Second, make permanent the authority of the Farmers Home Administration to insure loans, and

Third, improve telephone service in rural areas by providing more funds for firms serving those areas.

Several farm measures have passed either the House or the Senate and hopefully will be enacted into law in 1972. Included in this group are bills to:

First, protect the market price of whcat and feed grains by authorizing Federal purchase of large quantities of these commodities to be held in a strategic reserve. The bill also raises the price support loan rates on feed grains and wheat by 25 percent whenever a commodity adjustment program results in an addition to reserve stocks.

Second, regulate the manufacture, distribution, and use of pesticides, and

Third, require Federal crop insurance to be made available to persons between 18 and 21 years of age.

I am also hopeful that the Congress will complete action in 1972 on a measure enabling farmer-elected marketing committees to bargain and negotiate with processors and other buyers for prices on a commodity-by-commodity basis.

OVER 47-CENT CHEESES

HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, in response to a Presidential request, the Tariff Commission has conducted an investigation on the importation of "over 47-cent" cheeses. Although quotas exist on most cheese, cheeses which cost 47 cents or more per pound are excluded. A dramatic increase in the importation of these "over 47-cent" cheeses has occurred, and the figures are still growing.

The recommendation of the Tariff Commission is that the 47-cent break be abolished and that a quota be established for the various types of cheeses involved, regardless of price. Although the Commission completed its hearings 3 months ago and has made its recommendations to the President, no action has been taken. In the meantime, importers seem to be trying to ship in as many of their products as possible before Presidential action occurs.

Now is the time to act. I submit to my colleagues that further delay will be detrimental to the dairy industry—and thus detrimental to the American consumer. I urge the President to take immediate action to establish these quotas.

SUMMARY OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES LEGISLATION IN 1971

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, several steps were taken in the first session of the 92d Congress to help Federal workers.

Foremost among them was the approval of a Federal pay raise effective January 1, 1972, over the President's objections. The raise could be as much as 5.5 percent.

The House has also passed a bill, now pending in the Senate, to provide equitable rates of pay for prevailing rate employees and payment of shift differentials on a percentage basis.

The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee has continued to study the operations of the new Postal Service. Actions reviewed included the sale of postal bonds, the awarding of a job evaluation contract, and the so-called gag rule on employee contacts with Congressmen.

The committee is working on several other matters of importance to Federal employees, including measures to:

First. Permit immediate retirement when the sum of years of service and age totals at least 80;

Second. Gradually increase the Government contribution to the cost of employees' health insurance to 75 percent; and

Third. Protect employees from invasions of privacy by Federal officials.

I am hopeful that the Congress will complete action on these measures in 1972.

SUMMARY OF LABOR LEGISLATION IN 1971

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 16, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 92d Congress took several steps to meet its obligation to labor.

Legislation was enacted to:

First, extend presidential authority to stabilize the economy and control inflation. The bill includes a provision assuring retroactive pay in most cases.

Second, provide for emergency unemployment compensation in times of high unemployment.

Third, repeal the 7-percent auto excise tax and reduce personal income tax liabilities.

Fourth, increase the supply of health manpower and medical training facilities.

Final congressional action is expected early next year on the first bill in 46 years to regulate campaign spending for Federal offices.

Several other measures have passed the House and hopefully will be approved by the Senate in 1972, including bills to:

First, reform the entire Federal welfare system and institute national eligibility standards for public assistance.

Second, create an independent Consumer Protection Agency to guard consumer interests in proceedings before Federal agencies.

Third, strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

I am also hopeful that the Congress will complete action in 1972 on measures to establish national health insurance and no-fault auto insurance plans, and increase the minimum wage level.

THE RETIREMENT OF CURTIS A. CHRISTIANSON

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, we will miss Chris Christianson when he retires at the end of this session. He has been a loyal and able fellow worker in the House since 1946, and it will be hard to get along without him. We owe him a tremendous vote of thanks for the service he has given to all of us as one of the best tally clerks ever, and we can say to him in all sincerity "thank you for a job well done." May only the best come to him in the days ahead, and may his retirement bring him only enjoyment and happiness.

SENATE—*Friday, December 17, 1971*

The Senate met at 9 a.m. and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Rule over this body, O Lord, for the welfare of the Nation, the advancement of Thy kingdom, and the coming of the age of peace.

We pray in the name of Him whose birth we celebrate. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, December 16, 1971, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AUTHORIZATION FOR INSERTIONS IN THE RECORD FOLLOWING ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senators may be permitted to make insertions in the RECORD following the adjournment of Congress until the last edition authorized by the Joint Committee on Printing is published; but this order shall not apply to any subject matter which may have occurred or to any speech delivered subsequent to the adjournment of Congress. I wish to advise that the time for filing information to be included in the RECORD will be up to January 11, 1972.

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

PRINTING OF COMMITTEE ACTIVITY REPORTS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, with reference to the printing of committee activity reports for the first session, I state, on behalf of the chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing, that the joint committee has very properly ruled that the printing of such reports, both as committee prints and in the RECORD, is duplication, the cost of which cannot be justified.

It is requested that committee chairmen decide whether they wish these reports printed as committee prints or in the RECORD, since the Government Printing Office will be directed not to print them both ways.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR SCOTT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the Philadelphia Bulletin of December 16, 1971, there is a most interesting and worthwhile commentary written by Mr. Robert Roth entitled "Resurgence of Senator SCOTT Goes Unnoticed."

As I read the article, I find a great deal of merit in Mr. Roth's commentary but, may I say, Mr. President, so far as the Senate is concerned, the distinguished minority leader has not gone unnoticed. He has made many contributions. He has worn two hats, one as the Senator from Pennsylvania, which is the most important, and the second, as Republican leader of the Senate, which is also important. But anyone who wears those two hats, on either side, has a job which is more difficult than many people comprehend.

Thus, I am happy to say that this article does credit to a man who has done much for his country, for his State, and for the Senate.

I can think of no better man to serve opposite, in the joint leadership of the Senate, than I can the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania, who has my affection, my respect, and my admiration. His word is his bond and our relation-