

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

DO TAX INCENTIVES STOP POLLUTION?

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an article which recently appeared in the American Bar Association Journal which is highly critical of using tax incentives to encourage pollution control by industry. The article, "Tax Incentives Don't Stop Pollution," was written by Arnold W. Reitze and Glenn Reitze and offers an interesting and not overly complex analysis of the merits of such tax incentives.

I bring this article to the attention of my colleagues because it questions the "conventional wisdom" that we can secure pollution abatement if we make it attractive enough to industry to install such equipment as is necessary. If this article is accurate—and I lack the expertise to so evaluate it—then we must take another look at those methods which we are relying on to halt the spread of pollution.

The article follows, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues for their consideration and analysis:

[From the American Bar Association Journal, February 1971]

TAX INCENTIVES DON'T STOP POLLUTION

(By Arnold W. Reitze and Glenn Reitze)

The stick is more effective than the carrot: No man will spend \$10 to bring himself a benefit simply because the government promises to return \$5. Tax incentives are fiscal carrots. They are extremely expensive, but soft on pollution.

Until now the state and federal pollution control programs have been a disappointment to those who seek some improvement in our air and water.¹ Nevertheless, several thousand bills pertaining to pollution control have been introduced in Congress and state legislatures during the past several years.² Many of them offer little to control pollution; rather they extend tax incentives as rewards to polluters.³

In theory, these rewards eliminate pollution. In practice, they are ineffective and in many cases even discourage pollution control by promoting expenditures for the wrong things at a substantial cost to the public. In addition, government agencies that should be enforcing current pollution control regulations must devote their energies to processing increasing quantities of tax incentive applications.⁴

The federal law containing the major specific tax incentive for pollution control was passed in 1969, when the Tax Reform Act added Section 169 to the Internal Revenue Code. That section permits rapid (sixty-month) depreciation allowances for pollution-control hardware.

The bill's predecessor, no longer in effect for new investments, was Section 38 of the Internal Revenue Code, added in 1962. This section permitted a deduction directly from a firm's taxes of 7 per cent of the expenditure

for pollution-control equipment, subject to certain varying restrictions.⁵

According to one authority, by March, 1970, at least thirty-one states had placed antipollution incentive provisions in one or more of their principal revenue-producing laws.⁶

All these incentive provisions, state and federal, provide rapid depreciation or forgiveness from property, income, sales and use, or franchise taxes. Their one key effect is to shift the cost of compliance with government pollution limitations from individual polluters to the taxpayer.

In addition, there apparently is widespread misuse (permitted by lax or overworked government officials) of tax incentive laws to purchase equipment that does not serve to improve the environment. A substantial part of the pollution control equipment being sold today and receiving tax credit reportedly is used to clean water coming into a plant for use in manufacturing rather than for controlling waste discharges.⁷

Tax incentives of this sort—which reward rather than punish those receiving the incentive (the latter may be referred to as negative tax incentives or tax penalties)—obviously cut government revenue. The key to determining the value of positive tax incentives, therefore, lies in evaluating the benefits to be gained by the government (public) in return for revenue lost.

Benefits that would be gained regardless of the tax incentive clearly must be excluded from the list of benefits gained in exchange for the loss. Thus, pollution expenditures made to comply with federal, state and local health or pollution laws cannot be considered public benefits gained by granting tax incentives, although businesses received that aid. This clarification will permit many a tax incentive to be seen for what it is—a subsidy rather than an exchange of tax forgiveness for desired behavior.⁸

The potential cost of even the present federal tax incentive programs for pollution control, if maintained, is immense, but it is virtually impossible to estimate with precision. Government officials predict expenditures by industry in the next five years of \$3.3 billion for water pollution control, another \$2 billion for thermal pollution prevention and \$2.6 billion for control of four major air pollutants in one hundred metropolitan areas.⁹ Additional solid waste disposal expenditures can bring the total to \$10 billion.

These estimates are comparatively conservative. Yet, even without additional federal tax incentive legislation of this sort, the Federal Government's revenue loss with those expenditures could be a billion dollars per year.¹⁰ The loss to state governments, with their many similar laws, is not included. For example, the loss of revenue to Ohio from air pollution exemptions alone in 1970 is estimated to be \$6.3 million, according to the Research and Statistics Section of the Ohio Department of Taxation.

Other estimates of industry expenditures for pollution control equipment during the next five years center around \$32 billion.¹¹ Bank of America Senior Vice President Alan K. Brown recently put the figure at \$80 billion to \$95 billion.¹²

The public sector loss, even under the low (\$1 billion annual) federal tax loss estimate, is about eleven times what the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare spends on all its air pollution control programs (\$94.2 million).¹³

Even if we accept the projected federal revenue loss of \$115 million in 1974, as estimated by the Senate Finance Committee in its report to accompany the Tax Reform Act

of 1969, we still have a considerable loss when compared with federal antipollution expenditures.¹⁴ But this estimate is based on a level of expenditure that would never control pollution.

Despite their cost, tax incentives fail to control pollution. The most basic reasons are five:

1. Unprofitability. They fail to give an incentive to invest in nonproductive facilities regardless of the lessened cost of those facilities.

2. Badly Aimed. As used today, they give credit for physical devices that often are only a small part of pollution control (switching fuel can often be far more significant) and give credit for facilities regardless of their effectiveness in controlling pollution.

3. No Public Gain. They pay for pollution control facilities required by other laws, bringing no gain to the public in exchange for the tax loss and lessening funds for governmental pollution control, among other things.

4. Reverse Robin Hood. They increase general taxes through tax burden distribution and provide substantial tax write-offs to wealthy corporations having the least need of public assistance to eliminate their pollution. Yet they fail to aid small and medium-sized companies unable to purchase required pollution control equipment.

5. Pricing Quackery. Because pollutions costs are shifted to the general public, sales prices do not reflect a product's true cost to society. The sales price does not reflect the propensity for environmental harm during a product's manufacture, use or disposal. The true costs to society are masked.

The categories, of course, overlap considerably.

The existence of the philosophy of pollution control through rewards to polluters, moreover, gives rise to a convenient analogy, which may or may not be a key factor, for making additional rewards. An example is the charge in John Esposito's study on air pollution that, when Los Angeles sought more low-sulphur fuel oil, the political price was a change in federal oil import regulations to allow refiners who produce low-sulphur residual fuel oil to import an additional barrel of foreign crude oil for each barrel of low-sulphur residual oil produced. To the oil firms, this reportedly is worth about 90¢ a barrel, and the companies involved thereby gain between \$20,000 and \$50,000 a day in return for producing the low-sulphur residual fuel for the West Coast states. Slightly less than half this sum, the report added, goes to Union Oil of California and to Atlantic-Richfield for doing precisely what they had been doing all along.¹⁵

UNPROFITABILITY OF POLLUTION CONTROL AFFECTS INCENTIVES

It is the inherent unprofitability of most pollution control that makes tax incentives meaningless as a method of stimulating investments in it. Labor relations, government regulatory actions, marketing considerations, antitrust problems and a host of other variables play their parts in investment decisions. But these variables should not obscure the fact that tax incentives give no incentive to invest in nonproductive facilities or operations.

For an investment with a productive potential, a tax incentive could reduce the cost so that the potential profit is realized. But very few pollution control investments have any profit potential, and therefore that possibility is remote.

The few profitable pollution control investments have received much publicity. Yet

Footnotes at end of article.

even this category of pollution-control investment often fails to be made. Company managers by and large seek the highest return on investment, and profitable pollution control investments are rarely the most profitable investment a firm can make.

While few pollution abatement controls will produce any profitable commodity, most tax incentive plans are drafted so that profitable abatement techniques will not qualify. For example, Section 169 (e) states that the federal certifying authority shall not certify any property under Section 169(d) (1)(B) to the extent it appears that by reason of profits derived through recovery of wastes or otherwise in the operation of the property, its costs will be recovered over its actual useful life. In most states the statutory guideline for a tax benefit requires that the facility meet the test that its primary purpose be for pollution control or that it is used exclusively for pollution control purposes.

These tests have virtually nothing to do with developing a good pollution abatement program, for a good program is normally so closely related to the production process that very few expenditures will meet either the primary purpose or the exclusive use test.

It has been pointed out, moreover, that some of the largest companies—especially those in automobiles and oil—behave at times like independent political states rather than simple profit makers. Hence, there is all the more reason to attempt control through regulating behavior rather than by appeals to a profit-making sense through tax burden redistribution.¹⁰

Devices to protect the health and safety of workers also are usually unprofitable, but government, union and insurance company regulations force their purchase and use, to the general benefit. Devices for the health and safety of the public may be considered in the same category and be imposed by regulations.

The furor over mine safety demonstrates again that some businessmen will not protect their workers' safety and health voluntarily and adequately. Yet few governmental rewards are given for corporate health and safety expenditures. We recognize that inherently unprofitable investments will not be made merely because the government absorbs part of the cost.

If the desire is to encourage industry to use a specific abatement technique or produce some other beneficial response in pollution control, we should utilize a more forthright approach—direct subsidies. We could, at least, more easily review whether the social benefit achieved is worth the public cost.

Businessmen in general respond to this approach less enthusiastically, for the grants must appear in budgets and the cost to the public is made obvious. And happily for some businessmen, tax incentives tend to continue long after the reason for the program has disappeared.¹⁷

TAX INCENTIVES OFF TARGET; THEIR VALUE IS NIL

The imprecision of tax incentives makes their use for any purpose of doubtful value; in the environmental area, their value appears to be nil. While they do not bring about pollution abatement, they do act to limit and hinder proper control programs for they encourage improper technical responses to pollution problems.

Pollution problems are usually an integral part of the production process. Their control requires a plan carefully integrated into the entire operation of the business. Nearly all industrial pollution can be controlled, and effective control is best managed if the production process is designed to minimize waste.

Some methods of control are to substitute fuels or power sources; substitute raw materials; use different production processes; change the design of the product; capture pollutants before they leave the plant; change disposal practices so as to encourage reclamation of waste products; and recycle either waste products or resources used in the productive process.¹⁸

The most drastic remedy for pollution would be to end production—a remedy that if applied to all pollution sources would have disastrous social and economic repercussions. However, a few products, when balanced against their capacity for environmental destruction, are so marginally useful to society that if they were priced to reflect these necessary pollution abatement costs, they would be priced out of the market. The use of products causing the release of heavy metals such as mercury might be limited by this approach.

TAX INCENTIVES HAVE A FAULTY FOCUS

The tax incentive program is harmful in its focus on capital costs of pollution control rather than the total cost, which includes, in many cases, substantial operating costs.

For example, an electric utility could substitute a cleaner-burning fuel at considerable expense and get no tax benefit except perhaps some small consideration for the costs of converting furnaces to burn a different fuel. However, a company that purchases a precipitator that has marginal total pollution control effectiveness can receive substantial tax benefits. To obtain a tax benefit, there is no legal requirement that an investment reduce pollution; the only requirement is that an investment be made.

Some common control equipment, such as electrostatic precipitators, are extraordinarily expensive. They can cost a million dollars, yet their operating costs are so high that many businesses would resist using them or turning them off in order to save on operating costs even if the Government paid the entire purchase price. This results in a situation in which companies that have spent the money for equipment required by law bypass the equipment at night, on holidays or between inspections in order to save on operating costs. In addition, a failure to make rapid repairs after a breakdown may result in an investment being inoperative much of the time.

The operating costs are such an important component of pollution control that any system of tax incentives must consider the total cost of abatement. By 1975, it is estimated, air pollution costs for operation, maintenance, depreciation and interest will run \$1.9 billion.¹⁹ These operating costs have always been tax deductible, yet this does not seem to have aided pollution control efforts.

A tax program that favors "hardware" expenditures encourages poor abatement responses from industry. By holding most of their expenditures not to be qualified for tax benefits, the program unfairly treats those industries that make a serious attempt at pollution control. In addition, there is the problem previously mentioned of possible widespread misuse of equipment purchased under tax exemptions to aid manufacturing, not to abate pollution.

The intimate relation of pollution control to the entire production process means that true pollution control cannot be separated from the total business operation. Here again the analogy to safety programs applies. Employee training, work layout, lighting, etc., is as important to safety as adding protective equipment to a machine.

ROBIN HOOD REVERSED; ROB THE POOR TO HELP THE RICH

The real financial problem in private sector pollution control is the inability of small

or inefficient operations to obtain capital to pay for control. Tax incentives do not solve this problem; they benefit only those with capital to invest and income to be sheltered. The companies that can afford pollution controls will benefit.

For example, a \$1 million expenditure for an electrostatic precipitator, even if subject to depreciation in sixty months, benefits fully only those businesses with \$200,000 of spare income to shelter from taxes. Marginal enterprises get little benefit.

Thus, tax benefits aid the owners of large, successful businesses disproportionately, and their result will be to promote the elimination of small businesses as the costs of required pollution controls rise. A further obvious effect is the promotion of yet more control of our system by those who control the largest industries.

It is questionable whether large polluters need public financial assistance to meet their legal obligations to refrain from imposing pollution on others. But it is clear that the large polluters alone do account for a very large share of total pollution.

The Council on Environmental Quality reported this year:

"The more than 300,000 water-using factories in the United States discharge three to four times as much oxygen-demanding wastes as the sewer population of the United States. Moreover, many of the wastes discharged by industry are toxic.

"The output of industrial waste is growing several times faster than the volume of sanitary sewage. Although there is as yet no detailed inventory of industrial wastes, indications are that over half the volume discharged to water comes from four major industry groups—paper, organic chemicals, petroleum, and steel."²⁰

In spite of the flood of publicity, little is spent by industry for pollution control when considered as a function of gross sales or profit.

Esposito, in *Vanishing Air*, explains:

"A February 1970 report by the National Industrial Conference Board indicates that the industry's 1969 capital appropriations for air and water pollution control dropped 56.9 percent below the 1968 appropriation. This reduction from 38 million in 1969, represents a drop in pollution control investments from less than four-tenths of 1 percent of 1968 gross revenues to something less than two-tenths of 1 percent for 1969."²¹

Republic Steel Corporation, the second largest industrial polluter of Lake Erie, according to the Federal Water Quality Administration,²² in 1969 invested \$28 million in pollution control from sales income of more than \$1.5 billion created by property, plant and equipment valued at more than \$2.25 billion.²³

General Motors Corporation omitted its research budget for pollution control from its 1969 annual report, but the Esposito book on air pollution relates that G.M.'s official figure is \$40 million annually since 1967, or about .17 of 1 per cent of gross sales. This figure is one sixth of G.M.'s annual advertising budget. It is just \$13 million more than the \$27 million G.M. is spending each year in a ten-year program to change signs at company dealerships.²⁴

The justice of rewarding these large firms through tax incentives is at least questionable; nevertheless, it is of only peripheral interest. Rather than argue which tax benefit is "just" or proper, which is an approach that encourages the outpourings of public relations releases from corporations and trade associations, we should focus on the question of whether tax incentives create behavior that results in a reduction in pollution at a cost to the public that has a favorable cost to benefit ratio, judging as William James taught, not by "first things, principles" but by the "last things fruits, consequences, facts."²⁵

Footnotes at end of article.

PRICING QUACKERY SHIFTS FINANCIAL BURDEN TO THE PUBLIC

A basic reason for continued pollution is that the polluter shifts to the public, in terms of environmental destruction, the basic production costs that he avoids by not preventing pollution. Tax incentives augment that shift by placing the pollution control burden of business on the general public through tax burden redistribution.

To allow the general public (rather than the individual purchaser of a high pollution propensity product) to absorb pollution control costs is to thwart the function of the marketplace as a place of value exchange. To the extent a polluter can shift costs of control equipment to the general public, his products continue to avoid having their price reflect their pollution effect. Environmentally destructive products are enabled to compete with less harmful products without the market price reflecting their social costs. Because no incentive is provided in the marketplace to minimize pollution at the lowest cost per unit sold, the natural market competitiveness is not utilized to reward the producer who shifts the fewest negative social costs to the public.

Tax incentives such as those discussed also have the capacity to destroy state and local abatement programs. Most states require that the state pollution control board or its tax commission or revenue department, acting on the recommendation of the pollution control board, approve or certify the pollution control facility so as to qualify for the tax benefit,²¹ as does the Federal Government.²²

State agencies have been burdened with the obligation to process not only thousands of applications for exemptions to a variety of state taxes, but also by law they must provide businessmen with certification to meet exemption allowance requirements of Section 169 of the Internal Revenue Code. This results in either a reduction of the agency's other enforcement, monitoring and planning efforts or in cursory examinations of the exemption applications. Abuses of the exemption allowances, therefore, are no surprise. And the failure of state inspection programs allows federal as well as state benefits to flow to the businessman because of the Section 169 requirements.

Only a few cities in the United States have meaningful air pollution programs with adequate staff. Most state programs are smaller than that of their larger cities.²³ Fifty per cent of the state agencies have fewer than ten positions budgeted.²⁴ With an estimated 8,000 additional personnel needed to implement the Clean Air Act properly, one wonders whether industry is unaware that enforcement can be effectively prevented by imposing onerous time-consuming responsibilities for processing tax exemptions on the pollution planning and enforcement agencies. While the cost of tax incentive legislation can be calculated in terms of revenue losses to the public treasury, it is much more difficult to evaluate the financial and social costs of having state pollution control agencies bogged down in the relentless pushing of paper to get industry their tax benefits.

The point about all of these laws, and the many similar bills proposed, is that they reward a limited number of taxpayers for "pollution control" expenditures. Not, we must note, pollution control effectiveness or the simple elimination of pollution.

FOOTNOTES

¹ The federal air pollution program has been criticized in Reitze, *The Role of the Region in Air Pollution Control*, 20 CASE W. RES. L. REV. 809 (1969), and the federal water pollution program in *Wastes, Water, and Wishful Thinking: The Battle of Lake Erie*, 20 CASE W. RES. L. REV. 5 (1968) See also,

Reitze, *Environmental Pollution Control. Why Has It Failed?* 55 A.B.A.J. 923 (1969).

² Thirty-nine bills directly related to the environment were introduced in the House during the period January 23-30, 1969. Fifteen months later, during "Earth Week", forty-two bills were introduced between April 23 and 30, 1970.

³ Bills have been proposed and many have become law to give relief from sales and use taxes, property taxes (real and tangible personal), fuel taxes, franchise taxes and income taxes. Benefits include fast write-offs, tax credits, and exemption from taxation.

⁴ In Ohio, a typical industrial state, the number and monetary value of pollution control exemptions granted have been increasing substantially each year. In the three years between January, 1966, and the end of 1969, Ohio received 148 exemption applications for purchases listed at \$64.7 million. In the first half of 1970, there were thirty-eight applications for purchases totaling \$31.98 million.

⁵ This section was temporarily suspended from October 10, 1966, to March 9, 1967. Certain water and air pollution facilities were exempted. INT. REV. CODE OF 1954, § 48(h) (12).

⁶ McNulty, *State Tax Incentives To Fight Pollution*, 56 A.B.A.J. 747, 748 (1970).

⁷ BUSINESS WEEK, October 4, 1969, at 118.

⁸ For a criticism of tax exemptions in general, see Reitze, *Real Property Tax Exemptions in Ohio—Fiscal Absurdity*, 18 W. RES. L. REV. 64 (1966).

⁹ ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY, FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY 43, 72 (1970).

¹⁰ By contrast, the estimated federal funding for pollution control and abatement was \$1,290,900,000 in fiscal year 1970 obligations. *Id.* at 320.

¹¹ The Wall Street Journal, August 10, 1970, page 1.

¹² B.N.A. Env. RPTER., August 28, 1970, at 467.

¹³ *Supra* note 9, at 320.

¹⁴ S. REP. NO. 91-552, to accompany H.R. 13270, 91st Cong., 1st Sess. 646 (1969). Naturally those in favor of tax incentive legislation give lower estimates of tax losses. Section 169 has been estimated to have a maximum annual cost of only \$120 million, an amount which could be reached by expenditures of one tenth of the amount needed for pollution control. See remarks of Senator Russell B. Long, 115 CONG. REC. S16206 (December 9, 1970).

¹⁵ ESPOSITO, VANISHING AIR 248 (1970).

¹⁶ For a study of the oil industry as a political state, see TUGENDHAT, OIL: THE BIGGEST BUSINESS (1969). Professor Kenneth Galbraith in *The New Industrial State* points to evidence that for the mature corporation, the profit motive is subordinate to the desire for reasonable growth and stability. Hence, it may be difficult to get even profit-making pollution abatement equipment installed.

¹⁷ Sometimes budgets become sacrosanct without a reason relating to public benefit. The federal gasoline tax enacted in 1932 was allocated to the highway trust fund in 1956 for highway construction. Now, with public mass transportation woefully underfinanced and highways proliferating everywhere, the highway lobby has convinced most legislators and much of the public that the gasoline tax is a sacred fund.

¹⁸ See NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL COMMITTEE, NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, WASTE MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL, No. 1400 (1966). Techniques and costs of air pollution equipment are discussed in 3 STERN, AIR POLLUTION (2d ed. 1969). Water pollution costs can be found in THE COST OF CLEAN WATER, a Federal Water Quality Administration publication which comes in multiple volumes, each devoted to a different industry.

¹⁹ *Supra* note 9, at 72.

²⁰ *Supra* note 9, at 32.

²¹ *Supra* note 5, at 84.
²² LAKE ERIE REPORT, August, 1968, at 7.
²³ 1969 Annual Report, at 3, 10, 12 and 28.
²⁴ *Supra* note 17, at 29.
²⁵ What Pragmatism Means, in ESSAYS IN PRAGMATISM 148 (1948).
²⁶ The tax practitioner must not only be familiar with tax law but also must search pollution law for applicable tax authority. For an illustration see, OHIO REV. CODE §§ 6111.31 and 6111.03(M).
²⁷ INT. REV. CODE OF 1954, § 169 (D).
²⁸ O'Fallon, *Deficiencies in the Air Quality Act of 1967*, 33 LAW & CONTEMP. PROB. 275, 293, (1963).
²⁹ *Supra* note 9, at 85.

WHO'S WIDENING THE WAR?

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, Bill Voelker, an editorial writer for the New Orleans Times-Picayune, has done a fine job in an editorial of answering the question, "Who's Widening the War?"

I want to make his observations available to everyone, and for that reason I am inserting them at this point in the RECORD:

WHO'S WIDENING THE WAR?

The frenetic reactions of programmed doves to South Vietnam's efforts, backed by American air power and backyard guard, to interdict the infiltration of war materiel into Cambodia and Laos is indeed incredible—if only for the blindness about who is the aggressor and who is seeking to prevent Communist takeovers.

Perhaps equally self-deluding are the knee-jerk liberal pretensions that it is President Nixon who is seeking a military solution to the war and that the United States is unwilling, as one columnist put it, to "accept the necessity for a political settlement in Vietnam."

The truth is—from the mouth of North Vietnam's own prime minister as heard by America Tuesday night on NBC's "First Tuesday"—that the Communists have no intention of settling for anything less than "unification" of Vietnam and that they are simply biding their time, by industrialization of the homefront, for a protracted onslaught against the south after American troops are withdrawn.

Motion pictures taken by British correspondent Michael Maclear of maneuvering Russian tanks, sent by the Soviets into North Vietnam together with advisers, also made it clear that the Hanoi regime is preparing for more conventional military power plays against the South Vietnamese, Cambodians or Laotians, at the strategically propitious time.

Why no liberal agonizing over the Russians' militaristic intervention—which is not unlike their supplying the ballistics and other hardware to the Egyptians in the Middle East? What, too, is so provocative about the United States' furnishing the non-Communist Southeast Asians with the physical means to defend themselves?

And the objective is unequivocally defense. What are the South Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians supposed to do? Roll over and play dead?

As for compromise coalition governments, it seems obvious that the only such setup the Reds would accept would be one they felt they could subvert toward their single-

mindful goal of "unification"—Communist domination.

Despite all the premonitions of Cassandras over last May's "invasion" of Cambodia (funny how the Red presence out of North Vietnam doesn't constitute invasion), the Nixon military stroke proved so successful that it forced the supply-less Communists to conduct a floating war in Cambodia and Laos while South Vietnam gained time to muster a million-man army, shape it into a reasonably effective fighting force and even go out to engage the enemy in defense of Cambodia.

Except for absence of American ground troops, who, complying with the Cooper-Church amendment, are camping in South Vietnam at the Laotian border to fend off a possible Red counterattack, the thrust of South Vietnamese into Laos is apparently another spoiling operation to disrupt infiltration routes and scour enemy sanctuaries and supply dumps toward the north.

If this incursion proves as militarily fruitful as last year's into Cambodia, the aftertaste may be equally unsavory to dyspeptic doves whose mouths are still puckered up from sour grapes.

NATIONAL FAMILY WEEK

HON. JOHN T. MYERS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a resolution designating the fourth week of November as "National Family Week." I am proud that a number of my colleagues have joined as co-sponsors of this legislation. Hopefully, many more will in the days ahead.

The basic strength of our or any free and orderly society is the family. There could be no more appropriate week than that including Thanksgiving Day for us to honor our family loyalties and ties.

The legislation would authorize the President to designate the week beginning with the fourth Thursday in November of each year as "National Family Week." It also encourages the States and local communities to observe the week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

The Family Week observance was inspired by a constituent, Mr. Sam Wiley, who formerly taught in the Shakamak school system and is now assistant principal at Whiteland High School. My research shows this is the first such resolution of its kind.

The current unrest and dissatisfaction among the younger generation and the so-called generation gap can be traced in most cases to a complete breakdown in communications between parents and children. While observance of Family Week does not promise to resolve all the unrest, I view it as a giant step toward the goal of restoring the traditional principles of respect and self-discipline which have made this a great nation.

National Family Week is designed to coincide with Thanksgiving Day, that traditional time in America when families are rejoined for the purpose of giving thanks to God for the blessings which have come to them.

National Family Week would serve as

the focal point for the enlistment of millions of American parents in an effort to better understand the wants and needs of their children and to encourage the children to better understand the duties and obligations of their parents.

I am hopeful of speedy approval of this resolution and that various organizations in the local communities, such as service clubs, patriotic organizations, church groups, Scouts, and 4-H, will join together to make this observance as meaningful as possible.

Primarily, the emphasis must come from within the family structure itself. It is this vital institution which has proven its capacity to provide adult and child alike with the needed affection, discipline, and security which so many today complain are lacking in their lives.

TRIBUTE TO THE DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, I am very grateful to my distinguished colleagues in the House who have given us this opportunity to pay tribute to the noble work of the Disabled American Veterans.

From its birth in 1919, the Disabled American Veterans has unfailingly concerned itself with those courageous Americans who have suffered injury or disability from their participation in wartime activities in an effort to preserve American democracy and the way of life that is America's most precious heritage. Always in the forefront in support of fair and equitable treatment for our gallant veterans who served their country in foreign lands, the DAV commands the respect and admiration of the Congress and of the American people. Its service has been invaluable in securing the benefits to which our disabled veterans are legally entitled.

Realizing that the disabled veteran should be rewarded rather than penalized for the handicap he suffers as a result of his service, the DAV has without charge assisted these veterans and their dependents, whether members of the DAV or not, in filing claims for the various Federal benefits. Through its professionally trained staff of national service officers, who are disabled veterans themselves, the DAV has assisted millions of veterans in matters pertaining to their social and economic welfare.

In addition to helping disabled veterans participate in the many Government programs, the DAV acts as their official voice. This organization has played a significant role in the enactment of almost all veterans legislation since World War I.

But the efforts of the DAV affect more than just those who are the direct beneficiaries of the extensive services of this outstanding organization. The DAV serves the entire Nation. It translates the gratitude of this country into actual deeds, and it enables many disabled vet-

erans to become productive citizens once again.

The DAV has achieved success because it is an organization with a heart. Its officers and members have mastered their own disabilities and devote their energies to helping others pass through the long tunnel of rehabilitation. The disabled veteran's family and loved ones are also helped, not only through the services given the veteran himself, but by financial assistance and support available in time of need.

Let us hope that the next half century will be more peaceful than the last—but that the DAV will continue its great work with increasing effectiveness.

THE KITTELY-PORTSMOUTH NAVAL SHIPYARD LEADS INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES IN BLOOD DONATION PROGRAM

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as January 1971, has been designated National Blood Donor Month I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues another significant accomplishment turned in by the work force at the Portsmouth-Kittery Naval Shipyard. This is, of course, the same work force which was responsible for Portsmouth-Kittery's No. 1 ranking in the fiscal year 1970 cost reduction program among naval shipyards.

In inserting the enclosed article from the Portsmouth Periscope of December 24, 1970, I would like to express my appreciation to the men and women of the Portsmouth-Kittery Naval Shipyard for another outstanding performance. The dedication and ability of the shipyard work force is surely a significant factor in the decisions being made with regard to the future role of Portsmouth-Kittery in our national defense system; many thousands of Maine residents are looking forward to early and favorable official statements in this regard.

PORTSMOUTH'S BLOOD DONATIONS IN 1970 AT ALLTIME HIGH; SHIPYARD LEADS ALL INDUSTRIES IN VERMONT-NEW HAMPSHIRE

Blood donations by employees and military personnel on the monthly visits of the Red Cross Bloodmobile during the calendar year 1970 surpassed donations in all industrial facilities in New Hampshire and Vermont. A total of 2,115 pints of blood were donated at PNS during 1970, an average of 176 pints of blood each month. This is an all time high for blood donors at Portsmouth. Previous record high was in 1966, with 2,072 pints of blood donated.

Shipyards consistent support of the Blood Program was recognized Tuesday morning, December 15, at a ceremony held in the Administration Bldg., when Charles T. Mazza, Assistant Administrator, Vermont-New Hampshire Red Cross Regional Blood Center, presented a letter of commendation to Captain Donald H. Kern, Shipyard Commander, who accepted the citation for all PNS blood donors. Mazza added his personal commendation, pointing out that accolades were also in order to volunteers who turn out to donate and are unable to do so because they

cannot meet medical standards for giving blood.

Representing all blood donors at the ceremony were Earl F. Frost, Shop 72 and Robert P. Hopley, Planning. They are among the leading donors, each employee having donated 10 gallons of blood. Maurice Bedard, also a 10 gallon donor, was unable to attend. He is the Shipyard's top donor, with 86 pints of blood credited to his official Blood Donor Record card.

Among Shipyard officials in attendance were Donald K. Holster, Director of Industrial Relations and Administrator of the Shipyard's Blood Program; and Kenneth C. Clement, Employee Services, who is Coordinator.

The letter of commendation, signed by Edward R. Stearn, Administrator, Vt.-N.H. Red Cross Blood Program, with headquarters in Burlington, Vt., is quoted:

"Officials of the Vermont-New Hampshire Red Cross Blood Program throughout the region join me in extending heartiest congratulations on the outstanding blood drawing held at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard December 2. As you may know, the 206 pints donated that day brought the total for the calendar year 1970 to 2,115 pints, an all time high for this installation. As a matter of fact, this is also a new 12-month record for any group, plant or other facility in our entire region.

"The total donated on December 2 could not have arrived at a better time, since our blood drawing for the preceding week had been curtailed by the Thanksgiving holiday and with no drawing being held on the day following. Thanks to the response of Shipyard employees, however, we were able to meet all demands, including exactly 100 pints sent to just one of our hospitals over a three day period from Saturday through Monday.

"All of us involved in the day to day operation of this program are aware of the time and effort required to achieve the results enumerated above. Please convey our sincere thanks to Donald K. Holster, Director, Industrial Relations Office and Kenneth C. Clement, Blood Program Coordinator, for the planning and direction they have given this program over the years.

"We trust that all others who have helped in any way in achieving this outstanding record of accomplishment are aware of how much their support is appreciated by our hospital patients and their families. Needless to say, we are aware that this increase in donations in recent years could not have been achieved without your personal interest and support."

(NOTE.—A quick check of our records indicates that in the 208 blood drawings held at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard from September 1953 through December 1970, there have been 27,774 pints of blood donated. In itself this total is outstanding, but we believe there are two factors that make this figure even more significant. The first is that donations are on the rise rather than declining. The second is that every request we have made for rare types of blood to meet special situations such as open heart surgery, aneurysms, etc., have, without exception, been exceeded by a substantial margin.)

APPOINTMENT OF COL. CASIMIR I. LENARD

HON. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently a news release came to my attention which I am sure will be of con-

siderable interest to my colleagues. It concerns the appointment by the Secretary of Labor of Col. Casimir. I. Lenard, Army of the United States, retired, executive director of the Polish-American Congress, to the National Advisory Committee of the Jobs for Veterans. This Committee, composed of seven Cabinet members and 100 leaders from Government, business, and labor, and three other top administration officials, will spearhead a program which will seek to improve employment prospects for veterans, especially the more than 1 million servicemen who will complete their military obligations in the next 12 months. About one-fourth of these veterans will resume their education, but most will enter the civilian labor market, many of them seeking their first full-time jobs. The new program will seek to stimulate the formation of action groups at State and local levels and to encourage public and private employers to actively seek out and hire or train veterans.

Mr. Speaker I feel that this is a very worthwhile program and very much in need at this time. I would like to congratulate Colonel Lenard, a 30-year Army veteran and a Chicago native, upon his selection to this committee and wish him and the other members of the Committee the best of luck on the achievement of their goal.

THE FAMILY FARM

HON. DELBERT L. LATTA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, it is so often repeated that it has become almost a cliché to call the youth of America "our most precious asset." Yet I think it bears repeating—especially in these days when the achievements of the vast majority of our young people are overshadowed by the antics of a small minority. Indeed, if one were to garner all his impressions of young people from news headlines and stories, he would be left with the idea that they are all rebellious, lazy, irresponsible, immoral, and lacking in respect for their elders and tradition.

This is why it gives me such pleasure to call to the attention of this body a young lady from my district who eloquently refutes the notion. She is 16-year old Lois Vorst, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Vorst of Cloverdale, Ohio. Lois is the 1971 winner of the Ohio State Farmers Union essay contest. She is a credit to her parents, her schools, and her community.

In her essay entitled, "The Family Farm," Lois eloquently states what growing up on a farm can mean. Grateful for her heritage, she stands as a link between the present and the future.

She vividly states her love of this traditional way of life, and, likewise expresses her strong concern about the future of the family farm. Her perspective about the role of the family farm and its relationship to the rest of the Nation would do credit to a statesman.

What she has said is food for thought

in this time when the whole agricultural picture of this country is dark and the fate of the family farm seems almost dismal. Therefore, I request unanimous consent that her essay, "The Family Farm," be inserted at this point in the Record:

THE FAMILY FARM

Why do I want to save the family farm? That's a good question. The reasons for wanting to save the family farm differ from age to age and person to person. Being a girl, there is probably a bigger question in your mind as to why I want to save our farm.

Challenge is perhaps the principal reason. The way I see it—Life, itself, is a challenge. You only get out of life what you put into it. Living on a farm gives you the opportunity to put a lot into life and, thus, in return receive the same or possibly more. Oh, sure, sometimes you don't get what you expected, but that's a chance one must take. There is a certain amount of chance in every career and with farming there is definitely no greater chance. Why? Because if the farm fails, so do many other industries. Don't think it's all one-sided, though, without people to buy and use our produce where would we be? You might say that that's a pretty big chance to take but who hasn't ever gambled . . . just a little?

Living on the farm also gives one the sense of responsibility. There is a lot to be responsible for. Getting the crops in on time, putting enough fertilizers on, milking, feeding, and harvesting are just a few. Take me, for example. I'm a real responsible person . . . if anything goes wrong, I'm usually responsible.

Tradition is another reason why I want to save our farm. Man has deliberately planted food crops since sometime between 7000-5000 B.C. Our farm hasn't been in existence for quite that long, but it has been for approximately 100 years. It makes me feel rather proud to look around and actually be able to see how the farm has improved and expanded, and to see the beauty of green fields spreading for endless miles. There isn't much time to stop and really think on the hectic farm; but when I do stop to think, I think how God and all those who preceded me made all this possible. And I vow that every day, somehow, in some way I will contribute something for the betterment and welfare of the Good Green Earth, so that I and those behind me can also enjoy the beautiful tranquility of the family farm.

I thank you,

LOIS VORST.

TRIBUTE TO PRIVATE FIRST CLASS EGBERT

HON. WILLIAM J. KEATING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, Private First Class Egbert is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Egbert of 6704 Rose Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. Private First Class Egbert went to Vietnam with his unit in the summer of 1970. Last October while riding on a halftrack, his vehicle hit a land mine and he was blown out of the halftrack. He suffered a broken back and a broken left leg which was shattered from the ankle to the knee. Medics had to perform a tracheotomy in order to keep him alive. He was under intensive care for some 27 days at which time he received several blood transfusions. As a result he later contacted hepatitis which caused another setback.

He is to be discharged from Walter Reed Hospital and separated from the service within a few weeks. But his road to recovery will require additional treatment for his leg for several months.

I was somewhat amazed at this young man's attitude and his humbleness. While visiting with me we toured the Capitol and he was much more interested in talking about the Capitol Building and its history than he was in discussing his injuries. It is fortunate that Private First Class Egbert will have the service of the DAV when he is separated from the service.

"ENTERPRISE" ACTION—STUPID AFFRONT TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF CHILE

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, an act of highest stupidity was the decision to decline the invitation of the Chilean Government for a visit by the American aircraft carrier *Enterprise* to the port of Valparaiso. According to news reports, our Ambassador strongly opposed the visit, the State Department opposed it, and the White House followed their advice.

It appears that the Nixon administration is deliberately setting out to create another Cuba.

We know how sensitive the Latin Americans are about use. We know that anti-Americanism is prevalent throughout Latin America. We saw the reception Governor Rockefeller received there 2 years ago. We saw a Marxist government come to power in Chile: a government which is determined to remain independent, but which may have some difficulty in doing so.

As an act of friendship, this Government invited a visit by one of the greatest symbols of American nuclear power, the nuclear carrier *Enterprise*. It is not difficult to imagine that this offer let President Allende in for a strong attack from his party's hard-line left wing, but I surmise he made the offer out of a strong desire to cultivate good relations with the United States.

But the White House turned him down. Do Mr. Kissinger and Mr. Nixon know how sensitive the Latin Americans are to slights and insults? What can they hope to gain by such an abrasive move?

The reason given by the Defense Department is that the *Enterprise's* schedule does not permit the visit. Mr. Speaker, we can safely say that all the Americans and Chileans combined who believe this excuse could easily fit into a Washington telephone booth.

It is particularly ironic that the *Enterprise* only a few days ago paid a visit to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The Brazilian Government is a vicious military dictatorship which is becoming world famous for its liberal use of torture. Even the conservative writer William Buckley, who is normally quick to defend rightist

dictatorships of any sort, recently admitted that torture of political dissidents is widespread in Brazil, and went on to say he could not justify it.

In contrast, Chile is a country of long democratic tradition and great political freedom, and the present government was elected by impeccable democratic process.

I do not think Chile will become a Russian satellite or even an independent American state, even considering the remarkable incompetence of our State Department. But if one day we should wake up and find another Cuba in Latin America, it will be Richard Nixon who gave Chile its push in that direction.

I insert articles describing this incident from the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Washington Star of February 28, 1971, in the RECORD at this point:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 28, 1971]
U.S. DECLINES CHILE'S INVITATION FOR VISIT BY WARSHIP

(By Benjamin Melles)

WASHINGTON, February 27.—After 36 hours marked by intense bureaucratic in-fighting, the Administration decided today not to accept Chile's invitation for the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* to pay a courtesy call.

Qualified informants said that the presence of 3,600 United States officers and men on four-day shore leave at the Chilean port of Valparaiso might have had a favorable impact on public opinion in Chile and elsewhere in Latin America.

However, it was reliably learned that the decision to decline the invitation, publicly announced Thursday by President Salvador Allende Gossens had been recommended by the State Department and quickly approved by the White House.

Edward M. Korry, the United States Ambassador to Chile, was said to have been strongly opposed to the visit.

Jerry W. Friedheim, Defense Department spokesman, reached by telephone, was reluctant to discuss the behind-the-scenes struggle between the Pentagon and the State Department before the White House sided with the latter.

He cited "operational" reasons as likely to prove "difficult for us" as the determining factor. Other sources familiar with naval operations said that they could think of no reason why the nuclear-powered vessel, which recently paid a courtesy visit to Rio de Janeiro could not put into Valparaiso also.

ROUNDING CAPE HORN

She was last reported rounding Cape Horn and starting north along the West Coast of Latin America past Chile on her way to California.

Diplomats experienced in hemisphere affairs suggested that the White House decision would have unfavorable repercussions throughout the area.

"When a Latin American President publicly invites a U.S. warship to pay a friendly call and urges his people to treat it well," said one source, "it seems a little boorish to refuse."

The decision was interpreted as part of the Nixon Administration's arms-length approach to the Allende regime. It was noted that no senior United States official had made contact with a Chilean economic delegation that spent three days here last week explaining Chile's economic program to the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress.

It was also noted that President Nixon had rebuked Chile's recent decision to resume diplomatic relations with Cuba as a "challenge to the Inter-American system" in his State of the World Message Thursday.

CONTRARY TO TRADITION

The decision to snub President Allende, diplomats said, does not conform with traditional diplomatic relations, especially in protocol-conscious Latin America, where actions and inactions by the United States are under critical scrutiny at present.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers is scheduled to make his first visit to Latin America in April, when he joins with hemisphere foreign ministers in the first meeting of the Organization of American States' new General Assembly. Trade is officially the main point on the agenda but observers believe that Mr. Rogers will find the United States hemisphere policy under mounting criticism.

[From the Washington Star, Feb. 28, 1971]
UNITED STATES CANCELS CARRIER VISIT TO CHILE, "SCHEDULE" CITED

SANTIAGO, CHILE.—The United States, claiming "scheduled commitments," yesterday canceled the visit of the U.S. nuclear carrier *Enterprise*, which had been invited by President Salvador Allende for a two-day visit to Valparaiso.

First word of the cancellation came from the Chilean navy. Chilean radio and television stations carried the news as a bulletin.

"The operating schedule does not permit the ship to make this port of call and still make her scheduled commitments," a statement by the U.S. Defense Department in Washington said.

Allende, a Marxist elected president of Chile four months ago, had personally invited the giant aircraft carrier to Chile because, he said, he wanted the U.S. crewmen to see that "authentic democracy" still prevails in Chile.

Allende, speaking from Punta Arenas, said "I have been informed that, for operational reasons, the ship *Enterprise* will not dock off our coast. I regret this, but our attitude remains unchanged—the attitude of a people without borders."

Relations between the United States and Chile have been cool since Allende took office. A Chilean navy training ship is now visiting Cuba and one of Allende's first acts after taking office was to establish diplomatic relations with the Castro regime.

The Nixon administration reportedly had been undecided on whether to allow the *Enterprise* visit.

Allende announced Thursday that Adm. Elmo Zumwalt, chief of U.S. Naval Operations, had accepted his invitation last week while on a visit to Chile.

The Pentagon said yesterday, "the *Enterprise* is enroute to the Pacific after overhaul at Newport News, Va.," but said it could not divulge the vessel's schedule.

Edward M. Korry, U.S. ambassador to Chile, had no comment on the sudden change of plans which was communicated to the U.S. Embassy in Santiago by the Defense Department.

The *Enterprise* was to have dropped anchor off Valparaiso at 10 a.m. today.

Top Chilean naval officials were to have visited the ship and the *Enterprise* skipper, Capt. Forrest Petersen, was scheduled to hold a news conference aboard for Chilean newsmen this afternoon. The ship also was to have been opened to the public.

Allende made the scheduled visit of the ship a center of national attention when, in a nationwide television speech from Valparaiso on Thursday, he warned against any provocations against the *Enterprise* or its crew.

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 28, 1971]
CARRIER'S VISIT TO CHILE IS OFF—COMMITMENTS CITED

The Pentagon said yesterday the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise* will be unable to visit Chile, whose Marxist president invited it to call there.

The Defense Department said "the operating schedule does not permit the ship to make this port call and still meet her scheduled commitments."

Chilean President Salvador Allende earlier in the week invited the giant U.S. carrier to stop at Valparaiso so its sailors could see for themselves the Chilean brand of democracy.

The *Enterprise* is now en route to her home port of Alameda, Calif., after undergoing overhaul at Newport News, Va.

Pentagon sources hinted that the decision to keep the carrier *Enterprise* from visiting Chile was more political than operational. Sources indicated the State Department viewpoint prevailed.

The *Enterprise* did call in Rio de Janeiro on its way around South America and sources noted that it would be very easy, and cause little delay, to have the *Enterprise* stop briefly in Chile.

KENTUCKIAN KILLED IN ACTION

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Ola M. Miley has just recently received notice that her son, Sp4c. Joseph W. Miley, had been killed in action.

Joseph Miley thus becomes another of the valiant men—and the 117th northern Kentuckian—who has given his life in defense of his country and in protecting the free world.

The sympathy of thousands of other families who have paid this sacrifice goes out to Mrs. Miley and the Miley family. To them also goes the sincere gratitude of those of us whom Joseph died protecting.

The Kentucky Post article of February 23, 1971, which reports the loss of Sp4c. Joseph W. Miley follows:

BROTHER DIDN'T HAVE TO GO . . . DIES IN ACTION

(By John Harris)

Joseph Wayne Miley didn't have to go to Vietnam.

His brother was already there. And normally no two members of a family can be required to serve there at the same time.

"But Joe signed a waiver," said his brother Robert. "He wanted to go over."

Joe was assigned to the same helicopter headquarters company as was Robert, 21. They served together for two months.

"But Mom didn't like both of us being there at the same time," Robert said. "So one of us was going to come back."

"Joe said it was my turn to come back, since I'd been over there before."

"So I left on Feb. 2 and was in Japan two weeks on my way back."

But now Joe, too, is coming back.

The 19-year-old Florence soldier was killed when his helicopter was shot down, crashed and burned on Feb. 8.

"The Army listed him as missing until last Wednesday, and then told us he had been killed," Robert said.

"Joe had volunteered to go with B Company on a secret mission," Robert said. "He left Feb. 1 and I left on the second."

"Nobody told them where they were going. "But it was on the first day of the Laos operation and it's quite probable that's where they were."

"The Army didn't tell us exactly where it happened."

Joe was a door gunner in the helicopter that was downed by ground fire.

"He was an exceptional soldier—proud of the uniform," said his brother.

He volunteered for service in October 1969, after dropping out of Oakdale (Tenn.) High School in his junior year.

He had gone there to live with relatives. Miley, who was a specialist fourth-class, is survived by his mother, Mrs. Ola Mae Miley of Florence East Apartments, Florence. She is assistant dining room manager at the Terrace Hilton Hotel, Cincinnati.

And his father, Robert Miley of 15 Audrey street, Ludlow, a truck driver.

Also four other brothers: Terry, 15; Stephen, 13; David, 16, and Todd, 9, and three sisters, Linda, 12, and Janet and Jayne, four-month-old twins.

And his grandmothers, Mrs. Laura Miley, Ludlow, and Mrs. Ivy Baughman, Florence. Ronald B. Jones Funeral Home, Ludlow, is in charge of services, which are pending arrival of Specialist Miley's body.

Miley is northern Kentucky's 117th victim of fighting in Southeast Asia, and the 11th for Boone County.

THE REINTRODUCTION OF LAS TRAMPAS-O'NEILL HOME BILL

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to reintroduce legislation calling for the preservation of a unique wilderness area in California and an American historical site.

This combination, Las Trampas Ridge and the home of prize-winning American Playwright Eugene O'Neill, faces the threat to open space in our urban and suburban communities which if not stemmed will reduce the livability of our residential areas to sterile, unhappy depths.

Mr. Speaker, Las Trampas Ridge is the key to the preservation of vital open space in Alameda and Contra Costa Counties. The area presently is unspoiled by housing development or highways.

The woods teem with wildlife and wild flowers. The area is within easy access of millions of residents of the bay area.

Hopefully, Mr. Speaker, we in the Congress can assist in the preservation of this area by passage of this legislation which would create the Las Trampas National Park and would include within its boundaries of the famed Taos House where Eugene O'Neill wrote such classics as "Long Day's Journey Into Night."

This combination wilderness park-historical monument present a unique opportunity for the Congress to preserve needed open space and at the same time honor a great American writer.

I would hope that this legislation is acted on favorably by this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, we have received more than 8,000 signed petitions for creation of this joint-historical site and park area.

I believe that support such as that demonstrated for the Las Trampas Park-O'Neill Home bill should be rewarded by consideration of their bill.

CAN DO

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, companies making cans in Maryland have devised a plan for recycling used cans so that the metals in them can be used again. The companies have set up six locations where citizens or communities can bring cans and receive the prevailing scrap metal price in return.

The companies are to be commended for taking this step—a useful step toward reducing the amounts of solid waste now thrown away.

This project may prove to be a step toward economical and efficient solutions to our solid waste problems. The future may well see giant reclamation centers that could separate and prepare several types of solid waste—papers, glass, and metals—for reclamation.

If we are going to clean up our environment, we must stop throwing away so much material that we foul our own ecological nest. We must learn a new environmental three R's—reuse, recycling and reclamation.

Here is the announcement of the new program for recycling cans in Maryland:

ANNOUNCEMENT OF PROGRAM TO RECYCLE CANS

BALTIMORE.—A program to turn cans used by Marylanders into auto parts, building materials, appliances and other products—instead of litter and solid waste—was announced today.

Six recycling centers are being opened in Maryland by three of the world's largest can manufacturers. Three of the centers are in the City of Baltimore. All plants of American Can Company, Continental Can Company and National Can Corporation in Maryland will, in effect, serve as recycling stations for all types of cans.

Executives of the companies revealed details of the recycling program at a news conference in Baltimore's downtown Holiday Inn.

Baltimore City Council President F. Donald Schaefer opened the conference, saying he supports industry efforts to solve the solid waste disposal problem. He is head of the Mayor's Committee on Solid Waste Disposal.

Participating in the news conference were: Norman Dobyns, Director of Governmental Affairs for American Can; Vincent Naimoli, manager of Continental's Baltimore plant; Bart O'Shea, district marketing executive for National; and several city and state officials.

U.S. Senator J. Glenn Beall, Jr. (R-Md.), a member of the Senate Public Works Committee which handles waste disposal and other environmental legislation, sent a message. It reads in part: "I am particularly pleased to see the institution of the recycling centers, opening in four areas of our state today. These efforts . . . are vital to our success in disposing of solid wastes efficiently, and at the same time using the wastes in a useful manner . . . I congratulate National Can, Continental Can and American Can for their efforts to better our nation."

Others who attended the news conference announcing the opening of the centers included: Charles Farley, Baltimore County Sanitation Department head and president of the National Institute for Solid Waste Disposal; Charles B. Kenahan, chief of the Division of Solid Waste Disposal, U.S. Bureau

of Mines, Department of the Interior, and leaders of volunteer organizations dedicated to better environment.

The recycling centers for the state are: Baltimore—American Can, Boston and Hudson Streets; Continental Can, 3500 East Biddle Street; and National Can, 727 South Wolf Street.

Cambridge—National Can, 100 Goodwill Street.

Hurlock—Continental Can, Railroad Avenue.

Sparrows Point—National Can, Reservoir Road.

Each of these sites is prepared to accept every type of can—steel, aluminum, tinplate and combination. Food, beverage, oil and all other kinds of metal cans will be accepted.

Communities can arrange to have all used cans brought to a recycling center or interested organizations can organize efforts to have used cans delivered to a recycling center. Communities and organizations can arrange with plant managers for payment to be made for the used cans. The companies will pay a community or civic or charitable organization at the existing prices for scrap.

Labels should be removed from food cans, a spokesman said. Wherever possible, cans should be rinsed out and flattened.

Similar recycling programs have been started by the can manufacturers in Oregon, Washington, Northern California and New York City. The three can companies also started recycling centers in New Jersey today. Plans are to open some 200 such plant-site centers throughout the country this year.

Cans received at these centers are shipped directly to processing plants, where they are remelted and turned into usable steel and aluminum.

Some processing will be done at the M and T Chemical plant in Baltimore.

SP4C. ROLLINS KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, a fine young man from Maryland, Sp4c. Wade H. Rollins, 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:

SP4C. ROLLINS KILLED IN VIETNAM

Army Spec. 4 Wade H. Rollins, 24, of Waldorf, Md., was killed in action Feb. 19 in Quang Tri Province, Vietnam. An Army spokesman said that he was killed during an enemy attack on a landing zone.

Specialist Rollins was born in Washington. He was a 1964 graduate of La Plata High School. While a millwright apprentice, he won an area competition and was a finalist in Kansas City, Mo.

Before entering the Army in 1969, he worked as a shop steward at Potomac Electric Power Co.'s Morgantown, Md., power plant. He was a former member of the Charles County Rescue Squad.

A member of Company E, 3rd Battalion, 187th Infantry, 101st Airborne Division, Specialist Rollins had been in Vietnam since March.

He leaves his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Donald W. Rollins; a grandmother, Mrs. Ruth DeButts, of Waldorf, and a sister, Mrs. Judith Moore of White Plains, Md.

Services will be held at 2 p.m. Saturday at the Hunt Funeral Home in Waldorf, with burial there in Trinity Memorial Gardens Cemetery.

FATHER HESBURGH OF NOTRE DAME

HON. JOHN BRADEMÁS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. BRADEMÁS. Mr. Speaker, I count it a particular honor to be able to claim as one of my constituents the Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame.

Not only is Father Hesburgh a distinguished university president, he has served Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon as a member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, of which he is now Chairman.

There are many other ways in which Father Hesburgh has served this country and mankind, and I am pleased to insert at this point in the RECORD an article in the February 15, 1971, issue of Time magazine concerning Father Hesburgh:

THE MELLOWING OF A PRESIDENT

Notre Dame's President Theodore M. Hesburgh has come a long way since 1969, when he blasted campus disruptions in a famous letter to his students at the nation's best-known Roman Catholic university. Anyone substituting "force for rational persuasion," wrote Father Hesburgh, would be entitled to 15 minutes of "meditation," followed by suspension. Most Americans cheered those words, but their tone caused Hesburgh much trouble. Hard-liners miscast him as their hero; many of the young reviled him. Yet now his image is quite different; he has emerged as a kind of Catholic Kingman Brewster who is so popular among his students that Notre Dame may well be among the nation's most disruption-proof major campuses.

Hesburgh has not abandoned his distaste for violence. Amid the new campus calm, however, he has shifted his target from student radicalism to the Administration's war policy. The shift has transformed him.

NO HANDSHAKES

Soon after his 1969 ultimatum, Hesburgh hit his Notre Dame nadir. The worst of it was the anger of liberal students and teachers who had flocked to Notre Dame because of Hesburgh's insistence that the university combine intellectual freedom with its prayers and football. Many viewed his ultimatum as an attack on academic freedom, not a defense of it.

They were quite wrong. But in another sense, so was he. Hesburgh had, in fact, lost touch with his campus, mainly because of his own voracious involvement with "relevant" social problems as a member of 23 off-campus boards and committees and as outspoken head of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. A biting student joke asked: "What's the difference between God and Father Hesburgh? God is everywhere and Hesburgh is everywhere but Notre Dame."

In 1969 the student government condemned Hesburgh; the American Association of University Professors, which had been considering him for its annual academic freedom award, dropped him from the competition. Though his board stoutly backed him, he recalls, "I had the feeling the students were slipping away. I'm not sure they understood me or I understood them." When Hesburgh walked across the campus, some students sullenly refused to shake his outstretched hand.

CAMBODIAN INCURSION

Hesburgh was clearly a victim of both academic and youthful intolerance. But he showed greater understanding than his

detractors. After brooding about the draft, for example, he concluded that "the only kind of patriotism the Government was talking about was going overseas and killing people. The thing keeps gnawing at you." Last spring's Cambodian incursion and student deaths at Kent State and Jackson State brought fresh indignation. When the Notre Dame campus boiled up, the main speaker at a massive protest rally was not the local S.D.S. head but Hesburgh. In a sermon a week later, he told his campus congregation that an Administration that continued the war was composed of "mental midgets." Notre Dame students hung back from violence, circulated Hesburgh's speech to more than 80,000 townspeople and got 26,000 citizens to sign petitions endorsing it.

UNDERGRADUATE INFLUENCE

Hesburgh has changed his mind on other things as well. In 1967 he vowed that "Notre Dame will not have its undergraduates making policy decisions"; today undergraduates sit on virtually every university committee, usually with voting power. In 1968, Hesburgh proclaimed that he would expel 1,000 students before permitting girls to visit in the dorms; a year later, he accepted a student-faculty committee recommendation to allow limited visits. Paradoxically, he pleased old grads by letting the football team play in postseason bowl games—but chiefly because the \$200,000 income could be used to finance scholarships for blacks and Spanish-speaking students. In the past six months, he has shed five of his off-campus jobs. Last year the A.A.U.P. reconsidered and gave him that academic freedom award.

NECROLOGY LIST

Time Correspondent Robert Anson (Notre Dame, '67) often interviewed Hesburgh as an undergraduate journalist; recently he revisited Hesburgh's study and found "an almost existential change in the man. The conversation is easier, more reflective, more open to other points of view. He seems genuinely at peace with himself. The students no longer talk about getting rid of Hesburgh but about whether anyone will be good enough to replace him."

One measure of Hesburgh's success is that he retains his 15-minute rule for violent protesters—and is respected for it. At a time when the average tenure of college presidents has slipped to 4½ years, Hesburgh keeps a "necrology list" of the leading casualties as a reminder of how they fell, for lack of either strength or understanding. Now 53 and in his 19th year in charge of Notre Dame, he may well have discovered how to avoid their errors.

GIVE VOTE TO 18-YEAR-OLDS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as we carefully review the complications and problems caused by the Supreme Court decision on the 18-year-old vote, it is obvious that unless legislation at Federal or State levels is processed to concur with the Court decision a great deal of confusion and expense will be added to the conduct of elections.

A very effective commentary appeared in the Thursday, February 25, Suburban Life in a special column by Dean Linton, associate editor of that publication. I believe the article to be a pragmatic analysis of the 18-year-old voting situation.

GIVE VOTE TO 18-YEAR-OLDS

(By Dean Linton)

Illinois can not afford to withhold voting rights any longer from its younger citizens. State legislators should move quickly to lower the voting age limit from 21 to 18.

Without this legislation, elections in this state can only become more confusing and costly to the taxpayer. Election officials hesitate to estimate the added cost in time and particularly money that will result in maintaining two voting systems.

Illinois voters defeated a proposition to lower the voting age in the constitutional referendum last December. Although the proposal carried in Cook County, it lost substantially downstate.

Undoubtedly the so-called Generation Gap and campus unrest the year prior did much to turn older voters against the proposal.

Backers of the proposition were hopeful that the U.S. Supreme Court would uphold Congressional action extending the voting franchise to young people no matter how Illinois voters acted on the issue. A weak campaign resulted.

One week following the Illinois rejection of the 18 year old vote the Supreme Court did uphold the 1970 Voting Rights Act's extension of the vote to 18 year olds in federal elections, but not in state and local elections.

The court's decision immediately posed administrative problems for states, such as Illinois. Two separate voting lists and perhaps separate polls, judges etc. would be necessitated to allow 18, 19 and 20 year olds to vote for the President, vice president, U.S. senator and congressman, but not for state, county and local officials.

Reports from Washington indicate that some senators and congressmen are pushing for a constitutional amendment that would give 18 year olds the vote in all elections. This certainly would result in a court test, if indeed it were ever adopted.

Again, I say, Illinois can not afford to wait for such lengthy proceedings. Our state lawmakers must take the initiative. None have done so as yet. As usual, a wait-and-see attitude exists, perhaps because the real confusion will not arise until the 1972 elections.

Voter registrations and voting lists must be maintained. Illinois Atty. Gen. William Scott has advised county clerks throughout the state to maintain separate registration lists for under 21 voters.

I admit favoring the 18 year old vote proposal even before the Supreme Court ruling. Studies have indicated that in Georgia and Kentucky, where 18 year olds are allowed to vote, there has been no evidence they voted less intelligently or responsibly than their elders.

One of the strongest arguments for the 18 year old vote remains: if you are old enough to die for your country you must be old enough to vote for your nation's leaders.

Putting all this aside, I'm sure that some voters who cast negative votes last December would reconsider their position on the issue when failure to conform to federal laws will hit them where it hurts the most: in the pocketbook.

am pleased to commend the following for the information of my colleagues and readers of the RECORD:

ARE THE KIDS REALLY TO BLAME?

We read in the Paper, we hear on the air of killing and stealing and crime everywhere; we sigh and we say, as we notice the trend, This young generation . . . where will it end? But can we be sure it's their fault alone?

Too much money to spend; too much idle time; Too many movies of passion and crime; Too many books not fit to be read; Too much evil in what they hear said; Too many kids encouraged to roam; Too many parents who don't stay at home.

Youth doesn't make the movies; they don't write the books; That paint the gay pictures of gangsters and crooks. They don't make the liquor; they don't run the bars; They don't make the laws and they don't make the cars.

They don't make the drugs that idle the brain, It's all done by older folks, greedy for gain. And how many cases, we find that it's true . . . The label, "Delinquency" . . . fits older folks, too!

GETTING ADVICE ON TAXES CAN BE RISKY BUSINESS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently, the Chicago Tribune carried an interesting article by consumer columnist Anne Taylor advising consumers who utilize the services of tax experts to make sure they have the qualifications.

Commenting on Miss Taylor's article, Mr. Seymour A. Rish of the National Association of Enrolled Federal Tax Accountants offers some observations about the way taxpayers can make sure their tax adviser has the necessary qualifications to offer tax aid.

Since this subject matter is a very timely one, I should like to place in the RECORD today both articles which appeared in the Chicago Tribune on February 3 and 22, respectively.

I include the articles as follows:

GETTING ADVICE ON TAXES CAN BE RISKY BUSINESS

(By Anne Taylor)

At this time of year there is a proliferation of income tax advice, and for a good reason: There is hardly an American alive who can make out his return without hesitation or questioning or without some assistance.

More of us than ever before will utilize the services of so-called tax experts, and so a cautionary word is in order. That is, make sure your expert has the qualifications.

In some instances those who set themselves up as authorities have limited training and even limited aptitude. If they don't ask questions they can't know enough about you to make all the proper deductions.

PROFESSIONAL TAX AID

CHICAGO—In her "consumerism" column (Feb. 3) headed "Getting Advice on Taxes Can Be Risky Business," Miss Anne Taylor stated: More of us that ever before will utilize the services of so-called tax experts, and so a cautionary word is in order. That is: Make sure your expert has the qualifications.

It is an ironic fact that a professional "tax expert" is prohibited by Treasury De-

partment rules of conduct from claiming to be a tax expert, while the nonregulated tax return preparer can make almost any advertising claim he or she may so desire. Professional tax practitioners are prohibited from advertising the fact that they have demonstrated, by written examinations, their technical competency in tax accounting and tax laws.

The Internal Revenue Service recognizes only three classes of tax advisers who may represent all taxpayers in the three appeal levels with the IRS. These are: Federally licensed enrolled agents, state-licensed certified public accountants, and state-licensed lawyers. These licenses are a mark of real qualification by their holders.

CHILE—THE CONSOLIDATION PHASE—II

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, Alexander Hamilton, Federalist Papers, No. 78, said:

In the general course of human nature a power over a man's subsistence amounts to a power over his will.

The Marxist doctrinal commitment to the confiscation of private property has been reinforced by the experiences of ruling Communist parties. When the individual has the means to do as he chooses, the Communists have found that he chooses not to obey.

The truth stated by one of our Founding Fathers as an argument for economic freedom is used by the totalitarians as an argument for economic domination of the people by the state, or the party. Truth can be utilized to the advantage of those who understand it, no matter what the objectives may be. In the one-party Communist state, everything must come through the party and be for the party, with nothing against the party or outside the control of the party. This includes the means needed to live independently. Private property represents a stumbling block to tyrants, which is why it is one of the cornerstones of individual freedom.

Understanding this, Salvador Allende, Chile's recently elected Marxist President, is moving to destroy the economic base of freedom in his country. The old Communist program of land reform which was utilized so effectively to eliminate private land holdings and holders in Russia, Red China, North Vietnam, Cuba, and elsewhere, is being pushed full speed by the Communist-dominated Popular Unity Coalition Government of Chile. Land reform, Communist style, serves the dual purpose of destroying the actual or potential opposition of landholders to total state control, either through physical liquidation or by making them paupers, while at the same time gaining the temporary support of the peasants who think they will benefit from the redistribution of land. Those without land are manipulated to seize the land of those who have it and then, soon afterward, the new owners are forced onto collective farms.

ARE THE KIDS REALLY TO BLAME?

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, Father Edward Flanagan, the founder of Boys Town, always believed—and never hesitated to say, "There is no such thing as a bad boy." In defense of his statement, I

Although Allende has made statements to the effect that all "medium and small farmers—farms under 176 acres—have nothing to fear," the head of the land reform program, David Baytelman, recently let the cat out of the bag by declaring that—

The intention of the government is that there be no individual ownership of the land.

Baytelman's boss, Minister of Agriculture Jacques Conchol Chait, spent 3 years in Cuba in the early 60s' on contract to the United Nations as Latin American Agrarian Reform Adviser. From what is now going on in Chile, it is obvious that he picked up many pointers from the Castro regime and that, as with freedom of the press—Newsletter 71-7—Allende's words are simply window dressing.

To date over 300 private farms have been seized and the program is just starting to grow. In some provinces the seizures are being carried out by Mapuche Indians under the direction of Revolutionary Left Movement leaders who Allende released from prison where they were serving time for "revolutionary" bank robbery. As the Indians seize the land and the owners turn to the rural police for help, they find that the police are under orders from the Minister of the Interior not to interfere. This is not surprising since the Minister of the Interior, Jose Toha, is a great Castro admirer, formerly vice president of the Chilean-Cuban Cultural Institute, and has selected a Communist by the name of Daniel Bustos to be his deputy. In a case where a farmer attempted to protect his property from the Indians with a .22 rifle, he was charged with assault and is now awaiting trial. So far, the Indians alone have seized over 50,000 acres.

Much of the land confiscation is taking place in areas which gave the conservative candidate a majority of the votes in the last election, such as Lautaro Province. In the whole country, Allende received just 36.3 percent of the vote—only 1.4 percent more than the conservative candidate Alessandri in a three-way contest. Allende has appointed a Communist named Fernando Tellier to govern this particular "reactionary" province and Tellier is refusing to obey directives from district judges to provide protection for landowners. Confiscation is thus being used to destroy bases of political opposition. The government controlled Institute for Agricultural Development makes this very clear, declaring in the program set up to deal with Lautaro Province that—

Agrarian reform is the principal tool for the destruction of the bourgeoisie (middle class).

Land reform is not the only tool the totalitarians in Chile are using. On January 7 of this year the Ministry of Justice announced the establishment of a system of "people's courts." These drum-head tribunals which have the power to enter, search, seize, and sentence for "antisocial activity" and popular unity committees were set up during the political campaign last fall. There are approximately 14,800 of these bodies, uniformly under the control of the Com-

munist Party of Chile. These vicious instruments of control and liquidation are the ultimate sign of Communist totalitarianism. In Cuba they were known as block committees.

There is another Iron Curtain descending in the Americas.

MEMORIAL SERVICES FOR EARTH-QUAKE VICTIMS

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a memorial service was conducted in front of the Veterans' Administration Hospital, Sepulveda, Calif., at 2 p.m., in behalf of the deceased patients and employees of that hospital who were victims of the tragic earthquake in the area.

My very good friend, the Honorable Fred B. Rhodes, Deputy Administrator for Veterans Affairs, delivered the Administrator's message on the occasion.

As I feel our colleagues and all who read this RECORD would share the thoughts and sentiments expressed in the message, I insert it in full at this point in the RECORD:

IN MEMORIAM—SAN FERNANDO VETERANS HOSPITAL—FEBRUARY 9, 1971

DECEASED PATIENTS—VA HOSPITAL, SAN FERNANDO, CALIF.

Benjamin Albanese, Ralph B. Adler, Jacob Magnus Andersen, John A. Anderson, Clarence Wallace Boggs, Arthur M. Cahill, Harvey Israel Cullen, Robert Andrew Curry, Juan S. Evangelista, John Fred Magnuson.

Norman J. Gans, Charles Preston George, Salvador B. Gonzales, Winfield Greer, Jenness Davic Harper, Charlie Ray Harrison, Eugene Parker Henry, Roy Jackson, J. D. Johnson.

Fay L. Jones, John Patrick Kane, Stanley Kwiatkoski, Willard James Lanyon, Goodwin Autin La Point, Daniel Lawson, Homer G. Lewis, James D. Macklin, Sr., Leo Sylvester Maddy, William F. Matthews.

William H. Miranda, Robert Earl Montgomery, Paul T. Priebe, Will Fred Stafford, John Eugene Sweetser, Donald E. Thorson, John Joseph Tierney, Jr., Robert T. Wright, Lonnie Veal.

DECEASED EMPLOYEES—VA HOSPITAL, SAN FERNANDO, CALIF.

Mrs. Barbara P. Benjamin, Mr. Miguel M. Chavez, Mrs. Nellie I. George, Mrs. Mae A. Laurence, Mrs. Clarissa W. Lee.

Mr. Stanley D. Lee, Mrs. Mary G. Leon, Mrs. Janet K. Mickelson, Miss Lucille M. Nicassio, Mr. Norman J. Stewart.

MEMORIAL SERVICES

2:00 P.M., February 19, 1971

Opening: 15th Air Force Band, March Air Force Base.

Introduction: Mr. Hugh O'Brian, master of ceremonies.

Taps: 15th Air Force Band.

Presentation of colors: Color guard, USSS Gudgeon Post 8310, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Invocation: Rabbi Benjamin Elsan.

Administrator's message: Mr. Fred B. Rhodes, Deputy Administrator for Veterans Affairs.

Honor guard: 2nd Battalion, 23rd Marines, 4th Marine Division, USMC Reserves, Santa Monica.

Scripture: Rev. Wilbur J. Solle.

Necrology memorial wreath.

Benediction: Father Lawrence Eskay.

National Anthem: 15th Air Force Band.

Raising of Colors.

Services held in front of Building 3, Veterans Administration Hospital, Sepulveda, California.

REMARKS BY HON. FRED B. RHODES

A few short days ago, yes . . . even a few score hours ago . . . this flag which flies above swayed proudly in the morning breeze as the new day dawned at the San Fernando VA Hospital.

Those terrible moments of the morning of February 9 are now history that will henceforth be recorded and immortalized in the lives and deeds of those whom we mourn today.

Let this Memorial Service be our pledge that the 36 comrades and 10 Veterans Administration colleagues who died in the tragic San Fernando earthquake shall not be in vain.

We can find no greater reason to make this pledge . . . and no greater strength to carry it out . . . than the cause for which they lived.

We need not try to remember what they said and did in order to know these causes.

Rather, we need only ask ourselves:

What are we living for?

What are their loved ones living for?

And their 28-million comrades?

Or 170,000 associates in the Veterans Administration?

For Peace with Honor. Yes.

For freedom and security. Certainly.

For an end to poverty, hunger, discrimination, unemployment, pollution, disease, and other ills of mankind. Of course.

But those whom we now especially remember and revere lived . . . as we should . . . for other causes as well.

For human concern, the call to duty, a service, a well-spring of daily giving.

To help deliver the miracles of modern VA medicine not only with professional skill . . . but with personal compassion and care.

To seek a life of satisfaction . . . in a lifetime of service to those who served.

To each day have the privilege of being a servant and a messenger of hope and faith, of compassion, of brotherhood and love.

How they bore their hour of suffering and death we do not know . . . yet the tragedy that is San Fernando must surely be for our 46 beloved comrades and colleagues the final victory of service which we all must finally seek.

I tell you today that the 36 veterans who served our nation, and the 10 members of the San Fernando VA Hospital staff who devoted their lives to guarding the door between life and death are truly doorkeepers in the house of God.

I say to their families, to their friends . . . indeed to all who were privileged to know our departed comrades and colleagues . . . that their love is mourned by all of us in the VA . . . and by all of America's veterans.

I must tell you that their loved ones have been especially remembered today. Administrator of Veterans Affairs Donald Johnson, directed that the flags at our 165 VA Hospitals throughout the country be lowered to half staff in honor of the memory of those who died in the tragic San Fernando earthquake.

Will the raising of Old Glory to the top of its staff here today and again at the end of this period of mourning signal the end of our honor to their memory?

I pray not.

Certainly it should not. And must not.

For we can pay our mourned comrades no greater or more lasting honor than to carry on their dedicated work of bringing VA

medical care to ill and disabled and aging veterans.

Why is this a mandate for us here?

Because they would ask no more.

Because they deserve no less.

So we will return with heavy hearts to finish the work they could not finish.

But we return also with gratitude to our departed colleagues and comrades and one day, in God's own good time, each of us must join them.

If we can finish our tasks as justly and as well, we can meet them, confident of their "well done."

And this, I submit, is a Supreme honor we could achieve.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this Volley, fired across this Flag carries our love, our devotion and our lasting memory to the honored dead of San Fernando.

VICTORY IN THE RIGERMAN CASE

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, as one who fully believes in the power and pressure of public opinion, I was highly pleased to see its effectiveness in securing the right of Leonid Rigerman and his mother, Mrs. Esther Rigerman, to leave the Soviet Union.

Due to the persistent efforts last fall of Congressmen WILLIAM RYAN and JAMES SCHEUER and New York City Deputy Commissioner Daniel Greer, the American citizenship of both mother and son was confirmed by the U.S. State Department, and after representations from many groups and individuals the Soviet Union granted the Rigermans exit visas on February 15.

They arrived in New York late on February 20, and the following morning I had the pleasure of personally chatting with Mr. Rigerman. We met in my district at the Lincoln Square Synagogue, whose rabbi, Steven Riskin, was extremely active in behalf of obtaining justice for the Rigermans.

In talking with Mr. Rigerman, a 30-year-old physicist, I was impressed by the sincerity of his religious convictions and his quiet insistence on the right of a Jew to maintain his identity, his culture, traditions, and language. Having myself graduated from the Florence Marshall Hebrew High School, studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary, and been a teacher of Hebrew, I can fully appreciate his sense of frustration at his inability—in his words—to be a Jew in the Soviet Union.

Involved in the Rigerman case was not only the right to practice Judaism without government interference or reprisals, but the right to emigrate, a point which I stressed in a letter to Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin on December 24.

I would like to include in the RECORD a New York Times news story, dated February 22, an interview with Mr. Rigerman on the NBC "Today" morning television show on the same day, and the texts of my cablegram to President Nikolai Podgorny protesting the death sen-

tences imposed in the Leningrad hijacking trial and a letter to Ambassador Dobrynin.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 22, 1971]

RIGERMAN LISTS THE FEARS OF JEWS IN SOVIET

(By Irving Spiegel)

Leonid G. Rigerman, 30-year-old Soviet-born Jewish physicist, said yesterday that a large number of Soviet Jews would emigrate to this country and to Israel if they felt more secure when applying for exit visas.

He said that they feared repression, loss of employment and not being given character references.

Mr. Rigerman and his 61-year-old mother, Mrs. Esther Michael-Rigerman, arrived at Kennedy International Airport early yesterday morning after an eight-month wait to leave the Soviet Union that had been marked by tense incidents.

Before they left the Moscow airport on a Pan American World Airways flight, they were searched and interrogated.

The Rigermans were given permission Feb. 12 to leave and were given United States passports by the embassy in Moscow. The Rigermans' case has been a sore spot in United States-Soviet relations since the Soviet police prevented Mr. Rigerman from entering the United States embassy last November in an effort to establish their American citizenship. He was jailed for six days on a conviction of disobeying police orders.

The Rigermans earlier had filed an application, through the embassy's consular section, to be recognized as American citizens. Mr. Rigerman, born in Moscow in 1940, based his claim on his parents. His mother was born in Brooklyn and had married his Russian-born father in the United States.

Mr. Rigerman said his father, now dead, was an American citizen because his paternal grandfather had been a naturalized citizen. The Rigermans moved to the Soviet Union in 1931. The United States State Department ruled in December that Mr. Rigerman and his mother were "native born" American citizens. The Soviet Union insists that they are Soviet citizens.

Speaking in English yesterday at a news conference at the Lincoln Square Synagogue, 200 Amsterdam Avenue, the bearded and diminutive Mr. Rigerman, wearing a skullcap, spoke about his arrival.

"I still feel I am looking at a picture in Moscow and that it's going to vanish soon," he said.

Speaking softly, Mr. Rigerman said his fellow Jews in the Soviet Union wanted to leave because "they can't be Jews; they are deprived of all forms of Jewish meaning, culture."

In a reference to the militant Jewish Defense League, which has demanded freedom for Soviet Jews, Mr. Rigerman said its activities "do not help or hinder Jews in the Soviet Union." He said, "I do not believe in violence except as a last resort."

He himself had been active in Jewish efforts in Moscow to ease Soviet emigration regulations.

Mr. Rigerman said he did not expect any reprisals to be taken against other relatives left behind in the Soviet Union.

INTERVIEW WITH LEONID RIGERMAN

Program: Today.

Date: February 22, 1971 at 7:00 A.M.

Station: WNBC-TV and the NBC Television Network at New York.

HUGH DOWNS. A world Jewish conference will convene in Brussels this week to discuss whether the three million Jews in the Soviet Union are discriminated against. There are reports that indicate that the Russian authorities have been carrying on a campaign of repression against the Jews who have asked to emigrate to Israel or other countries. How bad the anti-Jewish repres-

sion is we want to examine now with a Jew who's just arrived from the Soviet Union, Leonid Rigerman, who last November was arrested while attempting to enter the United States Embassy in Moscow. Mr. Rigerman is 32 years old. He's a Jewish physicist from Russia. He had gone to the embassy to try to confirm his citizenship in the United States based on the fact that his mother, Mrs. Esther Rigerman, was born in the United States, and even though Mr. Rigerman was born and lived in the Soviet Union all his life, the United States State Department ruled that they were Americans. The Soviet Union did not.

The Rigermans arrived in New York Saturday night. Mrs. Rigerman, Leonid's mother, was going to be with us, but she is understandably weary after that journey, so we're going to talk to Mr. Rigerman alone. First question. If they were willing to let you go, what was the reason for arresting you at the Embassy? Is there a rule in the Soviet about entering foreign embassies?

LEONID RIGERMAN. There is no published rule of that kind, but in the Soviet Union there are many unpublished rules, and one of them is that citizens shouldn't go to foreign embassies. And they didn't let me go because they didn't know at that time that they were going to leave me out, to let me go out of the country.

DOWNS. Yes. Did they finally acquiesce in the United States attitude that you were properly a citizen of the United States?

RIGERMAN. Yes, of course; they didn't realize that such a thing could have happened.

DOWNS. Now, the Brussels conference will take up the issue of discrimination against Jews in the Soviet Union. Did you experience discrimination and harassment in the pursuit of your career as a physicist in the Soviet Union or in your private life?

RIGERMAN. In a subtle way. There are difficulties in getting jobs, and even some of the personnel managers—the most sincere used to tell that they can't take another Jew because there are already enough of them at the place. Also, at the institute, there are certain quarters. Well, and of course, a Jew, if he wants to be a Jew and insists on that, his career is very—he can't achieve much. I mean, he can work, but he can't be anything.

DOWNS. Does the Soviet Union construe activity on the part of a Soviet Jew to help other Jews to emigrate to Israel as Zionist activity, and is there a persecution of Zionist activity separate from persecution of the religious Jew?

RIGERMAN. Yes, there is such a thing as persecution of Zionists. We prefer in the Soviet Union don't call Zionists because the very word is considered criminal.

DOWNS. This is because of their alliance with the Arab cause.

RIGERMAN. Yes. Not only for that. Because the Soviet Union is very sensitive and considers it a painful issue that Jews, Soviet Jews want to leave the country.

DOWNS. Do they discriminate against other nationalities who might want to leave the country? In other words, is the attitude of the Soviet Union officially that the Soviet Union should be such a desirable place to live that it's an insult to them if anyone wants to leave?

RIGERMAN. Exactly. Their prestige suffers. That's the way they understand their prestige. In Stalinist days they used to say that nobody at all wants to leave the country. And after Khrushchev, it became possible to express this desire and not to get into a concentration camp for that.

JOE GARAGIOLA. Have there been any repercussions against the Jews, Mr. Rigerman, stemming from the anti-social incidents here in the United States that have been stirred up by the Jewish Defense League?

RIGERMAN. I don't think that any protests can do harm to the Soviet Jewry, from that point of view. But of course there is another approach, that I personally am not an advocate of violent methods, and it seems to me that this should be the last resort, and we didn't come to that stage yet.

Downs. We're here this morning with Mr. Leonid Rigerman who just arrived from the Soviet Union, and we're talking about discrimination against Jews in the Soviet Union. There's going to be a conference in Brussels about this, and at that conference there's a Russian delegation not invited to the conference but nevertheless coming from Russia as Jewish spokesmen for the Soviet Union to blunt the effect of the conference, no doubt. This group is headed by a lieutenant-general in the Red Army. And I want to ask you, Mr. Rigerman, if there is widespread discrimination against Jews in the Soviet Union, how would a man rise to the position of a lieutenant-general in the Red Army?

RIGERMAN. A Jew may rise to such a position if he forgets all about his Jewishness and doesn't want actually to practice Jewishness.

Downs. In other words, he has to abandon his religion, in effect.

RIGERMAN. Yes. Not only religion. His Jewish identification. What kind of a Jew is he if he doesn't know his language, his culture, his history? Of course, such Jews may reach high ranks.

Downs. So you say it's impossible for a Jew to rise in the Soviet hierarchy and still pursue his religion and his identity.

RIGERMAN. Absolutely.

GARAGIOLA. Whose idea was it to leave Russia, yours or your mother's?

RIGERMAN. Well, my mother at first wouldn't want to listen about it, and I had to work gradually on her for two years, that she should agree finally. And when it went through and the plane took off, she told me, "Well, I believe there is a God." She was an atheist all her life.

GARAGIOLA. She was an atheist till the plane took off?

RIGERMAN. Yes.

Downs. Well, had she pursued—had she abandoned her religion at one time, or did she preserve it? I mean, did your mother always continue in the Jewish religion, or had she suspended it?

RIGERMAN. No. She was brought up in an atheist family.

Downs. I see.

RIGERMAN. And she didn't care for religion.

Downs. Now, in 1937 she was naturalized as a Soviet citizen. Was that a voluntary act or . . .

RIGERMAN. No, no.

Downs. It was not.

RIGERMAN. No. Nineteen thirty-seven was a terrible year in the history of the Soviet Union, when about six million people were in jail just for nothing. And in the house where we lived, that was a house for foreign specialists. Every day, at night, one or two persons were arrested.

Downs. Do you think, Mr. Rigerman, that the world spotlight on the Brussels conference will have an effect on the life of Soviet Jews?

RIGERMAN. It can only help those who want to leave, because any discussion on an international level of this problem should be helpful for them.

BELLA S. ABZUG PROTESTS LENINGRAD TRIAL VERDICT

NEW YORK.—In a cablegram sent December 26th to President Nikolai Podgorny of the Soviet Union, Congresswoman-elect Bella S. Abzug strongly protested the death sentences and other heavy penalties imposed upon the eleven (11) defendants in the Leningrad hijacking trial.

Declaring that the "severity of the sentences has shocked humanity," Mrs. Abzug

said: "I urge your Government to free these prisoners and to grant Soviet Jews the full right to emigrate." A similar message was sent to Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin in Washington.

In an earlier letter sent to Ambassador Dobrynin on the eve of the trials, Mrs. Abzug said the reports of arrests and harassment of Soviet Jews were "all the more distressing" in view of his Government's prohibition of anti-Semitism and its repeated endorsement of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, which assures everyone of "the right to leave any country, including his own."

"As one who has fought against violations of human and civil rights in my own country," she said, "I call on your Government to release Jewish prisoners who have been jailed for their beliefs and to state unequivocally that it will honor the pledge of Premier Kosygin to allow those who wish to leave the Soviet Union to do so freely and without impediment."

BELLA S. ABZUG CALLS ON SOVIETS TO END THE ARRESTS AND HARASSMENT OF JEWS

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 24.—Congresswoman-elect Bella S. Abzug (19th C.D., Manhattan) has called on the Soviet Union to "release Jewish prisoners who have been jailed for their beliefs," and to "honor the pledge of Premier Kosygin" to allow free emigration.

In a letter sent last week to Anatoly Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the United States, and made public today, Mrs. Abzug referred to evidence of "arrests and harassment of Jews in Russia," including the case of physicist, Leonid Rigerman, who has "legitimate evidence" to claim American citizenship, and the reported current trials of men and women who attempted to leave the country. Writing as a "life-long advocate" of cooperation between America and the Soviet Union in the cause of world peace and as "one who has fought against violations of human and civil rights in my own country," Mrs. Abzug reminded the Ambassador of strong public positions against anti-Semitism which his government has taken publicly in the past. These include the Soviet government's "constitutional prohibition of anti-Semitism and its repeated endorsement of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights which assures everyone of the 'right to leave any country, including his own.'"

"Furthermore," Mrs. Abzug wrote, "I refer you to Premier Kosygin's statement in Paris on December 3, 1966, in which he said, 'Should anyone want to be reunited with their families or want to leave the Soviet Union the road is open and no problem exists here.'"

The full text of Mrs. Abzug's letter follows:

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: As a life-long advocate of a policy of cooperation between your country and mine in the cause of achieving world peace, I call your attention to a matter that has long disturbed me: The fate of Jews in the Soviet Union who wish to observe their religious beliefs with freedom and dignity and who in some cases seek the right to emigrate to Israel.

The evil of anti-Semitism has haunted civilized people through the ages, has been recognized as an evil in your country, and has been resisted by all who believe in humanism and equality, among whom I number myself.

It troubles me, therefore, to read reports from so many different sources of evidence of discrimination against Jews in the Soviet Union, including their arrests on a wide variety of charges, including planning or attempting to leave the country.

In the face of reported rumors that trials of some of these men and women are taking place, I urge you to convey to your government the deep sense of outrage that such trials—whether open or secret—will arouse.

I also deplore the detention of Leonid

Rigerman, a Jewish physicist who has been repeatedly prevented from entering the American embassy in Moscow to establish his claim to U.S. citizenship. Mr. Rigerman has sufficiently legitimate evidence to warrant such a claim and he should be allowed to pursue this through legal channels, as is his right, without being threatened with imprisonment.

The reports of arrests and harassment of Jews are all the more distressing in view of your government's prohibition of anti-Semitism and its repeated endorsement of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, which assures everyone of the "right to leave any country, including his own." Furthermore, I refer you to Premier Kosygin's statement in Paris on December 3, 1966, in which he said: "Should anyone want to be reunited with their families, or want to leave the Soviet Union, the road is open and no problem exists here."

As one who has fought against violations of human and civil rights in my own country, I call on your government to release Jewish prisoners who have been jailed for their beliefs and to state unequivocally that it will honor the pledge of Premier Kosygin to allow those who wish to leave the Soviet Union to do so freely and without impediment.

IRA KAPENSTEIN

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI OF NEW YORK IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the sudden passing of Ira Kapenstein, 35, brings sorrow to many of us here on Capitol Hill, as well as throughout the Nation.

Although still a relatively young man, Ira had climbed the leadership ladder rapidly. For the past year he had been deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

His basic training was that of a newspaperman, but he turned to public life when an old friend from Wisconsin, the Honorable John A. Gronouski, asked him to join his top staff in 1963 when Mr. Gronouski became Postmaster General.

Ira adapted quickly to the new role and became a top adviser to the Postmaster General. When President Johnson named Mr. Gronouski his Ambassador to Poland, Mr. Gronouski asked Ira to go along with him but Mr. Gronouski's successor, Lawrence F. O'Brien, wanted Ira to stay at the Post Office Department and Ira remained.

DEDICATION WAS EXEMPLARY

As a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and for the past 4 years as chairman, I had many occasions to consult with Ira and I know of no person who was more helpful and conscientious in his work, and in his devotion to duty. His cooperation and his dedication left nothing to be desired.

Our paths have not crossed as often since he left the Post Office Department, but I am well aware that besides leaving his mark at the Department he also has left his lasting impression in his other roles, particularly in his work with the national committee.

His passing came as a great shock to me because I was aware of the active part he played in the national committee

meeting just a few days ago. I extend my deepest sympathy to his widow, his children, his mother, and his brother in their great loss.

Mr. Speaker, as a part of my remarks I include the text of the obituary published March 1 in the Milwaukee Journal, the newspaper where he started his journalistic career and which he left to enter public life:

KAPENSTEIN, DEMOCRATIC AIDE, DIES

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Ira Kapenstein, a former newspaperman who rose to the highest councils of the national Democratic Party, died of cancer early Monday after battling the disease for a decade. He was 35.

Kapenstein died in George Washington University Hospital here, where he was taken during the weekend. He had been a political reporter and later a Washington correspondent for The Milwaukee Journal from 1956 to 1963.

As deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Kapenstein was at Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien's side throughout the stormy meeting of the committee just 10 days ago at which historic reforms were approved for fairer selection of delegates to the 1972 national convention.

"To know Ira Kapenstein was a rare privilege in life," O'Brien said Monday. "I have lost my intimate friend and wise counselor, a warm and understanding man of great courage. The country and the Democratic National Committee have lost a dedicated leader."

O'BRIEN PAYS TRIBUTE

O'Brien said the national committee offices would be closed Tuesday to honor the memory of Kapenstein.

Kapenstein had been associated with O'Brien since 1965, when President Johnson named O'Brien postmaster general. Kapenstein had joined the Post Office Department in 1963, when Wisconsin's John A. Gronouski became postmaster general.

He served both Gronouski and O'Brien as special assistant for public information, but actually was the top adviser for both men.

Kapenstein stayed with O'Brien when O'Brien left the cabinet to assist Robert F. Kennedy's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1968, working in primaries in Indiana, Nebraska, Oregon and California.

After Kennedy's assassination, Kapenstein joined O'Brien in working for Vice President Hubert Humphrey's successful drive for the nomination.

AIDED HUMPHREY CAMPAIGN

O'Brien then became chairman of the Democratic National Committee and he named Kapenstein his executive assistant.

O'Brien resigned as Democratic chairman in January, 1969, to become president of McDonnell & Co., a New York investment banking and stock brokerage firm, and Kapenstein went along as his executive assistant. The firm is now defunct.

Kapenstein was named vice president for administration of the firm in September, 1969, after O'Brien left to establish his own public relations business.

Last March, a few days after O'Brien was renamed Democratic national chairman, Kapenstein rejoined him as deputy chairman.

Born in The Bronx, in New York City, Kapenstein graduated in 1956 from the University of Iowa, where he was editor of the Daily Iowan, university daily newspaper, and immediately joined The Journal. He covered politics for several years and joined The Journal's Washington bureau early in 1963.

RECEIVED HIGH HONORS

While with the Post Office, he received the Benjamin Franklin Award, the department's highest honor, and the William A. Jump Me-

morial Foundation Award for excellence in public administration.

Only two weeks ago, he and his wife, Betty, had participated in a bar mitzvah for their oldest son, Joel, who became 13 in January. The Kapenstein home is at Potomac, Md.

Kapenstein was a member of Omicron Delta Kappa, an honorary leadership society; sigma Delta Chi, a professional journalistic society, and the National and Milwaukee Press Clubs.

Also surviving are two other sons, David 9, and James, 5; his mother, Mrs. Alice Kapenstein, Brooklyn, and a brother, Henry, Philadelphia.

A daughter, Marcia 4, died in 1964.

Services will be at 1 p.m. Tuesday in the Goldberg Funeral Home in Washington. Burial will be in the King David Memorial Garden, Falls Church, Va.

The family suggested contributions to the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York City. Kapenstein had received treatment and surgery there several times during the last 10 years.

NATIONAL LAND-USE POLICY

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing for myself and for Messrs. KYL, STEIGER of Arizona, McCLURE, DON H. CLAUSEN, RUPPE, CAMP, LLOYD, McKEVITT, TERRY, GERALD R. FORD, BOB WILSON, WIDNALL, VANDER JAGT, and COUGHLIN, landmark legislation, the purpose of which is to establish a national land-use policy.

The bill, in establishing a national land-use policy, authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to make grants, encourages assistance to States in preparing and implementing land-use programs for protecting areas of critical environmental concern, and provides direction and control of growth and development in areas of more than local significance.

On February 8, 1971, President Nixon in his message to the Congress on the environment set forth the underlying philosophy and need for this type of legislation. In his message the President stated:

The use of our land not only affects the natural environment but shapes the pattern of our daily lives. Unfortunately, the sensible use of our land is often thwarted by the inability of the many competing and overlapping local units of government to control land use decisions which have regional significance.

While most land use decisions will continue to be made at the local level, we must draw upon the basic authority of State government to deal with land use issues which spill over local jurisdictional boundaries. The States are uniquely qualified to effect the institutional reform that is so badly needed, for they are closer to the local problems than is the Federal Government and yet removed enough from local tax and other pressures to represent the broader regional interests of the public. Federal programs which influence major land use decisions can thereby fit into a coherent pattern. In addition, we must begin to restructure economic incentives bearing upon land use to encourage wise and orderly decisions for preservation and development of the land.

I am calling upon the Congress to adopt a national land use policy. In addition, I

am proposing other major initiatives on land use to bring "parks to the people", to expand our wilderness system, to restore and preserve historic and older buildings, to provide an orderly system for power plant siting, and to prevent environmental degradation from mining.

We must reform the institutional framework in which land use decisions are made.

I propose legislation to establish a National Land Use Policy which will encourage the States, in cooperation with local governments, to plan for and regulate major developments affecting growth and the use of critical land areas. This should be done by establishing methods for protecting lands of critical environmental concern, methods for controlling large-scale development, and improving use of lands around key facilities and new communities.

One hundred million dollars in new funds would be authorized to assist the States in this effort—\$20 million in each of the next five years—with priority given to the States of the coastal zone. Accordingly, this proposal will replace and expand my proposal submitted to the last Congress for coastal zone management, while still giving priority attention to this area of the country which is especially sensitive to development pressures. Steps will be taken to assure that Federally-assisted programs are consistent with the approved State land use programs.

Specifically, under this legislation Federal grants would be made to assist States in developing and managing land-use programs. Grants for up to 50 percent of cost would be made to develop State land-use programs, including plans covering selected areas, and laws or regulations necessary to implement the programs.

Grants would also be made for up to 50 percent of the cost of managing State land-use programs which meet certain requirements set forth in the draft bill. For example, the programs should include methods for inventorying, designating, and exercising control over the use of land within areas of critical environmental concern or areas impacted by key facilities, as well as methods for controlling large-scale development and methods for assuring that local laws and regulations do not restrict development of regional benefit, and for controlling land use around new communities.

The proposed bill authorizes the President to designate an agency to issue guidelines to assist Federal agencies in carrying out the requirements of this act. I understand that the President intends to give this responsibility to the Council on Environmental Quality.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join us in support of this legislation by encouraging you to introduce this legislation and assist in bringing about its passage and enactment.

GOVERNMENT MUST LIVE WITHIN ITS INCOME

HON. MANUEL LUJAN, JR.

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. LUJAN. Mr. Speaker, those of us who believe that Government, like taxpayers, must live within its income are admittedly in the minority in this Chamber. The number of votes cast against to-

day's increase in the national debt will indicate the exact size of that minority.

We are under no illusions as to the course this legislation will take. It will pass. It will become law. And the Federal Government will thus impose still heavier debt and more crushing interest payments upon our people.

I shall vote "no," and in so doing shall respectfully call to the attention of my colleagues not only what I consider to be the underlying causes of this debt but also what I feel our proper course of action to be.

The increased debt results from the actions of the House of Representatives in passing ever-larger spending programs without passing the necessary revenue measures to pay for them.

According to the old saying, he who pays the fiddler calls the tune. But the majority of this body has turned that saying around. It now goes: He who calls the tune charges the fiddler's payment to later generations.

The Congress has been calling the tunes it believes the people want to hear: Billions more for education, billions more for housing and hospitals, billions more for welfare, roads, subsidies, and foreign aid. These tunes make highly salable albums in the election marketplace, and those of us who demanded to know where the money was coming from were shouted down as being "against education, against the poor, against the sick, and against helping our fellow man."

But, Mr. Speaker, we are now at the point where the fiddler must be paid—and once again we are asked to hand the cashier our credit card and pass the bill down to our children and grandchildren for payment.

It need not be so. A government, like its people, can live within its income. As we approach a trillion dollar gross national product, we have available to us many tools to help us accomplish that goal. Among his first messages to the Congress on economy measures, the President suggested more than 50 specific methods by which we can cut the runaway costs of Government. As with most programs aimed at saving money rather than spending it, these suggestions have gone unheeded.

A case in point is the package of administration bills calling for Government reorganization. These bills are still locked in committee, along with the \$5 billion they would save the taxpayers.

Another is the excess war profits tax bill which I and a number of my colleagues introduced last year and plan to reintroduce this year. This bill, along with the estimated \$11 billion it would produce in new revenues, has never reached the floor of the House.

Still another is a bill aimed at having foreign countries pay their fair share of American troops and supplies sent to their shores, at their request, for their own defense.

These and many more measures aimed at reducing costs and increasing Government income without additional taxes on the workingman are awaiting consideration in committee. But in the meantime, all manner of spending bills take precedence.

Mr. Speaker, I am among those who voted "no" to increased foreign aid and were overruled.

We voted "no" to giving money to other countries and borrowing it back at high rates of interest, and we were overruled.

We voted "no" to sending money to ungrateful nations that demand our assistance and seize our fishing boats in return, and we were overruled.

We voted "no" to inflationary increases in domestic spending, and we were overruled.

We voted "no" to continued deficit spending, and we were overruled. On measure after measure, we have consistently asked, "Where is the money coming from?" but until today we have received no answer.

Now, as always it must, the day of reckoning has arrived. Those who overruled us on the spending bills have finally brought forth their answer to that question. And their answer is:

"Borrow the money and let our children inherit our debts."

Is this trillion-dollar generation so pleasure bent, so spendthrift as to endorse such a course for the Republic?

In once again voting "no" to this increase in our national debt, I implore my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to consider the inevitable inflationary results of this action. I ask that the House of Representatives stop playing the role of a bankrupt Santa Claus and be instead like the virtuous wife in Proverbs 31:10 who "looketh well to the ways of her household."

Our national household has for too long operated on a "spend now, pay later" concept. It is time now to put away the credit card and begin paying our bills.

CSC GIVEN GOOD MARKS DURING HAMPTON'S TENURE

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, my very good friend Joe Young, who writes the column, "Federal Spotlight," in the Washington Evening Star, has paid high tribute to our fine Civil Service Commission Chairman for his service during his 2 years in the chairmanship of the agency having jurisdiction over all Federal employees.

As I believe all our colleagues would want the American people to know of the excellent job Chairman Robert Hampton is doing, I insert the February 15 edition of the "Federal Spotlight" in full at this point in the RECORD:

THE FEDERAL SPOTLIGHT: CSC GIVEN GOOD MARKS DURING HAMPTON'S TENURE

(By Joseph Young)

At the 2-year mark, it seems a good time to assess the performance thus far of the Civil Service Commission under the Nixon Administration.

All things considered, the CSC's performance under the fine leadership of Chairman Robert Hampton, ably assisted by Commis-

sioners Lud Andolsek and James Johnson, has been surprisingly good.

Surprisingly because the CSC previously had been headed by another excellent chairman, John Macy, under whose shadow Hampton had served as the Republican member in the Democratic administrations of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

QUESTION OF TOUGHNESS

When Hampton was named by Nixon to take over the chairmanship, there were people around town, including government union leaders, federal personnel officials and members of Congress, who privately wondered whether Hampton had the toughness and the leadership abilities to adequately take the place of Macy.

Hampton didn't take long to convince most people that he did.

The CSC under his leadership and that of the associate commissioners, plus the fine professional staff headed by executive director Nicholas Oganovic, has accomplished much these last two years in the way of modernizing the government's personnel system and practices as well as strengthening employees' rights and benefits.

The CSC has its faults, of course. What agency hasn't? But it generally has the respect and trust of government employe unions, members of Congress and federal personnel officials. The CSC sometimes may move too slowly for some and may appear to be overcautious on occasion, but its over-all record is a good one.

Under Hampton's leadership, the CSC has played a major role in strengthening the government's labor-management relations program and further improvements soon will be announced.

The government's grievance and appeals system has been streamlined, with greater safeguards given employes to assure more impartial and expeditious hearings.

PAY COMPARABILITY

The CSC worked closely with Rep. Morris Udall, D-Ariz. and other members of the House and Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committees and congressional leaders to secure enactment of the new semi-automatic federal white-collar pay system in which salaries will be adjusted annually without having to be approved by Congress. It assures federal pay comparability with industry.

Liberalized retirement benefits were enacted into law, with the support of the CSC.

The government increased its contributions to federal health insurance premiums—to 40 percent from the previous 25 percent—as a result of a law approved by Congress with CSC support.

These laws could not have been enacted without the CSC's active support.

There have been rumblings of political clearances required for choice federal career jobs and this has happened in some instances. But these have been the exception to the rule and the CSC has succeeded in preventing any broad or centralized political assault on federal career positions.

Progress has been made in equal employment opportunity programs, although not as fast as minority group employees or the CSC itself would like. But if the progress is slow, the gains are steady.

With the commission's strong support, the financial stability of the civil service retirement system was assured when Congress approved the law providing for annual appropriations to prevent the fund from going bankrupt.

OFFICE FOR COMPLAINTS

The CSC also has set up a complaints office to which federal employes may take their complaints on agency personnel actions.

Another CSC accomplishment is a program to open up better career opportunities for lower-salaried employes by abolishing the use of federal service entrance exams (usu-

ally given college graduates) in making promotions.

Also, the CSC has expanded the government's occupational health program to provide on-the-job preventive and emergency health treatment to employes through clinics in various federal buildings.

While government employe union leaders have their share of differences with the commission, they nevertheless have the feeling that the CSC under Hampton usually is fair and sympathetic with their problems and has a generally progressive outlook on federal personnel policies and benefits.

STUDENTS BUILD FOR THE FUTURE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as a long-time advocate of greater attention to the world of work for school-age Americans, I was pleased to note the highly innovative efforts of the Santana High School in Santana, Calif., to prepare students for careers outside the classroom.

Specifically, this modern school combines the faculties of its vocational education departments and teaches its students to construct a complete 3-bedroom house every school year.

This is a project that not only makes good sense in that it trains countless youngsters for useful jobs and gives them the pride of actual achievement, but it also produces a useful product, for the house is sold upon completion to the highest bidder.

Mr. Speaker, this is creative education and it deserves national recognition. I call this article in the Christian Science Monitor to the attention of my colleagues who may wish to discuss its merits with parents and educators in their own districts.

Mr. Speaker, the article follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 20, 1971]

THE MORE, THE MERRIER—STUDENTS BUILD FOR THE FUTURE

SANTANA, CALIF.—Too many cooks may spoil the broth. But the more, the merrier, seems to be the applicable adage when it comes to building houses.

That's the experience of students here at Santana High School, where the ninth house is currently taking shape.

Primary responsibility rests with the building-construction-trades class. But the electronics class is installing the wiring, homemaking students will handle interior decoration, and business classes set up the bookkeeping and accounting system. Also, the architectural design was selected in a competition that involved all drafting classes in the district.

Local students started building houses in 1958. Allowing for a few gaps along the way, they've started and completed one dwelling each academic year since then. Most of these have been built on the school grounds, then moved to a permanent site when sold.

"This is one project that doesn't cost the taxpayers much," comments Bruce Webb, who teaches the construction course. "Last year we had \$700 left over after covering all costs. That went for department purchases of different kinds."

For two years now, San Diego County Savings and Loan Clearing Association has

advanced \$12,000 on each house, interest free. When sold, the organization grants a mortgage to the purchaser. If the high school can erect and finish the dwelling for less than \$12,000, it may keep the difference. This is the sum Mr. Webb refers to as "left over."

This year's structure contains 1,546 square feet of floor space. This shows up as three bedrooms, a dressing room, two baths, a dining area, and kitchen. A carport will also be added.

Mr. Webb refers to the house project as "a vehicle for learning." He says that "everything is as similar to an actual construction job as possible."

The reason is that students are here to learn a trade they will probably follow as a career. To expose these youths "as much as possible to all trades," experts are brought in to show them how to do skilled jobs.

For example, rather than let regular plumbers do the pipe and duct work in the house, Mr. Webb arranges for a retired plumber to come and demonstrate proper methods to the class. He then supervises the boys as they do the job.

The construction class consists of 27 youths, nearly all of them seniors, who come from all eight high schools in the Grossmont district. The area's vocational-technical-education program is conducted here at Santana High.

The class meets for three hours each day. Students work on other projects at the same time, though the house is the principal activity. It claims 10 to 12 hours of physical effort every week.

In addition, students take time to learn each process in the classroom before applying this knowledge to the building. Also, Mr. Webb insists that students stop and learn from their mistakes along the way. "This," he says, "is the best learning that we can do."

After a week of orientation, the class started erecting the present structure Nov. 5. Southern California's weather permits construction to continue through the winter to anticipated completion in spring. The house is then sold to the highest bidder.

The school board invites bidding but reserves the right to reject all offers if none is high enough. A second round was called for last spring, to find a satisfactory offer. The board insists on recovering its investment in materials.

The purchaser removes the house to his own site at his own expense.

The designer of this year's house, Alan Breese, is now a junior-college student, who draws plans for builders on the side.

The local architects' association provides drafting equipment and awards several cash prizes for the best designs submitted each year.

Don W. Lobb, supervisor of vocational-technical education, looks forward to a shift in emphasis in the design competition for next year. "The house will be more in the style that people now want," he declares. "There will be greater individuality, more innovation. This will help the educational process of construction."

Another hoped-for change next year is the admission of more students to the construction class. A total of 40 would permit the division of the class into two sections.

The overall vocational program is both broad and practical, Mr. Lobb points out. For example, all cabinets in the high school were built by students. Dugouts on the baseball diamond are being prepared by them, too. Baseball helmets were fashioned by the plastics class. Discarded highway-patrol cars have been bought and reconditioned by students for use as school-district cars. Even a work-lift truck, bought for \$50, has been put into shape for use on the school grounds.

In this vocational-technical education, both students and the school district seem to be getting their money's worth.

FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT, JANUARY 1971

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I include a release highlighting the January 1971 civilian personnel report of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures:

FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT, JANUARY 1971

Total civilian employment in the Executive, Legislative and Judicial Branches of the Federal Government in the month of January was 2,867,250 as compared with 2,875,231 in the preceding month of December. This was a net decrease of 7,981.

These figures are from reports certified by the agencies as compiled by the Joint Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures.

EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Civilian employment in the Executive Branch in the month of January totaled 2,829,637. This was a net decrease of 8,683 as compared with employment reported in the preceding month of December. Employment by months in fiscal 1971, which began July 1, 1970, follows:

Month	Executive branch	Increase	Decrease
July 1970	2,942,517		-1,595
August	2,901,856		-40,661
September	2,851,875		-49,981
October	2,838,664		-13,211
November	2,843,411	+4,747	
December	2,838,320		-5,091
January 1971	2,829,637		-8,683

Total employment in civilian agencies of the Executive Branch for the month of January was 1,679,814, a decrease of 2,552 as compared with the December total of 1,682,366. Total civilian employment in the military agencies in January was 1,149,823, a decrease of 6,131 as compared with 1,155,954 in December.

The civilian agencies of the Executive Branch reporting the largest decreases during January were Post Office with 8,255 and Agriculture Department with 1,991, partially off-set by an increase in Treasury Department with 6,943. These changes were largely seasonal.

In the Department of Defense the largest decreases in civilian employment were reported by the Army with 2,878, Navy with 1,711 and Air Force with 1,222.

Total Executive Branch employment inside the United States in January was 2,822,248, a decrease of 6,365 as compared with December. Total employment outside the United States in January was 207,381, a decrease of 2,326 as compared with December.

The total of 2,829,637 civilian employees of the Executive Branch reported for the month of January 1971 includes 2,521,040 full time employees in permanent positions. This represents a decrease of 2,505 in such employment from the preceding month of December.

The Executive Branch employment total of 2,829,637 includes some foreign nationals employed abroad, but in addition there were 100,059 foreign nationals working for U.S. agencies overseas during January who were not counted in the usual personnel reports. The number in December was 101,395.

LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES

Employment in the Legislative Branch in the month of January totaled 30,364, an increase of 551 as compared with the preceding month of December. Employment in the

Judicial Branch in the month of January totaled 7,249, an increase of 151 as compared with December.

DISADVANTAGED PERSONS

The total of 2,867,250 reported by the Committee for January includes 19,857 disadvan-

taged persons employed under federal opportunity programs, a decrease of 142 from the preceding month of December.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, I would like to include a tabulation, excerpted from the joint committee report, on person-

nel employed full time in permanent positions by executive branch agencies during January 1971, showing comparisons with June 1969, June 1970, and the budget estimates for June 1971:

FULL-TIME PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT

Major agencies	June 1969	June 1970	January 1971	Estimated June 30, 1971 ¹	Major agencies	June 1969	June 1970	January 1971	Estimated June 30, 1971 ¹
Agriculture.....	83,425	82,912	82,541	85,600	General Services Administration.....	36,176	36,400	36,514	39,900
Commerce.....	25,364	25,427	27,681	28,400	National Aeronautics and Space Administration.....	31,733	31,223	29,641	29,900
Defense:					Office of Economic Opportunity.....	2,856	2,387	2,384	2,500
Civil functions.....	31,214	30,297	29,563	30,900	Panama Canal.....	14,731	14,635	14,403	14,800
Military functions.....	1,225,877	1,129,642	1,086,037	1,079,500	Selective Service System.....	6,584	6,665	6,712	6,500
Health, Education, and Welfare.....	102,941	102,297	103,958	105,300	Small Business Administration.....	4,099	4,015	3,949	4,100
Housing and Urban Development.....	14,307	14,661	14,821	16,000	Tennessee Valley Authority.....	11,987	12,657	13,260	13,300
Interior.....	58,156	59,349	55,770	58,000	U.S. Information Agency.....	10,500	9,989	9,812	9,900
Justice.....	35,106	38,013	39,422	43,600	Veterans' Administration.....	147,606	148,497	149,720	154,400
Labor.....	9,723	10,217	10,565	11,600	All other agencies.....	26,200	27,420	27,626	29,700
Post Office.....	562,381	565,618	567,885	585,200	Contingencies.....				5,000
State.....	24,658	23,618	23,173	23,600	Subtotal.....	2,633,762	2,552,571	2,520,677	2,574,000
Agency for International Development.....	15,753	14,486	13,807	14,000	Public Service Careers.....			363	4,900
Transportation.....	60,386	63,879	66,466	69,600	Total.....	2,633,762	2,552,571	2,521,040	2,578,900
Treasury.....	79,982	86,020	88,129	93,500					
Atomic Energy Commission.....	7,047	7,033	6,949	7,000					
Civil Service Commission.....	4,970	5,214	5,246	5,500					
Environmental Protection Agency ²			4,643	6,700					

¹ Source: As projected in 1972 budget document; figures rounded to nearest hundred.

² Established as of Dec. 2, 1970, by transfer of functions and personnel from Interior, HEW, Agriculture, Federal Radiation Council and Atomic Energy Commission.

³ Source: Civil Service Commission estimate of persons in "entry" component for whom ceiling relief has been granted.

GEN. MARK W. CLARK COMMENTS ON THE VIETNAM WAR

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Gen. Mark W. Clark, one of our country's most distinguished and eminently qualified generals, has made a number of factfinding visits and objective appraisals of the Vietnam war. He recently returned from a trip to Southeast Asia. His report is entitled "No Retreat in Southeast Asia."

On the several options available to the United States in January 1968, General Clark reports that the President chose the best alternative. He states that the President is on the right track. General Clark summarized his most recent analysis in a newspaper column which was published in the Charleston, S.C., News and Courier of February 26, 1971.

General Clark, as a retired general, has no axe to grind or political motives. He is one of our Nation's most outstanding military experts with vast knowledge and experience of war and peace strategy. General Clark was commander of U.S. Forces in the Mediterranean during World War II and in Korea. His appraisal in support of the present strategy in Vietnam is significant for those who undermine the efforts of the President and proclaim an immediate capitulation by a preannounced date to complete withdrawal.

Mr. President, I wish to quote a key military point made by General Clark in his report. He said:

If we will have patience and continue to support logistically, and with air and naval power, the Vietnamization program, as long as needed, there is a chance, and one worth taking, that there will be developed in Southeast Asia an effective anti-communist bloc of

Asiatic nations which can defend themselves.

I ask unanimous consent that General Clark's column be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

NO RETREAT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

(By Mark W. Clark)

I just returned from another trip to the Far East which included visits to Korea, Taipei and Vietnam.

On Feb. 21, 1970, The New York Times published an article by me on "Vietnam Options." As I then saw the situation, there were several options open to President Nixon when he came into office:

Intensify the war to win a military victory. This is politically unsound, having fought too long with a "no win, no bombing" attitude.

Pull out immediately. By so doing over 40,000 Americans would have died in vain, and a vacuum would be created in Southeast Asia into which the Communists would move immediately.

Carry on the "no win, no bombing" war. This gave a great advantage to the enemy, with a continuation of the heavy blood-letting so unacceptable to all Americans.

Continue Vietnamization. We so successfully Koreanized the situation in that country that we now have a very staunch ally. I realize the situations in Korea and Vietnam differ, but the basic goal of preparing Asiatics to defend themselves is the same.

I reemphasize the feeling I had when I signed the Korean Armistice in 1953. I felt then and still do that in our first test of arms with the Communists we should have defeated them. Had we done so, I believe we would not be involved as we are in Vietnam.

However, for a long time there had been a lack of determination to win the war in Vietnam. As a result, the President adopted Vietnamization. My visit to Vietnam convinced me that he is on the right track, with the splendid leadership of Gen. Abrams, and assisted at all levels of command by qualified and cooperative officials of the State Department.

In Vietnam I was briefed by Gen. Abrams

and echelons of command down to small units. The Vietnamization program is working well, and the training of South Vietnam armed forces is progressing. Recent operations of these forces in Cambodia and Laos provide the most dramatic evidence of their growing strength and capabilities to provide the starch that South Vietnam needs to stand on its own feet and contribute to stability in Southeast Asia.

Long-time observers say South Vietnam forces came out of the first Cambodian operations "at least ten feet tall," with newfound confidence. The Vietnamese fighting man is becoming tough and ready, and is operating in a capable manner. He's cooperating with his neighbors, which is of great importance.

The situation in Laos and Cambodia is confused, with no way to predict accurately the results of intensified Communist actions in those areas. The problem is further complicated by the action of our Congress in restricting the President in the amount of support needed by the South Vietnamese to meet these new threats and assist their neighbors.

However, I believe time is playing to our advantage for the first time. We must not become impatient because of political pressure to bring our forces home too rapidly and before the South Vietnamese forces are prepared to take over additional responsibilities as our men come home.

Remember that in Korea, 18 years after the signing of the armistice, we still have over 50,000 of our men on duty, and what a morale boost they have given the Koreans. If we will have patience and continue to support logistically, and with air and naval power, the Vietnamization program, as long as needed, there is a chance, and one worth taking, that there will be developed in Southeast Asia an effective anti-Communist bloc of Asiatic nations which can defend themselves. If we can bring this about, we will have accomplished the mission we set for ourselves several years ago, and we will have done it honorably and with no retreat.

My earlier New York Times article concluded with these words:

"The sure way to maintain the peace is to be strong militarily and unafraid politically, and to let the enemy know that we will use that strength as necessary to maintain the security of the United States."

I know from long experience with Communists that they despise and exploit weakness, but they sit up and take notice when they are confronted with strength and courage. Let's show that strength and courage. Let's rebuild our declining military establishment. The expenditures involved will be the finest investment we could make, and in so doing we will achieve peace and keep the freedoms we hold so dear in America.

SHARING WHAT REVENUE?

HON. CHARLES W. SANDMAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. SANDMAN. Mr. Speaker, a highly perceptive editorial appeared in the Monday, March 1 edition of the Atlantic City Press, a major daily newspaper circulating in southern New Jersey.

In the most concise and understandable language possible, this editorial, entitled "Sharing What Revenue?" managed to pinpoint the only real issue on the various revenue sharing proposals: That, though, it is a nice gimmick, you have to have revenue before you can share it.

Knowing my colleagues in Congress will also appreciate the clarity and candor of this editorial, I include it in the RECORD:

SHARING WHAT REVENUE?

Rep. Charles W. Sandman, R-N.J., showed a great deal of courage in warning the National Governor's Conference a few days ago that an increase in U.S. income taxes would be necessary to put into effect President Nixon's proposed revenue-sharing program.

It is a program dear to the hearts of the governors, and Sandman put himself in the position of opposing a major project of a President from his own party.

But what the congressman had to say not only showed he has grit, but a knowledge of bookkeeping uncommon among politicians.

Men with money sense are in a minority on Capitol Hill.

Another one is Rep. Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, who when the revenue-sharing plan was first broached (with considerable less money being talked about then) said there just wasn't any revenue to share.

He was right, for the government has long been financed by deficit spending, which means we are spending more all the time than we have.

Revenue-sharing would simply increase the spending of money we haven't got.

Rep. Sandman brought this point home to the governors (at least he tried to) in a way that anyone should be able to understand.

He challenged them to go on record as favoring an 8 per cent income tax surcharge for the \$10 billion general revenue-sharing plan the governors want.

And added that the surcharge would have to be 4 per cent to cover the \$5 billion plan proposed by the Nixon administration.

So far the revenue-sharing idea has been a nice gimmick for the governors, capable of winning the favor, and where needed, the votes, of the people. Endorsing an income tax surcharge would knock the gimmick into a cocked hat.

Sandman also pointed out that at the \$10 billion level suggested by the governors, New Jersey taxpayers would have to cough up \$560

million in increased taxes to get back only \$308 million.

That's not much of a deal.

A few days before talking to the governors, Sandman proposed an alternative plan which is worthy of study.

He suggested that Congress end the federal government's right to tax alcoholic beverages and that the states be allowed to collect and keep all receipts from this excise tax.

Rep. Sandman said he selected the alcoholic beverage tax because it is estimated in 1971 to take in exactly \$5 billion, the same amount that would be deficit under the President's revenue-sharing plan.

It is estimated the federal government will collect \$290 million from New Jersey, and it would cost the state practically nothing more to collect it, if allowed to, since it already collects alcoholic beverage taxes.

We like the congressman's arithmetic better than Mr. Nixon's or the governors'.

A BILL TO PERMIT THE EARLY RETIREMENT OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES DURING A MAJOR RIF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, last year more than 120,000 civilian employees of the Department of Defense were involuntarily released from service as the result of reductions authorized by Congress and personnel reductions ordered by the administration. The Civil Service Commission estimates that reductions will continue to occur in Federal agencies through at least fiscal year 1972, with the major impact being felt in defense and space programs.

The continuing nature of these reductions makes the need for congressional action urgent. Legislation should be passed before the next round of layoffs in order to ease the impact of job loss upon individuals who are separated, and on the operations of the agency undergoing the reduction. Therefore, I am introducing a bill to permit the early retirement of Federal employees during major reductions in force by a Federal department or agency.

In view of the need to ease as much as possible the personnel dislocation caused by changing Federal priorities, this bill would permit Federal employees who are at least age 50 and have 20 years service, or who have 25 years service regardless of age, to retire early during major reductions in force, even though their specific jobs are not abolished by the cutback.

The bill requires the Civil Service Commission to determine when a reduction in force is major and to fix the time within which employees could exercise the option to retire.

While the Civil Service Commission permitted early retirements at some defense installations last year, this was done administratively on a limited basis. My bill would write the authority into the Civil Service Retirement Act and would make it applicable Government-wide.

The bill in no way diminishes the responsibility of the Civil Service Commission or the agency to insure that an early

optional retirement is the result of the employee's voluntary action. In other words, it is not to be used by an agency to get rid of certain employees. Also, the bill does not change the agency's responsibility to help employees involuntarily separated to try to find other Federal employment if they wish to continue to work.

The bill has been endorsed by the Civil Service Commission, the Department of Defense, and the White House. In light of the gravity of the current unemployment situation, I hope the House and Senate will give prompt attention to the measure.

A BALANCED BUDGET IS NEEDED

HON. BILL ARCHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I deeply believe that the time has come to end the debasing of our currency through continual deficit spending by the Federal Government. It is time the Congress of the United States reverse the process of "spend now and pay later"—thus passing on an ever-increasing tax burden to generations yet unborn. In the period from 1966 to 1969 alone, actual Federal funds expended exceeded actual funds received by \$44 billion.

Today I am introducing a Constitutional amendment designed to require that Congress approve budgets which, over a period of 2 years, would be in balance. Eight other Members of the House are joining me in introducing this measure.

It is time to reverse the trend which places Congress in the position of continually increasing the public debt. It seems that, after decades of increasing debt, only the restraint of a Constitutional amendment will prevent Congress from trying to solve our national problems through a means that will result in even greater problems in the future. If we believe in the need for stability in our our economy, and if we believe in the soundness of the programs we initiate, then we should be willing to vote the funds to pay for those programs.

According to the provisions of my proposed amendment, Congress could vote to spend more than the Government would collect in revenues in 1 year, but it would have to make up the difference in the next year. The Government could use its credit for 1 year and operate at a temporary deficit if needed. The next year Congress would either have to adjust spending programs or raise taxes to pay off the previous year's debt. There would not be any spending ceiling. Also, under this amendment, deficit budgets would be allowed during time of true emergencies such as a war or catastrophic economic crisis.

It should also be noted that this amendment will not interfere with President Nixon's current budget proposals, as it could not effectively become a part of the Constitution for several years.

A BILL TO PROVIDE FOR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF ALL MASS TRANSIT BUS SYSTEMS IN THE WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, we are facing a bus transportation crisis in the National Capital area.

We are faced on the one hand by rising cost of fares to the public and on the other hand with the necessity to raise fares to meet payroll increases and equipment costs to the bus companies.

The bus rider has exceeded his ability to pay in most cases and the bus companies are on the brink of bankruptcy. Moreover, this situation has forced most of the suburban bus companies to cut services to the public to economize when the public has demanded increased services. The economic law of diminishing returns has set in. It is obvious that this situation can neither be tolerated by the public nor can the Government force business to operate at a loss.

Mr. Speaker, I was reared in the free enterprise system. I believe it is still the best economic system ever devised by man. Unfortunately, the public is today demanding more from the transportation industry than the system can afford to meet under the profit system without drastic reductions in taxes and other special considerations which other segments of our people are unwilling to pay.

At this point I see no alternative to the problem that mounts every day other than to either subsidize the bus companies or to provide for the public takeover of all the local area buslines.

The people of the metropolitan area want increased transportation services: A rapid-rail subway system, an interconnecting bus system, and an adequate highway system. No one system is going to meet all these requirements. No two systems will meet our total requirement to move 2½ million people to work and to shop, and so forth. The Metro rapid-rail subway system, even with its speeded up construction schedule, is way down the pike. The number of automobiles in the total systems adds to other problems. We need a healthy bus system which we do not now have.

Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation which will permit all local bus companies in the Greater Washington area to be brought under public ownership and operation. I am joined in this bill by Mr. GUDE of Maryland.

This bill meets all the requirements of the management of the suburban bus companies, the Washington City government, and the Nixon administration. It would authorize the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority to initiate negotiations for acquisitions of the four privately owned bus companies; repeal the franchise of D.C. Transit upon public acquisition; and enact for the District of Columbia and provide congressional consent to the WMATA compact amendments authorizing the authority to acquire and operate buses.

The second major provision in the bill sets up an interim District of Columbia corporation known as the "Metropolitan Area Transit Agency" which would be authorized and empowered to acquire and operate the facilities of the four local bus companies in the event an emergency situation should require it to do so prior to the time WMATA is legally in a position to do so.

The board of directors of the agency would be composed of the same members and alternates as the WMATA Board and its actions would require the same quorum and voting restrictions as apply to the WMATA Board.

The agency would be empowered to acquire and operate mass transit bus facilities either by negotiation or condemnation and to contract with WMATA for use of the authority's facilities and services on a reimbursable basis in connection with such acquisition and operation. The bill would require the Agency to transfer any acquired mass transit bus facilities to WMATA within 60 days after WMATA determines it has power to acquire and operate such facilities and requests the transfer.

The bill establishes labor standards governing the operation of transit facilities by either the agency or the authority. These were patterned after those in the Baltimore Metropolitan Transit Agency law, and are agreeable to organized labor.

The bill provides certain District of Columbia authorizations. The Commissioner of the District of Columbia would be authorized, subject to availability of appropriations, to contract with the agency or the authority to pay the District of Columbia share of the cost of acquisition of the local bus companies and/or for reduced transit fares. The Commissioner would also be authorized to receive grants from the Federal Government in aid of the acquisition, construction, operation, and maintenance of bus systems and to receive money, property, labor, or other things of value from any source to be used for the purpose for which given. Also, the Commissioner would be authorized to subsidize transit service by making payments, subject to availability of funds and in accord with rules and regulations established by the City Council, either directly or indirectly to individuals, families, public bodies, or mass transit operators or owners.

The bill provides for financing public acquisition of the local bus transit systems.

Pursuant to this title, the Secretary of the Treasury would be authorized, upon the request of the Secretary of Transportation, to advance such Federal funds as the Secretary determines necessary to provide temporary financing for the acquisition of the bus systems contemplated by the bill either by WMATA or the interim agency.

Unless waived or deferred by the Secretary of Transportation pursuant to an emergency clause, the request for temporary financing from the Treasury would require prior approval by the Secretary of a "National Capital Bus Mass Transit Public Enterprise Plan" submitted by either the authority or the agency. The

plan would include the estimated purchase price, terms, conditions, and financing arrangements for public acquisition; estimates of economic feasibility of bus operations with an estimated cost of acquisition; proposals for coordination of service and fares with the Metro; proposal for financing the local one-third share of the cost of acquisition, including the allocation among local jurisdictions and means of their financing such share; and such other information as the Secretary may require.

Approval of the plan requires the Secretary to determine that the plan would increase benefits to the public and the transit user; permit public ownership at the least cost to the United States; not impair service, cost of operation, or revenues of Metro; that the agency or authority has the ability to arrange for the repayment of the local share of any advance from the Treasury; and that the local jurisdictions have taken, to the extent practicable, measures to assure such repayment.

Finally, the bill provides a GAO audit of the agency and any company receiving funds authorized by the bill and authorizes GAO inspection of facilities.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this bill is a solid step toward the solution of the bus crisis. Certainly WMATA will be in a better position under this arrangement to dovetail the construction of Metro into our total transportation requirements for the future. Moreover, this move should encourage increased bus service and reduce the need for as many private automobiles as are now on the road and thus assist in our drive on air pollution. While it will not of itself solve all of our problems, it will save a major portion of the total transportation system which is now in a chaotic state. I urge speedy action on this measure.

DAV DAY IN THE HOUSE

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a pleasure and an honor to join my colleagues in saluting the Disabled American Veterans in their 50th year of outstanding service.

The DAV was founded on Christmas Day in 1919 at a gathering of wounded World War I veterans at the Cincinnati home of Judge Robert S. Marx. By 1921, the group had grown large enough to hold its first national convention. Judge Marx was elected first national commander, and he has the honor of being remembered as the father of the DAV. DAV has now grown to number 2,000 chapters and more than 300,000 members throughout the Nation.

During these years of growth, DAV has stayed true to its single purpose—to serve and assist wounded veterans in their return to civilian life. To this end, its 146 specially trained national service officers and a large corps of part-time and volunteer workers offer free counsel

to disabled veterans, whether members or not, to make sure they receive the benefits to which they are legally entitled.

In addition to the national service officers, DAV sponsors research in prosthetics, scholarships for needy children of disabled veterans and war orphans, Scout troops for handicapped children, and many other praiseworthy service activities.

Disabled American Veterans have demonstrated their patriotism and dedication to our Nation's cause on numerous occasions. During the past year, DAV spearheaded one of the largest efforts yet in behalf of prisoners of war and soldiers missing in action in North Vietnam. Radio spots were purchased on 6,000 stations, and over 5 million brochures were mailed to homes asking individuals to write letters to the North Vietnamese Embassy in Paris demanding a list of names of POW's.

It is a privilege to salute the Disabled American Veterans on their golden anniversary. They deserve the constant support, commendation and respect of all Americans.

SENATOR THOMAS EAGLETON ADDRESSED HARVARD LAW SCHOOL FORUM

HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, citizens of the United States are still waiting for the new beginnings President Nixon promised first in his inaugural speech and repeated in each of his state of the Union messages.

Most fervently this Nation and the world await our extrication from the bloody engagement in Southeast Asia—an extrication which Mr. Nixon pledged as a candidate, but has yet to fulfill as this Nation's Chief Executive.

Senator THOMAS EAGLETON of Missouri addressed himself to the unfulfilled promises of the Nixon administration in a speech on Friday, February 19, 1971, at the Harvard Law School forum.

The remarks are a good accounting of the serious shortcomings of the Nixon administration and their effects on the Nation.

The text of the speech follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR THOMAS EAGLETON

The Nixon Administration faced three great challenges when it came into office: To extricate the United States from Vietnam;

To bring an overheated, inflationary economy under control; and
To "bring us together."

These were admittedly enormous challenges. All were the legacy of previous Democratic Administrations. No Administration could have been expected to produce final results in two years. Where the Nixon Administration has tried, it deserves credit. It has made progress in some areas—as, for instance, with the new postal corporation . . . the draft lottery system . . . the welfare reform proposal.

That having been said, I am compelled to

conclude that, on balance, the Nixon Administration has suffered a gross failure of leadership, of candor, and of vision in meeting its three major challenges.

On January 20, 1969, Richard Nixon became President of the United States. Finally, he possessed the power to implement his "plan" to end the war in Vietnam.

Since that day—

Over 18,000 Americans have died in South Vietnam—50 last week alone;

Over 2,600 aircraft have been shot down; and

Over 40 billion U.S. dollars have been spent, with at least another 10 billion budgeted for Fiscal Year 1972.

Since Richard Nixon took office:

American soldiers invaded Cambodia; South Vietnamese troops have invaded Laos;

American crews are flying American planes and helicopters in support of—

Cambodian forces in Cambodia.

Laotian forces in Laos; and

South Vietnamese troops throughout Indochina.

This week the President suggested that North Vietnam may be invaded.

Thank God on January 20, 1969, Richard Nixon didn't have a plan to escalate the war.

It is true that the number of American troops in Vietnam has been cut nearly in half. But the underlying policy and goals remain the same. Americans are still dying in an attempt to assure the survival of a non-Communist South Vietnam—and now Cambodia.

In 1954, in the name of anti-Communism, then Vice-President Nixon wanted to use American air power to supplement the French and those who would fight with them in their struggle to re-establish French control over Indochina. Today, almost two decades later, that same man is betting that United States air power, supplemented by Asian manpower, can prevail to accomplish the same objective.

Good politics here at home? Yes, perhaps.

Good policy? No.

And all the while, the United States has been downgrading the Paris peace talks. So the shooting continues.

The Nixon strategy represents a failure of leadership—a failure by yet another administration to slip the leash held by Thieu and Ky, to comprehend the limits of American power in Asia, and to face up to the difficult task of extricating the United States from Vietnam.

Even worse, perhaps, the Administration, with its news blackout and semantic evasions, has failed to confide in the American people. The great lesson from the days of the Credibility Gap is that you can't unite a nation to fight a war . . . or to undertake a painful withdrawal . . . unless there is trust between the people and the government. That trust has now once again been ruptured.

The Nixon Administration's economic policy must be chalked up as the second gross failure of leadership. They inherited an overheated economy, unemployment at 3.4%, and a consumer price index that was rising at an annual rate of 4.8%. Today we have a recessionary economy, unemployment at 6%, the inflation rate was 6.6% in December and the wholesale price index was up again two days ago.

Along the way, the Administration vetoed a manpower training bill which would have trained over one million people and employed 300,000 in valuable public service jobs by 1974. The cost would have been \$900 million in 1972. At the same time, the President instituted an accelerated depreciation allowance for business which will cost the treasury \$2.6 billion in 1971, and which, according to most economists, will do little to

revive investment—in other words, an outright giveaway to those who need and deserve it least.

After last year's struggle for a balanced budget—during which the President vetoed, among other things, \$1.25 billion worth of education expenditures and \$25 million for cancer research—we have a deficit budget this year. And having given labor and business an open invitation to increase wages and prices at the beginning of his Administration, the President has started to do some jawboning.

So the President has now been converted to Keynesian economics. Better late than never, but it certainly is late. The President's new game plan is premised on a \$23.4 billion increase in revenues . . . which would in turn require an \$88 billion increase in the GNP . . . and a growth rate of 12% from fourth quarter '71 to fourth quarter '72 . . . which most economists tell us is not going to happen.

By making these over-optimistic predictions the Administration has placed itself in a real dilemma. Either it follows a sensible expansion policy and falls short of its predictions, or it makes a major effort to live up to its predictions, with the result that most of the growth in 1971 will be in the price level. In either event the likelihood is that another Administration will have to untangle the consequences.

Finally . . . the matter of pulling America together.

This was Richard Nixon's greatest opportunity, where the grim legacy of the previous Administration and the 1968 campaign encumbered him least. He saw his opportunity, and in his inaugural address spoke of lowered voices, and pulling us together.

But instead of conciliation, there were the early rampages of Spiro Agnew . . . the slogans about campus bums and "radicals." Instead of seeking racial harmony at a time when the Voting Rights Act had taken effect and Southern political leaders were embracing the reality of an integrated constituency, there was the Southern strategy. Finally, in the last campaign, Mr. Nixon threw off the mantle of Presidential leadership and dignity altogether and went to the country with a brass-knuckles campaign.

Walter Hickel was fired because he had the temerity to advocate conciliation among the generations. Charles Goodell was purged because he differed with the President on Vietnam.

Happily, the country seems to have weathered the Administration's divisive tactics. The Vice President is more or less muzzled. The President's Southern strategy is a sham because it was addressed to the dark feelings of the past rather than to the more hopeful reality of the present. The President's grand strategy for the 1970 elections was repudiated by the voters.

If the nation has not been brought together, it is nevertheless true that things are calmer in America today than they were in 1968. But as TIME put it this week, "the calm carries little serenity with it . . . Instead, it suggests a complex of rather sober fears; of joblessness, of radical violence, of counterviolence from the government. There is a chastened air." TIME is not sure whether this feeling is good or bad, nor am I.

But it is certainly not fuel for "the lift of a driving dream," which the President tried to give us in his State of the Union message.

I repeat, the challenges were immense. They were not of Mr. Nixon's making. They had their roots deep in the inadequacies of our present ways of managing our public affairs.

But, as Mr. Nixon said in his Inaugural Address and in each of his two State of the Union Messages, these two years were a time for new beginnings—new beginnings for which we are still waiting.

INDOCHINA TODAY

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, the following articles dealing with the situation in Indochina are of exceptional interest. The analysis written by Mr. Edwin F. Black, brigadier general U.S. Army, retired, which appeared in the Washington Report of February 22, 1971, develops the thesis that the enemy auxiliary forces in our Nation are attempting "to help the embattled North Vietnamese Army by forcing the President to withdraw U.S. air support from our Vietnamese allies." The General then goes on to illustrate some of the propaganda themes which he feels are being orchestrated to accomplish this end.

The specter of Red Chinese hordes flooding into the Southeast Asian theater in a situation analogous to Korea is being bandied about. The General feels that this type of thing is unlikely to happen for a number of reasons.

Actually anyone who allows possible Red Chinese reaction to allied defensive thrusts, even into North Vietnam, to serve as the mental stumbling block against following a course of action which would decisively lower the enemy's capability to continue the war is admitting that the Red Chinese have the ability to deter the United States in areas outside the borders of Mainland China. This overlooks two of the essential factors of an extended deterrence capability. A credible extended deterrence depends not only on verbal utterances of displeasure but also on presence in the theater area and/or the ability to ultimately prevail. The Red Chinese have neither the presence necessary in that region of the world to make possible intervention credible nor do they have the strength necessary to ultimately prevail should they decide to attack in the Indochinese theater.

The area of Red China adjacent to Laos and North Vietnam is exceptionally weak in long range transport and logistic capability. It can in no way be compared to the area of Red China contiguous to North Korea which made entrance into that conflict relatively easy. For all practical intents and purposes Chinese Communist aid to Hanoi must follow the water route from Canton to North Vietnam. Although our Naval forces are rapidly deteriorating there is no reason to doubt our ability to successfully interdict this type of activity. The only railroad line running into North Vietnam from that region of Red China to the North of North Vietnam and Laos runs from Yunnan to Hanoi and passes through over 100 tunnels en route. These tunnels could easily be sealed should the necessity arise.

Although the Red Chinese have made their hostility toward the United States well known and have threatened our in-theater forces should the allies continue to inflict heavy losses on the North Vietnamese Communists they lack the other two necessary prerequisites of a credible

extended deterrent, presence in the area and/or the capability to ultimately prevail, and we should not be deterred on their account.

As is well known at this point last summer in a background briefing Dr. Henry Kissinger, the President's Assistant on National Security Affairs, stated that:

If there is the danger of a general war in this Administration, I do not believe, and we do not believe, that it will come from Southeast Asia. It is very hard to see what we could do in Southeast Asia that would produce a direct confrontation with the Soviet Union.

In other words chances of Soviet intervention should we take the war to the enemy is not the dominant possibility. North Vietnam is not the Soviet homeland, no Soviet combat units are in North Vietnam, and the Soviet Union has never said it would initiate a general nuclear war within the United States over the question of North Vietnam.

Speaking generally it is a good practical assumption that if the United States still has a general nuclear war capability which would inflict unacceptable damage on the Soviet heartland it is unlikely that the Soviets would bring this damage upon themselves for the sake of the North Vietnamese Politburo.

The second article is by columnist William F. Buckley, Jr., and asks the perfectly sensible question "Why Not Invade North Vietnam." The undoubted success of the Cambodian operation last spring, and the growing success of the Laotian operation currently underway, shows that fighting the Communists in those areas which they would prefer to reserve for supporting as bases for aggression quite effectively lowers their ability to continue waging the protracted war to which they are committed. All those who are interested in ending the war in the shortest possible time period consonant with long range U.S. security objectives, the well being of the people of Southeast Asia, and the guaranteed return of the Americans currently being held by the North Vietnamese Communists, will support all efforts aimed at successfully disorganizing the enemy's ability to continue fighting.

The articles follow:

THE LAOS OPERATION: ATTACKING THE ENEMY'S JUGULAR

THE MILITARY SITUATION

The North Vietnamese Army's expeditionary forces in South Vietnam and Cambodia are in grave trouble.

They had the hell beat out of them in South Vietnam. Their best troops were fought to a standstill by the U.S. Army in 1966 and 1967. Their all-out Tet offensive in February 1968 turned out to be both a military and a political disaster. Contrary to Hanoi's expectations the South Vietnamese army neither broke and ran under this attack nor did it defect to the Communist side; the population in the south did not join in a general uprising against their government as Radio Hanoi urged them to do; and instead of the easy surprise victory their leaders had promised, they suffered terrible casualties, including many of their best supporting Viet Cong cadre and underground leaders key personnel who were impossible to replace. Thereafter, throughout 1968, 1969 and 1970 they were relentlessly pursued by both U.S.

and South Vietnamese forces, with the latter becoming more effective and more aggressive every day.

Their main supply lines have been cut. When the Cambodian people finally decided last March that they had had enough of the neutralist policies of Prince Sihanouk—policies which even the humble farmers in the rice paddies could see were turning their country over to the control of the North Vietnamese—they threw him out and the successor government of General Lon Nol closed the only deep water port, Sihanoukville, to Communist shipping. This cut off 85% of the supplies to their troops in Cambodia and in the southern half of South Vietnam. Then on February 8th, President Nguyen Van Thieu ordered a task force made up of crack Airborne, Marine and 1st Division troops to move into Laos and cut the Ho Chi Minh trail generally along the line of Route 9 running west to the Thai border. President Nixon backed up this bold operation by authorizing General Abrams to commit whatever U.S. airpower was required to make it a success.

They no longer enjoy the privilege of sanctuaries where they can recuperate from their defeats. This luxury was taken away from them last May and June when President Nixon took the long overdue, but nonetheless courageous decision to allow U.S. troops to join with their South Vietnamese allies in combined operations against the North Vietnamese bases and supply dumps in Cambodia. The current offensive into Laos further underlines the strategic truth that sanctuaries are a thing of the past. This applies to North Vietnam too if they attack in force across the DMZ, or seriously threaten the security of our remaining forces in the South.

Time is working against them. They are learning from bitter experience that every day that goes by the South Vietnamese armed forces are becoming more effective, more self-confident and more hard-hitting. This also applies to the South Vietnamese regional units and even to the village Self-Defense Forces. With close to two million men under arms in the south, all becoming better trained and equipped all the time, there is little chance that the North Vietnamese Army will ever be able to achieve a military victory, even after U.S. combat forces are withdrawn.

HANOI'S DILEMMA

Faced with this grim military assessment, the members of the Politburo in Hanoi must again be addressing the same basic issue which threatened to split the Communist Lao Dong (Worker's) Party after the death of Ho Chi Minh. That is: Which should have the priority claim on North Vietnam's national resources—the continuation of the war in the south or the rebuilding of the battered economy in the north? It must be clear today that they can't have it both ways.

The arguments of those who favor a continuation of the war must be pretty threadbare by now. Continually harkening back to their experience with the French, they have dreamed of the day when the combination of a Dien Bien Phu victory on the battlefield with a general public weariness in the United States of the long drawn out conflict would turn the tables in their favor. However, even General Giap, their own Defense Minister, has not been able to claim a victory since Binh Gia, the first week in January 1965. And the hoped for break in home front morale has faded as the bulk of the American people recognize the wisdom of President Nixon's Vietnamization program which has permitted him to announce and stick to a schedule for the orderly reduction of U.S. combat forces in South Vietnam.

As the South Vietnamese task force takes up positions astride the Ho Chi Minh trail, positions which they plan to hold until the

rainy season begins again in May, they will again have seized the initiative from the enemy. No longer is General Giap able to plan his attacks at the time and place of his own choosing. He must try to reopen his vital supply lines to his troops in Cambodia and South Vietnam. If he is unable to do this, it will be October 1971 before the monsoon ends and his soldiers can hope to be resupplied. By then the South Vietnamese presidential election will be over and he will have missed his chance to try and disrupt that democratic process. If he is able to master sufficient forces to attack, he must go up against some of the best South Vietnamese units in well-prepared defensive positions supported by artillery and the full might of U.S. airpower. He knows only too well that in any large scale engagement it is this last factor—U.S. airpower—which will turn the tide of battle against him. If he is to have any hope at all for a successful counterattack, sufficient international and domestic pressures must promptly be brought to bear on President Nixon to force him to withdraw this air support.

THE ENEMY'S STRATEGY FOR THE HOME FRONT IN THE U.S.

The short time available between now and May makes this an exceptionally difficult task even for the experienced operators who man the political and psychological warfare divisions of the KGB in Moscow. Clearly a coordinated effort by Peking, Hanoi and Moscow will be required if there is to be any chance of mobilizing a large enough segment of public opinion to achieve this goal.

Fortunately, from the Communist point of view, they will not have to start from scratch. For some time, they have been trying to organize the radical youth on the college campuses around the country as a political action arm. Toward this end they have sought to penetrate the liberal, activist student organizations and to mobilize them in support of revolutionary violence through a flood of propaganda material which is constantly being disseminated by more than 700 so-called "underground newspapers" now being published in every major city and college campus throughout the fifty states.

An analysis of this underground press reveals a basic Communist propaganda strategy, initiated some time before the incursion into Laos, which called for a peaking of mass "anti-Vietnam war" demonstrations and violence during the first week of May 1971. The purpose of this campaign was to accelerate and if possible to disrupt the Administration's plan for the orderly phase-out of direct U.S. military involvement in South Vietnam. Ambitious plans have been prepared to bring government to a standstill in Washington through a week of sit-ins at the White House, the State Department, the Pentagon and the Capitol. The latter is to be maintained as long as may be necessary to force the Congress to exercise its "constitutional prerogative to end the war."

THE "TREATY"

The key propaganda weapon which was developed to help these radical student groups mobilize campus support is the "Joint Treaty of Peace Between the People of the United States and the People of South Vietnam and North Vietnam." This document, drafted in Hanoi and Paris, was signed by individuals claiming to represent the U.S. National Students Association, the South Vietnam National Union of Students, the North Vietnam National Union of Students, and the South Vietnam Liberation Student Union. It proposes that the war be ended at once by "an agreement between the American and Vietnamese people." In accordance with the standard Communist line it calls for an immediate and total withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam; an end to the "im-

position of Thieu-Ky-Khiem on the people of South Vietnam"; and the formation of a provisional coalition government which will organize "democratic elections."

By ratifying this so-called treaty, the signers pledge to take whatever actions are appropriate "to insure its acceptance by the government of the United States."

ORDERS FROM MADAME BINH

The timetable for this well thought out propaganda strategy was seriously disrupted by the February 8th operation against the Ho Chi Minh trail. Hanoi became so alarmed that it took the unprecedented step of revealing one of its main links with the U.S. campus activists. It directed Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, the Viet Cong's chief negotiator in Paris, to send a telegram to the leaders of the Student and Youth Conference on a Peoples' Peace which was then meeting in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This conference was being held to prepare the detailed implementing plans to use the "peace treaty" as the psychological rallying point for increased student participation in the disruptive demonstrations which are scheduled to coincide with the traditional Communist May Day, the anniversary of the Kent State tragedy and of Dien Bien Phu.

Seeking clarification of Madame Binh's telegram which called upon them to "mobilize the peace forces of their country and to check U.S. dangerous ventures in Indochina", the students put in a phone call to Paris. They got through to an aide of Madame Binh who ordered them to take "firm and immediate actions, including massive street demonstrations, to condemn U.S. aggression in Laos."

This was pretty short notice, but nonetheless the revolutionary cadre on the campuses were able within 48 hours to organize demonstration in Washington, Baltimore, New York, Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and other cities around the country. While their impact was negligible, their ability to respond to commands issued by the Communist Viet Cong leader in Paris must have greatly encouraged the Politbureau planners in Hanoi, Peking and Moscow.

THEMES FOR THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

One of the best ways to defuse future disturbances and to isolate the radical student leaders who are taking their orders from Madame Binh and her ilk is to expose the true purpose of the propaganda campaign in the U.S. and to identify the themes which probably will be used to arouse support and sympathy for the enemy cause.

The purpose is clear: to help the embattled North Vietnamese Army by forcing the President to withdraw U.S. air support from our Vietnamese allies.

The main propaganda themes which have already surfaced are:

The President is widening the war. Obviously false. Hanoi has been using the Ho Chi Minh trail since the days of the French and the North Vietnamese Army has occupied eastern Laos for at least seven years to protect and develop their main supply routes into South Vietnam. The U.S. Air Force has been conducting interdiction operations against the Ho Chi Minh trail for the past five years.

The Red China will intervene. Very unlikely. They have enough problems of their own—the massive Soviet military threat against their long northern border; their priority efforts to develop a nuclear retaliatory capability to help neutralize this danger before it is too late; and the internal economic and administrative repair job that still remains in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution and the Red Guards' excesses, to mention just a few.

The operation itself is costly, immoral and doomed to failure. Wrong. Cost effectiveness criteria, be they measured in terms of casual-

ties or war materials involved on both sides, clearly argue for hitting the enemy where it hurts most, in his supply juglar. Thus will Hanoi realize the impracticability—not to mention the immorality—of invading Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam with regular units of the North Vietnamese Army. The more troops the enemy commits to a counter-attack the fewer he has for offensive operations against Cambodia and South Vietnam. Inevitably his casualties will be larger as he is forced to assault prepared positions in the face of the superior firepower of the South Vietnamese infantry and artillery units and the close air support provided by U.S. Air Force fighter bombers and U.S. Army helicopter gunships.

The President is welsing on his promise to pull American combat forces out of Vietnam. Untrue. This operation combined with the closing of the port of Sihanoukville, will effectively shut off enemy supplies for the battlefields in South Vietnam. When this happens, Hanoi will have no choice but to reduce the war to a level of guerrilla-bandit attacks which can be handled with relative ease by the South Vietnamese Army. This in turn will permit the orderly withdrawal of the U.S. forces to proceed on schedule.

A HARD FIGHT AHEAD

By finally breaking the political sound barrier which permitted the enemy to enjoy the entirely unwarranted luxury of inviolate sanctuaries, President Nixon is now dealing with the Vietnam conflict in its true perspective: that of an Indochina war. The North Vietnamese have fought the war on this basis from the beginning and as a consequence came very near to winning. Now they face a military disaster. It is simply not possible to expect an army to operate up to three hundred miles away from its own country without assured logistic support. Once its supplies stop, the North Vietnamese Army is finished as an effective fighting force.

Hard fighting must be expected in the months ahead as the North Vietnamese expeditionary force fights for its life. It will be interesting to see who on the U.S. home front responds to the orders of Madame Binh and her Communist cohorts. They will identify themselves by seeking to change the enemy's almost certain defeat into victory by trying to force our President to withdraw U.S. air support from our Vietnamese allies.

EDWIN F. BLACK,

Brigadier General, U.S. Army (Ret.)

WHY NOT INVADE NORTH VIETNAM?

(By William F. Buckley Jr.)

It is hard to understand the implied psychology of the headlines. "Thieu Hints at Invasion of Northern Vietnam" is a scare headline. The words, and indeed the ensuing text, are arranged in such fashion as to suggest to the reader that a clearly undesirable development may well take place. An examination of the psychology behind that assumption tells us what is wrong with the Vietnam operation.

Contrast such headlines as appeared in other historical circumstances. Churchill Vows to Pursue Nazi Aggressor Into Germany. Or, Allies Establish Beachhead in Anzio. There was universal cheering, not only because the headlines suggested that the initiative had moved to our own side, but because the prospects of peace were accordingly advanced.

The ambivalence in the existing situation is for two reasons. The first though not the foremost, is the professional pride that has been invested in the dogma of South Vietnamese military incompetence. If the government of President Thieu were to succeed in taking the war into North Vietnam and requiring the enemy to negotiate a peace, many political and journalistic reputations would be severely wounded. And if vanity can cause wars, as everybody agrees is the case,

why shouldn't we agree that vanity can be the cause of prolonging wars?

But for the majority, the ambivalence has to do with fear. Fear of the giant, Red China. Concerning this fear, two observations.

1. It has been a widely used argument by American doves that North Vietnam's independence of Red China is a real independence. Obviously it is at the sufferance of Red China, even as the independence of Albania is at the sufferance of Russia: But it is independent just the same. By the one means that the war policies of the North Vietnamese are determined by the North Vietnamese, not by Peking.

Now this independence is partly the result of Ho Chi Minh's historical affluence, and partly the result of the heavy participation of the Soviet Union in the aggressive efforts of the North Vietnamese. To the extent that the latter is the cause of it, there is bound to be, and indeed we know that there is, tension of a certain sort between China and Hanoi, which flows naturally out of the tension between the Soviet Union and Red China.

Provided that the United States troops were not themselves engaged in a military action against North Vietnam, what is it that could cause China to enter the war? Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, the chief Viet Cong delegate to the Paris peace talks, says that China is after all a "paternal and a Socialist neighbor," and implies that that itself would be sufficient to bring China into the fray. To which the objection is: Why hasn't it been sufficient to bring China in before now?

After all, Hanoi's position is that there is only one Vietnam, that the southern part of it has been imperialized by American troops. So why did not China come in during 1965? And why have not Chinese troops moved south directly against what is left of the free government of Laos?

Since nothing would be more preposterous than to suppose that the South Vietnamese were entering North Vietnam in preparation for an assault on China, what is the reason for supposing that China would react now, if she did not react to the landing of American troops in South Vietnam in 1965?

2. Suppose that the analysis is incorrect. Suppose that China does then move. How is South Vietnam any the worse off? If South Vietnam's struggle for independence is foredoomed by great power considerations, the sooner South Vietnam finds that out the better.

If Chinese soldiers are needed to protect North Vietnam against retaliation from those upon whom she is aggressing, let that fact stand out. The South Vietnamese are supposed to endure endless aggression . . . because they are forbidden to move against the source of that aggression . . . because China might enter the war: Why not find out? How will they be worse off?

President Nixon, it seems to me, perfectly captured the realities of the situation when he said in answer to a question on Feb. 17, "I would not speculate on what South Vietnam may do in defense of its national security. South Vietnam will have to make decisions with regard to its ability to defend itself."

DAV DAY IN CONGRESS

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, it is highly fitting and proper that there be a Disabled American Veterans Day in Congress, and I would like to add my voice to those of my colleagues on this

day when we pause in our legislative pursuits to pay "A Tribute to Quiet Courage."

The Disabled American Veterans organization is to be commended for the superlative work it has done in helping to rehabilitate those who have been disabled in the process of protecting the interests of their country.

The work that the DAV carries on is particularly laudable, because it shuns the concept of charity and appeals to the self-reliance of the disabled veteran. It operates on the theme of "helping the disabled veteran to help himself."

Those of us who have been spared disability have much to learn from an organization like the DAV, for too easily and for too little reason we become despondent and discouraged. The DAV offers us an object lesson, for this organization was founded in the dark climate of low funds and little influence. Still, the founders of the DAV, themselves disabled, persisted and ultimately prevailed, carried forward by a "strong will to win" and driven on by a dynamic urge to help their disabled brethren.

The vitality of the Disabled American Veterans is reflected in the fact that the organization boasts a membership of 300,000. This striving to obtain impressive organizational strength reminds us of what the writer Arnold Bennett said on the subject of effort. He said:

It is easier, to go down a hill than up, but the view is from the top.

And that, in a nutshell, is the story of the DAV.

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS DAY IN THE HOUSE

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of pride and personal satisfaction that I participate in this special ceremony to commemorate the 50 years of service of the Disabled American Veterans to this country's war disabled.

When I am given the opportunity to take part in such a momentous occasion as this, I always feel humble, for I am reminded of those patriotic, heroic Americans whose selfless service and supreme sacrifice have made it possible for all of us to live in freedom.

It would be difficult, indeed, to measure all of the contributions of the Disabled American Veterans organization in the five decades of its history.

But a fact we are all well aware of is that this outstanding group has given so generously of its time to assure that all disabled veterans receive the compassionate care and unselfish service they deserve and have earned.

Our veterans are our most deserving citizens—we owe them a great debt of gratitude. These individuals have demonstrated the courage and determination

which has made our Nation stronger and the leader of the free world.

While the accomplishments of the Disabled American Veterans are outstanding in every respect, we must continue to see that this country's obligations to all servicemen—especially those disabled in the line of duty—are fulfilled. I am aware of the work of this organization and I pledge to continue working in behalf of their interest.

Disabled American Veterans was organized 50 years ago with little funds or influence, but this certainly did not stand in the way of those founders who resolved to be the champion of all disabled veterans. This goal they have accomplished.

My sincere congratulations also are extended to Disabled American Veterans for its national effort to have our prisoners of war treated better. We must do everything within our means to see that these gallant men get every benefit they have coming.

Mr. Speaker, I am highly honored to have the opportunity to speak in behalf of Disabled American Veterans and to pay tribute to these men who have reached this milestone.

ONE FEDERAL SUBSIDY THAT HAS PRODUCED—WELFARE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as the Welfare Department frantically announces unprecedented increases in the number of welfare recipients, now being added at a rate of approximately 3.4 million persons per year, figures on the population growth and identification of the additions to the rolls provide an interesting analysis.

The greatest increase of welfare recipients is in the category of ADC or aid to families with dependent children. For the most part this is tax money going to unwed mothers to support illegitimate children—federally subsidized immorality and illegitimacy.

The 1970 census figures indicate that the Negro population has increased 20 percent over the last 10 years while the white population increased by 12 percent.

If this is the equal status desired by the social scientists, that is, to have racially balanced population of black to white, all taxpayers must agree this is one Federal subsidy which is on target.

Contrary to the fatalistic philosophy advocated by the population explosion crowd, the welfare growth figures would seem but to reemphasize a crying need for the teaching of morality to our young and more rigid enforcement of the illegitimacy laws by our States.

These figures could well be interpreted to show with dramatic import the human cost to our society by the removal of prayer from schools and replacement with such promiscuity inducing innovations as sex education, birth control, sensitivity training and abortion.

I insert several news clippings in the RECORD:

[From The Evening Star, Mar. 3, 1971]
U.S. WELFARE ENROLLMENTS SOAR—RECORD JUMP POSES THREAT TO '72 BUDGET
 (By James Welsh)

The increase in public welfare rolls accelerated through the fall months of 1970 at an unprecedented rate, threatening to drive costs at least \$1.5 billion above President Nixon's 1972 budget estimates.

November figures, now beginning to circulate among officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, show a one-month increase, from October, of 282,000 recipients in the category of Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

It was a record jump, 40,000 higher than the September-to-October increase.

November was the fourth straight month the AFDC rolls climbed by more than 200,000, bringing the nationwide total to 9.4 million men, women and children.

NOW FANTASTIC

"A year ago we thought the caseload figures were impressive," said one HEW official. "Now they're fantastic. They're almost exponential."

What he meant was this:

Two years ago the AFDC rolls were rising at the rate of 1 million annually. Last year, it was two million annually. Now, if the increase were to remain steady at the October-November rate, it would mean an annual rise of 3.4 million presons.

Welfare specialists are split in their view of whether the AFDC caseload increase will continue to accelerate.

Those among the it-can't-go-on-lke-this school cite the fact that the nation's pool of poor people is limited. The poverty population is now estimated at about 24 million persons.

TOTAL ON WELFARE

All those on welfare—AFDC recipients along with the more static groups of aged, blind, disabled and those on general relief—totalled 13.5 million as of November. Sooner or later, the argument goes, the increase in this number is bound to flatten and perhaps reach a peak.

HEW officials also point to the November total as inflated because of an extraordinary situation in Michigan. There, because of the auto strike, the AFDC relief rolls jumped by 70,000 over the October total. Michigan's normal monthly increase is closer to 10,000.

The gloomier analysis is based in part on the sharp caseload increases that usually occur in the coldest winter months. Some HEW officials wouldn't be surprised to see the December-through-March figures show monthly increases of 300,000 and more.

On top of that, those who analyze the welfare scene are aware that caseload levels have consistently outraced all predictions and may well continue to do so for an indefinite period.

Already, HEW staffers concede, the figures on which the Nixon 1972 budget was based are out of date. This means the Federal Government, states and localities must spend far more money for welfare than the budget indicates.

Published five weeks ago, the budget gave a figure of 9.1 million AFDC recipients for the 1971 fiscal year. This should have been the total reached about December 1970, midway through the current fiscal year.

But the November total, just determined, was 9.4 million, and the total for December 1970 will probably run to 9.6 or 9.7 million.

The Nixon budget further included an estimate of 10.7 million AFDC recipients for next December, midway through the '72 budget year.

At the rate the caseloads were rising in November, they will reach that 10.7 million at the end of this month and could be close to 13 million by the end of the year.

If this is the case, the budget's estimate of \$5.3 billion spending on AFDC by all levels of government would have to be raised by \$1.5 billion.

The Federal Government is obligated to pay 55 percent of welfare spending.

In the November caseload increase, Michigan led the way. It was followed by California, with an increase of 44,000 recipients.

From the month before, five states showed slight caseload decreases—Idaho, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma and West Virginia. All others were on the increase.

In November, the District's AFDC caseload totaled 58,500, up 2,000 from October. Maryland's total was 157,000, up 2,900. Virginia's was 114,000, up 2,200.

[From The Evening Star, March 3, 1971]
BLACK POPULATION GROWS 8% FASTER THAN WHITE

(By Philip Shandler)

The rate of population growth for Negroes in this country was almost double that for whites during the 1960s, according to figures obtained in the 1970 census.

The Negro population increased 20 percent from 1960 to 1970, while the white population increased 12 percent, according to the figures released today.

The Census Bureau said Negroes now comprise 11.2 percent of the total population—22.6 million of the total 206 million—compared with 10.5 percent in 1960—when the figure was 18.8 million of 180 million total.

The data also reveal faster gains for blacks over the decade in a critical area of life: Housing with basic plumbing.

Ten years ago, 40 percent of the Negro families were without a flush toilet and a hot-water bathtub or shower for their exclusive use. Now the figure has dropped to about 17 percent.

FAMILIES LESS CROWDED

As a whole, the nation's housing without such basic plumbing has dropped from 35.4 to 16.8 percent.

Americans as a whole are less crowded, too, the bureau said: The percentage of households with more than one person per room has dropped from 11.5 to 8.2 percent.

The bureau said the greatest increase in black population has been in the West and slowest in the South—up 56.1 and 6.7 percent, respectively. In the Northeast, Negro population has grown by 43.4 percent and in the Northcentral states by 32.7 percent.

At the same time, the census confirmed what has been apparent for some time: The South, through an influx largely of whites, has experienced its first population growth in decades—up about a half million in 10 years.

PERCENTAGE DECLINE

The proportion of the nation's Negro population in the South has dropped from 75 percent in 1940 to 60 percent in 1960 to 53 percent today. About 20 percent now live in the Northeast; 20 percent in the North Central states, and about 8 percent in the West—all of these up a percentage point or two over 1960.

Nonetheless, the ratio of blacks to whites in the South is still about what it was a decade ago; one out of five.

In the Northeast, 9.6 percent, almost one out of 10 residents, are black, compared with 7 percent 10 years ago. In the North Central area and the West, the black population is about 8 and 5 percent of the total population, up slightly in proportion from 1960.

The Census Bureau credits a higher birth rate principally for the increase in the black population.

FEDERAL AID TO STATES—FISCAL YEAR 1970

HON. CHARLES W. SANDMAN
 OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. SANDMAN. Mr. Speaker, it never ceases to amaze me how Government economists can forecast future tax rates, deficits, interest rates, and other factors with precision but seem to find difficulty in simply giving an accounting of how Federal funds have been spent.

Just now, the Treasury Department is publishing its annual summary of "Federal Aid to States," covering fiscal year 1970, which ended last June.

After more than 8 months, I have finally secured a handwritten copy of this valuable report. And though the Treasury warns that the statistics are subject to final review prior to release in printed form, I have found this information most interesting.

I note with interest, for example, that the total of Federal grant-in-aid payments to State and local governments in fiscal year 1970 increased by nearly \$4 billion to a figure of \$24,194,090,576.

As background information for my colleagues in Congress, particularly in light of our consideration of the various programs to share Federal revenues with State and local governments, I have prepared a comparison table of the 1969 and 1970 fiscal year distribution of grants-in-aid.

A detailed breakdown of the 1969 fiscal year grants-in-aid payments is available in the Treasury Department's 23-page booklet entitled "Federal Aid to States." I am advised that a similar booklet to cover 1970 fiscal year grants is forthcoming soon.

Mr. Speaker, I include this comparison table in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

FEDERAL PAYMENTS TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS—
 "GRANTS IN AID" PROGRAMS, FISCAL YEAR 1970 COMPARED WITH FISCAL YEAR 1969

States, territories, etc.	1969 totals	1970 totals
Alabama	\$419,206,670	\$523,507,981
Alaska	106,428,606	115,929,874
Arizona	203,645,069	237,166,021
Arkansas	244,448,118	274,849,307
California	2,223,311,884	2,998,345,571
Colorado	246,765,457	282,261,439
Connecticut	263,274,304	295,488,191
Delaware	42,065,122	51,110,807
District of Columbia	251,359,316	405,240,860
Florida	427,426,984	509,409,287
Georgia	490,010,635	553,798,865
Hawaii	92,434,865	123,581,986
Idaho	85,783,697	95,290,069
Illinois	897,118,517	950,808,806
Indiana	319,621,377	352,223,807
Iowa	223,364,041	244,345,307
Kansas	184,629,500	231,656,571
Kentucky	457,832,067	456,588,491
Louisiana	472,280,579	526,971,861
Maine	94,492,145	112,485,425
Maryland	280,362,434	395,030,686
Massachusetts	575,201,469	715,829,951
Michigan	673,613,373	768,758,072
Minnesota	367,216,687	407,361,699
Mississippi	321,150,479	413,042,046
Missouri	443,275,188	502,013,222
Montana	114,674,734	135,491,316
Nebraska	124,863,633	129,782,934
Nevada	61,200,161	76,827,951
New Hampshire	60,477,224	72,187,892
New Jersey	502,286,446	619,739,332

FEDERAL PAYMENTS TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS—
"GRANTS IN AID" PROGRAMS, FISCAL YEAR 1970 COMPARED WITH FISCAL YEAR 1969—Continued

States, territories, etc.	1969 totals	1970 totals
New Mexico.....	189,182,489	218,814,942
New York.....	2,047,620,188	2,365,629,042
North Carolina.....	440,912,542	507,067,589
North Dakota.....	75,675,486	87,724,591
Ohio.....	785,044,538	888,453,481
Oklahoma.....	376,399,547	403,759,349
Oregon.....	236,302,710	297,955,602
Pennsylvania.....	989,561,853	1,343,171,041
Rhode Island.....	104,671,182	132,689,617
South Carolina.....	228,532,200	278,078,087
South Dakota.....	97,793,667	103,685,545
Tennessee.....	393,452,421	487,031,456
Texas.....	944,867,294	1,153,404,525
Utah.....	134,471,925	173,846,992
Vermont.....	75,450,846	77,105,186
Virginia.....	370,223,461	465,682,360
Washington.....	324,093,022	400,451,472
West Virginia.....	264,848,608	303,698,149
Wisconsin.....	314,186,721	368,704,092
Wyoming.....	84,085,583	83,493,080
Puerto Rico.....	309,454,580	305,526,747
Virgin Islands.....	27,991,650	50,069,958
Other territories, etc.	59,804,319	66,572,985
Adjustments or undistributed to States.....	147,951,705	54,349,061
Total (1969).....	20,287,399,318	
Total (1970).....		24,194,090,579

¹ Subject to review as of Mar. 3, 1971.

Note: Compiled from U.S. Treasury Department statistics by: U.S. Representative Charles W. Sandman, Jr. (2d, New Jersey), 115 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515. Source: U.S. Treasury Department.

TRIBUTE TO DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, for 50 years the Disabled American Veterans organization has been the voice and the guardian of those unfortunate patriots who carry with them the scars and disabilities of their service to their country.

The DAV has been the conscience of us all, urging us on, showing us the way to ease the burden of those who have given such a full measure of their devotion.

Nothing we can ever do or say can compensate the members of this organization for the price they have paid for their patriotism.

I am a member of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. I am proud of the record of progress the 91st Congress has achieved in behalf of all our veterans.

I have visited our veterans hospitals. I have heard complaints from some of the hospitalized veterans about the food, about the service, about the physical plant or some other aspect of their care. I have never heard one complaint of the cruel turn of fate which left him disabled.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join with my colleagues today in paying just tribute to this grand organization as it observes its 50th anniversary. What would we, what would our disabled veterans have done without it?

My fervent wish is that the DAV never reaches its 100th anniversary, that we will be able to eliminate the reasons for its being, that we will have no more disabled veterans, cut down in the prime of their manhood, that war, and all its ravages will be eliminated from this earth.

OLEAN STUDENT COMMENDED FOR "COP-IN" PROGRAM

HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, early in 1969 when student unrest was sweeping the Nation, I and 21 of my colleagues here in the House decided that the only way we were going to understand the growing upheaval in the world of education was to get out of our ivory tower here and talk face to face with the students.

Splitting up into four- and five-man teams, we spent a week touring more than 55 colleges and universities. It was a most rewarding trip. We came away with a far deeper understanding of student dissatisfaction and I think the students had a better comprehension of the so-called establishment point of view.

The key to the whole mission was communications. The students expressed surprise and shock that someone would take the time and trouble to talk with them. They said that when they talked, no one listened and when they did listen, no one heard. I think, since that time a lot more talking has taken place and much has been done to bridge the gap of misunderstanding.

In connection with this, I take great pride in calling to the attention of my colleagues a unique program launched at Ohio University in Athens, Ohio, by a young man who resides in Olean, N.Y., in my 38th District.

The young man is Bruce Tabashneck, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Tabashneck, of Hillcrest Avenue, Olean. A graduate student at Ohio University, he has been conducting what he aptly calls a college "cop-in" program to establish better relations between students and the police.

Bruce is to be highly commended for this effort. I should like to offer my personal acknowledgement of his fine work and include in the RECORD a recent news clipping from the Buffalo Courier-Express which spells out in detail just how successfully the program has worked in creating better understanding:

OLEAN STUDENT AT OHIO U HELPS BRIGHTEN COPS' IMAGE

ATHENS, OHIO.—An Olean, N.Y., graduate student at Ohio University here is one of the originators of a campus "Cop-in" program designed to reduce potential pressure points and conflict between students and police.

He is Bruce Tabashneck, 22, son of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Tabashneck of Hillcrest Ave., Olean. He is a 1966 graduate of Olean High School, received his bachelor's degree here last June and now is studying history on a graduate fellowship.

Tabashneck said his brainchild was born last year "when I had an opportunity to go on patrol with the Athens police. I had a rather negative image of police at that time. I was a stereotype; they really turned me off."

Tabashneck said he became so interested that he wanted to find out more about police and their problems.

"I talked with some policemen and got more interested," he said. "It was a moving thing. Because as a person I saw that they had similar problems.

"They go home at night and face real problems like anyone else. They don't go home and eat nalls."

"The 'cop-in' involves both the Athens' Police Dept. and the 40-man campus security force. It was designed to bridge the 'hostility gap' that existed between students and police."

Students who participated all say they have benefitted. The police officers who participated—some of whom were reluctant at first—are now enthusiastic.

An example is Mark Toomey, 19, a freshman. He was ordered into court to pay a parking ticket.

"It was the first time I was ever in a police station and I guess I felt pretty much against police," he said. Since his court appearance Toomey has changed his attitude toward police and credits the cop-in program in which about 200 Ohio U. students have participated.

The program is only of two weeks duration and students participate voluntarily. It has the support of the university which provided a faculty adviser.

Students are permitted to accompany police in their patrol cars as they make their rounds. Informal discussions are held on campus where students and police "rap" about family life, drugs and society.

A highlight of the program was a panel discussion involving police from other cities. The idea was to give students a better understanding of how police function across the country.

Participants included New York City Police Sgt. David Durk, who recruits prospects on college campuses throughout the country, and Donald Riddle, president of the John Jay College of Criminal Law in New York City.

Athens Police Chief Fred James favors a continuation of the program. Tabashneck said the program may be conducted next year "since a lot of students are interested."

"I'm surprised by the attitude of some of our officers," James said. "I was certain before the program began that some officers would be very reluctant to go along with it. "But now the officers' attitudes have changed right along with the thinking of the students. I don't think there is the hostility present there was before the program."

William Kane, assistant campus security director, said he felt the program provided some "real good communication between students and police."

"The kids have had a chance for the first time to ask even personal questions such as how police feel about students and what makes officers angry," Kane said. "And the officers have had a chance to communicate on an informal basis with the students."

TIME TO CUT OUR LOSSES

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the folly of President Nixon's continued reliance on Vietnamization as the cornerstone of his Indochina policy is becoming increasingly obvious. A recent editorial in the Long Island Press contains a balanced, thoughtful commentary on the implications of Mr. Nixon's continued reliance on this policy to extricate us from Southeast Asia.

The editorial follows:

TIME TO CUT OUR LOSSES

President Nixon discussed the state of the world in a 180-page, 65,000-word accounting

of his foreign policy Thursday, but there wasn't a single mention about what he would do if the cornerstone of his Indochina policy—Vietnamization—were to fail.

Yet the ominous reports out of Laos raise the specter of just such an eventuality. Although even a rout in Laos would not mean the destruction of Saigon's military capability, it would seriously compromise the President's policy which is based so heavily on the performance of Saigon's troops. And that, of course, is the trouble. We are basing our policy not only on how the South Vietnamese perform, but also on what Hanoi does—when the determining factor should be our own national interest.

It is easy for those who, echoing the Russian line, ignore the President's very real dilemma and explain his policy as "criminal." This is nonsense. As the President spelled out in his message, we do have very real interests and responsibilities around the world. We do face serious threats to our national security from the Communist competition for control of the world's strategic spots. The question is whether our commitment in Indochina is worth the results, strategic or otherwise. This is the question with which the President must come to grips. In so doing, Vietnamization becomes irrelevant.

Mr. Nixon has shown good grace and good sense in reversing himself on some crucial domestic questions, such as going over to an expansionary budget and leaving the door open to wage and price controls. It is time for him now to re-examine his commitment to Vietnamization and accept the dreary fact that he has no good choices left in Indochina.

Let there be no doubt that unequivocal withdrawal would be painful and dangerous, to our pride and our world political and strategic interests. But seeking a military solution, either through Vietnamization or any other means, entails even greater pain and danger.

Responsible leaders in both parties are saying with increasing concern and insistence that it is time for the President to accept our mistakes, cut our losses and take the less damaging course.

FLUNKING THE COURSE

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, irresponsible, rambling rhetoric has thus far characterized the premature presidential campaign of the senior Senator from South Dakota. Perhaps the most scurrilous statement made by the former history professor to date came in his recent charge that the U.S. bombing of Indochina is "the most barbaric act committed by any modern state since the death of Adolf Hitler." Is it possible that the ex-don has forgotten about the senseless slaughter of civilians in Hungary and Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops? Or the needless starvation of Biafran children? Or the mass murder of hundreds of thousands in Asia by the Red Chinese? Or the cruel and inhumane treatment of the 1,600 American prisoners of war in Southeast Asia? If GEORGE MCGOVERN really wants to be a serious contender for the Presidency in 1972, he should take a refresher course in his former academic field.

ALASKA RAILROAD FARE INCREASE

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, a serious problem faces the people of Alaska. The Alaska Railroad has requested a rate increase of 15 percent and if the increase were to be granted, it would total almost 25 percent in 2½ years.

Presently the state of the economy in Alaska is seriously unstable and highly inflationary. The rate of unemployment is higher in Alaska than in many other parts of the country. The President has called for all citizens to do their share in curbing rising prices, and I strongly believe that since Alaska Railroad is federally owned and federally operated, they too, must do their share of curbing inflation.

The economy of my State depends very heavily upon the accessibility of the railroad to industry and business. If an increase were to be granted, it would create an unnecessary and burdensome hardship upon the economy of the State.

The State Legislature of Alaska has perceived the problems of a rate increase, and they have taken swift and decisive action by passing a joint resolution requesting a permanent suspension of the requested rate increase. I believe this resolution is important in that it expresses the will of the Alaska Legislature, and I, therefore, wish to include it in the RECORD:

JOINT RESOLUTION, ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE
Relating to the proposed freight rate increase proposed by the Alaska Railroad and Sea-Land Incorporated

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Alaska:

Whereas the Alaska Railroad and Sea-Land Incorporated recently announced a 15 percent freight rate hike; and

Whereas justification for such a rate increase has not been forthcoming from the Alaska Railroad or Sea-Land Incorporated; and

Whereas any increase in freight rates would only add to the spiraling inflation in Alaska and have a devastating effect on the Alaskan economy; and

Whereas it is of the utmost importance that private business, labor and government all act prudently in an effort to curb inflation; and

Whereas the Interstate Commerce Commission appellate "suspension board" has suspended the price increase by the Alaska Railroad for a period of seven months, thus effectively suspending Sea-Land's proposed increase in rates also;

Be it resolved that the Alaska Legislature respectfully requests the "suspension board" of the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate the proposed freight rate increase in the most thorough manner possible and if the railroad's request is unjustifiable or unreasonable in any respect, the Commission is respectfully requested to make the temporary suspension permanent.

Copies of this Resolution shall be sent to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States; the Honorable John H. Volpe, Secretary, Department of Transportation; the Honorable Virginia Mae Brown, Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission; and to the Honorable Ted Stevens and the

Honorable Mike Gravel, U.S. Senators, and the Honorable Nick Begich, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress.

TRIBUTE TO ARMANDO M. RODRIGUEZ

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, our society places great emphasis on education. From the time a child is born, until he or she reaches age 6, the parents teach it to walk, to talk, and some basic rudiments of life. At age 6, the parental guidance and teaching continue, but it is supplemented by professional teachers. This professional tutelage will continue until the person becomes a young adult, and in some cases, even further.

A major portion of our success as a nation is due to those individuals who have dedicated their lives to helping their fellow man learn the skills and procedures necessary in a productive society.

Armando Rodriguez is such a man. There are many reasons to pay tribute to Armando Rodriguez. We could commend him for excelling in his chosen profession—teaching. We could say, here is a man who knows the inside of a classroom, who knows the endless nights of preparing for class, who knows the stress involved in grading papers, who knows the inner joy of helping a child discover knowledge.

We could applaud Armando Rodriguez for being an outstanding teacher, but there are more reasons. We could say, here is a man who knows the administrative side of education, who knows teachers and their problems, who knows the needs of educating our children—all of our children.

We could commend Armando Rodriguez for being an exemplary teacher and administrator, but there are still more reasons. Here is a leader in the community and in the Nation. He is the chairman of the National Mexican-American Anti-Defamation Committee. He was on the board of directors of the Urban League in his native San Diego. Mr. Rodriguez served as the president of the San Diego Committee for Human Relations Commission, and president of the Council of Exceptional Children. He was on the board of directors of the San Diego Big Brothers, TB Association, National Conference on Christians and Jews, YMCA, and Neighborhood House.

Today, we commend Armando Rodriguez for being a teacher, an administrator, a leader, and, finally, for bringing these talents to the Office of Education. On December 14, 1970, Mr. Rodriguez was named Assistant Commissioner for Regional Offices Coordination in the U.S. Office of Education. He now holds the responsibility for the operation of 10 regional offices throughout the country.

I feel that his elevation to this position is well deserved. In addition, I feel that Mr. Rodriguez, being the highest ranking Mexican American in the Office of Education, will be an effective and articulate voice in meeting the educational needs of all segments of a multilingual, multicultural society. As California Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles has stated about Mr. Rodriguez in behalf of all Californians:

We know at first hand of his dedication to children and his commitment to equality of educational opportunities.

Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to join with the National Task Force De La Raza, the National Advisory Committee on Mexican American Education, the National Lulac, the National GI Forum, and the National Mexican-American Anti-Defamation Committee in paying tribute to this outstanding servant of the public.

A RESOLUTION OF THE RHODE ISLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HON. FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Rhode Island General Assembly, I bring the following resolution to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives:

S. 55

Resolution memorializing Congress to amend the guidelines under which welfare reimbursements are made available to the States

Whereas, The national economic trends have affected the labor market to such an extent that unemployment figures are near crises proportions; and

Whereas, A rise in unemployment figures almost proportionately is reflected in rises in the numbers who have to turn to welfare for their sustenance; and

Whereas, The system under which welfare is disbursed is antiquated and does not help recipients back to fruitful independence; and

Whereas, The states who disburse welfare payments are shackled from making innovative changes by the guidelines for federal reimbursement; and

Whereas, Congress, realizing the dilemma of the entire welfare program and the dim horizons to which the entire system is headed, should rewrite the federal provisions to permit the states individually to direct the welfare programs to make welfare a temporary means of assistance rather than a way of life for a segment of our society; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the senators and representatives from Rhode Island serving in said congress are hereby respectfully requested by the general assembly of Rhode Island to use their joint efforts to propose and enact such legislation as is necessary to permit the states individually to institute dynamic welfare reform measures; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state be and he hereby is authorized and directed to transmit, duly certified copies of this resolution to the senators and representatives from Rhode Island serving in congress.

PROTECTING OUR FORESTS

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, natural environment is a proper and popular concern today, and a good deal of that concern is directed to our forests. Arizona can boast not only of some of the most magnificent forests in the world but also of the conception of the science of ecology. In the January 1971 issue of Arizona Highways magazine is a story by David W. Toll, entitled "Bristlecone to Saguaro" which is outstanding in its full treatment of what must be done to understand and protect our forests.

I include the article as follows:

BRISTLECONE TO SAGUARO

(By David W. Toll)

THE STORY OF ARIZONA'S TREES AND FORESTS FROM TIMBERLINE TO DESERT FLOOR

The Arizona desert takes hold of a man's mind and shakes it. And because the forest only strikes gently at his memory the mind's eye often overlooks it. Yet the forests of Arizona are more extensive than those of Maine and Wisconsin and nearly as large as Paul Bunyan's Michigan woods. More than twenty-five per cent of Arizona landscapes are forested; some twenty million acres of wooded land representing priceless resources of recreation, timber, grazing lands, jobs and, most precious of all in this arid land, water.

Arizona's forests center on a broad, bold brushstroke of green beginning at the New Mexico border in the White Mountains and curving about two hundred fifty miles northwestward along the course of the Mogollon Rim as far as the San Francisco volcanic field near Flagstaff and Williams. There the brush was raised from the canvas to splash green across the Kaibab Plateau on the north rim of the Grand Canyon, drip it on the Defiance uplift near Arizona's northeast corner and on the mountains around Prescott, and then to spatter the summits of the Cerbat and Hualapai ranges in northwestern Arizona and the Santa Ritas, the Santa Catalinas, the Chiricahuas, the Dragoons and other mountain ranges in the southeast.

Most of this inland sea of green is pine forest, giving away at its high elevations to fir and spruce, and at its lower edges to broad foothill fringes tufted with pinyon and juniper. There is marvelous variety to Arizona's forests, but it is the green-grizzled ponderosa pine flowing along the length of the Mogollon Rim in the longest unbroken stand of any state in the union that give the wild pagan cathedral of Arizona's upland forests their character.

Mountains rise up to pierce the blanketing forest in only two places in Arizona: at the summits of the San Francisco Peaks and at Baldy Peak in the White Mountains. There, in the top-most pinnacles high above timberline, only a few hardy grasses and ground-hugging shrubs survive the freezing temperatures of winter, the nine month burden of the snow-pack and the ceaseless whipping of the winds. Such plants as do survive are bunched in sheltered places, and sometimes develop in unexpected ways away from their cousins on other high summits and in the Arctic lowlands.

Lichen stains the slabbed expanses of stone with red and green, brown and gold and black, but the soils resulting from their microscopic nibblings are mostly swept away by the winds or washed downslope by the melting snows. Only pinches of it lodge in

crevices, and only there, where there is a mite of soil, can seeds sprout and root themselves in a delicate balance between too little exposure to the sun and too much exposure to the wind. The animal life is as limited. Ermine weasels dart about among the rocks, and mountain sheep spent summers here before they were hunted out. Golden eagles thumped their heavy wings against the thin air of these summits to heave themselves into soaring flight.

Downslope some two thousand feet from the summit of San Francisco Mountain the nearly naked stone is wrapped around by the collar of the flowing forest cape that trails out east to New Mexico: a frayed and threadbare collar of gnarled and stunted trees. They are Engelmann spruce and bristlecone pine, tormented victims of the winds and frosts, some so blasted by the elements they are beaten flat against the earth.

Farther down the mountain the spruce grow full and strong, but the bristlecone pine grow only here at timberline and in a few scattered groves downslope where conditions approximate those at the heights. Ice-grained winter winds have scoured them of bark and twisted their burly trunks like hawsers. Their frayed and brambled limbs, upstretched in frozen homage to the sky, have been foreshortened by centuries of brief summers. Their roots press with sullen desperation into the shivered stone, and by the looks of them they have only the most tenuous grip on life. Yet the bristlecone pine is the oldest living thing on earth.

Not the trees growing at timberline on the San Francisco Peaks; these are relative babies, seeds that took root during the reign of Sven Forked-Beard in Denmark and Ethelred the Unready in England a thousand years ago. It is in the White Mountains straddling the Nevada-California border that the bristlecone achieves its greatest age. There the patriarch trees sprouted in the time of Abraham, five times and more the age of the trees in Arizona. The Laboratory of Tree Ring Research of the University of Arizona has verified that bristlecone pines attain ages of more than 4,500 years, or more than 1,000 years older than the better known giant Sequoias (*Sequoia gigantea*).

Rarely do bristlecones grow to heights of more than forty feet, and their average is scarcely half that. Their small size, small numbers, slow growth, inaccessibility and contorted shape has exempted them from commercial use. Forest scientists have quite enough on their plates already with the immense and immediate problems posed by more common forest trees to devote much more than a passing glance of curiosity to the bristlecone as yet. The bristlecone is extremely useful in extending back the limits of tree-ring dating, but so far there are only theories to explain the tree's longevity. One of them suggests that the relatively high resin content is the key to survival. Another proposes that the small stands of bristlecone pines on western mountain summits are only remnants of whole forests that flourished during the colder climates accompanying the Ice Ages. But other trees and plant life found at or near timberline in the San Francisco Mountain summits are also found in profusion at more northerly latitudes, and the bristlecone pine is not.

Timberline does not collar the mountain evenly around; it is higher at the back of the neck on the south and the west where the sun's rays strike the mountainside during the heat of the day, and lower in the east, where the sunlight strikes early and briefly, and the north where it touches the mountain only a little before sunset if it touches there at all. Thus, on San Francisco Mountain timberline occurs at about 10,700 feet on the northeast slope and at about 11,500 on the southwest. Below timberline the forest sweeps away in every direction, a province of dims and deeps and vast expanses like a sea. And

like a sea, the forest is never still, always in the midst of imperceptible motion.

The bristlecone pines thin out and vanish immediately below timberline. The Engelmann spruce straighten up and become full-bodied, robust trees, growing in dense stands as low as 8,500 feet on the northeast slope of the mountain and to about 9,200 feet on the southwest. They are large trees, reaching up eighty feet and more, with trunks three feet in diameter, and spreading branches that droop slightly toward the ground as they taper toward the conical crown of the tree. Corkbark fir, a close cousin distinguished by a thin layer of smooth, spongy bark, is a near neighbor in the high forests. In the White Mountains the mature corkbark firs are among the largest in the world.

Douglas fir rise up to mingle in the lowest reaches of the Engelmann spruce belt. The Douglas fir is the largest tree native to Arizona, growing at maturity to heights of from 100 to 150 feet and occasionally approaching 200 feet. The crown of the tree is open and broadly conical, the trunk from three to six feet in diameter near the base, and the branches, dripping with blue-green needles, sag gently below the horizontal. It is the most important timber tree in the United States, though in Arizona it accounts for only a small percentage of the cut because it grows only in the heights above the far more extensive and more easily accessible ponderosa pine forests. Lumber pine and white fir are commonly found in the forest belt dominated by the Douglas fir. As recently as twenty years ago the white fir was considered a weed tree by loggers who are now glad to harvest them as timber. On the San Francisco peaks the Douglas fir forest descends to about 7,200 feet on the north and east and to about 8,200 feet on the south and west exposures.

These forest belts can be far more clearly marked out here, on paper, than on the mountainside. There they blend almost imperceptibly into one another, influenced by a variety of elements including quite local climate conditions—microclimates, they are called—which often lead to pronounced contradictions of the general rules. Because they intermix, and because of the economics of forest management and timber harvest, the forest from timberline to the lower limits of the Douglas fir is considered as a unit. Eight trees occur in this forest, seven of them conifers. A ninth tree, the Gambel oak, is also found in the high forests, but since it seldom occurs as a part of the forest's crown canopy it is considered a shrub by foresters. The enveloping cloak of the mixed conifer forest is patched here and there by thick stands of aspen, their white trunks like the slender legs of schoolgirls, their bright, trembling broad leaves a vivacious contrast to the grave and moody expanses of the conifers.

The presence of the aspens provides more than a bright note of color in the forest depths. It is visible evidence of the imperceptibly slow, straining struggle for survival waged everywhere in the forest. For aspens grow only where disaster has overtaken the spruce and the fir and the pine.

Usually that disaster is fire, for there are few places in the world where lightning strikes the forest more often than in the mountains along the Mogollon Rim. And when it strikes, an incandescent wand flashing down from the storm-boiled sky to tap a forest patriarch shouldering up above the wind-thrummed thunder of the forest and make a torch of it, the fire spreads and burns holes in the tight weave of the forest cloak. For the tallest trees are old and stale and dry, senile giants held unsteadily upright by the feeble, rotting remnants of once powerful roots.

Into the clearing burned bare in the forest, seeds fall as they fall everywhere. And because there is no crown canopy to filter

sunlight as there is elsewhere, the seeds in the clearing receive the full force of the sun. Spruce and fir cannot tolerate sunlight in such intensity; they prosper in shadowed soil. So grasses take root instead, and aspen.

Not from seeds, these aspens, but from suckers reaching up for sunlight from the far-spread, hungry roots of mature trees established nearby. These sprouts, taking the full benefit of the direct sunlight and the root system of the parent tree, grow more rapidly and surely than the competing plants taking root in the clearing. During the first decade following the fire the aspen saplings grow in dense sibling stands at the rate of about a foot a year.

But as they grow their canopy of leafy branches spreads shade over the clearing. The conifers revive under the umbrella spread by the youthful aspens. Seedlings, protected now against the direct heat of the sun, accelerate their growth, and it is only a matter of time—perhaps 150 years—until they overtake the aspens and pierce the canopy of leaves and branches from below. When this happens the aspens are deprived of the direct sunlight they require. And as more and more conifers overtop them higher and higher, the aspens die. Thus the fire-wound in the forest is once again healed over with an uninterrupted growth of conifers.

This silent battle for dominance occurs everywhere within the forest, but few catalysts are so dramatic and immediate in their effect as fire, and few competitions so clearly recognizable as the aspen's doomed race toward the sun.

Fire is only one of the ways in which nature affects the complexion of the forests. Winds, insects and disease also take a harvest. Engelmann spruce, for example, are normally able to withstand the attack of bark beetles. The tree's resin is plentiful enough and gummy enough to encase the voracious larvae and kill them; only ailing or aged trees are normally their victims. But in the aftermath of storms when large numbers of trees have been uprooted and flung to the ground, the larvae thrive in the wind-tossed and unresisting trees. Many more larvae than usual become mature beetles. As the new adult population emerges, it infests the nearby healthy trees with larvae in such numbers that natural resistance is overcome. Healthy trees can be girdled and killed within a few months. Inexorably the plague of beetles spreads through the forest, devastating the spruce over thousands of acres and transforming them to grey, lifeless poles which may stand erect like ghosts—or like lightning rods—for decades.

Deprived of nourishment at last by their own success, the spruce bark beetles recede in number. Seedlings, released from the sovereignty of the overtopping forest, yet still shielded by their dead spires, and by immune species nearby, from too much direct sunlight, take root in the close-grained velvet of the forest floor and grow rapidly. Fir and spruce grow together, with the firs at first dominating the regenerating forest. But as the seedlings mature another insect pest, the western balsam bark beetle, increases in number and impact, preying on the young firs and leaving the spruce to emerge again as the dominant tree in the forest, as they had been before the winds. This cycle of recession and increase is re-enacted over and over again in the mixed conifer forests of Arizona, varying in detail according to the myriad other elements that affect the forest.

One of these forest-affecting elements is now actively interfering with the beetle plague: man.

State and Federal agencies working with private lumber industries believe that the beetle plague will soon be reduced to minimal statistics.

Much of the Engelmann spruce within the Fort Apache Indian Reservation forests has

recently come under heavy attack from the spruce bark beetles; in 1969 three times as many trees were killed by their attentions as in 1968. And because their attack can be so destructive—4.5 billion board feet of timber trees six feet and greater in trunk diameter were killed by a similar infestation in Colorado recently—a strong effort to counter-act the threat they pose to tribal timber reserves is being made.

Entomologists have discovered that the bark beetle has a characteristic two-year life cycle. Each July hordes of the bugs fly from the raddled trees they have infested during the previous two years, and attach themselves to the nearest weakest tree they can locate. They then drill their way beneath the bark of these trees to lay their eggs, and the larvae destroy the tree by girdling. Adult beetles can fly as far as half a mile through the forest in search of easy prey.

Tribal foresters are now locating the infested trees by means of ground surveys and infra-red aerial photography. The latter technique is a recently devised method of taking photographs, not of the trees themselves but of their heat emissions: beetle-infested spruces are a few degrees warmer than their neighbors—precisely as if they are running a temperature. This is because the transpiration rate of an infested tree is slowed, and less heat-bearing moisture is dissipated at the needles.

Once the ailing trees have been located, two methods of treatment are available. One is to log trees in the infested areas before the heavy beetle migrations of July, and to leave the felled logs on the ground. These trees are the nearest, weakest trees the beetles prefer, and the emerging beetles infest them heavily just as they do wind-felled trees under natural conditions. Once the logs are bored and the larva deposited beneath the bark, they are dragged out of the forest. The heavy beetle flight observed in 1969 will be treated with trap logs when they emerge again in July of 1971.

The alternative method of treatment is to introduce arsenic beneath the bark of an infested tree during the seasons of heavy transpiration. The natural metabolism of the tree in pulling moisture from roots to crown brings the arsenic with it. The larvae are killed as the poison reaches them. The tree dies as well, but it is doomed anyway, and the use of poison allows its neighbors to survive.

Until the sudden increase in lumber requirements during World War II there was relatively little logging done in the mixed conifer forests of Arizona, and consequently relatively little empirical data has been collected about the specific management requirements of the region. What active forest management was attempted was directed largely toward timber production. And while increasing demand has made these high country forests an ever more desirable source of timber, other considerations are also emerging. Water yield, recreation, livestock grazing—all these uses of the forest prompt the use of logging techniques that may be less productive when measured in terms of board feet of timber alone, but which are compatible with the concept of multiple use.

In Arizona many of these techniques were pioneered in the great ponderosa pine forests that occupy the next stratum of elevation below the mixed conifer belt. On San Francisco Mountain the upper limits of the ponderosa pine are at about 7,200 feet on the north and east exposures and at about 8,200 feet on the south and west.

The ponderosa pine is second only to the Douglas fir in total stand among all tree species in the United States and is a characteristic forest tree in every western state. In Arizona it is found in the higher elevations of every section of the state except to central and southwestern, and in the mountains of

the southeastern corner of the state it shares the summits with Apache pine and Chihuahuahua pine.

The ponderosa pine commonly grows to heights of from 80 to 125 feet in Arizona, only occasionally reaching 150 feet. It matures at about 250 years and survives at maturity for another 250, though the Arizona trees are somewhat shorter-lived, on the average, than those of the Pacific northwest. Rare specimens have been found which can be dated back a thousand years by tree ring count, but none so old have yet been found in Arizona.

The ponderosa pine is a little like the old-time Arizona frontiersman in appearance: tall and straight, but a little raggedy at the elbows and faring best when separated somewhat from its nearest neighbor. Like the Arizona pioneer—and unlike most commercially valuable conifers—the ponderosa pine can tolerate relatively high temperatures and relatively low amounts of precipitation. As a result it is the lowest-growing of all Arizona timber trees, extending down to about six thousand feet on the north and east slopes of the San Francisco peaks and to about seven thousand feet in more sun-exposed locations.

The ponderosa pine has both a vertical tap root and a well-developed and uniform horizontal branch root system. This is one of the critical factors in fostering its growth in hot, dry locations, for it permits the efficient absorption of ground moisture when it is plentiful in the soil, yet prevents sucking the soil rapidly dry when it is scarce. In seasons of drought the ponderosa pine can drastically curtail its transpiration rate so that moisture gathered in at the roots is not given off so rapidly at the needles but held longer in the tree.

Yet the ponderosa pine is classified as an intolerant species; that is, it requires certain quite specific conditions in which to prosper. For example, seedlings must have at least fifty per cent shade but less than sixty-seven per cent. If they receive more than fifty per cent sunlight they cannot withstand the crushing weight of the winter snowpack to which they are also exposed. It presses their limber, fingerling trunks flat against the earth winter after winter, maiming them until they succumb. More than sixty-seven per cent shade and they grow runty, if they grow at all, and usually die within a decade after taking root. Other elements, too, affect the seedling's prospects for healthy development: precipitation within certain limits and at the proper season, temperatures, soil conditions and the depredations of wildlife and grazing stock.

Soil conditions play a more important part in forest life than is generally recognized, especially at lower elevations where temperatures are higher and ground moisture evaporation becomes an increasingly critical factor. Where soils are heavy, as those with a high clay content, trees are usually spaced wider apart because moisture is not readily absorbed for retention by these soils, and because root penetration by seedlings is more difficult. Where heavy soils occur in combination with other unfavorable circumstances the forest trees may be unable to establish themselves at all. Thus a mountain meadow, enclosed within a dense forest, lush with grasses but bare of trees, or a grove of a "foreign" species like an island in the sea of dominant trees. Where there are sandy or gravelly soils ponderosa pine will flourish as low as 5,500 feet, for the seedling roots can penetrate as easily as the moisture that percolates through them. Even a relatively infertile soil can be beneficial to the young trees by preventing establishment of competing plant life.

Explorers who left behind them the earliest written accounts of the ponderosa pine forests of Arizona consistently mention their open character. The honey brown carpet of needles pierced by grasses and the absence

of underbrush prompted many of them to compare the virgin ponderosa forests to carefully tended parks. In the 1880's cattle were brought into the ponderosa forests to graze the open stands.

But in 1919 two elements in the forest's life combined to reduce its value to livestock. One was a prime crop of conifer seedlings spurred by a record number of cones and seeds produced, and by a warm, wet spring. Temperatures in the ponderosa forest averaged six degrees warmer than usual that year, and three and a half inches of rain fell in May alone. These favorable circumstances, coupled with the inevitable overgrazing that reduced competition to the seedlings on the forest floor, resulted in the largest ponderosa pine crop in history.

The other element was the increasingly successful suppression of forest fires.

The consequence has been the establishment of underbrush within the forest, and thick stands of doghair pine. These last are slender trees growing so close together that they never achieve anything like mature growth. A fifty year old tree is frequently no bigger around than a baby's arm in these stands. They create effective barricades to browsing cattle, and not only are they useless as timber, they prevent the establishment of trees that will be. And they represent a severe fire hazard.

That particular irony—that the suppression of forest fires has created an increased fire danger—appears to be losing some of its sting with the introduction of prescribed burning as a forest management technique.

It is at least a little mind-boggling, after all we have heard from Smokey the Bear, to consider the sight of dedicated foresters setting fire to the forest. But the contradiction is only an apparent one; it is not real.

The theory behind prescribed burning is that fire is a natural part of the forest environment and has performed a part in creating it. The suppression of fire in the forest has resulted in obvious benefits to man's use of the forest, but it has also led to unfortunate changes in the forest complexion of which the doghair pine thickets are a good example. They are a detriment to timber production and an enormous fire hazard which would not have come into existence had the natural grass fires not been extinguished. Those grass fires were of relatively little consequence compared to the holocausts that result when half a century's accumulation of brush blazes up.

Because of thick bark and high branching, the ponderosa pine is highly fire-resistant, especially when the fire is confined to the forest floor. But when doghair thickets go up in flames, the ponderosa pine is threatened in its higher branches and in its crown. Thus removal of the underbrush constitutes removal of the greatest fire danger in the forest. And the best way to remove the fuel accumulated beneath the trees is to burn it.

Not by tossing a cigaret out the car window, not by building a campfire in a clump of chaparral, but by waiting until autumn nights are still and frosty and then assembling a ready crew of firefighters and equipment and creating a small, controllable fire beneath the trees. The crews guide the fire, pressing it back where it shows signs of ambition, holding it to the job of clearing the brush. It is a technique pioneered on the Fort Apache Reservation by tribal foresters, and its results are easily visible at Indian Pine along the reservation boundary: in the reservation forests to the south there is relatively little brush. Off the reservation the accumulated fuels are piled up like jackstraws. Since 1965 more than 200,000 acres of forest within the reservation have been treated with prescribed burning; there has never been a major fire anywhere prescribed burning has been administered.

But there are difficulties with this technique. One—though this is not an overwhelming difficulty—is that fire in the forest

conflicts with the forester's traditional stance and orientation. Another that looms larger with every passing day is the question of air pollution: forest fires, even ground-hugging brush fires, produce immense quantities of smoke. Perhaps the greatest difficulty of all at the present time is that of funds. "No one ever complains about spending huge quantities of money to put out a forest fire," one forest ranger told me recently, "but ask for a budget to prevent forest fires in the first place and you get yawns from some and screams from others."

There is another large-scale effect of successful fire-prevention within the forest. You can see it along Arizona Highway 73 between Indian Pine and Springerville, where most of the White Mountain hillsides along the road are within the ponderosa pine forest belt. Beneath the pines the forest floor is now being pierced by Douglas fir and spruce seedlings. These young trees would have been killed by fire under natural conditions, leaving the region to the domination of the more resistant ponderosa. Without fire they proliferate, and within seventy or eighty years they will overtop the ponderosa and replace it as the dominant trees in these areas. Because they are as commercially valuable as the ponderosa pine it is doubtful the change will carry economic consequences with it. But it is another example of how man's presence in the forest, even in so benign a role as forest fire suppression, produces consequences both profound and unpredictable.

Logging, of course, has been the way in which man has affected the forests most profoundly in the 19th and 20th centuries. The loggers came late to Arizona's forests: there was a small saw pit in operation in the Santa Rita range near Tucson in the mid-1850's and a steam-powered sawmill on Granite Creek, near Prescott, ten years later. These early operations were small because the demand for lumber was small in the frontier villages of Arizona and bad roads and lack of transportation isolated the Arizona forests from the major lumber markets. Thus it was only where underground mining required prodigious quantities of timber that the forests were stripped bare, and then only in the years before the creation of the Forest Reserves in the last decade of the 19th century. A survey undertaken in 1925 revealed that nine-tenths of Arizona's original forested lands were still tree-covered in that year, and that fully a fourth of the original forests remained untouched in virgin timber.

Logging techniques have changed enormously, even since 1925. Technological changes has played a part, as it has in all man's endeavors, but changes in philosophy have been even more important. In the bad old days the single motive in a logger's heart was to cut timber, and the more the better. The faster and easier the better, too, which meant clear cutting the big trees and dragging them out in a hurry. Smaller trees were crushed and mangled and the landscape deeply scarred by ensuing erosion. In those days the timber cut could be so concentrated that permanent logging camps could be established. Maverick and Happy Jack are two of the best-known and longest-lived of Arizona logging camps.

But Maverick is closed now, and Happy Jack's days may be numbered. "In the old days," a veteran Arizona logger told me recently, "we just cut timber. But now forest management policies have become more complex and intensified, and we can't concentrate our crews at a place like Maverick any more. We're making lighter cuts over greater areas and have to spread out, doing things altogether differently from what we did. We're thinning stands of trees the way a farmer thins carrots, and growing timber bigger and faster as a result. We're confining our cuts to the old trees and the sick ones, and even leaving good timber trees standing along the roadsides for the pleasant effect they give there. But some-

times we get caught in the middle, too. In late 1968 and early 1969 the Forest Service established a new schedule of saw timber prices, based on market date from 1966 and '67. The market had been strong in those years, but as the new price structure went into effect it had begun a long, deep swan dive, and the sawmill operators took it on the chin."

But if there is a suggestion of resentment in the relationship between the Forest Service and the sawmill companies that harvest in the National Forests, there is also a great deal of co-operation. As the lumber-hungry markets in other parts of the country have become more accessible, and as the cities of the Southwest have entered into a period of accelerating growth, the demand for Arizona forest products has intensified. New considerations of forest management based on the inescapable realization that its resources are not inexhaustible, however, have prompted tighter controls than ever on the timber harvest. To compensation for the increased restrictions on cutting, the Forest Service has co-operated in the development of new products, especially those utilizing low grade lumber and sawmill wastes.

These products range from items long familiar, such as particle board, through innovations like walnut "forged" by overlaying printed vinyl on pine boards, to exotic possibilities like sugar, molasses and protein food supplements made from sawdust, bark and mill wastes.

There is nothing revolutionary about particle board. Even pine scrap disguised as more elegant stuff is not surprising on the list of forest products. But groceries derived from the conifer forest merit a little explanation.

During World War II German scientists perfected processes by which wood products were used for a variety of purposes, even as automobile fuel. Among their discoveries was an acid hydrolysis process through which saw dust and other mill wastes could be converted to wood sugar and wood molasses.

After the war a large plant was built at Springfield, Oregon, to manufacture sugar and molasses on a large scale. About half the wood introduced at one end of the factory emerged as excellent quality sugar at the other—at a cost, alas, about half again as high as the kind you can buy at the grocery store. Molasses the same. The plant failed, but the process is still on the shelf awaiting perfection or a drastic change in the sugar market. The process for deriving food proteins from bark and sawdust is a new one that has not yet been tested on a commercial scale. If it proves competitive in cost, it will join soy beans and fish meal as a cheap diet supplement for both human and animal consumption.

Subsidiary products such as these assume ever greater importance to the mill operator's profit and loss picture as time goes by. Already a number of Arizona sawmills have closed as forest practices have changed. Antiquated and inadapted they were unable to change along with the times. The times show no great tendency to stop changing in the foreseeable future and the surviving mill operators know it.

Already the old-time logger is only a memory. He was the fellow wearing a shirt "half an inch thick and so scratchy the ordinary human being began to itch the minute he got into the same room with it" and "corks" in his boots, spikes that allowed him to "set his heel down in the pine floor, twist his foot dexterously, and rip out an entire board without batting an eye" in the course of a spree after months of isolation deep in the woods. Now many of the loggers working at Happy Jack commute from pleasant homes and families in the Verde Valley.

With few exceptions the four million acres

of commercial forest in Arizona exist above 5,500 feet in elevation. Below 5,500 feet the precipitation is too light and soil moisture evaporation takes place too rapidly to support even the hardy ponderosa pine. The foothills at this altitude, and as high as seven thousand feet in places, are the domain of the pinyons and junipers.

Only a statistician can look at these trees and call them a forest. The more descriptive term is woodland. Even that seems excessively enthusiastic, especially in the lowest limits of their range where the trees are little more than scraggly shrubs.

The juniper is a stiff-limbed, shaggy, lopsided tree and the pinyon is a sap-drooling potbellied runt. Compared with the trees in the forests above them they are good-for-nothings. They grow scattered across the landscape like tufts in a rumpled bedspread, and they cover some fifteen million acres in Arizona.

"Compared with commercially valuable tree species," I was told by a Forest Service Scientist at Flagstaff, "the juniper is scrubby, short and limby, all the characteristics that timber people despise in a tree." And later, talking to a rancher near Prescott: "They suck up water that could be growing grass and can't be used for anything but fence posts and fire wood. They're worse than useless; they're a menace."

But as if to demonstrate that there are no easy answers where these trees are concerned, there are also places, notably near Springerville, where there is so much natural soil churning that without junipers to stabilize the earth, grass cannot grow.

Even at their densest, as in the pygmy forest of the San Francisco Plateau on the south rim of the Grand Canyon, the pinyon-juniper woodlands only achieve about a seventy per cent ground cover. But even at thirty-five or forty per cent the grass is squeezed out and soil erosion can be a significant problem, whether caused by water or wind. The trees commonly grow to forty and fifty feet in height in favorable locations, but may be stunted to six feet or even less as mature trees where conditions are poor.

They are aggressive trees, noted for their ability to invade new territory to the fury of ranchers and the despair of watershed managers. All but a very few of the junipers growing thickly along U.S. 89 between Ash Fork and Prescott are young trees less than forty years old and from twelve to fifteen feet in height. South of Williams, in contrast, the junipers are mostly mature trees about two hundred years in age. It is suspected that where dramatic increases in the juniper population takes place it may be prompted by overgrazing of the grasses by livestock or a change in the precipitation pattern. But despite their prevalence on the rangelands of the American West—pinyon-juniper woodlands cover some seventy-five million acres west of the Rockies—remarkably little is known about these trees.

It is known that they are remarkably drought-resistant after the first vulnerable three or four years of life, and that while grass fires will ignite young trees less than three feet in height, larger ones are seldom seriously damaged. And it is known, too, that the juniper is an incredibly tenacious survivor, taking drought, fire and competition in stride. Seeds collected sixty years ago still test as viable today. "Theoretically," a botanist told me, "the juniper should no more be able to survive under the conditions that it does than a bumblebee should be able to fly. All that really means, of course, is that we still have a lot to learn about them."

One thing a lot of people would like to learn about them is what to use them for. Junipers, as noted, make fence posts and firewood. Pinyon pines provide edible nuts, curiously attractive Christmas trees, and occasionally grow large enough to warrant

sawing into railroad ties or mine timbers. That is the entire list of commercial uses.

The brevity of the list is not because of a lack of effort. Numerous experiments have been made to find uses for the trees, including stuffing them whole into a machine that minces them for use in particle board. The aromatic quality of the wood led the Lane Cedar Chest Company to experiment with the manufacture of a juniper veneer for use in their products. But in every case the juniper's relatively small size, slow and sparse growth and limby profile have meant too much time and effort in harvesting and handling to make the finished product economically feasible.

Though the pinyon pine offers the same drawbacks as the juniper, it has been put to a slightly wider range of uses. Experiments at Snowflake, where 100 carloads of pinyons were run through the pulp mill showed it to be a good pulp tree, though still expensive to harvest. Where other timber is unavailable it has been used for railroad ties in New Mexico and as mine timber in Arizona and Nevada. But its most promising use at present appears to be as Christmas trees. One 640-acre section of state-owned land near Flagstaff contains seven thousand standing pinyons—and six thousand stumps. The stumps represent Christmas tree use, and even at a dollar a permit the revenue from this use of the land is greater than most others would provide. If silviculture practices were implemented on the land the tree yield could certainly be improved.

Recreation use of the pinyon-juniper woodlands has been low in years past except during hunting seasons, principally because it is dry country and hot. But recreation demands can be expected to increase as the leisured population in the southwest outgrows the capacity of the highland forests to contain it. The greatest future potential for these lands may be as highly productive watershed lands, if a practical method of controlling the trees can be discovered that is also ecologically sound. At present the use of pinyon-juniper woodlands in Arizona is confined almost exclusively to livestock grazing and wildlife habitat.

Arizona's grazing lands descend deeper into the lowlands than the pinyons and junipers can venture into the chaparral. This, too, is considered a forest type, though it is even farther removed from the conventional picture of a forest than the woodlands on the hills above it. This is brush country, a forest that only occasionally grows to the height of a man's belt.

Chaparral is a dry, sinewy, unpalatable salad of some fifty different plant species. They are all low-growing broad-leaved evergreens, usually dominated by one or more varieties of scrub oak. And for all its lack of grandeur, the chaparral can be as impenetrable as a tropical rain forest to a man on foot. In Arizona it occurs from about four thousand feet in elevation to about six thousand feet and spreads across some five million acres in the lower foothills of the Mogollon Rim mountain system, in the Prescott National Forest and in parts of the Coronado and Apache National Forests.

Chaparral represents an extreme fire hazard. Its tight tangle of brittle branches and ribby stems are dried by the summer sun and wind to create a fuel supply representing about thirty tons of highly inflammable material per acre. Forty acres of it burning can generate as much heat energy as the atom bomb exploded at Hiroshima, and once a chaparral fire has spread across five hundred acres it is virtually impossible to extinguish. The disastrous fires in Southern California last autumn were chaparral fires.

But the chaparral regenerates rapidly after a burn. Most of the shrubs sprout from the surviving roots. Manzanita, which does not sprout, reseeds itself so generously that from

2,000 to 5,000 seedlings per acre can be counted in the charred soil after a chaparral fire.

Where chaparral has been held back after a burn and prevented from re-establishing itself, the increased water yield has been substantial. One acre kept clear after a fire in 1959 was compared to an adjacent acre allowed to revert naturally to brush. The brush-free acre has never stopped running water since; the brushy acre adjoining has rivulets in winter but no water at all in summer.

Experiments have shown, too, that where chaparral has been cleared the land can support abundant grass. One such experimental plot produced from 1,500 to 1,800 pounds of African Weeping Lovegrass per acre, growing to heights of three and four feet. Grasses like this could support five times the number of cattle as the same acreage with its natural chaparral cover, and there is more prospect for increasing forage production in the chaparral than in any of the other forest types. But there are many costs to be weighed in the large-scale attempt at site conversion. The money cost would certainly be substantial: chaparral is tenacious. But the cost to wildlife is still beyond computing if the natural habitats provided by the chaparral were disrupted.

The desert lies below the chaparral horizon. Where soils are basalt, the ground cover tends to be grass; where they are sedimentary it is most often the narrowleafed shrubwoods of the desert—palo verde, mesquite, ironwood and the like. Saguaro kings march splendidly up the hillsides to meet the chaparral, and cactus mingles in it at its lower edges.

No one, not even the earnest folk who argue for chaparral as a forest type, can conscientiously call the desert forested. And yet . . . there are places in this outlandish garden where the plant life thrives so spectacularly that a man must thread his way gingerly through it. It is an eerie experience, for the sun beats down undeflected through the canopy of thorns and bristles overhead; for all its stubborn growth and density this menagerie of predatory vegetables casts no shadow, for it has no leaves. And who will say this is not one of Arizona's forests?

Today's concern for the natural environment has focused attention on the forests as never before. It is not generally known that the science of ecology was, if not born in the forests of Arizona, at least suckled there for a season when a young man with a soup-strainer mustache and an unruly shock of hair over topping his high forehead stepped down to the platform of the station at Flagstaff from the westbound Atlantic & Pacific passenger train. He returned to the station the following day to meet his assistant arriving from Washington, and together they prowled the outfitters' stores at Flagstaff buying tents, camp gear and provisions, renting horses and pack mules and hiring a camp tender. When they had done they tucked away what was left of the \$600 provided by the U.S. Department of Agriculture to finance the expedition, and set out to make a biological survey of the San Francisco Mountain-Painted Desert region of Northern Arizona.

It had long been recognized that different climatic zones exist and overtake one another from the base of a high mountain to its summit. What C. Hart Merriam and Vernon Bailey proposed to do in the late summer and early autumn of 1889 was to scrutinize some five thousand acres ranging down from the naked summits of the San Francisco Peaks into the arid reaches of the Painted Desert and to make as detailed an analysis as they could of the interrelation-

ships of the plant and animal life they found there. The results, Merriam thought, would be of scientific interest and economic importance.

He established a base camp in a grove of aspens and pine above Little Spring at the north base of the mountain and a secondary camp high above, just below timberline. He had chosen San Francisco Mountain as the natural laboratory for his researches because of its great height, its southern location, its isolation from other high summits and its position adjacent to an arid desert. Merriam's small party was augmented in August by a visit from F. H. Knowlton, assistant paleontologist with the U.S. Geological Survey who collected plant specimens, and in September by Dr. Leonhard Stejneger, curator of reptiles with the U.S. National Museum who sketched the animal specimens collected and who wrote the expedition's report on reptile and batrachian life encountered in the region.

For little more than two months Merriam ranged up and down the mountainside, made two journeys by horseback across the Painted Desert and one two-day descent into the Grand Canyon. He discovered twenty new species and subspecies of mammals and a variety of plants and reptiles not before encountered. But of vastly greater importance, Merriam's half summer in the Arizona forests led to the formulation of new theory of life zones on the North American continent.

Since its publication in 1890, Merriam's theory has undergone substantial amendment, chiefly because he overgeneralized his findings in northern Arizona beyond their limits. But the impact of his theory, which he polished and perfected in the years following, has been immense. The avenues of exploration he opened have yet to be exhausted. On the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of his researches, Professor Lionel Kidoff of Ohio State University wrote: "Merriam's greatest contribution is the impetus he imparted to ecology. His work generated thought; it provoked discussion; it led to vigorous criticism. Since his early work, broad biotic types and the factors limiting those types have been the subject of innumerable studies. His map of the biotic types of the United States stimulated others, leading to a considerable, yet continuing effort to prepare an adequate map of the vegetation of the United States. . . ." Another scientist, W. B. McDougall of the Museum of Northern Arizona, wrote, "I think the work he did here in 1880 was exceedingly important. It was good ecological work and it was done before there was any real science of ecology in America; before even the word ecology was familiar to more than a very few biologists. Furthermore, his work laid the foundation for modern bioecology, and I am sure that many of us will be spending the remainder of our lives building, item by item, onto the foundation that Dr. Merriam started seventy-five years ago."

Not until four years after Merriam's visit was the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve created, and it was five years after that, in 1898, that the San Francisco Forest Reserve was set aside. Both were increased in size in 1905 as they passed into the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture to become National Forests, and by 1908 more than thirteen million acres had been apportioned among the seventeen National Forests established within Arizona's borders.

It didn't simply happen. Of all the important economic interests in the Arizona Territory, only the farmers favored preempting the forest lands from exploitation. They could see clearly the direct relationship between upland forests and lowland water supplies, and they knew that in Arizona's low lying agricultural lands there is no alternative to irrigation.

The mining interests fought the establishment of Forest Reserves because they feared exclusion from the public domain and because they were voracious consumers of timber for shoring tunnels and shafts. One large operation alone used some 40,000 pine trees averaging from twelve to twenty inches in diameter in a two year period.

Stockmen, too, opposed setting the forest lands aside. Much of the grazing lands they had been accustomed to using freely and without control were included within the preserves, and they resented the imposition of fees and restrictions on land they absolutely required for their herds. The same objections were raised strenuously in most other western states. Chief spokesman for the alliance against the Forest Reserves was Senator Henry Moore Teller of Colorado who once said in debate: "I do not believe there is either a moral or any other claim upon me to postpone the use of what nature has given me so that the next generation or generations yet unborn may have an opportunity to get what I ought to get." Despite the opposition, the forests were set aside. Fees were charged for grazing rights and the number of animals restricted to what the forage could bear and still regenerate itself.

The Forest Service initiated a plan in Arizona whereby local advisory boards of sheepmen and cattlemen participated with Forest Service people in establishing grazing regulations and fees. As a result the Arizona Cattlemen's Association in 1907 became the first western Cattlemen's Association to endorse the supervision of public lands. The number of National Forests in Arizona has been reduced to seven from the original seventeen, but the total acreage remains approximately the same. In addition, there are approximately 800,000 acres of commercial forest lands on Arizona's Indian reservations.

One of the earliest Forest Service projects in Arizona was the establishment of the Fort Valley Experimental Forest in 1908 in the Coconino National Forest near the outskirts of Flagstaff. Now a part of the Rocky Mountain Forest and Range Experiment Station headquartered at Fort Collins, Colorado, the research work performed here has expanded many fold since the early days of timber management.

One of the most immediately significant projects in which the Station is currently engaged is the Beaver Creek Pilot Watershed. In the late 1950's the post-war boom in the desert cities of Arizona had begun to increase the rate of water consumption significantly. Wells "mined" the ground water so efficiently that the water table began to drop alarmingly, and watershed management became a prime preoccupation in the forests. In 1960 the Beaver Creek Watershed, 275,000 acres of pine forest, juniper woodlands and desert shrub bisected by the Black Canyon Highway, was devoted to the evaluation of forest management techniques to enhance water yield and to make ecological examinations and economic analyses of the available alternatives. The idea was to take a theory developed from research, test it on a small area at the Beaver Creek Watershed, and extrapolate the test results to judge its effect on larger areas. Twenty subdivisions were established within the watershed according to tree cover: three Utah juniper sites, three alligator juniper sites and fourteen ponderosa pine sites. Eighteen of these sites are small, ranging from 100 acres to 2,000 acres in size. The two remaining sites are quite large: 11,000 and 16,000 acres. These are to be used after preliminary results have been gained on the smaller sites. Their function is not only to double check the small site results, but to gauge the capacity of scientists to predict treatment results on the larger areas,

particularly when several treatments used on the small sites are combined to treat the large ones. The ultimate result of the project, if it is successful, will be the development of empirical data by which the effect of manipulating the ground cover of any given watershed area can be predicted.

An early experiment was in the juniper belt. A 2" steel cable was stretched between two bulldozers which dragged it along the ground between them and dragged the junipers to the ground. This technique for improving grass yields had been devised in the 1930's, and it was supposed that water yields would be improved as well as forage, though no precise measurements were available. Once cabled down, the trees were burned and the soil reseeded in grass. Forage production improved immediately, but surprisingly there was no significant change in water yield from the site. Measurements are still being taken.

Two years later an alligator juniper site was cleared by felling the trees and leaving the stumps in place. Reseeding was performed as before with results that showed a temporary increase in forage growth but no significant improvement in water yield.

In 1968 a juniper site was treated by killing the trees with a herbicide spray and leaving the entire tree standing in place before reseeding in forage grass. For the first time a significant increase in water yield resulted.

On another small site, already cut over and into grass, grazing limitation experiments are being conducted to see what effect soil compaction and browsing at various levels has on the water yield.

One small pine site was clear cut of all standing trees and the slash heaped in windrows at hundred foot intervals to trap the winter's snow. Water yield of the site increased more than four inches per acre the first year, but it carried with it twenty-seven tons of eroded soils.

On another pine site, one-third of the trees were logged by cutting strips sixty feet wide and a hundred twenty feet apart. Water yield increased more than 40% from this treatment. Water using vegetation was removed, yet snow was captured on the ground where the runoff to streams is direct. It was found that more snow was trapped by cutting the strips east and west, but that by following the contour of the site and cutting uphill the snowmelt reached the creeks with less opportunity for loss to the earth.

The researchers are now at work modifying the military severity of the straight-line strips to slender, irregular shapes. Future cuts will leave the occasional oaks standing within the resulting meadows, as well as leaving the pines growing on ridge-line. The resulting man-made meadows would be allowed to regenerate naturally. From thirty to forty years after the first cut, another cut would be made alongside the first, once again creating a grassy meadow. By continuing the rotation it is hoped that an entire area could be logged within three cuts every hundred years.

And so we have progressed to the point where we are landscaping the forest. Not from choice, but necessity.

Demands on the forest are already intense, and they are certain to increase, for there are more and more forest users all the time, but the same amount of forest. Terrible pressures have prompted the research to relieve them. "We've had a succession of fairly wet years lately," a Forest Service scientist told me, "and it's helped reduce the pressures temporarily. We're all working to find the right ways to treat the forests before we lose our options altogether. The idea behind the establishment of the Forest Reserves was to set them aside for the future. And now it's here."

ORGANIZED LABOR AND COMMUNISM

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, at the 36th convention of the Upholsterers International Union—AFL-CIO—at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles last summer, Marx Lewis, who is presently the chairman of the Council Against Communist Aggression, addressed the convention on the subject of "Organized Labor and Communism."

The Upholsterers International Union—AFL-CIO—is one of the oldest international unions in the American labor movement. It is highly regarded throughout organized labor as one of the outstanding affiliates of the AFL-CIO. Sal B. Hoffman, its president, has pioneered in a variety of ways and along new paths toward the creation of harmonious labor relations between the employers in the industry and its members, and its constructive approach to labor-management relations has won for it the acclaim of the industry, its membership, and the general public.

Marx Lewis is a veteran trade unionist who, for 26 years, was the Secretary General-Treasurer of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Union. He has served his organization and the labor movement in a wide variety of capacities—as a labor lawyer, as a lecturer, as a negotiator, and as a writer. In 1951, when the Council Against Communist Aggression was formed, he became its national chairman and has served it in that capacity ever since.

The Council Against Communist Aggression is a coalition of trade union officials, liberals who do not defend Communist tyranny and atrocities, and conservatives who do not equate social reform with communism. The members of this coalition disagree on domestic, political, economic, and social issues, but they agree that, if Communist aggression should succeed in undermining our will to insure our national security and extend the frontiers of freedom, they will all suffer the same fate.

The address referred to follows:

REMARKS OF MARX LEWIS

President Hoffmann and Delegates at this, the 36th, Convention of the U.I.U.:

First of all, I want to thank President Hoffman for his very gracious introduction. I want to thank him, also, for the many kindnesses he has shown me throughout the years, during which we worked in close cooperation in matters affecting the welfare of the labor movement. To a very remarkable degree, he and I have seen eye to eye on the problems with which the movement and our country have been confronted.

When he said in the course of his introduction a few minutes ago that I am the last speaker, I am sure it brought a sigh of relief from all of you. There was also a sigh of relief at the conclusion of yesterday's session when he said that I would not speak then. But what you got yesterday was only a reprieve, not a commutation of sentence.

I will nevertheless try to be brief, even though the subject I have in mind, which is "Organized Labor and Communism," does not readily lend itself to brevity. It is a rather vast and somewhat complex subject.

It should not be necessary to dwell at length on the subject of communism at a convention of an international union, least of all at a convention of the U.I.U. While organized labor generally has realized to an extent no other group in our nation has the mortal danger to which our country, and its freedoms and institutions, are exposed by communist aggression, I don't know of any international union which has done more to implement the decisions of the AFL-CIO in the field of foreign policy, or has worked harder and longer to mobilize public opinion in support of labor's position. It has stood in the forefront of that struggle, and its work in that area is unmatched, as far as I know, by any other affiliate of the AFL-CIO.

Organized labor's opposition to communism dates from the time the communists seized power in Russia, established a dictatorship, and announced their intention to war on all existing governments, including our own. This opposition began with Samuel Gompers, then president of the American Federation of Labor, and has continued under his successors, William Green and George Meany. They fought and are fighting the communists not because it seeks to establish a socialist, or a communist regime, in Russia, but for the same reason which organized labor fought the Nazis and the Fascists. It is because it is a totalitarian regime, and organized labor fought totalitarian regimes even when businessmen tried to do business with them. It did not accept the view of liberals when Hitler came to power that he would be a stabilizing influence in Europe, or that the Italian fascist regime of Mussolini was sound, because Mussolini got the trains in Italy running on time.

In its opposition to the communists, the American trade union movement was not only in advance of other sectors of our population, but it was also in the vanguard of the free trade unions of the rest of the world. Towards the end of World War II the communists invited the free trade unions of the world to join with their so-called unions to form a world federation of labor. The communists spoke of working class solidarity and the importance of having all of labor in the world united. It sounded good to many trade union leaders, including leaders of the British, French and Italian trade unions, and they rushed into and formed the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The American Federation of Labor refused to join. It took the position that the so-called communist trade unions are not trade unions at all, and that their purposes are not our purposes. They work to extend the totalitarian system to other countries, and break up unions wherever and whenever they cannot control them. They work to destroy freedom and we work to expand it. Moreover, any world organization of which the communists are a part must become, sooner or later, an instrument for the achievement of the communist objective of world conquest.

It did not take long before the free trade union leaders of the other countries discovered that the AFL was right. The World Federation of Trade Unions was used as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy. They withdrew from the World Federation of Trade Unions. The American Federation of Labor then joined with them to form the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Recently, some of the affiliates of the ICFU, mainly the German unions, have started a flirtation with the communist unions, which are headed by Alexander Shelepen, who was long in charge of Russia's

dreaded secret police, and who was appointed to bring about greater discipline and insure greater production by Russian workers. The flirtation begins with an innocent invitation from the communist leaders to the German unions to send a labor delegation to Moscow and, in return, a communist delegation will visit Germany. Such exchange could be the beginning of the end of the free unions. Dissension and division would follow as day follows night.

The AFL-CIO has announced that it will not fraternize with communist unions, and has called upon the ICFU to warn its affiliates against such fraternization. The AFL-CIO recently pulled out of the ICFU and this was one of the reasons.

I think it should be made clear that we mean when we say organized labor is against communism, or that it refuses to associate with their so-called trade unions. The American Federation of Labor is not concerned particularly with communist ideology or philosophy.

Ever since the American Federation of Labor was formed it helped form and participated in the activities of an international labor movement, many, or most, of the affiliates of which were committed to ideologies with which it disagreed. At the beginning of this century the AFL became a member of the International Federation of Trade Unions, most of the members of which, in European countries, were socialist-led and socialist-oriented. There was always an ideological conflict between them and the American trade union movement. American trade unionists believe in the free enterprise system, the Europeans in an economic system which in all important particulars closely resembles the economic system advocated by the communists.

But these differences did not prevent the American trade unions and the European trade unions from working together in the International Federation of Trade Unions. There were large areas in which they could cooperate to help improve the standards and extend democracy to workers in their own countries and in the economically backward countries of the world. The European unions, though socialist, were free, democratic trade unions, and their objective was to expand the democratic rights of the workers in their respective countries. That is not the case of the so-called communist unions, which are not free but state controlled and operated, and which do not seek to bring about democracy but to destroy it. That is why American labor has consistently refused to participate in any movement of which the communist trade unions were a part.

Let me make it clear what we mean when we say organized labor fights communism.

Communism, it should be pointed out, means different things to different people. It is an ideology, an economic system, and an international movement.

As an ideology, it is a hodge-podge of theories developed by Karl Marx. It is a theory of history, called the materialistic conception of history, and certain economic theories, he propounded. Most of these theories have long since been discredited as false. Communists themselves interpret these theories differently. Different groups calling themselves Marxist-Leninist denounce each other as heretics. If it were just a philosophy it would be of only an academic interest.

If the communists were willing to submit their theories to the market place of ideas to win acceptance for them we would have no objection. We could then expose their myths and fallacies, and let the people choose. But Lenin said that the communists cannot afford that. It would take, he said 500 years to educate the people to what he considered the advantages of communism.

The fact is that in not any country which has a communist regime did the communists come to power by a voluntary choice of the people. In Russia a handful of ragged intellectuals engineered the coup d'etat which brought them to power.

As an economic system, communism means the nationalization of industries under central management, a planned economy. As such they are opposed to the free-enterprise system under which we here live. The communist system has been a ghastly failure in every country which has adopted it. While our free enterprise system has given the people the highest standard of living ever known, the communist system has been in shambles everywhere. Their living standards remain low, and the people are driven to periodic revolts because the paradise the communists have promised them has been found to be an illusion and a nightmare. In Russia they have been tinkering with the system for over fifty years to no avail. They have even adopted some "capitalist" ideas, such as incentives and speed-up systems, in an effort to make it work. But it doesn't, it cannot, work. There are many thousands of people who risk life and limb to escape from the communist paradise.

As part of their system, they must, like the Nazis and the dictatorships, prevent the existence of a free trade union movement. What they call trade unions are organs of the state, and the workers are slaves of the state. They are, in effect, what we call "company unions."

There is a third aspect of communism which is what concerns labor and the free world. It is the international communist movement, which is the apparatus created by the communists to carry out their conspiracy for world conquest.

The international communist movement consists of 81 communist parties. They are pledged to work for the overthrow of all existing governments they do not control. They meet periodically, generally in Moscow, to make their plans.

It is true that there are some differences between them, the most conspicuous of which are those between the Soviet Union and Red China. But these differences have nothing to do with basic communist objectives. Their objectives are the same, to bury the free world. The questions which divide them is as to how the burial is to be achieved best. The Soviets believe that it can be done best by soft words and such slogans as "peaceful co-existence," which lull the free world into a sense of false security. The Chinese Reds say they would prefer to dispense with this subterfuge, and go all out on military ventures to bring about communism.

President Nixon, and his advisers, draw comfort from these divisions between the two communist giants. They argue that communism is no longer a menace to the free world because communism is no longer monolithic. This argument is fallacious. Whenever and wherever the free world faces the communist challenge, the Soviets and the Chinese Reds work in close cooperation. That is the case in Vietnam. It is also the case in certain parts of Africa where the agents of these two powers work closely together.

The communist parties comprising the international communist movement is engaged in a two-pronged attack on the free world. One prong is to weaken the countries of the free world by internal division and dissension. The other is to foment what the Russians call "wars of national liberation" and the Chinese Reds call "people's wars."

As to the first, the communists have met with a large measure of success in our country, which is their main target, because ours

is the only country powerful enough, militarily and economically, to thwart and defeat their imperialist ambitions. They have divided our country as it has never been divided before. Our cities have been ravaged, our university campuses bombed, draft induction centers destroyed, our flag burned in public, and the flag of our enemy carried in demonstrations. In other days this would be considered treason, and punished as such. Today, destruction is called dissent.

I do not maintain that the violence and demonstrations which have occurred are exclusively the work of communist party members, although there is conclusive evidence that they played an important part in arranging it all. The communist party membership in this country is estimated at between 10,000 and 15,000. Alone they would not constitute a formidable force, although we of the labor movement know that even a small, highly disciplined, and tightly-knit group can accomplish things which it would ordinarily take many more to achieve. Small groups, centrally directed, knowing exactly what they wanted, once captured trade unions having a membership many times the size of these groups. Other groups, such as clergymen, have not had our experience and are therefore more susceptible to the deceptions and machinations of the communists.

In addition to the Fifth Columns which the communists have set up in countries they intend to divide and subjugate, the communists have established what they call "transmission belts" consisting of innocents who might not knowingly serve communist strategy and objectives. The creation of "transmission belts" was one of Lenin's unique contributions to communist strategy. Mass-membership organizations frequently are led by either communist party members or communists who choose not to have formal membership in the communist party.

While there are many groups which have been infiltrated by communists or fellow-travelers, the communists have made their greatest headway among pacifist groups. Lenin's other major contribution to Soviet strategy was to harness pacifism to his communist chariot. He knew that while many people yearned for different things—the impoverished for bread, and the peasants for land, and businessmen for profits—the one thing above everything else the people, all people, yearned for was an end to war and an era of universal peace. He, his associates, and his successors decided that communist professions of peace would attract to their cause millions of people all over the world who would never accept communism as such, but who long for peace.

That does not mean that the communists have any love for pacifists. In fact, they express their contempt for them—just as they have shown their contempt for liberals. But they consider both pacifists and liberals useful tools. No pacifist would dare utter a word favoring pacifism in the Soviet Union, just as no liberal would utter a word favoring liberalism in the Soviet Union. But both can be, have been, and are very useful tools in weakening the resolve of free countries to defend themselves against communist aggression.

The pacifists are also useful to the communists in another way. The pacifists favor disarmament. They cannot advocate that in the Soviet Union, or in any other communist country. But they encourage that idea in the countries of the free world. The pacifists advocated it in England, when Hitler was rearming, but they could not advocate it in Germany. They succeeded so well in England that Hitler was confident that he could successfully challenge England. The pacifists could march in England in those days carrying slogans that they will not fight for King or country, but no one could march in Germany, just as no one could march for

pacifism and disarmament in Russia today. What the pacifists succeeded in doing to England then, they are now trying to do in the United States. It encourages the dictators to believe that the democracies are decadent and rotten, and ripe for the kill. The pacifists bring on the very wars which they profess to abhor.

Organized labor abhors wars. After all, when wars come, the workers, and the sons of workers, furnish the bulk of the cannon fodder. And it is out of the labor of workers that wars and the preparations for wars are financed. But organized labor rejects the idea that you can prevent war by denouncing it. It rejects the slogan of the pacifists that better "Red than dead." It refuses to have workers live on their knees in tyrannical regimes. Instead, it believes that if the free world will show, as it often has failed to show, its determination to preserve the freedoms won as a result of generations of sacrifice and struggle, the people need be neither Red or dead.

The communist rulers say that they want to avoid a large-scale conventional war, which they fear could turn into a nuclear war. That is probably true. They do not want to risk all they have created in a nuclear war. They know that if they have the military capacity to destroy us, we have the capacity to destroy them. They want, as Churchill once said, the fruits of war without war.

Vietnam is a good example of these so-called "wars of national liberation." The war in South Vietnam was planned, organized and directed in Hanoi. That has been documented. The blueprint of that is available to all who will read the documents. It began with a campaign of terror and assassination which is standard communist procedure. Then they told the world it was a civil war. Many so-called liberals fell for it.

There are some other misconceptions concerning the Vietnam war which have, thanks to the liberal media, the pacifists, the fellow-travelers, and some politicians gained great currency.

There is the claim that we are fighting to bolster a corrupt and dictatorial regime in South Vietnam. As to the charge of corruption, I assume that there is some corruption in South Vietnam, but there is also a great deal of corruption in the states from which some of the Senators making the charge come. But whether it is more or less in South Vietnam than in Massachusetts, for example, or even in Washington, is irrelevant. We did not get into Vietnam to fight corruption, but to fight communist aggression, an attempt to impose on the South Vietnamese a police state such as exists in North Vietnam and in all other communist countries.

As to the South Vietnamese having a dictatorial regime, I believe that compared to the communist regime that would be imposed on it if the communists win South Vietnam is a democracy. It has an opposition press, opposition parties, and elections. Where, in communist countries, are there an opposition press, opposition political parties, and any elections at all? But, again, we did not get into the war to bring about greater democracy in South Vietnam. Democracy cannot be imposed on a people. It can come only from the people themselves. Only dictatorships can be imposed.

More recently another misconception which has been carefully propagandized here is that the South Vietnamese government is preventing a political settlement at the Paris peace talks, and that President Thieu is vetoing plans for a settlement. The truth is that under our prodding the South Vietnamese have made numerous concessions, not one of which the communists have accepted. The communists demand that we withdraw and leave the South Vietnamese to their mercies. The South Vietnamese, and we, have agreed, that if the South Vietnamese people,

in a free and internationally-supervised election, decide to have a coalition government, the communists will have representation in it. The communists have rejected this. They insist on having a coalition government imposed on the South Vietnamese people. To agree to that would be to enable the communists to achieve by political means what they have been unable to achieve by war.

As a result of the war, an isolationist movement has been revived here. It would have the United States withdraw from the world into what in the days of the old isolationist movement a generation ago was called "Fortress America." Nothing would suit the communists more or better. That is what they want us to do. The AFL-CIO has spoken out against all attempts to revive American isolationism. It has said that if our country were to turn its back on its world responsibilities there could be no lasting peace. It wants these responsibilities honored in line with our overall strength in the service of world peace, human well-being and freedom.

War critics who have not embraced isolationism have, in many cases, adopted the idea that peace can be obtained by appeasing and placating the dictators. That policy is as discredited as the policy of isolationism. It didn't work with Hitler, Mussolini, or the Japanese war lords a generation ago, and it is not working with the communist dictators now. Concessions only whet their appetites. They interpret them as signs of weakness. It is the way to war, not peace, as time and experience have demonstrated.

Other war critics demand that we retreat from Vietnam, and reduce our military strength, so that the funds we spend on them can be diverted to abolishing slums, feeding the hungry, expanding our educational facilities, and other social needs. Nothing would please organized labor more than having these needs met. Organized labor has been in the forefront of the struggles to bring about those improvements, and it is organized labor which has been largely responsible for much that has already been achieved to make this country, with all of its shortcomings, the most prosperous country in the world.

Most of the politicians who now plead for domestic improvements, and claim that our country is sick, have never shown great interest in helping organized labor achieve the goals these critics claim to seek, but have, in fact, opposed its efforts. The best illustration of that is Senator Fulbright, of Arkansas. One of our major problems which contributes to what he calls a sick society is racial discrimination. He has been a racist all his life. And he is a reactionary. In Arkansas, his State, he serves the special interests. Arkansas, his state, is the second lowest in per capita income of any State in the Union. In Washington he has become the darling of so-called liberals. I could cite some others who have suddenly been converted to an advocacy of a better life for the Americans they ignored in the past.

The truth is, as President Meany has pointed out, that we have the capacity to take care of our domestic needs and at the same time maintain a military establishment capable of defending our country and its freedoms. Great social progress in many fields was made during the Johnson administration, while the Vietnam war was going on. What we lack is not the capacity but the will and the vision to do what was needed to satisfy all basic human needs.

Finally, organized labor resents the attacks which Senator Fulbright and some of his associates make on the United States, and which serve as grist for communist mills. They denounce the United States as an arrogant and imperialist power, seeking world domination. This is a malicious libel. Ours is a good country. Three times in this generation it went to war to stop militarist aggression and communist aggression, and it poured out blood and treasure to defend

other countries without seeking or receiving a dollar in indemnity, or a foot of other people's territory. It is a generous country which, since the end of World War II, has distributed more than \$150 billion to help other countries raise their living standards and protect their independence and sovereignty. It has opened its gates far and wide for the products of other countries, in some cases to the disadvantage of our own industries. It is a country worth defending and fighting for. It remains the beacon light which gives hope to the oppressed, the exploited, the enslaved and subjugated peoples all over the world.

I do want to say a few words about the Council Against Communist Aggression. President Hoffmann's introduction has indicated the lines along which we work. Our National Committee includes trade union leaders, genuine, as distinguished from phoney liberals, and conservatives who do not equate social reform with communism. They disagree on domestic, political, social and economic issues, but they agree that the paramount issue of our time is to prevent communist aggression. If communism prevails we will all suffer the same fate. Our committees and members subordinate their differences on domestic issues so as to unite on the main issue. As President Hoffmann has said the real issue is the preservation of our country.

We are careful to exclude from our ranks extremists and hate groups which we feel are a disservice to the anti-communist cause. When I read the literature I get from these groups, I feel like the Duke of Wellington who, after reviewing his new recruits the night before the battle of Waterloo, said: "I don't know whether they will frighten the enemy, but they certainly frighten me."

Our Council maintains a group of foreign correspondents who, without compensation, send us reports as to communist developments in their countries. We get out leaflets, a monthly Bulletin which goes to about 2,000 people, mainly in the mass-media fields—educators, legislators, journalists, businessmen, trade union leaders—and publish an American edition of the *East West Digest*, a British magazine. This material goes to public and university libraries. We are respected among all responsible organizations, here and abroad. In policy matters we hew closely to the position the AFL-CIO takes on international policy.

I want to thank you for the opportunity given me when President Hoffman invited me here. I am deeply grateful to him and to you.

I will say, in conclusion, the very best you will be able to do for the workers in your industry, will be of little avail if we do not preserve our country and defend our freedoms. We are keenly aware of our social and economic shortcomings, but with it all our country is still the best and most generous country in the world.

Thank you very much.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 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 1,500 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION
FUND

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing for myself and for Messrs. KYL, STEIGER of Arizona, DON H. CLAUSEN, RUPPE, CAMP, McKEVITT, TERRY, GERALD R. FORD, BOB WILSON, WIDNALL, BLACKBURN, VANDER JAGT, and COUGHLIN, legislation to amend the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965, as amended. This legislation is a basic part of the President's message on the environment which was sent to the Congress on February 8, 1971.

This legislation is in keeping with the President's new "Legacy of Parks" program which is dedicated to the concept of providing parks for people.

Land, water, and people—these are the foundations upon which a national character and a national economy are built.

The Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 gave recognition to the need for preserving our land and water resources for the recreational use of this Nation's population.

Now the President is calling for amendments to that legislation which will give it more substance—which will relate our land and water conservation efforts more directly to human needs where those needs appear most urgent.

It would reach out to more people in the large cities of America—people whose opportunities for enjoyment of nature's resources are too often bounded by the concrete and towers of urban life.

It would remove the requirement that aid to the States for land acquisition and recreation planning and development be limited to outdoor facilities only. People need places that offer a change of pace from everyday pressure—and if the outdoors does not lend itself to total recreation use, then indoor areas must be provided.

It would permit more of the Federal money granted to States to be directed to improving recreation opportunities in and near heavy population centers. Parks and playgrounds in and around the cities would be a feature for the future.

It would give the Secretary of the Interior greater authority to review State plans in order to assure compliance with the goals of urban recreation development, and with the goals of overall recreation development.

Last year at the President's request, Congress increased the authorization for the Land and Water Conservation Fund to \$300 million. This year, in this budget message, he asked for \$380 million, plus a reserve of \$20 million for Redwood National Park payments. This represents full funding from the time the new authorization figure went into effect. The importance of the fund is universally recognized.

The new proposed amendments to the Land and Water Conservation Fund are

a basic part of the President's environmental quality "package."

It puts the emphasis upon people—and upon the too often neglected aspect of contemporary human life—the need for refugees where man's relationship with nature can be harmonized.

It is the backbone of environmental quality control, in that it calls for planning ahead in the use of our remaining open spaces to assure that the well-being of people is protected.

For those in towns and cities, it opens up new horizons of recreational pleasure.

For those in rural areas, it continues to provide for protection and development of land and water resources for recreational purposes.

For the children of land, it makes possible new playgrounds in city neighborhoods and offers the chance for adventures in the great outdoors as nature herself shaped the outdoors.

For students, it will provide sanctuaries where the study of the environment can be conducted in natural settings.

And for adults, it is designed to assure that there will be havens of respite from the congestion that marks too many parts of the present-day American scene.

In effect, this measure would further protect the legacy of the American people and assure that it can be equitably shared by all the people.

TRIBUTE TO THE DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS ORGANIZATION

HON. WILLIAM J. KEATING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed an honor to join with my many colleagues to pay tribute to the Disabled American Veterans organization which for 50 years of unrelenting effort has achieved the highest level of service for our disabled veterans. The DAV has a special meaning for me because the organization was founded in my hometown of Cincinnati.

It was not until November 1966 that the DAV, feeling its growing pains, moved from Cincinnati into its new national headquarters across the river to Cold Spring, Ky. We in Cincinnati are fortunate the headquarters remains in our neighborhood.

For half a century the DAV has worked to make sure that disabled veterans, their dependents, widows, and orphans obtain all benefits which they are legally entitled under the public laws.

With the increased number of Vietnam casualties and the excellent up-to-date medical services both in the field and the stateside hospitals, the DAV has placed a heavier emphasis on representing servicemen in all military hospitals where physical evaluation boards are held to make sure that the wounded receive all benefits.

I was recently privileged to have the opportunity to visit with Army Pfc. Ber-

nard Egbert who is now recovering from wounds at Walter Reed Hospital. Private First Class Egbert is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Egbert of 6704 Rose Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. Private First Class Egbert went to Vietnam with his unit in the summer of 1970. Last October while riding on a halftrack, his vehicle hit a land mine and he was blown out of the half-track. He suffered a broken back and a broken left leg which was shattered from the ankle to the knee. Medics had to perform a tracheotomy in order to keep him alive. He was under intensive care for some 27 days at which time he received several blood transfusions. As a result he later contacted hepatitis which caused another setback.

He is to be discharged from Walter Reed Hospital and separated from the service within a few weeks. But his road to recovery will require additional treatment for his leg for several months.

I was somewhat amazed at this young man's attitude and his humbleness. While visiting with me we toured the Capitol and he was much more interested in talking about the Capitol Building and its history than he was in discussing his injuries. It is fortunate that Private First Class Egbert will have the services of the DAV when he is separated from the service.

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 50th anniversary of an outstanding and patriotic organization—the Disabled American Veterans. This organization has dedicated its activities to aid our soldiers who have been wounded in the defense of our Nation, and to care for the families of soldiers who have been killed in action or listed as missing in action. There is no way possible to calculate the tremendous amount of good work done by this great organization. No one can measure in dollars and cents the benefits the Disabled American Veterans have bestowed upon the families and orphans of servicemen killed in action. How can we measure the comfort this organization has brought to those thousands of families who do not know the fate of their fathers, sons, husbands, or brothers who are officially listed as missing in action or as prisoners of war.

I would like to mention to the service of the Disabled American Veterans' Killeen Chapter 147 as an example of the benefit the DAV is to thousands of communities in our country. Chapter 147 has 125 members who work diligently with the USO and who work at the Darnell Army Hospital at Fort Hood. I am proud of this chapter's contributions to not only Killeen, Tex., but to all of America. I offer my best wishes on this occasion of the Disabled American Veterans' golden anniversary.

TURNING A DEAF EAR

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend to the attention of my colleagues a most interesting editorial which appeared in a recent edition of the New Republic. It reviews a White House briefing for reporters at which time the subject of the request made by the 12 black Congressmen to meet with the President was brought up. Over and over again the question was asked—and it was phrased and rephrased. The reply by White House Press Secretary, Ron Ziegler, was invariably the same, "I will not comment on this matter." The questions soon became a nuisance to Zeigler and he refused to answer anymore and quickly turned to another topic.

This incident appears to go along with the President's reasoning that he can turn a deaf ear to the problems of the blacks. As the editorial points up:

Mr. Nixon's alienation from the blacks is bad for everybody—for him, for them, for the nation.

If we have made a nuisance of ourselves in attempting to see the President, then a nuisance we must be and will continue to be until the President recognizes us and will listen to what we have to say as the legitimate spokesmen for the 25 million blacks in this country.

I include at this time the New Republic editorial:

TURNING A DEAF EAR

"Ron," asked a reported of press secretary Ronald Ziegler the other day at a White House briefing, "is there any explanation why the President has been unable to see them [12 black congressmen boycotting the State of the Union message] in the one-year period?"

"I have no comment on that at this time," said Ziegler.

One man in 10 in America is black and there are over 11 million eligible to vote. There are 12 Negroes in the House—all Democrats. A year ago they requested an audience with Mr. Nixon—no reply till April 20, and then from an underling. They tried again in August with no better luck.

"Are requests like that frequently turned down?" asked the reporter. "Is this an isolated case? All congressmen apparently don't get to see the President when they ask?"

Ziegler: "The President sees many congressmen and he also sees—has seen—many leaders of the black community. But I have no comment on your specific question as it was put."

"Has he turned down any other groups of congressmen?"

Ziegler: "I have no comment to your question as put."

Second reporter: "Ron, does he have any plans to see those 12? I am asking because the way you answer suggests if the question were put in another way maybe you would have a comment?"

Ziegler: "The President has seen many congressmen in the past and will continue to do so as we move along. But I have no further comment."

Third reporter: "Has he responded to them in any way, as to why he can't accept their petition?"

Ziegler: "I am sorry, I am just not pre-

pared to comment on this matter at this time."

Question: "Is the President going to hold a news conference at which we could ask this question?"

Ziegler listened to the question, said nothing, and turned in another direction to recognize another questioner.

The episode tells a lot about the Administration. For gaucherie it goes back to Herbert Hoover. There is no reason that it should have happened. Mr. Nixon could see the 12 congressmen as easily as not. Even though they are politicians, they won't bite.

Reporters can't ask the President directly. Mr. Nixon has had fewer press conferences than any President in 40 years. Former Interior Secretary Hickel complained that even he couldn't see him (and is now out of office). More and more it is the White House staff that runs things, not the Cabinet.

"Who's in Charge?" asked a *Wall Street Journal* headline, Nov. 20: "Coming Cabinet Moves Point Up Big Decline of Secretaries' Role." It meant that the staff around Mr. Nixon is cut off, much as Mr. Nixon is cut off from questions by his all but discontinuance of press conferences. Take an example: William Rogers, Secretary of State, goes up on the Hill to answer senatorial questions on Vietnam; but the real policy maker, Kissinger, doesn't get questioned. He's invulnerable as a member of the staff.

Mr. Nixon's alienation from the blacks is bad for everybody—for him, for them, for the nation. In September 1969 the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights under Father Hesburgh said flatly that the Administration had chosen the wrong policy for school desegregation, had pursued even that policy in a way to produce a "major retreat."

Last June chairman Bishop Spottswood of the racially moderate NAACP told the annual convention, "This is the first time since 1920 that the national Administration has made it a matter of calculated policy to work against the needs and aspirations of the largest minority of its citizens."

In fairness it should be said that the Administration at once vehemently denied this. Also that able Senator Brooke (R) of Massachusetts, did not join fellow blacks in the House in asking for an audience, and is a loyal party supporter. The Administration is not malevolent; look at its radical income-maintenance-welfare program. Rep. Wilbur Mills should get this hopeful plan through the House in March; if it clears the Senate it could ultimately aid the poor enormously, including black ghettos.

But Mr. Nixon is ambivalent. He worries about George Wallace and the white South. He is surrounded by staff yes-men. He is isolated. And like Herbert Hoover, he lacks the politician's convincing smile and easy charm that could prevent preposterous episodes like this: the charge, like a festering splinter, that he won't see a delegation of elected congressmen who are black.

DAV BEGINS ITS SECOND HALF CENTURY OF SERVICE

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to join in this tribute to a great veteran's organization which is now beginning its second half-century of service to America's war disabled.

During the past 51 years the DAV has expanded its membership, its services, and contemporized its objectives.

From a modest self-help organization, struggling through the trials of birth and growth, it has become a powerful voice as well as a supporting arm for America's patriots. What has not changed is the DAV's total dedication to the disabled veteran and his dependents and its timeless effort to obtain needed programs of medical care, disability compensation, rehabilitation, and compensation to the widows and orphans of our honored war dead.

These principles of the DAV have also served as guidelines for landmark veterans legislation now on the statute books of this country.

I am proud to have had a part in enacting laws which certify America's commitment to honoring the claims of her citizens who have defended her at great personal sacrifice.

The DAV is very active in my district. I know literally thousands of their members. They have given me insight into the needs of veterans and their families; they have inspired me by their dedication to our country. The consideration they seek from their Government can never equal the service they have given.

I am proud to say that I have worked with the DAV members individually and through their organization in carrying out their vital mission. They are great patriots, great Americans. I join in commending them and wish them continued success in meeting the needs of America's disabled veterans.

THE LATE IRA KAPENSTEIN

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and saddened to learn of the death of Ira Kapenstein. Only 35 years old, he was but 7 years into a career of public service, which by virtue of his special talents and commitment, held unusual promise for his fellow citizens.

A precocious journalist in his mid-20's, Ira was lured into Government during the Kennedy years. He stayed on to become Larry O'Brien's right-hand man at the Post Office Department, and in that role headed the Department task force which recommended that the administration support the creation of an independent Postal Service. He deserves much of the credit for the historic postal reform legislation which the Congress approved last year.

When Larry O'Brien took on the tough and sometimes thankless job of Democratic national chairman, he brought Ira with him. As Deputy Director Ira won the praise of Democrats all over the country for his organizational work, ability to solve problems under pressure, and always his charm.

Mr. Speaker, I join Larry O'Brien in stating that the Democratic Party has lost a leader. The country has as well. We will miss him.

To Mrs. Kapenstein and to Ira's three sons, I extend my deepest sympathies.

AN ALL-AMERICAN CITY

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud and honored to announce that today the city of Fitchburg, within the Third Congressional District of Massachusetts, has been chosen as an All-American City. I extend my congratulations to the fine citizens of Fitchburg, who have labored tirelessly and unselfishly to improve their community.

Five years ago, Fitchburg was a typical New England mill city. Many houses were deteriorating; the river turned to sludge, and people did not seem to care. But, in the last few years of the 1960's, Fitchburg has seen many real and hopeful changes. The business community, particularly, felt these changes. Family owned industries became subsidiaries of national corporations. Diversified opportunities appeared and new business people came to the city. These new people took a fresh look at the community and they involved themselves in its problems. They joined with older residents to tackle the growing number of complex tasks.

Today, Fitchburg is emerging from its past. Its citizens are facing the realities and responsibilities of the future. The people of Fitchburg are setting goals and high hopes for their future.

In 1966, the Fitchburg League of Women Voters and the Nashua River Cleanup Committee adopted, as a special project, the cleanup of the polluted river. Fitchburg, the industrial center of the region, responsible for 78 percent of the solid wastes in the river, was the prime target of citizen demands for corrective actions. The committees conducted an areawide drive and obtained 6,000 signatures to petition the Commonwealth for a strong antiwar pollution program. These committees became highly effective lobby and information groups.

The cost of the river cleanup presented problems. Local industries and all levels of government were reluctant to support the project. Community attitudes obviously needed changing. So, determined citizens broadened their public education campaigns, went to more hearings, and in 1968, a new city administration and local industry became full partners in the cleanup project. The people showed their determination to clean the river, and Government and industry responded. Everyone worked together, to gather more support and prepare the necessary applications for the total cleanup effort. July 16, 1969, was a historic day in Fitchburg. The City Council approved a \$17.5 million loan order. The city made its official commitment to clean up the Nashua River.

I cannot overestimate the role of these two citizen groups. They possessed perseverance; they believed they could sell a river cleanup project; they did it.

The story of Fitchburg continues with

the plans for the future use of the river and its banks. A third citizen group, the Nashua River Watershed Association will insure the future development of recreational areas along the river, and will coordinate efforts of all communities involved in the cleanup project.

Fitchburg residents are busy improving the community environment in other areas. The women of the Laurelwood Garden Club are diligently working to refurbish downtown parks. Several other civic groups have beautification projects. I stand proud of their efforts to make Fitchburg a finer city.

The Fitchburg MICAHA Corp. has a big stake in community improvement. MICAHA, a private housing corporation, was formed by 60 residents genuinely concerned about the city's housing shortage. MICAHA purchases and rehabilitates old houses for rental or sale to low- and moderate-income families on a low rent or low mortgage plan. A special feature of the MICAHA plan called "sweat equity" allows a tenant to receive credit toward a downpayment for repairs he makes himself. The person living in a MICAHA house thus has a real incentive to move from rentpayer to homeowner.

MICAHA is financed entirely by the public sale of stock, sold at \$20 per share. MICAHA's unique approach in the field of housing rehabilitation is a highly successful adventure. The corporation acquired its first property in 1969. To date 27 people have been housed by MICAHA.

Another private group has made available more housing for the elderly in Fitchburg. The members of the First Parish Church boast of their new 168-unit high rise building constructed with a loan from the Federal 221-D3 housing program. This handsome structure, called the "Sundial," provides moderately priced housing for 250 residents, 62 years of age or over. The first floor of this new building houses an activity center for all senior citizens of Fitchburg. This welcome gathering place is supported by local government and private funds.

Another outstanding program is the Fitchburg Youth Resources Council, a youth-centered activity group which offers young people a chance to take part in city affairs.

This youth council has three basic goals: First, to assess, analyze, and articulate the problems and opportunities of young people; second, to contribute to community improvement; and third, to encourage total involvement of young people in their community.

The Youth Resources Council has sponsored folk festivals and block dances. Members have painted hopscotch boards on neighborhood sidewalks to provide wholesome fun for neighborhood children. They have set up tutoring programs, and they "did their thing" on Earth Day.

One Sunday last May, 500 citizens raised \$9,000 to buy food for starving people walking 23 miles in the Youth Council's Walk Against Hunger. Young people took the initiative and organized controversial drug programs for them-

selves and their parents. Actual drug users participated in this program.

The Youth Employment Services program of the Fitchburg Youth Council finds jobs for young people from 12 to 15 years of age. While this program has not had great success yet, it has made a good start, and the young organizers are determined to make a breakthrough in this critical area.

The city of Fitchburg has come a long way in these past few years. The citizens of this All-American City richly deserve the outstanding award bestowed upon them today.

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, we honor today the veterans of military service who have suffered permanent and disabling injuries in the military service of their country and the Disabled American Veterans, the organization which serves them. While it is certainly appropriate to honor this organization and the veterans of all wars who are so disabled, I would like to speak today about the veterans of the Vietnam war who, for reasons I will cite, bear an unusually heavy burden in their war-inflicted injuries.

The lack of popular understanding and support for the Vietnam war imposes an intolerable burden on all of our veterans. During the Second World War, for example, and even during the Korean war, there was a near unanimity among our citizens about the goals of the war and the valued service performed by our veterans in those conflicts. In Vietnam, however, the strong disagreement in our country about the wisdom of our involvement in that conflict has inevitably and unfortunately affected, I believe, the sense of responsibility which we all share toward returning veterans, and especially toward those who are permanently disabled by their military service.

This phenomenon is not limited to nor adequately described by the existing distinction between doves and hawks. Even those who consider themselves to favor a military solution of the war, often admit that the United States should never have become involved in Southeast Asia. This, in comparison with the earlier conflicts cited, is without parallel in our history, or at least without parallel except for the war with Mexico, which divided our country in ways strikingly similar to the present divisions on Vietnam. But for our generation, this disenchantment with a war—no matter what our views on its solution—has inevitably affected attitudes and judgments about the effects of that war.

This disenchantment, for example, seems to suppress the normal concern which Americans have for veterans. It is almost as if we wanted to forget the con-

sequences of the war, as well as its origins.

We must, therefore, consciously remind ourselves of those consequences, and particularly the human consequences of Vietnam. We have a much higher percentage of returning veterans disabled in this war than in previous conflicts. Nearly twice as many Vietnam veterans, for example, are amputees, compared with World War II veterans. Over 10 percent of the Vietnam veterans drawing disability compensation are totally disabled, compared with less than 5 percent of the disabled veterans of the Second World War.

Paradoxically, the reason for this high percentage of disabled veterans is the generally excellent medical care which our servicemen in Vietnam have received. Badly wounded soldiers who, in previous conflicts would have died, are saved by modern medical techniques and services. Tragically, they return home often as multiple amputees, with severe neurological and psychiatric disabilities, and, generally, with a variety of injuries which permanently affect their ability to resume their roles in society.

As a veteran of World War II myself, I must frankly say that I have often been out of sympathy with some of the lobbying of veterans' organizations. I believe, for example, that it is in the best interests of the country and of individual veterans to insure that they be given every encouragement and assistance possible to help them resume, as quickly as possible, their roles in our society and in our economy. I do not believe, however, that we, as veterans, are entitled to special privileges simply because we served our country. Our service was part of our responsibilities as citizens of the United States and as beneficiaries of the political, social, economic, and cultural systems which constitute our society.

But there is a specific, permanent and deep responsibility which we bear for those servicemen who because of their service are unable to resume their places in society. These are the disabled veterans.

I intend to do everything possible in this Congress to alert my colleagues and my constituents to these responsibilities. I recognize, as a vocal opponent of our military involvement in Vietnam since 1965, that some may not understand this commitment or mistrust it. I do not intend to let that consideration affect my own responsibility as a Member of Congress, as a fellow veteran, and as a citizen. I hope that all of us who honor disabled veterans today will keep these specific responsibilities toward our disabled Vietnam veterans foremost in their minds.

There is a sense in which we can never repay those who have suffered permanent injury for their services. Yet, we owe a special kind of consideration to the veterans of this tragic war who are jeopardized in making their legitimate claims in an atmosphere marked by disillusionment and disaffection with our discharge of our international responsibilities in this conflict.

THE STATES HAVE A DUTY TO PRESERVE THE CONSTITUTION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the recent enactment of Congress to enfranchise 18-year-olds and upheld as constitutional by a 5 to 4 decision—one vote—of the Supreme Court is patently anti-constitutional. To hold that this law was made pursuant to the authority given by the U.S. Constitution flouts all rules of law, logic, and reason.

Lack of confidence in and respect for the Federal Government is generated when the three branches of government collaborate to bypass the obvious dictums of the Constitution.

The Congress has passed legislation violating the very Constitution that each Congressman has sworn to uphold; the President, who publicly expressed "doubts" as to the constitutionality of the proposed law and then proceeded to sign the bill instead of vetoing it, stating his objections as specified in article I, section 7, of the Constitution. Passing the buck to the Supreme Court the law was held constitutional by one vote. These good men of all three branches of our Government surrendered to the emotion and political hysteria of the hour.

Article I, section 2, clause 1 of the Constitution leaves it up to the individual States to set voting age requirements in elections for choosing U.S. Representatives:

The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

The 17th amendment, which I deem is proving to be an imprudent change to the Constitution as originally written, provides for the States to set the voting age for electors of U.S. Senators:

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

The architects of our superb Constitution provided a legal way to change the Constitution. The procedure set forth in article V should be followed if the people want to change the voting age nationwide to 18 years. The truth of the matter is that in most instances the issue when submitted to a referendum vote, has been rejected by the people.

The Founding Fathers, in drafting the Constitution, provided for a separation of powers among the three branches of Government. Being distrustful of men with power, the authors of the Constitution sought to bind men down by the chains of the Constitution. They provided a system of checks and balances,

with which every high school student is or should be familiar, whereby each branch of Government could check the actions of the other two branches should they exceed their powers.

For example, the Congress can curb the Supreme Court in its blatant usurpation of powers of Congress simply by curtailing or removing entirely the appellate jurisdiction of the judicial branch including the High Court. H.R. 390, which I have introduced in the 92d Congress, is designed to do this very thing.

However, when the three branches of the Federal Government cooperate in passing and upholding legislation which is quite obviously unconstitutional, what recourse is left to the States and to the people? They must demand their rights as reserved to them in the Constitution under the tenth amendment.

Lawmakers and other public officials must not forget that both the Federal Government and local governments are creatures of the sovereign States which in turn were created by the people. At the Constitutional Convention in 1787, the delegates made a contract, the U.S. Constitution, with the newly created Federal Government. In this contract, they specified certain powers which they delegated to the Federal Government.

Survival of the Republic depends on whether we are going to continue bypassing the Constitution making our Government more and more one of men instead of laws or whether we live up to our oath of office and perpetuate the Constitution.

Prior to the passage of the 17th amendment providing for popular election of U.S. Senators, many would have been called to task by their respective State legislatures for any act deemed unconstitutional by the legislatures.

Tragically, I must say with disappointment and regret, a majority of the Members of Congress, for reasons best known to themselves individually, apparently hold a different view of the Constitution than I do and do not intend to rectify the violations.

If the Federal Government can violate the contract as done in enfranchising 18-year-olds by statute and such political expediency can be upheld by the Supreme Court, then it becomes the solemn duty of the Governors and State legislatures of the 50 States, as successors to the men who signed the original contract, to lead their States and people to rectify this infraction of contract by the Federal Government and thereby restore the sanctity of the U.S. Constitution.

This is a tremendous responsibility, and should be accepted as a solemn duty and charge by the Governors and State legislators, who have all taken the solemn oath to uphold, defend, and preserve the U.S. Constitution. This must include more than submission. This must include taking positive action to repair any infringement or repudiation of the constitutional contract by the Federal Establishment. Other breaches of the contract have occurred in the past few decades. Failure by the States and the people to

resist these violations has brought us again a Constitutional crisis in the maintaining of our Republic.

If the sovereign States do not perform their duty by restoring the Constitution, then our people must fear for the future of our children and of the Republic.

The die for totalitarianism is cast. Next to the Holy Bible, the Constitution is the greatest wellspring of liberty and of people power. It was so drafted and so intended.

The Defenders of the American Constitution have prepared an information sheet of facts and a plan of action for restoring the constitutional imbalance. It is encouraging to learn that Virginia, the cradle of our Republic, has already taken action and the State of Maryland is considering action. Other States should follow.

The president of Defenders of the American Constitution, Lt. Gen. P. A. Del Valle, USMC (retired) of Annapolis, Md., is a true patriot.

I insert a statement—Alert No. 72—entitled "Calling All Patriots" at this point:

CALLING ALL PATRIOTS!
(By P. A. Del Valle)

The following crisis in American history is receiving little, if any, publicity in our mass news media:

FACTS

1. To ignore and by-pass the provisions of the Constitution of the United States is to consign the Constitution, and its society, to the trash heap of history.

2. Section 2, Amendment XIV of the Constitution prescribes that the voting age shall be twenty-one.

3. Article V of the Constitution provides the procedure for amending the Constitution, such as changing the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen.

4. Despite the clear and obvious need for a Constitutional Amendment, the United States Supreme Court, by a 5-4 vote, deliberately ignored the Constitution and ruled the un-constitutional eighteen year old vote "rider", attached to the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970, to be constitutional.

5. Today we are witnessing an errant act of usurpation designed to destroy our Constitution through a conspiracy of usurpers who are bound by oath to support the very Constitution they seek to destroy.

6. Usurpation, the life line of Communism, was the means by which the manipulators of the "Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R." emasculated the now meaningless Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

7. Over the past weeks a representative of the Defenders of the American Constitution, Inc., spoke on TV and radio about this nefarious and unlawful American act of usurpation, and then journeyed to Richmond and Annapolis to urge the legislative bodies of Virginia and Maryland to take legislative action calling for the repeal of the works of the usurpers.

8. The vote of the Maryland Legislature is expected within a few weeks. Meanwhile, however, the Virginia Legislature overwhelmingly passed "House Joint Resolution No. 66" on the 26th of February which, among other things, calls for the repeal of the unconstitutional "Rider" and its resubmission as a constitutional amendment in accordance with Article V of the Constitution, and the sending of copies of the resolution to the presiding officers of the legislative bodies of each of the other forty-nine states with a request for supporting action.

SIGNIFICANCE

1. A sorry image of the Federal government is created when our Congress passes legislation in a way that violates the Constitutional procedure that each congressman is bound by oath to support. And further, when the President, while publicly expressing "doubts" as to the constitutionality of the bill, non-the-less signed the bill instead of vetoing it and stating his objections to the Congress, as called for in Section 7, Article I, of the Constitution; and still further, when the Supreme Court also ignores the Constitution and rules the whole mess "Constitutional", what is one to think?

2. When we agree that a man who is old enough to fight is also old enough to vote, we must further agree that he is also old enough to be legally responsible for his actions. He is no longer a juvenile. He is subject to adult discipline by the courts. He can enter into contracts and his (or her) parents are relieved of responsibility. Under these conditions we should also consider removing the age requirements for the holding of public office. A popular eighteen year old, with the 'teen age vote behind him, might just make a good congressman, or President, for that matter.

ACTION INDICATED

If you do not already know your State Senator and State Representative, make it a point to go to your County Court House and find out. Persuade them to introduce legislative action similar to that already taken by Virginia and put your state in a position to assert its independence of the usurpers and their golden purse.

A TRIBUTE TO THE LATE CHARLES W. ENGELHARD, JR., OF NEW JERSEY

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, Charles W. Engelhard, Jr., was well known as a great industrialist, sportsman, and philanthropist. As one who knew him well, I can say he was also a great humanitarian. His death, simply put, was a great loss.

As a fellow resident of New Jersey, I was well acquainted with Charles Engelhard. His recent citation by the Newark Evening News, the State's largest newspaper, as "One of the 10 most influential people in New Jersey," was a great honor, but in actuality it merely repeated the obvious. For Charles Engelhard was involved, not just on the surface but in depth, in so many endeavors in our State.

His family business, Engelhard Minerals and Chemical Corp., which I am honored to say was recently relocated in my Congressional District, is an economic boon to my area and to New Jersey. His death, unexpected and untimely, will cause grief and sorrow throughout the Garden State where Charles Engelhard was born and where he lived.

I will not dwell on Charles Engelhard's civic contributions. His work as the personal representative of Presidents Johnson and Kennedy—at the coronation of Pope Paul VI, on special committees to study trade patterns, and in so much more—and his work as a Commissioner

of the New York Port Authority are but small examples of his contributions to both State and Nation.

I will not dwell on Charles Engelhard's many philanthropic contributions, or his work as a trustee of the American Heritage Foundation and of several libraries and foundations. They stand as important symbols of his interest in people and progress.

I will not dwell on Charles Engelhard's contributions to the world of sports. He had been acclaimed as horseracing's "Owner of the Year" in 1970, an honor that speaks for itself.

Instead, I would like to say that I have lost a friend, and America has lost a leading citizen. I feel that there was too much publicity about Charles Engelhard being a "leading Democrat." For I knew Charles Engelhard well, and I knew him simply as an outstanding leader.

I extend my deepest sympathies to his wife Jane and to his five daughters. New Jersey and the United States will miss Charles Engelhard. And so will I.

A TRIBUTE TO THE DAV

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. CAREY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on this occasion, honoring the 50th year of service to their country by members of the Disabled American Veterans, I would like to express my profound respect for the performance of that remarkable organization, and extend my warmest congratulations for a job well done.

Looking to the special interests of the wounded heroes of American military action, the DAV established, in 1921, a national legislative program, to serve as a catalyst for legislation concerning the welfare of wartime disabled veterans and their dependents. In time, under the influence of that program, the Congress enacted Public Law 16—the disabled veterans section of the GI Bill—to the great advantage of the wounded fighting men of World War II. And as time has passed and other wars have come upon us, the DAV has sought to insure that the wounded veterans of these conflicts are equally protected. Title 10 of the United States Code is largely the offspring of DAV proposals. Title 10 provides for disability retirement, or disability severance money, plus hospitalization and outpatient medical treatment and commissary, post exchange privileges for those retired on military disability.

The DAV national service program, presided over by the National Service Director in charge of 146 national services officers, is responsible for assisting disabled veterans, their dependents, widows, and orphans, in obtaining all benefits to which they are legally entitled. These include VA disability compensation and pension, death indemnity compensation, survivors' pension, voca-

tional rehabilitation and education, hospitalization and out-patient treatment, National Service Life Insurance, assistance in housing and employment.

With the increased number of Vietnam casualties, emphasis has been placed on representing disabled servicemen in all military and naval hospitals where Physical Evaluation Boards are held, to insure that all wounded, or otherwise disabled, servicemen receive all benefits to which they are entitled.

In addition to representation before Physical Evaluation Boards, this organization also provides counsel before all the Boards for Correction of Military Records and Discharge Review Boards.

It is a pleasure to commend the remarkable performance of the DAV, in behalf of our finest Americans. So far as I am personally concerned, the DAV is one of the outstanding veterans' service organizations in the country.

JOINS COLLEAGUES IN CELEBRATING ANNIVERSARY OF DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS ORGANIZATION

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to join with my colleagues in this House and in the Senate in celebrating the 50 years of service that the Disabled American Veterans organization has given to this Nation. This group has worked unceasingly over these years to one purpose, to advance the interest and work for the betterment of all wounded, injured, and disabled veterans, their widows and their dependents. I am pleased with the success they have had and grateful that this day has been set aside to honor these men and women.

From its inception some 50 years ago the DAV has evolved to a membership of some 300,000 men and women who with a philosophy of self-help assist our disabled veterans in their recovery. With its National Service program the DAV has aided disabled veterans in obtaining all the benefits to which they are legally entitled. Realizing the increased number of Vietnam casualties, the DAV has placed stronger emphasis on representing disabled servicemen in all military and naval hospitals where physical evaluation boards are held. This is to insure that all wounded, or otherwise disabled, servicemen receive every benefit to which they are entitled pursuant to title 10, United States Code. In addition to representation before the physical evaluation boards, this organization provides counsel before all boards of correction of military records and discharge review board.

The DAV has also instituted a combined academic and on-the-job training program for the more seriously disabled veterans of the Vietnam conflict. These young men are trained by experienced

National Service officers in various locations throughout the country.

Today, the DAV is the largest free assistance program for disabled veterans. Its support comes from the people in the best tradition this country has to offer. The DAV has distinguished itself by successfully handling some 8 million cases during its history and obtaining over \$1.6 billion in benefits for the disabled veterans and their families.

There is little doubt that the Disabled American Veterans has served this Nation and its veterans with distinction. It has had its hour of trial and its moments of glory, but most important to the organization itself and to the American public, is that throughout its history it has worked toward a single purpose—that of aiding the disabled veteran to return to civilian life in a competitive position with his peers. It has given the veteran and his family the assurance that his needs in the areas of medicine, rehabilitation, and employment will be met.

I am confident that the DAV will continue to serve our disabled veterans in the same outstanding manner in which it has done so over these many years. Today I honor these men who serve with such great distinction.

FARM PROBLEMS

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1971

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues, Mr. SMITH, Mr. MELCHER, and Mr. SEBELIUS in addressing the problems of rural America. Representing a metropolitan area, I have been particularly concerned with the urban crisis, sometimes, perhaps, to the neglect of rural problems. It is clear, however, that rural and urban problems are reverse sides of a single coin; neither can properly be dealt with alone. The growth of our cities and their problems inevitably raises the question, Why have people migrated from rural America to the poverty and overcrowding of the cities? The answer is simple. In the last two decades 4 million farmers have left the land because they could not earn a decent living by farming. And these 4 million have settled in the cities.

Six out of ten Americans would prefer to live in a rural environment according to a 1970 Gallup poll. Why then do we not see a dramatic return to the country side? Simply because farming is neither a feasible nor a profitable alternative. Congressman FOUNTAIN has indicated that an initial investment of \$250,000 is necessary to establish a farm that will provide a decent family income. Initial loans from the Farmers Home Administration are averaging just over \$30,000. In return for a sizable financial investment and a lot of hard work, a farmer enjoys clean air and water, the satisfaction of seeing the fruits of his

labor. He can also expect to recoup 67 cents for every dollar invested. At a negative rate of return on investment, no wonder people remain in the cities.

Every time a dollar is spent on some urban program, life in metropolitan areas become a bit more tolerable. And every time a dollar is cut from a rural program, life on the farm becomes a bit more untenable. All this reinforces urban migration, compounding urban problems. If the deterioration of rural life can be stemmed, perhaps then the decay of urban centers can be reversed by reversing the population shift. It is self-defeating to concentrate on the cities and ignore the countryside. Americans deserve a choice between living in a town or in the country. I congratulate my colleagues from Iowa, Montana, and Kansas for keeping the problems of rural America before us. It is sometimes too easy for city slickers to forget their roots in the country soil.

CROSS-FLORIDA BARGE CANAL ENDANGERS STATE'S WATER SUPPLY

HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, evidence continues to mount in support of President Nixon's decision to halt permanently further construction of the controversial Cross-Florida Barge Canal.

Since the President's action on January 19, to stop work on the canal which is about a third complete, advocates of the project have thrown up a series of smokescreens to hide the fact that a 107-mile ditch would do irreparable damage to Florida's environment.

For this reason, I am releasing a statement from W. T. Pecora, Director of the U.S. Geological Survey, Department of Interior, showing the canal poses a real pollution threat to the aquifer which supplies much of my home State with its drinking water.

The abstract of impact statements contained in the U.S. Geological Survey's study of the canal last year was sent to Russell E. Train, chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, on February 24, 1971.

The statement also charges that the unavoidable pollution of canal waters from the barges using the facility could effect estuarine waters as well.

Here is the full text of the USGS statement:

POTENTIAL IMPACT OF CROSS-FLORIDA BARGE CANAL ON LOCAL WATER RESOURCES
(Statement by U.S. Geological Survey,
February 24, 1971)

The U.S. Geological Survey report, "Geohydrology of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Area, with Special Reference to the Ocala Vicinity," January 1970, provides evidence that there is significant potential for ground water contamination in the Summit Pool, Eureka Pool, and Inglis Lock areas of the canal system.

SUMMIT POOL

With the pool level stabilized at natural ground water level, the optimum condition, a state of dynamic equilibrium will exist with ground water continually flowing from the aquifer into the pool and pool water flowing continually into the aquifer. It is estimated that a volume of water equivalent to 8 percent of the daily flow of Silver Springs (on the average about 42,000,000 gallons per day) will enter the aquifer from Summit Pool each day, move toward Silver Springs at an estimated rate of 200 feet per day, and arrive there in approximately 140 days. Any dissolved contaminants present in the pool will travel with the water.

EUREKA POOL

Seepage is expected to occur from the northern end of this pool into both the shallow aquifer and the deeper Floridian aquifer. Any contaminants dissolved in the pool will enter the aquifer system.

INGLIS LOCK

At the west end of the canal, salt water from the Gulf of Mexico is present in the canal as far as Inglis Lock at times. The possibility thus exists for some long-term migration of salt water into Inglis pool and thence by way of the lock operation into Summit Pool and the aquifer system.

GENERAL

In addition to potential aquifer contamination, pollution of canal waters could affect estuarine waters and their ecologies. The Survey's report points out that rapid drawdown of the pools in the interest of aquifer protection during serious spills would tend to transfer the impact to the surface water system.

HON. IRA KAPENSTEIN

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1971

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, the death of Ira Kapenstein has taken from our public life one of its most gifted and dedicated young leaders. In his short 35 years, Ira Kapenstein showed an extraordinary capacity for varied yet quiet accomplishment and an ability to meet and fulfill the most exacting demands of public service. Whether as a journalist, as the closest assistant to and confidant of two Postmasters General, or as a party leader and publicist, Ira Kapenstein always held to the highest standards of performance and without regard to personal gain and advantage. Even in his last weeks with knowledge of mortal illness he carried on with a complete devotion and without conveying the slightest sense of self-pity or self-regard. He was a man without vanities and conceits and always submerged his private interests to the larger needs he saw about him. It is not often that men at so young an age can record so broad and lasting a record of achievement together with so splendid a capacity for friendship and loyalty. I know the many citizens of Iowa, where he studied journalism, share the deep sorrow of his many friends here in Washington and across the country.

PUBLIC INTEREST PROTECTION
ACT OF 1971

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it seems as though a year cannot pass without the threat of a nationwide work stoppage in the transportation industry. This year is no exception. The railroad dispute of the past 3 months merely follows the industry pattern of slowdowns, lockouts, and strikes that have threatened the national health and safety in every year since 1947.

Of course, there are means at hand to stop the recurrence of these dangerous disputes, but no one seems willing to act upon them. When the present disagreement is settled, the Congress will simply heave a sigh of relief and sit back to wait for next year's rail crisis or the following year's airline strike, preferring, I suppose, not to tamper with our most recent national tradition.

Indeed, Mr. Speaker, these strikes have become as inevitable as taxes and as American as apple pie; but those surely are poor reasons to allow them to continue jeopardizing our citizens. I have introduced today the Emergency Public Interest Protection Act of 1971, an administration bill that would provide a workable and effective means to solve contract disputes in the transportation industry. The national health and safety can no longer be sacrificed to the blind cycle of management-labor disagreements.

The blame for this continuing situation cannot justly be laid to either management or labor, but to the machinery we have erected to deal with their disputes. The emergency strike provisions of the two applicable laws are simply and plainly inadequate.

The Railway Labor Act, for example, authorizes the creation of an Emergency Board to study the positions of both parties and to recommend a settlement. All evidence suggests that this practice is counterproductive, actually discouraging genuine collective bargaining. Knowing that the Emergency Board will almost always move in with its own suggestion whenever a strike is threatened, the disputants have come to look upon that suggestion as a basis for their further bargaining. Whatever negotiations have gone on before the suggestion have merely set the stage for the appearance of Federal representatives. For all intents and purposes, therefore, these preliminary talks are meaningless, and the Federal "emergency" procedures entirely routine.

Moreover, since both labor and management are aware that the Federal recommendation will try to strike a middle course between their positions, each feels a strong incentive to take the most extreme position available, so that the final judgment will be in his direction. Thus, the parties split themselves, when

they should be seeking common ground. This is the root cause of our railroad and airline labor problems.

The other applicable law—the Taft-Hartley Act—covers the maritime, long-shore and trucking industries. While it cannot be termed counterproductive, Taft-Hartley does little to actually encourage collective bargaining. Most often, the labor disputes of these industries end up in the lap of the President, and he is forced to ask Congress for special, emergency legislation. Taft-Hartley, though essentially a useful tool, does not offer the President enough options for dealing with strikes that endanger the national health and safety.

My bill would add three more options, building upon the basically sound structure of Taft-Hartley. The first would give the President the authority to extend the 80-day cooling-off period by 30 days, when and if he felt a settlement was near.

The second would permit the President to order a 6 month partial operation of the affected industry. Under this option, the major part of the strike or lockout could continue, so that both parties felt continued economic pressures for an early settlement. At the same time, the danger to national health or safety would be minimized by keeping the essential segments of the industry in operation.

The third option is "final offer selection," under which each of the parties would be given 3 days to submit one or two final offers. Five additional days would be provided for bargaining. If no agreement were reached, a panel appointed by the President would choose one of the final offers as the binding settlement.

The panel would hold formal hearings to determine which of the final offers was the more reasonable—taking into account both the public welfare and the interests of the disputants. In no case could the panel modify any of the terms of the final offers nor in any way attempt to mediate the conflict.

"Final offer selection" would guarantee a conclusive settlement without a work stoppage. But—unlike arbitration—it would also provide a strong incentive for labor and management to reach their own accommodation at an earlier stage in the bargaining. When arbitration is the ultimate recourse, the disputants will compete to stake out the strongest bargaining position, one which will put them at the greatest advantage when a third party tries to split the difference. But when "final offer selection" is the ultimate recourse, the disputants will compete to make the most reasonable and realistic final offer—one which will have the best chance to win the panel's endorsement.

The present prospect of Government arbitration tends to widen the gap between bargaining positions and, thus, invites intervention. The possibility of "final offer selection," on the other hand, would work to narrow that gap and make the need for intervention less likely.

This must be the ultimate criterion for my bill: whether it strikes a balance be-

tween the need to protect the public interest and the extent of Government interference in doing so. Ideally, of course, we would seek maximum protection with minimum Federal control. At present, we find excessive interference with inadequate protection.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the bill I have introduced today will reduce the need for Federal intervention and increase its protection of the public interest. Until some better method is proposed, it will stand as the fairest and most effective means of solving labor disputes in the transportation industry. Accordingly, I urge its immediate consideration.

PROGRESS IN LEAA

HON. JAMES R. MANN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the February issue of Government Executive. It refers to the commendable progress made by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in meeting the needs of crimefighters over the past few years. I am particularly pleased that more and more attention now accrues to what local law enforcement agencies say they need, instead of what Washington dictates they must have. Since so much anti-crime work is being done on the local level, this is where heavy emphasis should be put. We must exert every effort, at all governmental levels, to provide our local law enforcement people with the wherewithal to do the job, but then we must allow them to fulfill their responsibilities without undue interference from Washington.

Three weeks ago, I had occasion to speak about these matters at the annual banquet of the Spartanburg police force. I assure you, Mr. Speaker, that I have encountered no group more vitally concerned about the actual needs of crime-fighting in this country. I applaud LEAA for putting the emphasis where it belongs—on problemsolving at the local level.

The article follows:

LEAA MAKES HEADWAY IN ENFORCEMENT, COURT REFORMS

(By Samuel Stafford)

In a way, the birth pangs and severe early growing pains of the Justice Department's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) were hardly avoidable.

The climate of the times—1968 and 1969—had much to do with it. It was the traumatic era during which memories of riots and assassinations still were searingly fresh and politicians, police and the public were putting heavy pressure on the Federal Government to do something to insure law and order—and the sooner the better.

This, as observers of the LEAA's beginnings see it, was one of the factors responsible for some of the agency's later problems. The climate was hardly hospitable to laying plans for enduring reforms in America's criminal justice system, although it was favorable for quick, easy solutions to pressing immediate problems.

In another way, trouble might have been predicted for LEAA merely because of its nature. It functions mainly by issuing block grants—broad program grants as opposed to project-by-project funds—to states having a required passthrough pipeline to localities. As with all Federal grant programs, this one was marked by partisan political bickering, jurisdictional jealousies and frequent charges that the money wasn't going where it was supposed to go.

PROBLEMS PERSIST

Today, many of the problems remain. But LEAA officials believe the agency is on its way to making solid long-range achievements in revitalizing the U.S. criminal justice system.

The LEAA was created by the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, and its first operating year was Fiscal Year 1969, with an appropriation of \$63 million. The Fiscal Year 1970 appropriation was \$268 million.

Grants issued by LEAA are administered within states by state criminal justice planning agencies. Most of the 1970 appropriation went for block action grants to implement plans drawn up by state agencies. Planning grants are used to finance operations of state agencies.

Among persistent criticisms of LEAA by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), who wrote the law creating the agency, the National League of Cities, the Urban Coalition and others have been charged that the LEAA in the past has been too tied to police programs, that it has been too preoccupied with anti-riot and other police hardware and that its grant funds—through states—have gone to too many small communities rather than to urban high crime areas.

Former police chief Clarence M. Coster and Richard W. Velde are the LEAA's associate administrators. The post of administrator is vacant at this writing following the resignation of Charles H. Rogovin last summer.

Both Coster and Velde these days emphasize that many earlier problems of LEAA were due to bureaucratic snags in getting the new agency off the ground.

The LEAA's programs were funded late in the last two fiscal years, Coster said, with the impact of the money "just now getting down to street level."

"We have never denied that this late start caused problems," Velde noted. "We have never denied that because the police were equipped to make immediate requests they often received a larger share of their state grant money from state planning councils than would have been the case if the councils had been operating longer, had had more experience or more time."

PLANNING NEEDED

"We have never denied that other areas such as courts and corrections . . . were slower in seeking funds . . . (or) that a number of large cities were very slow to request funds from state councils and therefore received inadequate funds even though they got all they asked for."

(Velde pointed out that in a much publicized case of an Indiana city that had received only a Polaroid camera and a fingerprint kit, this was all the city had asked for.)

Coster told *Government Executive*. "There's something of the carrot and stick approach in this. We have a barrel of funding out there and you're telling the states they can't participate in the funding until they have comprehensive plans for assessing problems of criminal justice systems in their states."

"Now that first year go-around wasn't like that. When the LEAA drew fire for overemphasis on police hardware and anti-riot equipment, it was justifiable fire."

"There was all the talk about the Government being soft on law enforcement and the

program was sold on that basis. Out in the boon docks, police were being urged to apply for riot hardware—reach into Uncle Sam's bag of goodies and grab a handful"—and police officials were thinking, 'Here comes my new carpet or air conditioning for my patrol car.' So this was a distortion of the basic idea of the program—comprehensive planning."

He recalled an early request for an armored car as an event "I hope I'll never see again," and added that police demands for exotic hardware have steadily declined.

Beginning in Fiscal Year 1970 when funding was four times the level of the first year, both administrators said, there was a significant shift in the Federal thrust away from hardware and toward increased funding for corrections and court improvements.

Including corrections-related juvenile delinquency programs, discretionary funding, and technical aid projects, total spending in Fiscal Year 1970 for corrections programs was over \$68 million—more than 30 times the amount in 1969.

COURT COSTS

The scorecard on court improvement programs is less impressive. But even here spending rose from \$1.4 million to \$13 million over the past two fiscal years.

If the LEAA is providing less gadgetry than formerly, it is doing more research on police hardware needs through its research branch, the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

Much is expected of the Institute, which is still building its staff of experts and now is considered underfunded at \$7.5 million.

Irving Slott, acting director of the Institute, kept returning to the problem of developing standards for police equipment during a recent interview.

"One of our major programs is the establishment of a law enforcement standards center," he said. "We've made an arrangement with the National Bureau of Standards under which they will provide the engineering, technical, and test specification development and we will provide them with the operational requirements and handle the field testing."

Determining priority development needs, he said, is difficult since it requires an accurate information feedback from enforcement agencies which ultimately will buy and use the equipment. He said the Institute maintains a close working relationship with the International Association of Chiefs of Police, as well as police and public service communications experts, and many other organizations and individuals.

Slott said much of value emerged from a 1969 conference sponsored by the National Institute and the Franklin Institute on police response time and computer applications to law enforcement.

"These were top law enforcement technical experts," Slott said. "They laid out what they felt were project priorities, first priority, second, third, and so on."

"For example, in resource allocation and command, they lay it out . . . what is necessary now? What is the value of visible patrol? How can measures of effectiveness be developed?"

"Investigation is another area in which we want to improve our work in computer applications—intelligence improvement, command and control—the value of the teleprinter in law enforcement and whether it should be provided with transmit capability."

"These are serious questions they've raised and there are many more—the state-of-the-art of miniaturization of closed circuit TV equipment, the use of surveillance equipment in stakeouts, roll call training . . . these are the things police are thinking about."

He added: "Up until now, there's been nothing of this sort. And when we initiate a

project, we have to study the market and the total cost closely. If we tell the police we're setting forth certain standards and they don't have enough money to pay for the new equipment, we're wasting everybody's time and effort."

What role did he see for industry?

"They have a part to play in two ways," Slott said, "first by being concerned and by bidding on the development contracts, and secondly, by playing an active role in our standards development. However, we don't think they should be brought in to the extent that until every one of them has decided a certain standard is necessary we can't issue it."

STANDARD APPROACH ESSENTIAL

"In other words, the police are waiting for guidance . . . for standards. We won't issue a standard for which there are no items available on the market. That's absurd."

"We also know from the experience of the military that if you develop test specifications ignoring what industry is capable of or willing to provide, you're whistling in the wind. So you have to reach a happy medium. Our main concern though is to get something to the police that will assist them in purchasing because today they are often being sold a bill of goods by some companies—some companies—because these firms honestly don't know what police requirements are or because they are opportunistic and see a good chance to make a buck."

"There's also the interface problem—one kind of equipment doesn't dovetail with another—and you've got two male plugs."

Slott said: "We're in the same logic of weapon systems and equipment evaluation that the military is in. This is the type of sophistication we're trying to bring to law enforcement. We're using the military very heavily in trying to transfer technology from the military to civilian use. But there are serious problems here. There's a lot of pressure on us just to take military weapons or equipment and alter it for use back home. Well you can't do that."

"Take night vision equipment. You can't just hand night vision equipment used in Viet Nam to policemen. Light conditions and other factors are quite different and the equipment must be, too. There's also the matter of cost. Most police departments couldn't pay the military prices in the quantities they'd need."

He said: "When it comes to weapons—lethal or nonlethal—we have to get out the best standards we can as soon as possible, then improve on them later. And the kinds of weapons carried by a beat patrolman will be vastly different from those of a tactical squad member facing dangerous criminals regularly. Then there's weight. How much weight should each type of officer carry?"

CAN'T GIVE ORDERS

Slott added: "Understand, in all this we don't face the same situation as the military does. When the Army develops a standard, it is by order. The division heads are told to turn in all their M-1's and pick up M-14's."

"But our police chiefs have their prejudices and value systems. Each sees things differently. We're working in a completely voluntary area."

The feedback from local departments has pointed up some critical needs. Among these:

Better communications in big cities. A big need here is for better vehicle locator systems and improved response times. Envisioned is a workable automatic caller identification system "so that we can automatically identify the address through a signal, push a button and have a computer select the nearest car not on assignment to head for the scene." And digital communications experiments now are being conducted in several cities.

The need for improved personnel and vehicle armor.

Vastly improved law enforcement training programs.

But Coster, Veide and Slott all emphasized that LEAA's movement toward development of a balanced criminal justice system. And the fact that, while general equipment standards can be set forth as useful to cities with similar problems, individual needs will remain. For example, while a transceiver now being developed through the agency might be useful to most police departments, small departments might require only the most inexpensive kind of radio.

In developing a balanced approach, LEAA has set up "pilot city" projects in Dayton, Ohio, San Jose, Calif., and other cities supported by teams of systems analysts with criminal justice backgrounds with the aim of coming up with "models for a comprehensive approach—police, courts and corrections—to criminal justice". Eventually, a pilot program will be located in each of LEAA's seven regions. It is hoped that the knowledge so gained can be applied to problems of other cities.

OUTLOOK

With the same goal of broad eventual applicability, the Institute is aiding in development of a model building code for public safety in Alexandria, Va., under which a specially trained police squad will inspect new commercial and residential buildings for protection against criminal intrusion in the same way fire departments now inspect buildings for potential fire hazards.

The bases now being touched by LEAA are too numerous to enumerate. They range from upgrading of police, court and corrections personnel to academic assistance programs, the development of information systems, electronic search and retrieval, narcotics enforcement, defenses against bombs, studies of psychological stress on policemen and a multitude of other subject areas.

The LEAA administrators believe that, after a somewhat stormy and problem-ridden beginning the agency is well on its way toward promoting significant long-lasting reforms in America's criminal justice systems.

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted that we are taking time today to give official congressional recognition to the Disabled American Veterans for their long history of service to their fellow veterans and to their country.

It is truly fortunate that we have the Disabled American Veterans, an organization that is dedicated to assisting the disabled of our wars to obtain necessary medical help, job training and jobs, rehabilitation, and compensation.

The disabled veteran benefits from the programs of the DAV through the very specific assistance he receives as well as through the camaraderie of a group of men and women of like needs and interests.

Our society benefits from the programs of the DAV by gaining the products of the skills and talents of the disabled veteran that might not otherwise be put to use.

The work of the DAV is noble and un-

selfish and should be apparent to every American. The DAV has one of the most extensive rehabilitation programs in the United States and its services are available to all disabled veterans regardless of whether or not they are members of the organization.

In honoring the work of the DAV here today, we should recognize that we are doing more than noting the achievements of a great organization. We are, in fact, saluting men and women who have made enormous personal sacrifices for our country and have demonstrated great personal courage in the face of extreme personal adversity.

I, for one, am extremely grateful for having the privilege to serve on the Veterans' Affairs Committee and to have the opportunity to work closely with the DAV to insure the development of programs that will, as Abraham Lincoln said, "care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and for his orphan."

OUR DISABLED VETERANS

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, during my short lifetime the United States has participated in four wars, World Wars I and II, the Korean war, and the Vietnam war. Millions of our young men answered the call to the service and fought for the Nation all over the globe.

Many did not return to their homes and families, having made the supreme sacrifice in battles against the common enemy. Most of the millions who did come back soon made the transition to peaceful civilian life and their wartime experiences gradually faded into the remote recesses of their memories.

For many others, however, the war has never really ended. The soldier, sailor, or airman who came back blinded, minus one or more limbs, or otherwise incapacitated, has been severely handicapped in his attempts to begin life anew as a civilian.

True, the Congress has done a great deal through the years to provide assistance in the form of hospitalization, rehabilitation, and otherwise, but these helps did not come about all at once. When they did become available, many former servicemen were not aware of their eligibility to receive particular benefits.

Someone had to take the lead in the fight to secure the needed and deserved assistance for those who still suffered from the horrors of warfare long after their discharge from service. In the forefront of the campaign has been the Disabled American Veterans organization, which has labored diligently for half a century on behalf of disabled former servicemen.

Mr. Speaker, I welcome this opportunity to extend my appreciation for the great work that has been done by this fine organization and to wish it success as it continues its work in the days that lie ahead.

DRUG ABUSE

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, we are all well aware that drug abuse is one of the overriding concerns facing this country. There are numerous examples of over-the-counter drug violations, which make dangerous hallucinogenic easily available to anyone wishing to obtain them.

As a case in point, an editorial by Colman McCarthy appeared in the Washington Post on January 1, 1971. Mr. McCarthy explores the abuse of a specific, nonprescription drug, asthmador, which is used in the treatment of asthmatics.

I believe this article provides an excellent illustration of the crying need for legislation to regulate the nondiscriminatory sale of dangerous drugs. For that reason, I request that it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point.

The article follows:

A MINOR DRUG AND A MAJOR PROBLEM

(By Colman McCarthy)

Early last year, two high school students in Cumberland, Md., walked into a store of the Potomac Valley Pharmacy and ordered a non-prescription drug called asthmador. They said it was for an asthmatic member of the family of one of them, asthmador being the brand name of an asthma remedy. Actually, the drug was not for a sick relative at all, but for the youths themselves. The pair left the pharmacy and in a short time consumed the drug orally; they were apparently seeking the hallucinogenic effect that asthmador provides when taken by non-asthmatics. They ended up in the hospital, one in critical condition. A few months later—July 1970—in Tampa, Fla., two youths, 15 and 16 took the easily available drug but were not so lucky as to land in a hospital. Under its influences, they decided to walk on water, the Jesus experience that strangely appeals to so many freakouts; the pair drowned at the bottom of a 200 foot sink-hole.

These cases of violence are only two of some 200 reported in the last few years. Involved in the grim story of asthmador abuse and misuse are not only the muddled youths who take it but also a manufacturer in Los Angeles and the Food and Drug Administration. Currently, a legal battle is pending, one that shows clearly the complexity of reaching accord between the citizen, the law and the manufacturer.

Asthmador has been on the market for a reported 102 years. Its main substance is stramonium—also known as jimson-weed—plus parts of belladonna. As sold over drugstore counters, asthmador is in the form of cigarettes, pipe mixture and powder; sixty cents buys a pack of 12 cigarettes. The user, presumably in poor health, is instructed to burn and inhale the substance "to relieve the distress of bronchial asthmatic paroxysms." It has been questioned—by the government—how much "relief" is actually provided for the asthmatic, but there is no uncertainty that for many of the drug-seeking young, asthmador has been known for years as a cheap and available hallucinogenic, a fine trip and a good high.

In 1967 and 1968, the Food and Drug Administration's Bureau of Medicine received detailed reports from the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control that in some 200 cases asthmador had been abused; two deaths were included. Alarmed, and aware that the muscle of the Food, Drug and Cosmetics act was

available to be flexed, the FDA moved in—or at least gave the appearance of moving in. In August 1968, it decreed that stramonium—the main ingredient of asthmador—could no longer be sold without a doctor's prescription. To build a further wall between non-asthmatic users and the drug, the FDA made a seizure in Cleveland of asthmador as marketed by the R. Schiffman Company, Los Angeles. The latter was charged with selling its product without a label saying a prescription was needed.

At this point, the actions of the FDA suggest more of a slap on corporate wrists than a handcuff. The Schiffman firm, which is said to gross \$150,000 annually on asthmador, not only continued to market its product without the required label, but also took the government to court to appeal the seizure. Ordinarily, the government does not make further seizures while a mislabeling case is on appeal. Instead, spokesmen for the FDA now say they are trying to persuade Schiffman to agree to labeling asthmador as a prescription-only drug. "We don't see asthmador as an imminent danger to health, so we prefer to go the voluntary compliance route."

The route appears blocked, however. According to the Schiffman lawyers, the Washington firm of Kleinfeld and Kaplan, the government not only has no business asking for voluntary compliance at this point but its original ruling was unreasonable. "Forcing prescriptions for asthmador," said a Kleinfeld and Kaplan lawyer, "makes it suddenly difficult for asthma sufferers who have been using it all along. It can also push up the cost. Why should the government prevent the free sale of a product merely because it may be abused by a small number of people who deliberately mean to abuse it?"

On September 28, the FDA, seeing that stramonium was still popular among young acid heads "on a fairly large scale," issued what it called a "reminder" to the nation's druggists that over-the-counter sales of the substance are illegal. This went out in the form of letters to all state boards of pharmacy and to professional pharmacy organizations. It is not known how many drugstores have gotten the message. In the Washington area, a sampling of drugstores revealed confusion. None of the druggists had asthmador on hand, some saying it had been surpassed in effectiveness by other remedies and thus was not stocked. When asked if it could be ordered, many said yes. Of these, some said a prescription was definitely not needed, others said a prescription was needed. Earlier this week, an official of the Consumers Union, Westchester, N.Y., publisher of the alert Consumer Reports magazine, said that asthmador was easily available over-the-counter in that area. Ironically, Westchester police display asthmador boxes in their lectures to parents on drug abuse.

Confusion exists about enforcing the FDA charge that over-the-counter asthmador is illegal. If a conscientious citizen can buy it freely or order it—as he can in Washington—what does he do? Call the local cop to arrest the druggist for breaking the law? Call the FDA? J. Edgar Hoover?

One puzzle that persists in this case is why the Schiffman Company resists so strenuously the requirement to label its product prescription-only. One explanation is the lawyers argument about increased bother and cost to long-time customers. Another answer is that sales would likely be reduced if a doctor had to prescribe asthmador. Anyone who has asthma and is serious about relief, is most likely seeing a doctor. Although all too many of the latter are far too lax about pushing onto their patients questionable drugs (see the recent Senate disclosures about darvon), asthma may not be the kind of illness that can be effectively treated by puffing on a jimson-weed cigarette that retails for a nickel.

U.S. MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, last month, I was honored to be appointed by you to serve on the Board of Visitors to the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N.Y., which is in my congressional district.

As many of my colleagues know, Rear Adm. Gordon McLintock retired in June 1970, after 22 years as Superintendent of the Academy. His service to the Academy and to the U.S. Merchant Marine was outstanding. His efforts are reflected in the report of the 21st Congressional Board of Visitors, which found Kings Point "a shining example of what can be accomplished through cooperation and perseverance." I include the report at this point in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues:

REPORT OF THE 21ST CONGRESSIONAL BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY, KINGS POINT, N.Y., MAY 1, 1970

PUBLIC LAW 301, 78TH CONGRESS

Joint resolution to establish a Board of Visitors to the United States Merchant Marine Academy

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be appointed in the month immediately following May 11, 1944, and in January of each year thereafter, a Board of Visitors to visit the United States Merchant Marine Academy, which shall consist of two Senators and three Members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the chairman of the committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, having cognizance of legislation pertaining to the United States Merchant Marine Academy, the chairman of said committees being ex officio members of the Board, and of one Senator and two Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, respectively: Provided, That whenever a member or an ex officio member is unable to attend the annual meeting as provided in paragraph (b) of this section another Member may be appointed in his stead in the manner as herein provided but without restriction as to month of appointment.

(b) Such Board shall visit the United States Merchant Marine Academy annually on a date to be fixed by the Secretary of Commerce. Each member of the Board shall be reimbursed under the Government travel regulations for the actual expense incurred by him while engaged upon duties as a member of such Board.

Approved May 11, 1944.

MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY

By the President of the Senate: Senator Alan Cranston, California (D).

By the Chairman, Senate Commerce Committee: Senator Ernest F. Hollings, South Carolina (D), and Senator Charles E. Goodell, New York (R).

By the Speaker of the House of Representatives: Congressman Hugh L. Carey, New York (D), and Congressman Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., Connecticut (R).

By the Chairman, House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Congressman Thomas N. Downing, Virginia (D), Congressman John M. Murphy, New York (D), and Congressman Charles A. Mosher, Ohio (R).

Ex-Officio Members: Senator Warren G. Magnuson, Washington (D), Chairman, Senate Commerce Committee, and Congressman Edward A. Garmatz, Maryland (D), Chairman, Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

THE MISSION OF THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY

To attract a high type of young American with a definite ambition to become an officer in the United States Merchant Marine;

To impart to him the necessary academic background and the fundamentals of a practical nautical education essential to a successful career at sea;

To develop in him a high sense of honor, uprightness, and loyalty;

To instill in him a pride in his profession and determination to uphold the traditions of the Merchant Marine; and

By effective teaching, training, and guidance, to send him forth to his calling with a deep respect and affection for the United States Merchant Marine Academy and its Midshipman Corps.

OBJECTIVE

The United States Merchant Marine Academy was established to prepare carefully selected American citizens for careers in the American Merchant Marine, and to this end the education of the Midshipmen is directed toward the attainment of professional excellence as deck or engineering officers. Beyond the attainment of technical excellence, Midshipmen are provided with a sound general education and with an understanding of the theoretical and practical problems of maritime operations in order that they may be prepared, should the opportunity arise during the course of their sea-going careers, to accept responsible positions in their companies requiring executive and administrative ability.

The Academy program is designed to graduate officers who are effective, responsible citizens and who possess both technical competence and a sound general education; officers who are well equipped to cope with the technical, physical, moral, social and spiritual challenges which will confront them during their life at sea. It is the Academy's aim to inspire graduates with eagerness for continuous development throughout their lives, conviction of the dignity of their profession, and awareness of the highest traditions and importance of the United States Merchant Marine.

The entire resources of the United States Merchant Marine Academy are marshaled for the purpose of conducting a program of theoretical and practical courses, including service at sea, which provides the finest possible education for a Midshipman, with the expectation that a graduate's services as a loyal officer of high caliber will reward the nation with distinguished leadership for the Merchant Marine.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY—1970 KINGS POINT, N.Y., MAY 1, 1970

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE:
THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

GENTLEMEN: The Twenty-First Meeting of the Board of Visitors of the United States Merchant Marine Academy was held at the Administration building at the Academy in Kings Point, New York, on May 1, 1970. Present were Representatives Hugh L. Carey of New York, Thomas N. Downing of Virginia, Charles A. Mosher of Ohio and John M. Murphy of New York. Representative Lester L. Wolff, host Congressman from the Third Congressional District and Mr. Ernest Corrado, Counsel for the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee also attended. The Deputy Maritime Administrator, Mr. Robert J. Blackwell, by invitation of the Board, was present during the meeting. The minutes of the meeting follow.

MINUTES: 21ST CONGRESSIONAL BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY, MAY 1, 1970

The Board convened at 1000 hours in the Board Room, Wiley Hall. After the invocation by Chaplain Kingsley, the Superintendent, Rear Admiral Gordon McLintock, welcomed the members to the Academy and Congressman Wolff welcomed them to the Third Congressional District. The Deputy Maritime Administrator, Mr. Robert J. Blackwell, extended a welcome on behalf of the Maritime Administrator and said that the Academy, under the guidance of Admiral McLintock, has been gearing for training officers for the fleet of the 1970's. The 300 ships to be built in that decade will be staffed largely by graduates of Kings Point and the State academies. He congratulated Admiral McLintock for administering with a sensible combination of discipline and freedom which has enabled the Academy to largely avoid the effect of disturbing outside influences.

Congressman Downing, serving as Chairman, congratulated Admiral McLintock and the Academy, stating that it is a shining example of what can be done.

Admiral McLintock accepted the congratulations on behalf of the staff of the Academy.

The Superintendent presented his report to the Board as contained in Part II. A summary of discussions concerning the topics contained therein follows:

Master plan

Captain L. S. McCready briefed the Board members on a long-range program for modernization of existing facilities and construction of new facilities. This plan had previously been presented to the Advisory Board and the Maritime Administrator and is outlined in Appendix I of this report.

Congressman Carey recommended that Kings Point should have a role in environmental and ecology studies and Mr. Blackwell said that this is being looked into since the Maritime Administrator and the Superintendent had made a tentative proposal to the Environmental Sciences Administration.

New curriculum

Course Load: Requirements for graduation have been reduced as follows:

Old Curriculum	New Curriculum
Deck, 238	209
Engine, 239	211

Rotation of faculty members

Legislation that would permit faculty members to return to sea to upgrade their experience and licenses has been introduced by the Administration.

A program to permit faculty members to undertake graduate studies under the Government Employees' Training Act is in operation.

Sea year program

Dual Licenses: This program is continuing and two companies, United Fruit Company and American Export Company, employ dual licensed officers who rotate between the deck and engine departments.

Job opportunities for graduates

Congressman Mosher proposed that the mission of the Academy be broadened to provide additional job opportunities for graduates. Mr. Blackwell agreed in principle but cautioned that care must be exercised to insure that any contemplated change in the Academy's mission is politically realistic, since too great a departure from its historic role might jeopardize its existence. New Legislation is not necessary to accomplish an appropriate expansion of the mission, in Mr. Blackwell's opinion. Such a proposal had been made by the Kings Point Alumni Association and the President of the Alumni Association, Mr. Robert Whitam, explained that the proposal contemplates a role for Academy graduates in the total transportation system rather than in shipping alone.

The matter of enforcing the sailing obligation when jobs on ships are not available was discussed and the Board was informed that the policy is in process of revision to take care of contingencies such as this. The Alumni Officer, Commander Renick, informed the Board that the current shipping situation is tight but appears to be easing. The Navy will give favorable consideration to applications for active duty and the Coast Guard has taken several members of the Class of 1970. A problem exists in several individual locals where priority is being given to graduates of the union schools over graduates of the Federal Academy and the State Academies.

The sea service obligation of recent classes was discussed and Commander Renick reported that the most recent survey conducted by his office shows that 90% of the Class of 1968 were at sea as of the end of December, 1969.

Minority group recruiting

Congressman Carey asked about the recruitment of candidates for admission who are of Puerto Rican extraction. He was informed that this initial phase of the minority group recruiting program was most successful in locating black applicants because the black community is the best organized. However future drives will have increased emphasis on the recruiting of Puerto Ricans. Congressman Downing stated that the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has passed legislation to establish its own merchant marine academy and Congressman Murphy suggested that appointment authority be obtained to increase the size of Puerto Rico's admission quota to make it proportionate to the population of that island. However it was pointed out that Puerto Rico has not been filing its present quota.

Adjournment for lunch—1200

Nuclear Programs: The Maritime Administrator informed the Board that a proposal has been issued for a commercial operator to take over the N.S. Savannah but responses have not yet been received.

Many Kings Point graduates who have been given nuclear training at the Academy are now serving as operators in nuclear power plants ashore.

Drug education program

The Regimental Officer reported that on a comparative basis the Academy has no real problem with drug usage by Midshipmen. There have been a few cases involving marijuana usage and one case involving LSD. The cases of two Midshipmen who admitted to using marijuana are pending in the courts.

Physical education and athletics

The need for a new swimming pool and a gymnasium was stressed by the Head, Department of Physical Education and Athletics, in order to provide facilities for concurrent use by intramural and varsity sports.

Admissions

Congressman Murphy suggested that the quota for discretionary appointments by the Maritime Administrator be increased to provide for additional appointments of qualified candidates from minority groups. It was pointed out that this quota has been raised by 10 this year in order to insure that spaces are available for minority group candidates who were recruited.

Congressman Murphy also pointed out that the legislation for the Service Academies had been changed to provide for the admission of Korean candidates and as a result, a number of Koreans had gained admission. The Maritime Administrator agreed to look into a similar arrangement for Kings Point.

Resolution

Before concluding the meeting, a motion was made and carried unanimously to express the Board's appreciation to Admiral McLintock for his contributions to the Acad-

emy and the industry, and further that the members of the Congressional Board of Visitors considered it to be a privilege and a pleasure to have been associated with Admiral McLintock. The Maritime Administrator said that he considered this resolution to be most appropriate and he invited the Board members to attend the Change of Command ceremony at the Academy on 15 June 1970.

The meeting was adjourned at 1430 hours.

APPENDIX I: PRELIMINARY FORECAST OF COSTS
To finish present projects and plans

1.1 Nautical Science—Labs and extend Samuels Hall	-----	\$900,000
1.2 Engineering Projects: Ref. LaPierre Litchfield Study	-----	1,800,000
1.3 Math & Science Labs	-----	50,000
1.4 Classrooms (48)—general upgrading, relighting, etc	-----	36,000
1.5 Midshipmen's Quarters, full rehabilitation	-----	800,000
1.6 Galley, Mess Hall—upgrade and modernization	-----	100,000
1.7 Waterfront facilities—finish plan beyond '71	-----	2,000,000
1.8 Electrical Power System & Emergency Plant Con	-----	100,000
1.9 Air Conditioning: All academic bldgs: others	-----	750,000
Total	-----	6,536,000

To carry out new plans

2.1 New Science & Engineering Bldg., including:		
Ocean studies, R & D Building	-----	3,000,000
Equipment	-----	2,000,000
2.2 Graduate Center & Center for Continuing Professional Education:		
(a) If Lundy property is purchased	-----	1,000,000
(b) If we build new Academic Bldg. on present land (see 3.0 below \$850,000).		
2.3 Athletic Facilities: Gym, Pool (Similar to new U.S. Coast Guard Academy Gym)	-----	3,500,000
(See plans for options).		
2.4 Research facilities; on campus/off campus not yet determined fully: allow	-----	500,000
2.5 Student Center ("Student Union" Bldg) for Mid'n.	-----	1,800,000
2.6 Faculty Housing (4 homes)	-----	160,000
2.7 Shipboard Training Center (moved from Grenoble, France) not yet determined.		
2.8 Finance & Supply, Public Works Departments: Shops, receiving, storage & supply activity	-----	250,000
2.9 Instructional Training Aids Center	-----	85,000
3.0 Academic Bldg. for Economics, Management Sciences \$850,000. Please see 2.2B above	-----	850,000
3.1 Acquisition of new small training & oceanography vessel would depend on interagency transfer (purchase cost could be \$750,000) see note please		
Total	-----	13,145,000
Total Modernization	-----	19,681,000

CONCLUSION

The Board expresses its appreciation for the many courtesies extended to it during its visit and congratulates Admiral McLintock,

the Academy staff and the Maritime Administration for making Kings Point a shining example of what can be accomplished through cooperation and perseverance.

Approved:

THOMAS H. DOWNING,
Chairman.

HUGH L. CAREY,
JOHN M. MURPHY,
CHARLES A. MOSHER.

RECOMMENDATION

The Maritime Administration should investigate the feasibility of obtaining legislation to provide for the admission of South Korean candidates to the Academy.

MOTION

The Board expressed its appreciation to Admiral McLintock for his contributions to the Academy and to the industry, and further that the members of the Congressional Board of Visitors considered it to be a privilege and a pleasure to have been associated with Admiral McLintock.

PART II: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, MARITIME ADMINISTRATION, U.S. MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY, KINGS POINT, N.Y., SUPERINTENDENT'S REPORT TO THE CONGRESSIONAL BOARD OF VISITORS, MAY 1, 1970

(The Honorable Maurice H. Stans, Secretary of Commerce; the Honorable Andrew E. Gibson, Maritime Administrator; and the Honorable Robert J. Blackwell, Deputy Maritime Administrator)

PUBLIC LAW 301, 78TH CONGRESS

Joint resolution to establish a Board of Visitors for the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be appointed in the month immediately following May 11, 1944, and in January of each year thereafter, a Board of Visitors to visit the United States Merchant Marine Academy, which shall consist of two Senators and three Members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the chairman of the committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, having cognizance of legislation pertaining to the United States Merchant Marine Academy, the chairman of said committees being ex officio members of the Board, and of one Senator and two Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives respectively; *Provided*, That whenever a member or an ex officio member is unable to attend the annual meeting as provided in paragraph (b) of this section another Member may be appointed in his stead in the manner as herein provided but without restriction as to month of appointment.

(b) Such Board shall visit the United States Merchant Marine Academy annually on a date to be fixed by the Secretary of Commerce. Each member of the Board shall be reimbursed under the Government travel regulations for the actual expense incurred by him while engaged upon duties as a member of such Board.

Approved May 11, 1944.

MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY

By the President of the Senate: Senator Alan Cranston, California (D).

By the Chairman, Senate Commerce Committee: Senator Ernest F. Hollings, South Carolina (D), and Senator Charles E. Goodell, New York (R).

By the Speaker of the House of Representatives: Congressman Hugh L. Carey, New York (D), and Congressman Lowell P. Welcker, Jr., Connecticut (R).

By the Chairman, House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Congressman Thomas N. Downing, Virginia (D), Congressman John M. Murphy, New York (D), and Congressman Charles A. Mosher, Ohio (R).

Ex-Officio Members: Senator Warren G. Magnuson, Washington (D), Chairman, Senate Commerce Committee, and Congressman Edward A. Garmatz, Maryland (D), Chairman, Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

THE MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY

To attract a high type of young American with a definite ambition to become an officer in the United States Merchant Marine;

To impart to him the necessary academic background and the fundamentals of a practical nautical education essential to a successful career at sea;

To develop in him a high sense of honor, uprightness, and loyalty;

To instill in him a pride in his profession and determination to uphold the traditions of the Merchant Marine; and

By effective teaching, training, and guidance, to send him forth to his calling with a deep respect and affection for the United States Merchant Marine Academy and its midshipman Corps.

The United States Merchant Marine Academy has been established to prepare carefully selected American citizens for careers in the American Merchant Marine. The education of Midshipmen is directed toward the attainment of professional excellence as Merchant Marine deck or engineering officers and as United States Naval Reserve Officers. Beyond the attainment of technical excellence, Midshipmen are provided with a sound general education and with an understanding of the theoretical and practical problems of maritime operations so that they might be prepared, should the opportunity present itself, to accept responsible positions in their companies requiring executive and administrative ability.

The Academy program is designed to develop officers who are effective, responsible citizens and who possess both technical competence and a sound general education to cope with the technical, physical, moral, social and spiritual challenges which will confront them at sea. It is the Academy's aim to inspire graduates with eagerness for continuous development throughout their lives, conviction of the dignity of their profession, and awareness of the highest traditions and importance of the United States Merchant Marine.

The entire resources of the United States Merchant Marine Academy are marshalled for the purpose of conducting a program of theoretical and practical courses, including service at sea, which provides the finest possible education for a Midshipman, with the expectation that a graduate's services as a loyal officer of high caliber will reward the nation with distinguished leadership for the Merchant Marine, afloat and ashore.

GENTLEMEN: It is always an honor, as well as a very great pleasure, for me as Superintendent to welcome the Congressional Board of Visitors and to transmit this report to you. The past year has been one of progress and we benefited tremendously by the personal interest and assistance of the Maritime Administrator, the Honorable Andrew E. Gibson. As you will note, this report represents our accomplishments since your last visit, our plans for the future and some areas in which your assistance would be helpful.

It is a pleasure indeed to have you with us and we hope that your visit will be most enjoyable.

GORDON McLINTOCK,
Rear Admiral, USMS, Superintendent.

FISCAL AFFAIRS

The inventory valuation of the Academy as of March 31, 1970 was as follows:

Land	\$660,637
Buildings	8,241,947
Other structures and facilities.....	1,465,814
Equipment	6,361,316
Total	16,729,714

For Fiscal Year 1970, Congress approved \$6,164,000. An additional \$204,000 was also obtained as a supplemental appropriation to finance the pay increase caused by the enactment of the President's Executive Order in compliance with the Federal Salary Act of 1967.

The appropriation for Fiscal Year 1970 covers the cost of maintaining and operating the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, New York; the costs of a training liaison office in Washington, D.C.; and provides for training representatives in the Eastern, Central and Western Regions.

The budget for Fiscal 1970 provided \$755,000 more than the adjusted budget for Fiscal 1969. This increase was for rebuilding a badly deteriorated pier and for upgrading presently substandard cadet housing. In addition, the increase covers expenses related to compliance with air and water pollution regulations and provide additional staff to meet present workload. A detailed listing of the additional funds programmed follows:

Modernization program.....	\$307,000
Boiler plant conversion.....	100,000
Sewage plant.....	57,000
Waterfront repairs.....	250,000
Increase in academic staff.....	29,000
Increase in library staff.....	12,000
Total.....	755,000

This budget again does not provide for the rising personnel costs of previous years or the continued increase in personnel costs for Fiscal 1970 due to periodic step increases for Faculty, GS, or Wage Board employees.

In the budget for Fiscal Year 1971, Maritime Training is programmed at \$6,800,000. This represents a comparative increase of \$479,000 greater than the adjusted budget for Fiscal 1970, after one has deleted the non-recurring items.

The \$479,000 increase is for the following:

Faculty and staff training.....	\$14,000
Midshipman food service.....	125,000
Library books.....	10,000
Maintenance, repairs and operating supplies	25,000
Modernization program.....	284,000
Special personal services payments.....	15,000
Travel and transportation of persons	6,000
Total	479,000

MODERNIZATION PROGRAMS

Since the last meeting of the Board, we have received additional funding support for three key areas for modernization.

A start has been made in the refurbishing program for the dormitory rooms of the Midshipmen which is funded for approximately \$1.2 million over the next four years. New furnishings are being procured, bright colors will relieve the present drab monotony, the rooms will be carpeted and a new lighting system will be installed.

The waterfront modernization is proceeding smoothly with the completion of the first stage consisting of a sheet-steel bulkhead and a landfill of nearly two acres. This year, we will begin the two year program for the replacement of Mallory Pier. Thereafter, the southern area will be completed with the installation of steel bulkheads, filled with dredged material, and the subsequent construction of sail-training facilities. The total

cost of this program is in the vicinity of 2.2 million dollars.

This year, we were particularly gratified to receive increased funds on a recurring annual basis for the modernization of the instructional facilities and equipment. Laboratories are being upgraded, new modern equipment is being installed and even though scientific developments frequently outpace available funds, we do feel that progress is being made.

MASTER PLAN

Although we are now making significant progress in our modernization programs, we have produced an in-house Master Plan which we hope will provide the necessary guidance for long range developmental planning. Captain Lauren S. McCready, USMS, Head of our Department of Engineering, will give you a briefing on the plan which can also be made available to you in booklet form.

PRINCIPAL NEEDS

When considering the principal needs of the Academy at this time, our order of priority would be as follows:

(a) *Increase in Midshipman allowances:* Each Midshipman now receives an annual allowance of \$475 per year for uniforms and textbooks. This sum was authorized in 1968 and the rapidly rising costs of clothing and especially textbooks now requires that this figure be increased to \$550 annually if we are to fulfill the requirements of Public Law 415, 84th Congress (46, U.S.C. 1126), which states: "Cadets at the United States Merchant Marine Academy shall receive allowances for all required uniforms and textbooks as prescribed by rules and regulations under this chapter . . ."

The anticipated cost would be in the vicinity of \$75,000.

(b) *New Science Building:* This proposed new building is becoming more necessary each day as the frontiers of science expand so rapidly. Laboratories are needed for studies in Oceanography automation, hydraulics, computer science, electronics, etc. A model test basin would also be included. The anticipated cost of such a building with its equipment is approximately \$5.5 million.

(c) *Audio-Visual Center:* The need for such a Center as this has become increasingly important with each passing year as the demands for good classroom teaching techniques continue. Our present facilities are woefully limited and it is not possible to provide instantaneous responses to teachers' requests. Approximately \$85,000 would be required for this addition.

THE NEW LIBRARY

The Academy's new library building opened for service on March 17, 1969. Responding to many recommendations of its Board of Visitors, in 1964 and 1966 the Congress appropriated library construction and equipment funds in the amount of one million dollars. Ground was broken on March 15, 1967. The building was dedicated on December 12, 1968, scheduled as a feature of a combined meeting of the Advisory Board and the Congressional Board of Visitors. Delays in delivering and assembling the steel shelving postponed the actual opening.

In its three stories the modern air-conditioned structure provides stacks for 100,000 volumes and accommodates 300 occupants. The main stairway is located near the entrance, leaving the larger portion of the interior space on each floor free for spacious stack areas surrounded by generous reading areas. Rooms for special services and collections are located along one or more of the perimeter walls on each floor. These include on the main floor a general periodicals reading room, a room devoted to microtexts, another to atlases, charts, sailing directions, etc., and a room for government publications. On the upper floor is the Kings Point Room

containing rare books and memorabilia, the Archives Room, a maritime periodicals room, a typing room, and two seminar rooms. On the lower floor are two listening rooms, one designed for group listening, the other for individual listening stations. Also on this floor are a large group study, four small group studies, and eight individual faculty studies.

Attendance and use of the library have increased with the improved availability of the collections and the increase in the number of services. Anticipating the need for additional people in the new building, the staff was increased from five to nine in 1968. With overtime, this has permitted the library to make its collections and services available seven days of the week for a total of 83½ hours. An upper class watch keeps the building open for study purposes an additional hour and a half each night from Sunday through Friday. A group of qualified Midshipmen maintains a two-hour volunteer watch in the Listening Room each evening Monday through Friday.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

The Maritime Administrator, Mr. Gibson, shortly after taking office last year, initiated a very strong increase in the Maritime Administration's research and development programs following the three-week Woods Hole Research Conference last July at which the Academy was well represented.

As an extension of that conference, we were formally authorized and directed to initiate suitable research of our own at Kings Point. We were in fact organized so as to make a team of two colleges in this work by linking formally with our famous neighbors, Webb Institute of Naval Architecture.

Today, we have a going research activity and over 21 researchers are at work on five carefully chosen tasks, with more to come. The long range objectives we are working on with Webb, all point toward increasing the productivity of the maritime industry and decreasing subsidies and costs. We also anticipate strengthening our faculty and improving the opportunities for Midshipmen to learn as results of this program.

The total budget for this year is \$95,000 of which \$40,000 is sub-contracted to Webb Institute of Naval Architecture.

THE NEW CURRICULUM

A revised Deck and Engineering Curriculum, developed and adopted by the faculty, approved by the Board of Visitors and authorized for implementation by the Maritime Administrator will go into effect in part for those classes already in attendance, namely the classes of 1971, 1972, and 1973. The whole new program will be used for the class of 1974 which will enter the Academy in July of 1970.

The new curriculum provides for a common first year program. This common first year program presents a six month residence at the Academy followed by a six month tour of sea duty wherein the Midshipman spends a 50% period of this time in each of the deck and engineering departments. Insofar as some Midshipmen may have an unclear idea of the relative duties and career opportunities, this program allows him to make his career choice as late as one year after reporting to the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy. It is, of course, anticipated that the program of dual licensing, established in 1965, will eventually be common for all Midshipmen, and result in a general purpose officer, with the curriculum attuned to same. This will be dealt with in more detail further on in the course.

After the first six months sea experience, the Midshipman who elects engineering returns to a year at the Academy in which the core curriculum contains Engineering Science subjects such as the Applied Mechanics and Thermodynamics programs. These are augmented by further Mathematics and Sci-

ence support study programs in Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry. The Midshipman then returns to sea for a six month program in his chosen major in Marine Engineering as applied on shipboard. Parenthetically, written Sea Projects are required for each of the sea year periods. These are carefully graded and academic credit will be allowed for these extended shipboard programs. A similar program, but Nautical Science oriented has been developed for the Midshipman desiring to become a Deck Officer.

The new program with its reduction in required credit hours is believed to provide a greater incentive for introspective study and self development for the student. The Midshipman is no longer required to expend his time in attendance at a wide diversity of courses spread over a range of disciplines. Above the core program he may choose either a range of courses for general broadening or he can take a further concentration of scientific and engineering courses to prepare him for advanced technical studies or he can pursue further a concentration in humanities or in business oriented areas. In this fashion the core is augmented by at least 18 hours of required electives which may be selected from either technical or non-technical offerings. Taken as a whole the core curriculum and the elective program as offered and planned by the Academy can provide the Midshipman with a sound professional background for service aboard ship and elsewhere in the Marine Industry.

THE SEA YEAR PROGRAM UNDER THE REVISED CURRICULUM

Under the recently approved curriculum changes the principle of commonality of deck and engineering studies is being extended to include all students, for many years deck students at the Academy have been required to study certain basic engineering material, while engineering students have acquired fundamental knowledge of the deck department. The original intent of this was that deck officers and engineering officers would become more familiar, each with the others duties and responsibilities, at least insofar as basics were concerned, and also build greater rapport between the two branches of officers on the same ship.

In 1964 it was realized that with the increasing sophistication and automation of modern ships being built, or contemplated, the Academy would have to go much further in this direction, and that the probability was, that in the future the deck and engineering officer would merge into a single general purpose officer.

By the summer of 1965, in time for the new entering class, the Academy had devised a common curriculum covering both the deck and engineering fields, and a pilot plan which contemplated the voluntary enrollment and special selection of one full section of students.

In 1969 this section graduated 19 of the original midshipmen, 5 of same with honors. This was an exceptionally high percentage of honors, while the attrition was considerably below the general average for the Academy. Although it must be remembered that they were specially selected students. The purpose of the program, as originally contemplated, was to select one section for this dual curriculum each year from the incoming class and then when the first 1965 group graduated successfully in 1969 it was anticipated that each succeeding year the number of selectees from incoming classes would be increased. Accordingly, in 1969 two dual sections were appointed and are progressing satisfactorily. This year we are still further extending this plan, and, in addition, the first six months of the plebe program will be entirely common to all.

After successful conclusion of the first six months of sea duty midshipmen will return to Kings Point and confirm their career choice; deck, engine, or dual.

As previously mentioned it is expected that in due course and not too long at that all ship's officers will be general purpose officers. It is agreed that most probably the master will be the "general manager" and serving under him there will be two departments, one for operation with "general purpose" officers and one for maintenance.

In the interim those of our graduates who are dual licensees, who elect to follow one specialty, either deck or engine, will have increased their versatility and value to the ship and to the industry by having licenses, and education and training which cover both fields.

The Advisory Board at its meeting of March 2, 1970 passed a resolution endorsing the continuance of the Dual License Program with the understanding that it would be extended and expanded.

Commencing with the academic year 1970-1971, the Academy will initiate research into the design of merchant vessels especially developed from inception for operation by dual license officers. The services of faculty, Midshipmen, industry representatives and naval architects will be enlisted for this study. The commitment from all is to preserve and enhance a work-study program that has provided every graduate with the perceptive advantage which distinguishes the Kings Point from those emanating from all other maritime training programs.

DEPARTMENT OF SHIPBOARD TRAINING

One of the original features of our program is the year of practical training at sea on board varied vessels of the U.S. Merchant Marine. In the past, this training has been provided Midshipmen during their Second Year in the program. The objectives are the development of technical skills and knowledge required of an officer. This work-study program is one of the pioneer efforts in the field of nautical education, and has been a principal factor in achieving the goals of Kings Point.

Recognizing the need to formalize responsibility for the Sea Year program and to ensure its proper development, formal proposals to establish an organization to supervise and administer the Sea Year were made in July 1965. Further studies of the proposal were subsequently instigated, but it was not until February 1967, that an Office of Shipboard Training was created. This unit is presently confirmed as an integral part of the academic structure, and has been designated as the Department of Shipboard Training as of July 1, 1968. This Department is charged with the mission to make our work-study program, as conducted on board our merchant ships, an outstanding feature of the Kings Point training. It supervises all aspects of the training provided Midshipmen at sea and may, in context, be regarded as an academic department providing continuing education for students while not in residence.

DEPARTMENT OF COMPUTER SCIENCE

The NROTC Instructional Program (NAVPERS 93941) of May 1968, directs that Computer Science be a required course for all Midshipmen (USNR).

Pursuant to this requirement, the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy has introduced courses in Computer Science. These courses will be offered for the first time during the academic year 1970-1971.

The Department of Computer Science was authorized and has been established. The Department will provide for the teaching of basic theory and application of digital and analog computers.

NUCLEAR PROGRAMS

The Academy continues to offer programs in Nuclear Engineering. Conducted by the Nuclear Committee of the Department of Engineering with the assistance of the Department of Mathematics and Science, these

programs are both for the Midshipmen on an elective basis and for the marine industry in general. Under the latter, we have prepared virtually all of the Marine Engineers who have become A.E.C. licensed Reactor Operators aboard the nuclear merchant ship. Members of the faculty of the two departments are well qualified to conduct these programs bringing together, as they do, experience in the construction, operation and refueling of the nuclear ship and also bringing experience and training from Oak Ridge and Brookhaven National Laboratories.

On an elective basis and following a prerequisite course in Differential Equations, the Midshipman's program consists of a course each in Atomic and Nuclear Physics followed by two courses in Nuclear Engineering. Following this is a course in Nuclear Ship Propulsion. The full program constitutes a concentration of electives in theoretical and practical nucleonics lasting for six academic quarters. Many graduates of this program, both Deck and Engineer, have served and are serving with distinction in nuclear ship programs both in the merchant marine and the United States Navy.

For the past ten years the Academy has served the industry with an intensive program for nuclear ship operators. This program offers the graduate licensed marine engineer and deck officer a practical program of preparation for licensure by the Atomic Energy Commission, as operators of the nuclear merchant vessels. Included in the instruction are courses in Atomic and Nuclear Physics; Reactor Engineering; Nuclear Ship Systems, Electronics; Nuclear Instrumentation and Control Rod Theory; Health Physics and Radiation Protection; Nuclear Water Chemistry and Legal and Regulatory Aspects of Reactor Operations. The Academy stands ready to offer this six months of intensive graduate study at any time it is called upon to do so by the Maritime Administration.

A well equipped Nuclear Ship Training Center has been established and is operating at Kings Point. In operation among other things at the center are Nuclear Engineering; Atomic Physics and Water Chemistry Laboratories; a complete simulation of the nuclear ship power plant control system; a water moderated sub-critical reactor assembly and a multi-channel analyzer.

ARTS AND WORLD AFFAIRS PROGRAM

The Arts and World Affairs program, instituted in 1963 in order to bring more cultural activities on an organized basis to the Academy, has progressed each year to become one of the outstanding activities at the Academy. It has been well received by both the Midshipmen and the community at large and has brought considerable recognition to the Academy.

The concerts and lectures, are geared primarily to the Midshipmen audience for their entertainment and education but are also open to the general public. Attendance on the part of the Midshipmen during the first season was compulsory but was later changed to voluntary attendance.

The program, under the general direction of the Registrar, has moved from a very modest start to one of a well balanced concert and lecture series involving a budget of over \$15,000. The Midshipmen Personnel Officer and a Midshipmen Committee assist in the arrangement and implementation of the program. The Midshipmen Committee with representatives from each class meet regularly to discuss which artists and lecturers to engage. To assist Midshipmen in making selections they are given the opportunity to attend lectures and concerts in the city and at other colleges. Last year forty such events were attended by committee members.

At present, the program is supported financially by a moderate fee from the Midshipmen, by donations from the Kings Point Fund and the Welfare Fund, and from ad-

missions paid by a limited number of townspeople.

Peter Nero and his Trio have performed to capacity audiences twice in 1967 and 1969. The Julliard String Quartet gave an excellent concert. The Clancy Brothers, an Irish folk group, drew the largest crowd ever to hear an event in Bowditch Auditorium on November 22, 1968 when 1183 persons attended.

Other distinguished lecturers to appear were Sir Bernard Lovell, famous astronomer from the Jodrell Bank Observatory, the Honorable Charles W. Yost, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, William F. Buckley, Author and publisher and Captain Alan Villiers the famous autor-seafarer.

PLEBE CULTURAL ORIENTATION

The Plebe Cultural Orientation was instituted by the Academic Dean two years ago for the purpose of introducing new Plebes to places of cultural interest within the New York City area. The large majority of Midshipmen come from homes outside the Metropolitan Area and, in many cases, have never had the opportunity to visit New York City. The rigors of the Fourth Class year, including the curtailed liberty hours, often cause Plebes either to overlook or by-pass places of interest in the City. It is hoped that the organized program of visits will encourage the new Midshipmen to participate in the cultural life of New York, on their own, during and after Plebe Year.

The program consists of four trips. Every Midshipman visits the United Nations, the Hayden Planetarium, and either two art museums or one museum and the National Historical Site at Sagamore Hill, Theodore Roosevelt's home in Oyster Bay. The program has been generously supported by the Kings Point Maritime Association which provides the funds to cover transportation costs. Midshipmen reaction to the program has been favorable.

DRUG EDUCATION PROGRAM

Because of the reports of a startling increase in the use of narcotics, drugs, stimulants, etc. by the youth in the United States, the Academy instituted an educational program under the aegis of the Regimental Officer for the Regiment of Midshipmen on "Narcotics Use and Abuse."

The program was developed by the Academy's Chaplains and consisted of a series of Regimental assemblies, the distribution of pertinent literature, audio-visual displays and a visit by the Drugmobile of the Nassau County Police Department. Talks, followed by free discussion periods, were given and led by former addicts, an outstanding cleric, a leading psychiatrist and a representative from the Nassau County Drug Abuse Commission.

Except for the Chaplains, no staff members were present. This was done so that the Midshipmen could freely and uninhibitedly discuss the drug problem. The Midshipmen expressed great interest in the program.

MIDSHIPMEN PARTICIPATION IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE ACADEMY

Midshipmen participate actively and in a meaningful way in the affairs of the Academy. Student representatives attend meetings of the Curriculum Committee and the Sea Year Committee. In this way, the students exercise influence on the development of the educational program at the Academy. The faculty has formally voted for student representation at faculty meetings and Midshipmen now regularly attend such meetings.

There is also midshipmen representation on the Commissary Committee, Library Committee, Ships Service Committee and the Executive Committee of the Athletic Association.

In the conduct of Regimental Affairs, the Regimental Officer is guided by the voice of

the Regimental Policy Board that is strongly represented by the midshipmen leaders such as the top Midshipmen officers, the President of the Midshipmen Council and the President of the First Class.

Most recently, the President of the Kings Point Alumni Association, with the approval of the Superintendent, appointed the Regimental Commander to one of the trusteeships of the Kings Point Fund. Each week on an alternating basis the Superintendent meets with either the Regimental Commander and Executive Officer or the Representatives of the Midshipmen Council.

The voices of the Midshipmen are heard in all areas and we are very pleased with their mature deliberations and the interest that they have expressed in the improvement of their Academy.

COMMANDANTS' CONFERENCES

In order to keep in stride with the changes that are taking place in the Federal Academies, State Maritime Academies, and the private military schools, the Academy has sponsored two Commandants' Conferences which will be continued on an annual basis.

The most recent one was last week, when for the first time, representatives from the U.S. Naval Academy, Military Academy, Air Force Academy and Coast Guard Academy met at Kings Point to confer with the Commandants from The Citadel, Virginia Military Institute, Norwich University and the New York State Maritime College. Common institutional problems were explored, the Regimental Systems were reviewed, and the various Cadet or Midshipmen regulations were compared. This conference was extremely rewarding and all participants have recommended that it be continued.

It was interesting to find that Kings Point was generally in step with all but one of the other institutions and that where changes are being made in the disciplinary systems, regulations, or the conduct of student life, such changes are in common with those being introduced at our sister institutions.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND ATHLETICS

Despite our antiquated facilities our Physical Education and Athletic Programs continue to prosper.

The Intercollegiate Athletic Program continues to be one of the best in the small college division of the N.C.A.A. Fifty-six percent of our Midshipmen participate in our varsity program. This is the best percentage involvement in the nation.

The Academy's football team (1969) won the Lambert Bowl, signifying small college football supremacy in the East. Our soccer team were the Metropolitan College Champions. All other teams had winning seasons.

We are pleased to report that many innovations in our physical education program were introduced in the last two years.

Our departmental testing program, which was revised last year with additional improvements this year, indicates that we must emphasize activities which will develop greater strength, agility, endurance and the ability to make immediate adequate adjustment to body direction and balance.

An extensive remedial program with individual attention given to those Midshipmen who do not attain our required standards was established.

The Academy continues to administer a swimming test to incoming students. All non-swimmers must attend special remedial swimming classes. The success of this program has been measured by the fact that all Midshipmen met the physical education and swimming requirement by the designated shipping date.

INTRAMURAL ATHLETICS

The major objective of this all-year continuous program is to involve as many of

those students who are not in varsity athletics, to participate in at least one competitive physical activity each day. A Midshipman may choose any of the eighteen tournaments offered.

The Academy is proud of the fact that all Midshipmen participate in some form of physical exercise, which accounts for the good physical condition and neat trim of all our Midshipmen.

We are also proud of the fact that one of our staff members, Lieutenant Commander A. C. Zuaro, Assistant Head of the Department of Physical Education and Athletics, has just been named as the Outstanding Intramural Director for 1970 by the National Intramural Association.

ADMISSIONS—CLASS OF 1973

The Class of 1973, which reported to the Academy in July 1969, numbered 340 Midshipmen selected from a field of 1,912 candidates. Following is a summary of significant profile data related to the characteristics of the entering class.

VOLUME OF APPLICANTS

Nominated	1,912
Qualified scholastically	812
Offers of admission	554
Admitted	340

COLLEGE BOARD SCORES

The U.S. Merchant Marine Academy requires that all candidates take the Scholastic Aptitude Test and the Achievement Tests in English and either Level I or Level II Mathematics. The following table covering the Class of 1973 shows the percent within score ranges of those qualifying for entrance:

[In percent]

Range	SAT Verb	SAT Math	ACH Eng.	ACH Math
750-800	0.0	1.0	0.3	1.0
700-749	1.0	3.0	0.5	2.9
650-699	5.0	16.5	3.0	9.0
600-649	10.0	27.0	6.2	17.8
550-599	20.0	22.0	13.6	27.7
500-549	22.0	22.0	23.9	23.9
450-499	22.0	7.0	23.3	14.8
400-449	16.0	1.0	17.7	2.4
350-399	4.0	0.5	11.5	0.5
Mean scores	522	590	496	566

RANK IN HIGH SCHOOL CLASS

Tenths	Percent
1	18
2	28
3	12
4	16
5	11
5 (Below)	15

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Midshipmen are admitted from every state in the Union and the District of Columbia. The Class of 1973 included 2 Midshipmen from the Canal Zone, 1 from Colombia, 1 from Panama and 1 from Venezuela, to fill quotas authorized by law for the American Republics (other than the United States).

SONS OF ALUMNI

The Class of 1973 included 15 sons of U.S. Merchant Marine Academy graduates (4.4% of the Class).

MODIFICATION OF ADMISSIONS SELECTION CRITERIA

During the latter part of fiscal 1968, the Admissions Office developed a modified set of admissions selection criteria based upon the results of validity studies conducted during the two previous years with the assistance of the College Entrance Examination Board. The Maritime Administrator approved the modified criteria for use in the selection of the Class of 1973.

The major changes involved the use of "weighted College Board Scores," "converted class rank," and a refined method of evaluating a candidate's overall potential.

The use of weighted scores allows for differences in the relative importance of verbal and mathematical skills vis-a-vis the Academy curriculum. Use of converted class rank permits consideration of class size when evaluating a candidate's high school class rank, and the refined method of evaluating a combination of high school profile data in arriving at an estimate of the candidate's academic and leadership potential.

In addition to the above changes, the Maritime Administrator approved a change in the minimum College Board Examination score requirement, permitting consideration of candidates scoring a total score as low as 1800 on the four required examinations, provided that other data indicated a potential to satisfactorily meet the academic standards of the Academy curriculum.

Another validity study will be conducted at the end of the year to measure the performance of the Class of 1973 against the predictors used in their selection. Based upon the results of that study, additional modifications of admission selection criteria may be recommended for adoption.

MINORITY GROUP RECRUITING

During Fiscal 1969, the Academy intensified its efforts to recruit candidates from minority groups, with special emphasis on the recruitment of black students. A total of 19 black students were nominated for the Class of 1973, and four of the students were ultimately admitted with the class.

Recruiting of black students for the Class of 1974 was commenced in 1970, with the major effort being undertaken by the Maritime Recruitment Specialist who was added to the staff of the Atlantic Coast District for the purpose. The recruiting program was divided into three phases.

Phase I Visits by the Recruitment Specialist to designated key cities and schools to acquaint students, counselors, teachers, and community leaders with the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy and its program.

Phase II Return visits to follow up on previous contracts and identify potential candidates; follow up with personal letters and Academy literature; subsequent assistance to qualified minority candidates in securing nominations.

Phase III Intensive follow up of nominees by the Maritime Recruitment Specialist and the Admissions Office, working jointly to assure proper and timely processing of candidates and to assure effective communication between the candidates and the Academy.

The recruiting efforts results in the receipt of 525 applications or indications of interest from black students. After initial screening and follow up, there were 95 black students nominated to compete for admission, a five-fold increase over last year.

Presently, the program is in the final stages of Phase III. It appears that there is a strong possibility of 20 to 30 qualified black students entering the Academy with the Class of 1974.

GRADUATE WORK STUDY

A work study of the entire Academy graduate body, completed in December 1969, again indicated rather conclusively that Kings Pointers are following the careers for which they were trained.

It was found that 94.9% of the men graduating from the Academy over the past five years (1964 through 1968) are actively employed in the maritime field; 89.4% at sea and 5.5% in maritime positions ashore.

Of the men graduating during the twenty year period from 1949 through 1968, a total of 3,399 (80.9%) responded to the survey. Their questionnaires revealed that 61.2% were employed in the maritime industry;

38.3% at sea and 22.9% in maritime positions ashore.

The same survey showed that over 10% of the Academy's deck graduates have obtained their licenses as Master Mariners. A total of 780 Kings Pointers out of 6742 deck graduates having attained this goal.

For more recent classes, the percentage is even higher. For example, over 20% of the deck graduates in the Class of 1957 have their Master's License. In the same class, which totaled 231 graduates, thirty-one men have obtained Master's Degrees; seven have Law Degrees; and one has his Ph.D. A number of others, in the 1957 Class, are currently attending Graduate School.

ALUMNI SEARCH PROJECT

A continual effort is made to keep current addresses on all 13,000 Kings Point graduates. Despite our efforts, we have been missing the addresses of almost three thousand men (mostly of early wartime graduates) since an Alumni Office was established at the Academy. Each year we find a few long lost men, but these gains are always cancelled out by other graduates who move and fail to notify the Academy of their new addresses.

With a grant from the Kings Point Fund, a national tracer firm has been retained to locate all missing alumni. As this firm has a normal 80% success record, it is hoped that by the end of 1970, we will be in contact with practically all living graduates of the Academy.

TRAINING VESSEL

Recently, it was discovered that the Academy auxiliary training vessel, **KINGS POINTER**, constructed of wood, was deteriorating badly and required extensive hull reconstruction if it was to continue to fulfill its role as an afloat seamanship and navigation laboratory. Through the splendid cooperation of the Coast Guard, we were able to acquire a larger and more suitable steel hulled vessel which was being decommissioned. We are in the process of transferring equipment and converting the vessel to our needs.

This is the white-hulled vessel that may be seen on the waterfront and it is the former USCG AGA SSIZ.

CONCLUSION

I hope that I have carried out my Stewardship well. I am retiring on June 15 of this year, after 40 years of continuous service with the United States Government. My letter to the Maritime Administrator follows:

FEBRUARY 10, 1970.

"The Maritime Administrator,
"The Honorable ANDREW E. GIBSON,
"Maritime Administration, U.S. Department
of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

"DEAR ANDY: I have the honor, and pleasure, to tell you that having today achieved the ripe young age of 67, after 50 years of continuous service in the United States Merchant Marine, 39 years of this in the service of the United States Government, and 22 of these as Superintendent of the United States Merchant Marine Academy, I will retire on June 15, 1970.

"I have had an exciting, fulfilled, and happy voyage, and my ship the S.S. *Kings Point* is in very good shape. As I ring "Finished With Engines" and step ashore, I am a proud and happy man.

"I intend to keep a continuous association with Merchant Marine innovations and affairs and will live in Washington so our paths will continue to run parallel.

"With my high regard,

"I have the honor to be the Obedient Servant of the U.S. Government.

"GORDON McLINTOCK,
"Rear Admiral, USMS,
"Superintendent."

I meant every word of it. It has been a privilege to serve. I have done my best. I

meant also that I "remain," and will always "remain." "the obedient servant" of the United States Government. Thank you gentlemen for your many courtesies and inestimable assistance in keeping the Academy afloat, and on a "full-ahead bell" throughout its many vicissitudes in the past.

Respectfully submitted,

GORDON McLINTOCK,
Rear Admiral, USMS,
Superintendent.

UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY
Rear Admiral Gordon McLintock, USMS,
Superintendent.

Captain V. E. Tyson Jr., USMS, Assistant
Superintendent.

Captain Janus Poppe, USMS, Dean.
Captain Edward W. Knutsen, USMS, Regi-
mental Officer.

Commander Paul L. Krinsky, USMS, Assis-
tant Dean.

Commander M. J. Koppelson, USMS, Ad-
ministrative Officer.

Commander Charles M. Renick, USMS,
Alumni Officer.

Commander Harry P. Hart, USMS, Public
Information Officer.

Lt. Commander Kenneth A. Geary, USMS,
Registrar.

Lt. Commander Thomas W. Harrelson,
USMS, Special Asst. to Supt.

Captain Michael M. Chicurel, USMS, Acad-
emy Training Representative, New York.

Captain R. H. O'Connell, USMS, Academy
Training Representative, San Francisco.

Captain Donald J. Thompson, USMS, Acad-
emy Training Representative, New Orleans.

Commander Ronald J. Walsh, CHC, USN,
Catholic Chaplain.

Commander Donald F. Kingsley, Jr., CHC,
USN, Protestant Chaplain.

BLOOMFIELD, CONN.

HON. WILLIAM R. COTTER

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. COTTER. Mr. Speaker, I have been informed that a town in my district—Bloomfield—has been named an "All America City" in a nationwide contest conducted by *Look* magazine and the National Municipal League.

This is a great honor for the citizens of Bloomfield and one they justly deserve. I wish to take this opportunity to salute them for this achievement.

This contest over which 100 communities were entered, only 11 were chosen. Among these distinguished towns was the city of Bloomfield.

Bloomfield was chosen because it acted in a positive manner to eliminate any vestiges of racial discrimination in its school system. Bloomfield accomplished this task by a voluntary busing program set up by a citizen group to eliminate de facto segregation. Second, a bond issue initiated by the citizens of Bloomfield was passed to build a new middle school to eliminate racially unbalanced elementary schools.

Bloomfield has always had a reputation for being a forward looking and innovative community with a progressive town government. With its informed and involved citizenry, I feel that Bloomfield is an outstanding example to the rest of the Nation and justifiably deserves its title of "All America City."

CLEAN WATER ACT NEEDS
CHANGES

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Roman S. Gribbs, mayor of the city of Detroit, presented an incisive statement on the need for changes in the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 to the Senate Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution on February 8, 1971. The mayor described the effects of the current municipal financial crisis and Federal grant-in-aid programs, the city of Detroit's significant record in cleaning up water pollution and his estimate of what is needed to carry on an effective national water cleanup campaign.

So that my colleagues will have an opportunity to be aware of Mayor Gribbs' comments, I include the text of his statement at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

STATEMENT OF ROMAN S. GRIBBS, MAYOR OF
DETROIT, MICH.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

I am Roman S. Gribbs, Mayor of Detroit, Michigan. I appear here today for my City and on behalf of the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

These organizations represent over 14,800 cities in all 50 states. For them, and for our cities, Mayor Massell (of Atlanta, Georgia) and I appear this morning to urge a major expansion of the Federal effort to help cities and states fight the menace of water pollution.

The grant-in-aid program under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act has been of significant importance to Detroit, the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors because of the valuable assistance which it can provide in controlling water pollution.

This program, like few others, reaches all cities because virtually all cities have sewer problems and must develop methods for responsible purifying and disposing of sewage waste.

Since enactment of the Clean Water Restoration Act in 1966, many cities, including my own, have received Federal assistance in constructing waste treatment works. This has been of some aid toward progress.

As we look to the future, however, we must recognize that the current structure of the Act has created many problems. Cities have had serious difficulties in implementing programs with Federal assistance. Significant revisions must be made to build an effective partnership between the Federal government, the states and the cities if our goal is to develop and finance a water pollution control effort which will make noticeable progress in cleaning up the nation's waterways.

Specifically, we identify three serious obstacles in the present program:

1. Federal money is grossly inadequate to meet the water clean-up needs of local governments which are facing the worst financial crisis of their history.

2. Available money has come in uncertain fits and starts making long-term planning impossible.

3. There has been little relation between the allocation of Federal funds and the magnitude of a city's water problem. This is especially true for large cities such as Detroit which after decades of misuse have the greatest need for clean water projects. The Fed-

eral government still operates on the "something for everybody" plan. Unfortunately, the pie being divided is too small to have an effect everywhere.

The inadequacies in the present statute have created a particularly critical situation for Detroit. We want to move forward as fast as humanly possible. We want to clean up our pollution problems. But, at the same time Detroit, like many other cities, faces a severe financial crisis. We must ration our scarce funds carefully among the many municipal services we are required to maintain.

Detroit faces the coming fiscal year with a cash deficit of \$15 million and a revenue gap of over \$51 million in the next fiscal year! I do not exaggerate when I say that we do not know where we are going to find the money to continue our efforts toward eradicating pollution, unemployment and crime—Detroit's latest version of the big three. Merely reiterating our inability to pay does not convey the proper sense of urgency of the desperation that exists. The big cities are fighting to survive.

Yet, two months ago, the Environmental Protection Agency put my city on 180-day notice demanding we move faster in cleaning up water pollution or face the possibility of court action. Frankly, I was shocked and incensed.

The piousness of the Federal government's action is astonishingly hypocritical when one considers the record. From April of 1966 to December of 1970 the Federal government pledged \$9,562,935 to the Detroit Metropolitan Water Department for five (5) major water pollution control construction projects. In addition, \$1,299,800 was appropriated for two research projects bringing the total Federal pledge to \$10,862,735.

Many would have agreed that this was a conservative beginning if it were not for the shocking fact that the Federal government has come up with exactly \$2,160,213.62 of their over \$10 million pledge—only 20% of its dollar commitment—and then, the dollars have dribbled in over a period of four years.

The citizens of Detroit were shocked as well you might be. They had contributed a substantial share of their limited tax dollars to cleaning up the waterways. They did not appreciate the attack on their efforts, particularly in light of the Federal government's own dismal performance.

In order to keep on schedule, the citizens of Detroit have had to prefinance, under their own initiative, \$40 million in project costs. This money rightfully should have been provided by the Federal government.

Mr. Chairman, we do not have the revenue base to continuously carry on this type of financing. We, therefore, need help in prodig the Federal Government into action.

Local participation is extremely difficult when such a high local share is required. And, Detroit is in the unusual position of having to ask the Federal government not only to increase their share but also to pay us what it already owes Detroit.

We floated bonds to provide this Federal share. And it is we who must pay the interest on the Federal share. This increases the penalty Detroiters must pay for the lack of Federal commitment and Federal dollars.

In effect, the City of Detroit, and many other American cities, have been doing the Federal job. And the Federal schedule of financial aid to fight pollution has fallen further and further behind.

This was the financial situation that the City of Detroit faced when it was given this notice to speed up its sewage treatment campaign.

As I indicated earlier, our figures show that we will need an additional \$51 million in the coming fiscal year just to continue the inadequate City services we provide. Last year to avoid chaos, we had to:

Lay off 589 City employees
Not fill some 2,000 positions which have become vacant
Sell off valuable City assets that we would prefer to have kept

Postpone absolutely essential programs to reduce crime, diminish narcotic use and improve services in our municipal hospital.

In spite of this disastrous situation, the City of Detroit and other American cities have been paying the Federal share to clean up our waters.

At the time we were handed the Ruckelshaus' 180-day abatement order, a State arbitration board told us that we would have to give both our firemen and policemen an 11% pay raise instead of the 6% pay raise agreed to by all other city employees.

Our Budget Bureau has computed that the City's revenue loss from the recent General Motors strike would be something in the order of \$4 million.

Thus, in Detroit we have reached a point where we can no longer legally raise any taxes—and I want to emphasize that point. It is not just politically difficult for me to raise taxes, it is legally impossible to do so. Many other American cities are in the same situation.

If cities like Detroit, Cleveland, Atlanta and most other major American cities are to take costly steps necessary to make real progress in cleaning up our waterways, we are going to need outside help. We do not have the resources to do it on our own. Some states are providing valuable but limited assistance in controlling pollution. Michigan is. Most are not. Therefore, if assistance is to be available to financially hard-pressed cities on a national basis for a national clean water program, it must be provided from the Federal level. Nothing short of a massive increase in Federal aid for local clean water programs will do the job.

Detroit will need \$273,840,000 for treatment plants and interceptor work between now and 1974. At a bare minimum the Federal government will have to carry 55% of the cost. But, more importantly, we are like any other outraged creditor in these dismal economic times. We demand the money that the Federal government already owes us.

Detroit is entitled to the reimbursement provided for in Section 8c of Public Act 660 because we proceeded with construction work in advance of actual grant offers for the full legal amount. We are also entitled to receive additional grants as provided by the law. This equals a Federal reimbursement of \$39,859,036 to Detroit. We want it and we need it.

We in Detroit respectfully ask the Nixon Administration to stop pointing the accusing finger at us, at Cleveland and at Atlanta. Instead, we ask that the President and Congress review their priorities and help us in this most important problem.

Senator Muskie, I am proud to submit to you on behalf of the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors the final version of our study of sewage treatment facility needs which you requested our witnesses to prepare. A preliminary copy was submitted to you last summer.

Since then, we have received data from nearly 150 additional cities to raise the total cities covered by our survey to 1,150—certainly one of the most comprehensive local needs survey ever undertaken.

On the basis of this survey, we support our estimate that if the people of this nation really want to clean up our waterways, then between \$33 and \$37 billion in public expenditures are going to be necessary over the next few years. These are not estimates based on some preliminary sampling and blown up out of scale to make an impression at a Congressional hearing. These are the hard facts. These are what the American cities themselves estimate their real needs to be.

This is the cost if we really mean business when we say: "Let's clean up the nation's waterways."

We can do it if we really want to. The cities do—the question is: Does the President and the Congress?

THE BIRTHDAY OF TOMAS G. MASARYK

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Sunday will be the 171st anniversary of the birth of Czechoslovakia's greatest statesman, Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, who was born on an imperial estate in Moravia on March 7, 1850. His father was a coachman to Franz Josef, who had occupied the Austrian throne for slightly more than a year. Little did the emperor dream that his coachman's son would assume the leadership of an important part of the empire that would disintegrate 2 years after Franz Josef's death.

Masaryk, who had been educated at universities in Vienna and Leipzig, became a professor of philosophy and sociology in a university in Prague in 1882. He was a prolific writer on philosophical, sociological, and political subjects.

He was a member of the Austrian parliament from 1891 to 1893, when he resigned his seat, but was elected again in 1907, this time as the candidate of the small Realist Party. When World War I broke out, Masaryk was still in the Reichsrat, but he escaped from Austria in December 1914.

For 4 years he and his pupil, Eduard Benes, along with other Czechs and Slovaks, conducted an unrelenting campaign for liberation from the Habsburg yoke, their work being carried on from Switzerland, England, France, Italy, Russia, and the United States. Their efforts on behalf of Czecho-Slovak independence coincided with the war aims of the Allied Powers and the United States, who were fighting against Austria-Hungary, as well as the German Empire. The campaign of Masaryk and Benes was not limited to mere agitation and propaganda; they inspired thousands of Czechs and Slovaks to fight on the side of the Allies and secured considerable financial support for the cause of independence from Americans of Czech and Slovak origin.

Masaryk's visits to the United States in 1917 and 1918 bore fruit on May 29 of the latter year when the Lansing declaration of sympathy with the cause of Czecho-Slovak and Yugoslav independence was issued, Robert Lansing being Secretary of State in Woodrow Wilson's Cabinet. The Allies associated themselves with the declaration 5 days later.

The Czechoslovak National Council, of which Masaryk was president and Benes secretary, was recognized by the United States and the Allies as the de facto government of the future republic, which became a reality shortly after the collapse

of the Austrian Empire. Austria's participation in World War I ended on October 28, 1918, and the independence of Czecho-Slovakia was proclaimed the same day.

Masaryk, of whom it can be truly said that he founded the new nation, became its first president as the result of a unanimous election by the new National Assembly on November 14, 1918, only 3 days after the Armistice had stilled the guns on the Western Front. He was reelected in May 1920, May 1927, and May 1934, to 7-year terms. Advanced age and ill health led to his resignation in 1935, when he was succeeded by Benes.

Adolf Hitler's National Socialists had assumed power in neighboring Germany in 1933 and Masaryk felt the repercussions of this diabolic force, but his death on September 14, 1937, spared him from the far worse evils that resulted from the Munich agreement and its aftermath. Nazism ran its evil course and came to an end in 12 years, but the Nazis' ideological brethren, the Communists, have ruled Czecho-Slovakia with an iron hand since 1948.

Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that the spirit of Tomas Masaryk lives on among the Czechs and Slovaks, who will some day reassume their rightful place among the free and independent nations of the world. May God speed the day.

NEW HAVEN MAYOR AND BOARD OF ALDERMEN SUPPORT CONCEPT OF FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, as we prepare to consider the various Federal revenue-sharing proposals now pending in Congress, it is particularly important that we study carefully the testimony of those who must live with the financial problems of the States and cities—namely mayors, Governors, and other State and local officials. These are the experts, and without their expertise it will be impossible for us to fully understand the dimensions of the serious financial plight in which our States and cities now find themselves.

For this reason, I wish to insert at this point in the RECORD a resolution concerning Federal revenue sharing which was passed on February 11, 1971, by the Board of Aldermen of the City of New Haven, Conn., along with a statement by New Haven Mayor Bartholomew F. Guida in support of the resolution:

RESOLUTION OF BOARD OF ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF NEW HAVEN

Whereas, the City of New Haven, Connecticut has consistently sought to meet the needs of its citizens, maintain a responsible and responsive city government and, to a greater degree than many other municipalities, contribute its share to the implementation of national and state priorities; and

Whereas, the funding to fully meet these needs can no longer be expected to result

from ever increasing levies upon the property of taxpayers within this city;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that this Board in session convened on February 11, 1971, does hereby express its most fervent desire that an equitable and sufficient arrangement for the sharing of federal tax revenues with cities and states of this nation be enacted by the U.S. Congress at its present session and, further, this Board does hereby publicly call upon the U.S. Senators and Congressmen of this State, and upon the Governor and the Connecticut General Assembly, to lend their immediate and wholehearted support to this effort.

SUPPORT OF FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING

(Statement of Mayor Bartholomew F. Guida, New Haven, Conn.)

Our city has a long and honorable 333-year history. It was one of the first urban settlements in these United States, and its government was formed then—as it exists today—to serve the people who live within its boundaries or those who come to do business, to work, to study, to visit. It provided protection against fire and crimes, took care of those in need or who were ill, fostered industry and business, assured its people of water and sewage disposal and streets. To secure the wherewithal to make these things possible, it taxed its citizens on the basis of the property they owned—a reasonable measure in the earlier days of our city of a definite degree of affluence.

Today all of these historical functions and responsibilities of this city continue and have increased while a whole host of new responsibilities have accrued. The urban centers of our nation have become the primary gathering ground for large numbers of our more disadvantaged citizens—disadvantaged by reason of limited training and inappropriate skills, race or age. These are people who are seeking to better their lot and to provide greater opportunities for their children, and who all too often find only the ghetto available as a home. These citizens have needs which call upon the resources of government to a greater extent than many other who now live in suburban and exurban areas—areas which have grown up in the last 25 years through a variety of federally subsidized attractions. Many of these more dependent citizens have come to our cities from areas of the country where lack of adequate education and economic opportunity has fostered their migration and ultimately their dependence on government. As a result, urban centers have acquired the responsibility to confront problems of national magnitude.

Physically, our older cities are plagued with a deteriorating housing stock and increasingly obsolete operating plant. Replacement of these facilities in an economy where the inflationary spiral automatically means higher costs is an inordinate drain on its residents at the same time as the demand on these facilities is higher than ever. American cities have not stood still in the face of these challenges. New Haven is perhaps the outstanding example in the United States of an urban center which has inexhaustibly sought after every possible means, including Federally and State funded programs, to alleviate demeaning conditions, improve urban life for its citizens, and provide a sound and continually expanding economic base. This city has sought and received substantial renewal aid and has originated programs to service the needs of people well in advance of similar national efforts. But the problems are growing faster than the solutions. Poverty remains with us, and its tragic costs become ever more evident, the incidence of crime rises and our streets become unsafe, our minority population, deprived of full choice in jobs or housing, has grown 500% since 1940, and even while our population

declines, our school enrollment grows, slowly but continually.

It is important to underscore the fact that the nation can no longer consider such human problems as localized. The riot in Indiana or North Carolina is on the doorstep of the citizen of Los Angeles or New Haven. The cry of the hungry child in Appalachia or Connecticut rings through the very halls of this Congress. We are a national community and must recognize ourselves as such.

National problems can be addressed only through the use of national resources and require a national tax base. This principle has been long recognized and is the very foundation of our federal tax structure. It is only in recent years, however, that we have all realized that not all national problems can be met by federally administered programs—that many problems of national attention and proper national concern can only be dealt with on a much more localized level.

There is little question, for instance, that the quality of police and other emergency services is a major national concern and must be addressed by a national program, but certainly not by the creation of a national police force or a federal fire department. There have been many attempts in this area alone to provide federal solutions through special funding programs for training, for special equipment, or other exotic means. But these approaches miss the roots of the problem, which is the basic support of such programs—their daily bread—the ability to provide reliable, day-after-day, high quality dependable service. The same is true in our school systems, our parks and recreation programs, sanitation, transit, health—all the areas where a City directly meets the needs of its citizens.

We are all familiar with the vastly changing and challenging conditions in modern urban society and the terrible cost in money and time required to meet the new needs and correct historical deficiencies. However, all of today's compounded problems rest on the same tax resource base as it did centuries ago. To meet the total scope of need in modern America terms without new resources means confiscatory rates upon a very limited number of taxpayers . . . taxpayers who today cannot be presumed affluent simply because they own property.

Large blocks of property within the central city have been, by tradition and state mandate, exempted from property taxes. In the case of New Haven, almost one-third of our land area is so exempt. The eventual bankruptcy of this city and other cities is not far off, and it is incumbent upon rational men to take those steps now which can prevent such a catastrophe.

In view of clear national interests, readily apparent needs, and the current orientation of the federal administration, it is difficult to understand how there can be serious objection to the concept of distributing some Federal tax revenues to cities and states.

It is well recognized that there are proper Federal priorities and State priorities which must be observed and that these should become realities through Federal and State grants for these specific purposes. It is imperative to the well-being of our cities that the continuing efforts in urban renewal, open space, and many aspects of human resources development be not diminished, but increased. For such programs to be accomplished, according to well accepted national standards, it is necessary that Federal and State supervision and procedures to meet these standards be continued. However, as more flexible monies are made available to our cities, it also becomes possible to look to a principle of national standards of performance in local functions and services—possible to put a floor under the quality of urban life in our national community.

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFIT INCREASE NEEDED NOW

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD today an article from the Senior Citizen, a publication of the American Federation of Senior Citizens. The article makes reference to an editorial in the Chicago Daily News of January 6. The editorial, among other things, points to the tragic irony of the thousands of social security beneficiaries who will die while we are debating the proposed increase. To be more specific, the Social Security Administration estimates that 1,265,744 social security beneficiaries will die each year. That means approximately 3,468 beneficiaries will die each day we delay action on the increase. These people will be denied the use of benefits which are rightfully theirs, assuming the increase will be retroactive to January 1, 1971.

The article follows:

SOCIAL SECURITY INCREASE DELAYED, ELDERLY WANT TO KNOW WHY?

(By William Castleman, president, Illinois Federation of Senior Citizens)

Why have the Senators who are sympathetic to the plight of our aged been unable to end Filibustering, endless debate, which had taken up a great deal of their valuable time? Because the Rules of the Senate requires a two-thirds vote to end debate. The Filibustering ended when it was too late for the Conference Committees of the Senate and the House to meet and iron out their differences on the proposed bills before adjournment of the 91st Congress.

President Nixon, before adjournment, notified the public through the press that if the Congress did not pass the Social Security bill of 1970, that when they did pass it in the next session, it would be retroactive to January 1971.

The Chicago Daily News of January 6, in its editorial stated: "Though there is general agreement that the pension hike will be retroactive to January 1, such a delay would inflict hardship on most pensioners, and thousands who died in the meantime would gain nothing. But the Senate opposition to the Administration welfare reforms runs strong among the conservative Republicans and Democrats." The Daily News editorial failed to mention that had there not been the Senate rule which required a two-thirds vote to stop Filibustering, the Senate would have been able to pass the 1970 Social Security bill and give the House time to iron out the differences between the two Houses of Congress.

The leaders and the members of senior citizens organizations will seek to change the rules covering Filibustering, which will enable the Congress to end debate by a majority vote. It was the unlimited debate in the Reichstag of the German Republic that paved the way for Hitler and dictatorship.

In these critical times, when our low income elderly face increases in rents, food, taxes, which keep going higher, the 91st Congress had failed them, procrastinating at a time when our nation is facing a most critical period, domestically and internationally.

Where have the senior citizens failed? Did they fail to keep the Members of Congress informed in the year 1970 of their plight that inflation had created? The Members of Con-

gress are not mind-readers. We hear many elderly complain to their friends how bad things are for them. They fail to understand, that the men in public office are their servants. The Members of Congress do want to hear from their constituents who help to keep them in Congress. To protest to them, the 29 million social security beneficiaries can make clear their predicament. It is in their numerical strength that they become a power—senior citizens power. United together there would be no real problem to obtain a cost-of-living social security increase.

What will it take to have our senior citizens working together to obtain a more secure life in their retirement years? This kind of life is enjoyed in the Norwegian nations. Why cannot the aged enjoy the same in the richest nation in the world? How happy the leaders of the senior citizens organizations would be to find that the aged have now realized that they must unite to live a more secure and happier life.

WE CARE ABOUT OUR PRISONERS OF WAR

HON. JOHN Y. McCOLLISTER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. McCOLLISTER. Mr. Speaker, not long ago I cosponsored two resolutions dealing with prisoners of war. One resolution designates the week of March 21-27 as "National Week of Concern for Prisoners of War/Missing in Action," and the other calls upon Hanoi to abide by the Geneva Convention with regard to humane treatment of prisoners of war.

I hope these are the only resolutions I or any other Member of Congress feel are necessary. I hope that by this time next year—at the very latest—our prisoners of war will be released, or at the very least accorded the treatment they are entitled to—as human beings.

Legislation has been passed countless times by both Houses of Congress but Hanoi is not impressed. Our laws and resolutions are not binding on Hanoi—nor any other power on earth that is aiding Hanoi. But they do, however, serve a valuable point by putting the Congress and the American people on record.

In spite of the many times American sentiment has been ignored by Hanoi, we are not going to give up or shut up. Public opinion has been aroused and will stay that way until our men held captive by North Vietnam are treated in accordance with the Geneva Convention.

I would like to share with my colleagues the text of a resolution I have just received from the First Presbyterian Church of Omaha, Nebr. I share their sentiments entirely.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Be it resolved by the session of the First Presbyterian Church of Omaha, Nebraska: The Session of the First Presbyterian Church wishes to express to the Government of the United States of America, the Government of North Vietnam, all representatives to the United Nations, and the Secretary General of the United Nations its concern about the

inhumane treatment of our country's servicemen who are held captive by the Government of North Vietnam.

The Session of the First Presbyterian Church petitions the Government of North Vietnam to adhere to the clearly stipulated terms of the Geneva Conventions relative to:

1. The identification of prisoners held captive
2. The release of prisoners who are seriously wounded or ill
3. The allowance of a proper flow of mail
4. The protection of prisoners from public abuse
5. The use of prisoners for propaganda purposes
6. The release of false information about prisoners which has been harmful to their mental health and well being along with that of their families.

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS DAY IN CONGRESS: A TRIBUTE TO QUIET COURAGE

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, it is for me a moment of tremendous import and honor to mark, today, the 50th anniversary of a truly great organization devoted in service to the disabled veterans of this country and their families—the Disabled American Veterans.

Originally organized to work for the physical, mental, social, and economic rehabilitation of the disabled veterans of World War I, the DAV, through five decades of consistent and tireless work on behalf of these men and women, has grown to its present position as one of the Nation's major veterans organizations, the official spokesman for our Nation's disabled veterans, with more than 300,000 active members.

The objectives which motivated the DAV then—obtaining fair and just compensation, adequate and sympathetic medical care and suitable gainful employment for those war veterans who have been disabled in the service of their country—are just as relevant, if not more so, today.

The progress that has been made toward the realization of these goals is due in great part to the leadership of men such as my good friend, Judge David B. Williams, former national commander of the DAV, the dedication of every single member, and broad public support. It has been due to the effectiveness of DAV programs, such as the national service officers, present in every Veterans' Administration regional office, to provide proper counselling and advice to disabled veterans; the idento-tag program which not only helps to provide employment for disabled veterans but defrays the cost of the national service program and other projects; a scholarship program for children of DAV members and participation in other civic and public service activities.

As a Deputy Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, I know firsthand the joys

and the difficulties involved in securing the welfare of those disabled fighting men of our Nation, and I am happy to be able to attest to the devotion, constructive energy, and far-reaching accomplishments of the DAV.

It is indeed an honor to be able to continue the task in behalf of these men here in the House of Representatives, and to be able to continue to benefit from the DAV's advice and counsel in considering legislation which affects the well-being of those who have been disabled in defense of our country.

CONGRESSMAN HERMAN BADILLO URGES IMPLEMENTATION OF VOLUNTARY MILITARY SERVICE

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, many of our colleagues and I are firmly convinced that an all-volunteer military force is highly feasible and that it must be implemented at the earliest practicable time. It is most obvious that if we improve the economic and educational benefits to those in the Armed Forces and create new programs to attract more men and women into military careers, a voluntary system is viable. Accordingly, last month over 80 of us introduced the Voluntary Military Manpower Procurement Act of 1971—H.R. 4450—to end the draft and establish a volunteer military service.

One of the leading congressional proponents for ending conscription and implementing a volunteer military service is Congressman HERMAN BADILLO, of New York. Earlier this week Congressman BADILLO submitted a well-reasoned, perceptive, and thought-provoking statement to the House Armed Services Committee in support of H.R. 4450. Particularly noteworthy are Mr. BADILLO's remarks pertaining to the role of blacks and Puerto Ricans in a volunteer army. He effectively counters the myths and fears of those who would oppose its establishment on this basis.

Mr. Speaker, Congressman BADILLO's statement is one of the finest arguments for a volunteer military service that I have seen in a long time and I believe it should be shared with our colleagues. Accordingly, I am pleased to insert it herewith for inclusion in the RECORD:

TOWARD A VOLUNTEER ARMY

(Statement of Hon. HERMAN BADILLO, of New York, before Committee on Armed Services, Mar. 2, 1971)

Mr. Chairman, I am gratified that the Armed Services Committee is conducting these hearings on the draft and the volunteer army proposal. I appreciate having the opportunity to submit this statement in support of legislation which a number of our colleagues and I cosponsored earlier this month, aimed at ending the draft and establishing a volunteer military service.

In the early years of the Republic the concept of involuntary conscription was wisely rejected by our founding fathers as being inconsistent with our basic ideals and

the constitutional form of government. Our early leaders chose to depend, instead, on volunteers to meet the country's military manpower requirements. Thus, a fine tradition was created and forced military service to raise armies became foreign to the American character and spirit of volunteerism. Unfortunately, however, this precedent has been destroyed and, during the 20th century, there has been a generally increasing dependence on conscription. The old concept of a man fulfilling his "military obligation" has become totally corrupted and involuntary military service has become nothing more than servitude.

The draft is a symbol of the gap between the generations, is a major source of friction in our society and is a primary cause of a great deal of unrest among our young people. It is a basically unfair and inequitable system which imposes an undue burden of service on some while others are left totally free of any obligation. Much of the burden of this repressive and unjust structure has all too often been sustained by minority groups, the economically disadvantaged and the poorly educated. Injustices have been compounded, inequities are uncorrected, uniform standards and the application of them are virtually non-existent and young men still face uncertainty. The present draft system is designed only to provide large numbers of men with absolutely no thought given to quality. Many of us are convinced that the draft system is quickly becoming unworkable. While the Congress has failed to properly cope with the situation and exercise its prerogatives in reforming this archaic and unfair system, this time is now past and we are now at the point where a volunteer military force can be established.

The Gates Commission not only reported that a volunteer armed force is feasible but that it is also more desirable from many points of view. Such a proposal will result in a more efficient, better motivated, more economical structure. A volunteer army can be established without impairing our country's ability to meet existing and anticipated troop level requirements and, as the distinguished presidential advisory body properly noted, it will neither result in a more militarized society nor will it vary significantly in ethnic, racial or economic composition from the present system.

In terms of simple numbers, Mr. Chairman, a volunteer army is feasible—now! Annually the number of potential volunteers increases steadily and this figure has almost doubled in the last 15 years.

One of the basic premises of the legislation we introduced on February 17 and a major recommendation of the Gates Commission is that a decent, living wage should be established for the men and women serving in the Armed Forces. I am appalled at the conditions in which many of our servicemen and their families presently live and the large number of servicemen receiving public assistance. The poverty-level conditions in which all too many enlisted men are living are intolerable and, in my opinion, are quickly leading to a total breakdown of our military services through poor morale. Such situations must not be permitted to continue. If a man is asked to risk his life or the use of a limb he should at least be paid the minimum wage, if not more. A basic recruit in the U.S. Army earns less than a Job Corps graduate or an unskilled blue collar worker. Thus, volunteer military service is viable and can be sustained if our military men and women are given an increased and livable wage, plus increased educational opportunities, better housing and other benefits. The present military pay structure is unacceptable and recognized experts will agree that the present pay levels are so poor that they keep people who would otherwise volunteer from enlisting in the Armed Forces.

Some object to a volunteer army because of the budgetary increases caused by the rise in costs of the pay and benefits needed to attract volunteers. Nevertheless, this increase would be offset by the decreased need and costs of training facilities and the elimination of the huge costs and inefficiencies of higher turnover offered by career service. The Army's present annual turnover rate is 17 per cent. Naturally, the men who leave must be replaced with other men whose training for the various positions they fill often lasts well beyond one year. By effectively utilizing personnel who enjoy their jobs and are well suited to them, the efficiency of the Armed Forces will be greatly increased and the number of men needed for each position would be significantly reduced. This high turnover rate also causes many of the services' most experienced personnel to be tied down in training new recruits.

Morale is another vital element, Mr. Chairman. Aside from the poor economic and living conditions I have already discussed, there is a basic negative psychological influence over the military as a whole because of the compulsion attendant to the draft. The draft is a tremendous infringement upon the lives of all those who fall under its power and there is often a natural resistance to its methods and policies. I believe that a volunteer system would not only return our country to its basic traditions and ideals but it would improve military morale and the popular attitude toward the military career enormously. In this age of confrontation, the elimination of compulsory service would free the military from disciplinary problems which have occupied so much of its attention in the past several years.

Some express a fear that a volunteer army would become a band of mercenaries, that we would have a professional military that might become a threat to our basic democratic institutions and our governmental system. This argument is without foundation. Officers, not enlisted men, who cause military coups are already professional career men. Also, the Commander-in-Chief, the secretaries of Defense and the military services are all civilians and all money given to the military must be appropriated by the Congress.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I contest the contention that a volunteer army would be composed mainly of disadvantaged minority groups. The idea that the economic incentives built into a volunteer army structure would make the risk of injury or death so overwhelmingly attractive to young Blacks and Puerto Ricans is both repugnant and fallacious.

Too little attention has been given the findings of the Gates Commission on this point. This notable group pointed out that Blacks today represent 9.5 per cent of all American military forces and some 13 per cent of all enlistees. Most revealing of all are the re-enlistment figures for Blacks during the years the war in Southeast Asia underwent major escalation. From 1965 to 1969, re-enlistment of Black soldiers declined by nearly half—from 22.3 per cent in 1965 to 11.4 per cent in 1969.

Today, although Blacks represent some 12.5 per cent of the population, their representation in the Armed Forces is 3 per cent less.

There are a number of reasons for this situation and the reasons help explain the underlying error in the reasoning of those who oppose voluntary military service on this issue. In the first instance, even current military standards—certainly below those that would be established for an all-volunteer army—reject the majority of young Blacks and Puerto Ricans otherwise eligible for military service. This is clearly the result of their under-education, inade-

quate health and nutrition and the general pattern of neglect characterizing the urban ghettos and rural poverty areas from which they come.

Secondly, among the young Blacks and Puerto Ricans there is no strong motivation toward the military in the first place, and especially during times of war. "Why should we be the white man's killer?" more than one potential soldier has asked me. They want to enlist in a volunteer army no more than they want to be inducted and serve involuntarily. I can foresee no significant change in the present rate of enlistment.

There is no evidence that such critics have taken the time to speak with Black and/or Puerto Rican community leaders before arriving at their erroneous conclusions. It is a matter of record that the great majority of Black and Puerto Rican leaders have spoken out in support of a volunteer army and I know their stand accurately reflects community sentiment on this issue.

The Gates Commission's report supports my contention by noting that an all-volunteer force will not differ significantly in composition from the present mixed force of volunteers and conscripts. Poor, uneducated Blacks and Puerto Ricans are far outnumbered by poor, uneducated whites. As I mentioned when I joined in sponsoring the Voluntary Military Manpower Procurement Act of 1971, "... powerful factors would work in a volunteer army toward keeping the present proportion where it is in the draft army and pay raises will attract whites as much as non-whites, just as both are drawn into police forces for similar compensation."

Mr. Chairman, the Congress has just four months in which to take meaningful and effective action. We must now end the rhetoric and reassert our authority. Long hours and much labor has been invested in making all sides of the issue clearly understandable to the American public and I strongly believe that there is overwhelming public support for a volunteer system. The concept of a voluntary military service is not impossible, Mr. Chairman. It is not only technically feasible to implement but it would most certainly be in keeping with the American tradition of encouraging individual freedom of choice. I urge that this committee take positive and favorable action on H.R. 4450 and report it out at the earliest possible date.

Thank you.

AN INCREASE IN THE DEBT LIMIT

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I voted against increasing the debt limit because I am not convinced that such an increase is necessary. Perhaps if we reduced the budget in those areas where reductions can and should be made, we would find that the existing debt limit would be sufficient, or a lesser increase needed.

We have not materially reduced military spending. We continue to pour billions into agricultural subsidies. We waste funds on public works "boondoggles" and such dubious projects as the SST. The failure to reduce spending in these areas makes the argument for an increase in the debt unconvincing to me.

If the administration does its homework and reduces spending on these budget areas and then finds that an increase is necessary, I shall vote accordingly if the arguments are persuasive. Until such time, I shall continue to oppose an increase in the debt limit.

OUTSTANDING RECORD OF MEMBERS OF 80TH CONGRESS REFUTES THE EPITHET OF THE "DO NOTHING" CONGRESS—"INFAMOUS" CLASS PRODUCED MANY FAMOUS AMERICANS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, with your election as Speaker of the House, the "Class of the 80th Congress" assumed new luster and distinction.

The list of Members who served in the 80th Congress following World War II was heralded in the press as a "Do-Nothing Congress." And yet this Congress provided the Nation with two Presidents—John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon. The present Speaker of the House, CARL ALBERT of Oklahoma, and many other Members have attained positions of prominence in Congress—in the executive branch of the Government—in the judiciary—in private business and in other diverse fields.

Following your election, Mr. Speaker, I requested the Library of Congress to research the lives of this famed class of 92 Members of the 80th Congress.

As the former Members of the Congress gather in the House Chamber today, I wanted to provide for the RECORD a list of some of the Members with positions of influence attained by the alumni of the famed 80th Congress.

In addition to two Presidents, the Speaker of the House, this Congress has also provided a former Vice President, Richard M. Nixon; five Governors; nine U.S. Senators; five chairmen of House committees and subcommittees; five judges; five high officials in the executive branch; two ambassadors; two commissioners of Federal regulatory agencies; and two members of professional staff of current Members of the Congress.

Eleven members of the "Class of the 80th Congress" remain in the Congress. They are:

First. CARL ALBERT of Oklahoma—Speaker of the House.

Second. JOHN A. BLATNIK of Minnesota—chairman, House Public Works Committee.

Third. J. CALIB BOGGS of Delaware—U.S. Senator.

Fourth. OMAR T. BURLESON of Texas—served as chairman, House Administration Committee; member, House Ways and Means Committee.

Fifth. NORRIS COTTON of New Hampshire—U.S. Senator.

Sixth. HAROLD D. DONOHUE of Massachusetts—member, House Judiciary Committee.

Seventh. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

DORN of South Carolina—member, House Public Works Committee and House Veterans' Affairs Committee.

Eighth. JOE L. EVINS of Tennessee—chairman, Select Committee on Small Business; Chairman, Subcommittee on Public Works Appropriations.

Ninth. JACOB K. JAVITS of New York—U.S. Senator.

Tenth. ROBERT E. JONES of Alabama—member, House Government Operations Committee and House Public Works Committee.

Eleventh. OTTO E. PASSMAN of Louisiana—chairman, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations Appropriations.

The Members of this famous class who came to Congress following World War II and charged in the political wars of 1946 with "doing nothing" have done something—indeed, they have done very much indeed in the service of our country.

The "do-nothing" epithet was a campaign slogan of a greatly beloved and revered President, Harry S. Truman, who survives in retirement at his home, Independence, Mo.

President Truman in the Presidential election of 1948 ran against the record of this 80th Congress, as some Presidents are prone to do. He succeeded in his own race and in electing a majority of his party to the 81st Congress.

But rather than fading away and diminishing in fame and tradition, the Members of the "Class of the 80th Congress" continue to build a historic tradition of usefulness and greatness.

A list of the Members of that Congress and their achievements, compiled from information provided by the Library of Congress, follows: Two Presidents of the United States—

First. Richard M. Nixon, who became a U.S. Senator in 1951, later was elected Vice President of the United States and served from 1952 to 1960. In 1969, he became President.

Second. John F. Kennedy, who subsequently served in the U.S. Senate from 1952 to 1960, and in 1961 became President of the United States.

One Speaker of the House of Representatives—

The Honorable CARL ALBERT of Oklahoma, who was Democratic whip of the House from the 84th through the first session of the 87th Congresses. He then was made the majority leader and served from the second session of the 87th Congress through the 91st Congress. He was elected Speaker in the present 92d Congress.

One Vice President—

Richard M. Nixon, who was previously mentioned.

Five Governors—

First. J. CALEB BOGGS of Delaware;

Second. Willis Winter Bradley—Guam;

Third. John Davis Lodge of Connecticut;

Fourth. Charles Hinton Russell of Nevada; and

Fifth. John Bell Williams of Mississippi.

Nine U.S. Senators—

First. J. CALEB BOGGS of Delaware and a former Governor;

Second. John Albert Carroll of Colorado;

Third. NORRIS COTTON of New Hampshire;

Fourth. JACOB K. JAVITS of New York;

Fifth. Kenneth B. Keating of New York;

Sixth. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts—previously mentioned;

Seventh. Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky;

Eighth. Richard M. Nixon of California—previously mentioned; and

Ninth. George A. Smathers of Florida.

Four chairmen of House committees and subcommittees—

First. JOHN A. BLATNIK of Minnesota—chairman, House Public Works Committee;

Second. OMAR T. BURLISON of Texas—who served as chairman, House Administration Committee;

Fourth. OTTO E. PASSMAN of Louisiana—chairman, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations Appropriations; and

Fifth. JOE L. EVINS—chairman, Subcommittee on Public Works Appropriations and chairman, House Small Business Committee.

Five members of the executive branch of the Government—

First. John J. Allen, Jr., of California—Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, 1959-61;

Second. John Albert Carroll of Colorado—special assistant to President Truman;

Third. Abe McGregor Goff of Idaho—General Counsel of Post Office Department, 1954-58 and former ICC Commissioner;

Fourth: Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky—Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, 1953-56; and

Fifth. Robert Tripp Ross of New York—Assistant Secretary of Defense, 1956-57.

Two Ambassadors—

First. Kenneth B. Keating of New York—U.S. Ambassador to India; and

Second. John Davis Lodge—Ambassador to Argentina and former U.S. Ambassador to Spain.

Two Commissioners of major Federal regulatory agencies—

First. Abe McGregor Goff of Idaho—Commissioner of Interstate Commerce Commission; and

Second. Donald Lester Jackson of California—Commissioner of Interstate Commerce Commission.

Five judges—

First. Edward James Devitt of Minnesota—U.S. district judge;

Second. Dayton E. Phillips of Tennessee—chancellor, First Chancery Court of Tennessee;

Third. Melvin Claude Snyder of West Virginia—judge, 18th Judicial Circuit of West Virginia;

Fourth. Joseph Franklin Wilson of Texas—judge, Criminal District Court of Texas; and

Fifth. Abraham Multer—justice, New York Supreme Court.

Two congressional professional staff—

First. Laurie Calvin Battle of Alabama—counsel, Committee on Rules of the House; and

Second. E. Wallace Chadwick of Penn-

sylvania—chief counsel, Special Senate Committee To Study Ethics.

Other former Members include the following:

John Joseph Allen, Jr.—law practice, Oakland, Calif.

Claude Ignatius Bakewell—law practice, St. Louis, Mo.

Ernest King Bramblett—consultant in Southern California.

John Charles Brophy—salesman, resides in Milwaukee, Wis.

Frederic René Coudert, Jr.—law practice, New York City.

James Curran Davis—director, DeKalb County Federal Savings and Loan Association; Stone Mountain, Ga.

William Adams Dawson—law practice, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Charles Kimball Fletcher—business executive, real estate and insurance, California.

Ellsworth Bishop Foote—law practice, New Haven, Conn.

Porter Hardy, Jr.—retired; former; Portsmouth, Va.

Edward Halsey Jenison—newspaper publisher, Paris, Ill.

Mitchell Jenkins—law practice, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Homer Raymond Jones—real-estate salesman, Bremerton, Wash.

Carroll Dudley Kearns—president, Shenengo Metalcraft Co., Florida.

Charles J. Kersten—law practice, Milwaukee, Wis.

Francis Johnson Love—law practice, Wheeling, W. Va.

Wingate H. Lucas—Government relations consultant to the General Electric Co., New York City.

Gregory McMahon—accountant and tax consultant, Ozone Park, N.Y.

George Edward MacKinnon—general counsel and vice president, Investors Mutual Funds, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn.

Wendell Howes Meade—employed with a building contractor, Phoenix, Ariz.

Edward Archibald Mitchell—resumed business pursuits in food marketing; Evansville, Ind.

Toby Morris—judge, Lawton, Okla.

Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg—architect; County Planning Commission chairman; Wernersville, Pa.

Robert Joseph Nodar—position clerk, Soloman Brothers, New York City.

James Thomas Patterson—retired, Naugatuck, Conn.

Preston Elmer Peden—director of governmental affairs of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry.

Dayton Edward Phillips—judge, First Chancery Court of Tennessee; Elizabethton, Tenn.

David Matthew Potts—law practice, New York City.

Monroe Minor Redden—law practice, Hendersonville, N.C.

Albert Lee Reeves, Jr.—senior vice president, Utah Construction and Mining Co., San Francisco, Calif.

Robert Tripp Ross—Jackson Heights, N.Y.

Charles Hinton Russell—director of International Cooperation Administration mission to Paraguay.

Katharine Collier St. George—retired.

John Carfield Sanborn—president, Hagerman Farms, Inc.

Hardie Scott—law practice, Philadelphia, Pa.

Wint Smith—law practice, Mankato, Kans.

Robert Joseph Twyman—retired; Stuart, Fla.

William McDonald Wheeler—sales and publications; Alma, Ga.

Harold Francis Youngblood—construction contracting; Tucson, Ariz.

Frank Melvin Karsten—attorney, Washington, D.C.

Roy Walter Riehman—Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

The Library of Congress advises that the addresses of the following Members of the 80th Congress are unknown:

William Josiah Crow; Paul Bartram Dague; Horace Seely-Brown, Jr.

MAXON SHIRT CO. CLOSSES

HON. JAMES R. MANN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I have addressed myself to the problems faced by our domestic textile industry on many occasions in an effort to familiarize my colleagues with a worsening situation. During the 91st Congress, the House of Representatives passed a bill to provide relief for the American textile industry by regulating the rapidly growing flow of foreign-made goods. Unfortunately, that bill died in the face of a Senate filibuster.

In the past several years representatives of the United States have attempted to win voluntary agreements from the Japanese in the matter of limiting textile imports to this country. These negotiations have seemed somewhat desultory to me, and I have observed that the Japanese have seemed serious about substantive talks only when legislative action appeared imminent. While I do not wish to impugn the sincerity of our negotiators, I have maintained for months that the Japanese are not serious about meaningful negotiations. In my judgment, the offer which the Japanese made last week to curb the flow of textile imports is simply an attempt to stall import quota legislation.

I believe I have a responsibility to call the attention of the House to a press release announcing the closing of the Maxon Shirt Co. in Greenville, S.C. Maxon is owned by Oxford Industries, Inc., of Atlanta, Ga., and 500 people have been employed in the Greenville facility. I know many of Maxon's employees, and I think that the sacrifice of their jobs on the altar of inaction is a national disgrace.

Mr. Speaker, the President promised relief for America's textile industry in 1968, yet the administration has not acted forcefully to achieve this goal. I know that many of my colleagues in both Houses share my concern and my hope that the 92d Congress will act swiftly to alleviate a situation which grows more serious each day.

The announcement by Oxford Industries follows:

MAXON SHIRT CO. CLOSSES

The closing of the Maxon Shirt Company, Greenville, South Carolina, was announced today by John Owens, Executive Vice President.

The shutdown will take place in phases, with production operations ceasing completely by the end of April. The warehouse and merchandising offices will remain open through May to provide customer service. In commenting on the reasons for the closing, Owens said,

"The massive influx of foreign made boys' wear manufactured in countries with wage levels far below those of the United States have generated price pressures that we cannot meet. In spite of mounting losses during the past few years, we held the line, hoping that Congress would enact import quota legislation allowing an orderly sharing of our market with our foreign competition. As you know, we did not get this legislation. Our inescapable conclusion is that we must abandon our Maxon Shirt Company—Carnegie Boys' Wear business."

An employment service office is being established immediately to assist the 500 employees of Maxon in obtaining jobs with other companies in the area.

Maxon Shirt Company was founded in 1948 by Max Heller. In 1962, it was acquired by Oxford Industries, Incorporated. Oxford Industries is a diversified manufacturer and distributor of apparel and dictating and copying equipment. The Atlanta based firm has annual sales of approximately \$138 million, primarily in apparel.

A SOCIETY OF DISTINGUISHED ALUMNI

HON. DONALD D. CLANCY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which recently appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer, Cincinnati, Ohio, entitled "A Society of Distinguished Alumni." It is indeed a pleasure for me to insert this editorial regarding our distinguished alumni:

A SOCIETY OF DISTINGUISHED ALUMNI

One of the most distinguished societies in America has been created by former Reps. Walter H. Judd (R-Minn.) and Brooks Hays (D-Ark.).

The membership consists of those who, like the founders, formerly served in Congress, and the organization's goal is the wider utilization of former senators and representatives as a public resource.

At the moment there are no fewer than 345 dues-paying members, and they range in age from 30 (former Rep. Jed Johnson Jr. of Oklahoma) to 100 (former Rep. Earl H. Beshlin of Pennsylvania).

On Thursday, the plan is for Congress to recess to afford incumbent members an opportunity to hold informal receptions for their predecessors. Efforts sponsored in the 91st Congress by Rep. George W. Andrews (D-Ala.) and Rep. Albert H. Quile (R-Minn.) to issue a congressional charter for the organization came to naught, but both lawmakers propose to seek action during the 92nd.

The membership of the organization, known simply as Former Members of Congress, includes some singularly familiar names and some all but unknown outside their own constituencies. Among the former:

Gerald P. Nye (R-N.D.), who entered the Senate at the age of 32 in the mid-1920s and became one of the most doggedly isolationist members. Senator Nye is best remembered for his investigation of the munitions industry in the early 1930s. He now lives in Washington and has worked as a management consultant.

Glen H. Taylor (D-Idaho), who entered the Senate in 1945 and left following his defeat in 1950. He is widely remembered as Henry A. Wallace's vice-presidential running mate on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948 (Senator Taylor sang his acceptance speech). At 66, he now lives in Millbrae, Calif., and is president of Taylor Topper, Inc., manufacturers of hairpieces.

Jeannette Rankin (R-Mont.), the first woman elected to the House. She voted against the United States' entering both World Wars I and II and was the only member of Congress to oppose the latter. Now 90, she lives in Carmel, Calif., and Helena, Mont.

Helen Gahagan Douglas (D-Calif.), wife of actor Melvyn Douglas, who served three terms in the House and was defeated in a race for the Senate by Richard M. Nixon. She is now 70, writes and lectures, and lives in New York.

Ernest W. McFarland (D-Ariz.), who was serving as the Senate's majority leader when he was defeated for re-election to the Senate in 1952 by Barry M. Goldwater. At 76, Senator McFarland is now a justice of the Arizona Supreme Court.

William F. Knowland (R-Calif.), who was first appointed to the Senate to succeed Sen. Hiram W. Johnson in 1945. He served briefly as Republican leader in the Senate and left politics in 1958 when he was defeated in a race for governor of California. He is now editor and publisher of the Oakland (Calif.) Tribune.

Altogether, the organization embraces roughly 40% of the former members of Congress still alive.

To survey the roster of Former Members of Congress is to see a variety of talents and degrees of competence and to recognize that some are capable of further service to the nation and some are not.

VETERANS DAY IN THE HOUSE

HON. EDWARD HUTCHINSON

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join my colleagues in paying tribute to those thousands of our fellow citizens who have been wounded and disabled in the military service of our country.

We who fought the wars without hurt, and we are many, remember today those of our comrades who were less fortunate. Some of them lie in veterans' hospitals. Others, fully recovered in health, carry the scars and disfigurements of battle. They indeed exhibit a quiet courage, loyal and patriotic.

The Disabled American Veterans has been of service to them and to their widows and orphans for more than half a century.

FIRE ANTS POLLUTE THE ENVIRONMENT

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, I have conveyed to the Members of the House, on several occasions, the sentiments, feelings, and needs of the many thousands of persons who daily face the problems caused by the imported fire ant.

As you all know, there is already established and on the verge of implementation, a fire ant control and eradication program involving the several affected States and the Federal Government.

In this regard, I would like to read the resolution passed by the Mississippi Cattlemen's Association in its 25th annual convention on February 16, 1971. This message was delivered to me by their president, J. D. Rankin, and it follows:

RESOLUTION: IMPORTED FIRE ANTS

Whereas, the Imported Fire Ant is one of the worst plagues the southern Cattleman has ever experienced—causing millions of dollars of loss each year, laying waste to our land, crops, livestock and wildlife, and adding much to the unnatural pollution of our environment; and

Whereas, this vicious pest entered this country from South America, its natural habitat, and through adaptation to climate and absence of natural predators has spread across more than 124 million acres in nine southern states and is continuing to spread toward other states in the East, Mid-West and West; and

Whereas, if its spread is not checked virtually every cattleman, farmer, and urban resident in the United States will suffer from this destructive pest; and

Whereas, the Imported Fire Ant is responsible for the deaths of many young domestic animals, especially new born calves, impairs the use of pastures and other lands, thereby causing serious economic loss and reducing land values; and

Whereas, the fire ants also are responsible for the deaths and reduction of natural populations of quail, fish, and other wildlife, their unsightly mounds cause considerable expense through damage to farm machinery during haying operations; and

Whereas, the fiery sting of the fire ant results in much pain to field workers, loss of time and abandonment of crops; and

Whereas, this pest has become a serious threat to the health and well being of millions of southern citizens. Their sting causing considerable pain and often resulting in limb amputation, heart attacks, and even death; and

Whereas, Mirex bait has proven highly successful in eradication of the fire ant having been used by most cattlemen in the infested areas during the past 8 years with absolutely no adverse effects to cattle or anything but the fire ants; and

Whereas, Mirex bait is the only available material or method that can render relief to cattlemen from this vicious pest; and

Whereas, a suit filed in U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., by two environmental groups who allege the ants are not a pest but are beneficial in nature would stop our efforts to get rid of this pest: Therefore be it

Resolved, that a Fire Ant Control and Eradication Program is deemed necessary and highly desirable as a means to end the

economic loss and human suffering caused by these vicious pests; and be it further

Resolved, that the Mississippi Cattlemen's Association (membership 4,500) meeting in its 25th annual convention at Jackson, Mississippi, February 16, 1971, urges the President of the United States, the United States Department of Agriculture, The Governor of the State of Mississippi, Mississippi Department of Agriculture and Commerce, the Mississippi Congressional Delegation, The American National Cattlemen's Association and the Mississippi Legislature to do everything in their power to insure that the fire ant program is continued and properly financed at both the Federal and State levels; and be it further

Resolved, that a copy of this resolution along with a cover letter be sent to The President of the United States, The Secretary of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, The Governor of the State of Mississippi, The Commissioner of Agriculture and Commerce of the State of Mississippi, The President of the National Cattlemen's Association, each member of the Mississippi Congressional Delegation, The President of the Mississippi Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Mississippi Legislature.

THE FIRE OF A POSITIVE ATTITUDE

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the Illinois Agricultural Association recently elected Harold B. Steele as its president succeeding William Kuhfuss who in turn succeeded another former IAA president, Charles B. Schuman, as president of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

In the following editorial, published in the February issue of the IAA Record, Mr. Steele presents his creed. It could well be the creed of all Americans. I hope my colleagues will read it carefully:

THE FIRE OF A POSITIVE ATTITUDE

I grew up during the closing chapters of the threshing-run era. I recall vividly the neighborhood working relationship at oat harvest. But the aftermath of this harvest procedure is more impressive upon my mind.

We lived a quarter of a mile from the village of Dover where there stood a two-room school. Among the 40-odd students, there was a strong feeling of fellowship to the extent that we often gathered on Saturday for fun and games. One game that bore special excitement and challenge was "King of the Hill."

The objective was to reach the top of the straw stack placed there by the threshing machine some weeks earlier. The challenge was to retain this position while others attempted to reach this enviable and sought-after height and push you to the bottom. I daresay this required an understanding father to allow such goings-on with his supply of winter bedding, but for us it was truly a challenging and memorable experience.

This story is similar to today's challenge. You and I are the benefactors of the greatest nation ever conceived by man. We are in the enviable position as holders of the title, "King of the Hill." Our challenge is to retain this position.

We, the members of the Farm Bureau, are also the recipients of a rich heritage. Many great and dedicated people made us "Number One." Our responsibility lies not only in maintaining this bounteous "gift", but also in keeping it in tune with the times and adding to its strength.

The difference between today's challenge and that of the game many of us played years ago is that *this* game is for keeps.

Our opponents are serious, deliberate, and determined to overtake us. In many ways, this is clean competition. In other ways, our opposition is determined to achieve by means which are based on a set of standards and philosophies which may be in conflict with our national Constitution, our beliefs, and the rights of individuals to make decisions.

It is never easy to maintain strength. Nevertheless, a very simple way to achieve many desirable ends, both for America and Farm Bureau, rests within our hands, individually. No matter where we live—on a four-lane freeway, a gravel road, or at the end of a dirt lane—each of us is equally important and needed in this endeavor. We, as individuals, are *not* merely a number without identity, position, or purpose.

Our daily routine of action is the all-important place to begin. We can, should, and must act in harmony with our beliefs. And our beliefs must be as we feel them, not as others may want us to feel. It is more important today, in 1971, than ever before in the history of our country that we express these beliefs by deeds:

Deeds of willingness to stand up in self-expression.

Deeds conducted with honor in our daily business affairs.

Deeds that cause our children to look at us with pride.

Deeds that cause Mom to look at Dad and say, "Gee I have enjoyed these years of togetherness!"

Deeds that strengthen our local school board.

Deeds that bring a resounding toll to the church bell on Sunday morning.

Deeds that cause a Farm Bureau executive secretary to look upon the board with admiration.

Deeds that cause our city cousins to feel thankful for the bounteous supply of food.

Deeds that bring our county board of supervisors to good and just decisions.

Deeds that prompt our state legislators to look upon the "whole of society" with a passion for reasoned action.

Deeds that ring in the ears of our members of Congress as they seek just and proper answers in this busy world.

I am honored to be your new president. I look to the future with extreme optimism and faith. This confidence has been gained by association with people within our organization. It is with genuine pride that I say I have enjoyed my associations through the years in Farm Bureau, and it is with this same pride that I say the future of the American farmer and the American citizen is bright. There is absolutely nothing to cause us to dampen our spirits when we approach our daily obstacles, one at a time, with determination and optimism. I have many good feelings within, and I refuse to allow the few evil elements that abound within the confines of our country to extinguish the fire of a positive attitude.

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS—A TRIBUTE TO QUIET COURAGE

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1971

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, as the Disabled American Veterans mark their 50th anniversary—a half century of service to America's war disabled—it is appropriate that we should pause to reflect on the awful price of freedom.

Over the years, hundreds of thousands of American men have paid that

price, with their lives and with their bodies and minds.

Many have returned home shattered in flesh and spirit, to find their countrymen not really prepared to receive them in that condition.

They have needed help, comfort, companionship, and assistance—assistance especially in readapting to the society for which they had paid so much to protect.

It was in response to these needs that the Disabled American Veterans was organized, founded on the principle that this Nation's first duty to veterans is the rehabilitation of its wartime disabled.

Specifically, DAV's objectives include—

Obtaining proper medical care and treatment of veterans for disabilities incurred, increased, or aggravated by military service;

Adequate compensation for the degree of disablement caused by such disabilities;

Training and/or education to restore employability of the wartime disabled into gainful employment; and

Adequate compensation to the widows, minor children, and dependent parents of veterans who die as the result of a service-incurred disability.

Since their beginning shortly after World War I, the DAV has made significant contributions toward the development of an effective and beneficial national approach to the problems of disabled American veterans.

Through a network of professionally trained national service officers around the country, DAV acts as an intermediary between the veteran and the various public agencies through which he can receive the kind of help he needs to re-establish himself.

Mr. Speaker, we owe a great deal to the men of this fine organization and to those they serve. It is indeed fitting that we set aside this time to pay tribute to their quiet courage—courage that is serving their country so well in so many ways.

Through a membership of nearly 300,000 in some 2,000 local chapters throughout the United States, DAV is working every day to provide programs of medical care and treatment, adequate compensation, employment training, and education to disabled American veterans, their families and dependents.

Too often, Mr. Speaker, the kind of quiet courage displayed by the DAV goes unrecognized and unappreciated. We must not allow that to happen. The price of freedom is being paid every day, and our expressions of gratitude for the efforts and services of the Disabled American Veterans must not be confined only to anniversaries.

WHERE IT WENT

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, it is no secret that local governments in the Nation today are bordering on the brink of

bankruptcy, caught between the demand for continuing public services at the increasing cost while the sources of revenue are drying up. The financial crisis, however, extends beyond city governments. The present fiscal problems of the State of Pennsylvania might well be an omen of what faces other States if sound fiscal policies are not instituted and practiced.

A recent editorial in the Daily News of McKeesport, Pa., which I am inserting in the RECORD for the consideration of my colleagues, comments on the present financial mess in which many cities find themselves caught. They are turning to Washington and the Federal Government for help.

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, as the editorial notes, Washington cannot serve as a shining example of fiscal responsibility. The billions of dollars this Government has spread willy-nilly abroad could have done so much for Americans at home.

The editorial follows:

WHERE IT WENT

The mayors of several of our larger cities got together at a conference in California the other day and reached an expected agreement. Their cities all need money. And they need it desperately.

Not only this, the mayors agreed, but sources of revenue for the money-strapped cities have about dried up. The property owners can't pay more. Neither can the worker stand for more to be taken from his wages. Industries, too, have stood for about all the traffic will bear.

So what to do? The Mayors felt their only hope was in Washington. Somehow, Congress had to be made to understand, they said, that federal revenues must be shared with the municipalities and that some of the great cost burdens on cities and states, such as welfare, have to be assumed by Uncle Sam.

Many may have wondered, as they read this, how much of our local fiscal problems, and indeed those of Washington too, could be accredited to those foolish years when the earnings and substance of the American people were taken from them and given away.

Foreign aid since its inception as the Marshall Plan back in Harry Truman's time now totals over \$200 billion dispensed. Much of this has gone for projects of dubious value abroad. A lot of it has ended in the pockets of foreign despots. Many billions have financed civil wars in which we have become involved. More billions have piled up in overseas banks as the "Eurodollars" which our own financiers currently are being forced to borrow at high interest rates to keep our economy going.

The \$200 billion is a stock figure reached after adding up the straight Congressional appropriations for the Giveaway since it began. But, in addition, we have given billions to United Nations assistance programs and to capitalize international banks, to say nothing of those countless billions we have spent to fight other people's wars.

When we think of all this, then we can understand, perhaps, why every major city in our country is broke and crying for help. We, too, can see reason for the financial plight of our states, including, of course, Pennsylvania. The truth is that our country from the grass roots to Washington has been bled white and thrown into staggering debt because, for some strange reason, our leadership got the notion that we should play the role of patsy to the world.

Just think what the \$200 billion alone could have done to prevent the present fiscal crises, or, if in America today, could do to correct them. Pennsylvanians are threatened with a five per cent income tax because Gov-

ernor Milton Shapp says the state needs \$1.5 billion more over the next 18 months. With Pennsylvania as yardstick, it could be said that the \$200 billion we gave away could have lifted every state and city in our country out of the red, reduced their punishing taxes, and paid for many of the things we need so badly and have deferred for lack of money—cleaner air, purer water, slum clearance, etc.

FOOTWEAR IMPORTS CONTINUE TO RISE

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, foreign shoe imports have been flooding the United States for the past decade. Produced abroad under conditions illegal in this country, they have been capturing an increasing segment of the domestic market. The following letter from Irving R. Glass, president of the Tanners' Council of America, details the alarming proportions this yet unresolved problem has reached. Imported shoes now equal 66 percent of domestic production—as opposed to 40.1 percent in 1970. The value of these unrestricted imports has now reached \$800 million at a time when our trade deficit overall is estimated to be \$2 billion.

It is ridiculous that this situation should be allowed to continue to exist. The day is approaching when the United States may no longer have a meaningful shoe industry. I urge prompt action be taken on legislation to correct this unconscionable killing of an American industry by starvation wages paid abroad.

The letter follows:

TANNERS' COUNCIL OF AMERICA, INC.,

New York, N.Y., February 26, 1971.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Did you see the foreign trade figures for January, 1971, released this morning by the Department of Commerce? They deserve your attention for two specific reasons. First, even our vaunted official export surplus virtually disappeared before the rising tide of imports. Second, shoe imports in January reached the astonishing total of 28,777,000 pairs, an increase of 28.9 percent from a year ago. The climb in January brought shoe imports to 66 percent of U.S. domestic production compared with 40.1 percent in 1970.

May I point out the significance of the above facts. You know, of course, that the official surplus in foreign trade is grossly misleading. With foreign aid deducted from the U.S. export side, we have been deeply in the red on foreign trade account for several years. It is not surprising that the dollar is threatened and has lately been dragging on the foreign exchange floor. We estimate that on a factual and accurate basis the U.S. trade ledger in January recorded a deficit of more than \$200 million. In 1970 our trade deficit could not have been less than \$2 billion.

Are you aware that imports of shoes and other leather products are the major factor contributing to the red ink on our foreign trade score? The chart [not printed in the RECORD] reveals the dramatic fact of a foreign trade hemorrhage with the most painful and far-reaching consequences. In less than ten years imports in the leather products area, mainly shoes, have risen from negligible levels to almost \$800 million.

The dollar comparison on the foreign trade ledger is vital but only one measure of the drastic results of the vast gap shown by the chart. Scores of plants closed and tens of thousands of jobs have been lost. In big cities and small communities alike, the chill of economic rigor mortis spreads out from silent plants. Retailing and service industries have learned the truth of—For whom the bell tolls! And, what has happened in the hardest hit geographic region can and will occur elsewhere. No one is exempt unless the flood is stopped.

The huge increase in January imports of shoes is a signal that the disaster is growing. Only action, prompt action, to stop the shoe import flood, can prevent irreparable economic damage to the entire country.

Sincerely yours,

IRVING R. GLASS,
President.

VIETNAM WAR HAS DULLED, CONFUSED AMERICAN SENSIBILITIES

HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to enter into the RECORD for the consideration of my colleagues an article by Arthur Hoppe, a syndicated columnist for the San Francisco Chronicle, which appeared Monday, March 1, 1971. I would also like to offer Richard A. Falk's essay, "Songmy, War Crimes and Individual Responsibility: A Legal Memorandum," for consideration. The theme that the war has dulled and confused the sensibilities of the American people has been developed elsewhere by the Pulitzer prize-winning author David Halberstam and Mr. Hoppe has found himself in accord with Halberstam's analysis: America and her citizens have been Vietnamized.

The material follows:

TO ROOT AGAINST YOUR COUNTRY

The radio this morning said the Allied invasion of Laos had bogged down. Without thinking, I nodded and said, "Good."

And having said it, I realized the bitter truth: Now I root against my own country.

This is how far we have come in this hated and endless war. This is the nadir I have reached in this winter of my discontent. This is how close I border on treason:

Now I root against my own country.

How frighteningly sad this is. My generation was raised to love our country and we loved it unthinkingly. We licked Hitler and Tojo and Mussolini. Those were our shining hours. Those were our days of faith.

They were evil; we were good. They told lies; we spoke the truth. Our cause was just, our purposes noble, and in victory we were magnanimous. What a wonderful country we were! I loved it so.

But now, having descended down the torturous, lying, brutalizing years of this bloody war, I have come to the dank and lightless bottom of the well: I have come to root against the country that once I blindly loved.

I can rationalize it. I can say that if the invasion of Laos succeeds, the chimera of victory will dance once again before our eyes—leading us once again into more years of mindless slaughter. Thus, I can say, I hope the invasion fails.

But it is more than that. It is that I have come to hate my country's role in Vietnam.

I hate the massacres, the body counts, the

free fire zones, the napalming of civilians, the poisoning of rice crops. I hate being part of My Lai. I hate the fact that we have now dropped more explosives on these scrawny Asian peasants than we did on all our enemies in World War II.

And I hate my leaders who, over the years, have conscripted our young men and sent them there to kill or be killed in a senseless cause simply because they can find no honorable way out—no honorable way out for them.

I don't root for the enemy. I doubt they are any better than we. I don't give a damn any more who wins the war. But because I hate what my country is doing in Vietnam, I emotionally and often irrationally hope that it fails.

It is a terrible thing to root against your own country. If I were alone, it wouldn't matter. But I don't think I am alone. I think many Americans must feel these same sickening emotions I feel. I think they share my guilt. I think they share my rage.

If this is true, we must end this war now—in defeat, if necessary. We must end it because all of Southeast Asia is not worth the hatred, shame, guilt and rage that is tearing Americans apart. We must end it not for those among our young who have come to hate America, but for those who somehow manage to love it still.

I doubt that I can ever again love my country in that unthinking way I did when I was young. Perhaps this is a good thing.

But I would hope the day will come when I can once again believe what my country says and once again approve of what it does. I want to have faith once again in the justice of my country's causes and the nobleness of its ideals.

What I want so very much is to be able once again to root for my own, my native land.

Justice Robert Jackson, Chief U.S. prosecutor at Nuremberg stated:

If certain acts in violation of treaties are crimes, they are crimes whether the United States does them or whether Germany does them, and we are not prepared to lay down a rule of criminal conduct against others which we would be unwilling to have invoked against us.

Our recent history of war atrocities in Indochina is behind us. Yet we have not really held ourselves accountable for them. Professor Falk, a renowned international scholar, authored the following article which appeared in Transaction magazine in January 1970. The article deals with the question of war crimes raised by Justice Jackson. The text follows:

SONGMY: WAR CRIMES AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY—A LEGAL MEMORANDUM

(By Richard A. Falk)

The dramatic disclosure of the Songmy massacre has led to a public concern over the commission of war crimes in Vietnam by American military personnel. Such a concern is certainly appropriate, but insufficient if limited to inquiry and prosecution of the individual servicemen involved in the monstrous events that apparently took the lives of over 500 civilians in the Mylai #4 hamlet of Songmy village on March 16, 1968. The Songmy massacre itself raises a serious basis for inquiry into the military and civilian command structure that was in charge of battlefield behavior at the time.

The evidence now available suggests that the armed forces have made efforts throughout the Vietnam War to suppress, rather than investigate and punish, the commission of war crimes by American personnel. The evidence also suggests a failure to protest or prevent the manifest and systematic com-

mission of war crimes by the armed forces of the Saigon regime in South Vietnam.

The scope of proper inquiry is even broader than the prior paragraph suggests. The official policies developed for the pursuit of belligerent objectives in Vietnam appear to violate the same basic and minimum constraints on the conduct of war as were violated at Songmy. B-52 pattern raids against undefended villages and populated areas, "free bomb zones," forcible removal of civilian populations, defoliation and crop destruction and "search and destroy" missions have been sanctioned as official tactical policies of the United States government. Each of these tactical policies appears to violate the international laws of war binding upon the United States by international treaties ratified by the U.S. government with the advice and consent of the Senate. The overall conduct of the war in Vietnam by the U.S. armed forces involves a refusal to differentiate between combatants and noncombatants and between military and nonmilitary targets. Detailed presentation of the acts of war in relation to the laws of war is available in a volume bearing the title *In the Name of America* published under the auspices of the Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam, in January 1968, or several months before the Songmy massacre took place. Ample evidence of war crimes has been presented to the public and to its officials for some time without producing an official reaction or rectifying action. A comparable description of the acts of war that were involved in the bombardment of North Vietnam by American planes and naval vessels between February 1965 and October 1968 is available in a book by John Gerassi entitled *North Vietnam: A Documentary*.

The broad point, then, is that the United States government has officially endorsed a series of battlefield activities that appear to constitute war crimes. It would, therefore, be misleading to isolate the awful happening at Songmy from the overall conduct of the war. It is certainly true that the perpetrators of the massacre at Songmy are, if the allegations prove correct, guilty of the commission of war crimes, but it is also true that their responsibility is mitigated to the extent that they were executing superior orders or were even carrying out the general line of official policy that established a moral climate in which the welfare of Vietnamese civilians is totally disregarded.

I. PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY: SOME BASIC PROPORTIONS

The U.S. prosecutor at Nuremberg, Robert Jackson, emphasized that war crimes are war crimes no matter which country is guilty of them. The United States more than any other sovereign state took the lead in the movement to generalize the principles underlying the Nuremberg Judgment that was delivered against German war criminals after the end of World War II.

At the initiative of the United States, in 1945 the General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously affirmed "the principles of international law recognized by the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal" in Resolution 95(I). This Resolution was an official action of governments. At the direction of the membership of the United Nations, the International Law Commission, an expert body containing international law experts from all of the principal legal systems in the world, formulated the Principles of Nuremberg in 1950.

These seven Principles of International Law are printed below in full to indicate the basic standards of international responsibility governing the commission of war crimes. These Principles offer the most complete set of guidelines currently available on the relationship between personal responsibility and war crimes.

Principles of international law recognized

in the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal and in the judgment of the Tribunal as formulated by the International Law Commission, June-July, 1950.

Principle I

Any person who commits an act which constitutes a crime under international law is responsible therefor and liable to punishment.

Principle II

The fact that internal law does not impose a penalty for an act which constitutes a crime under international law does not relieve the person who committed the act from responsibility under international law.

Principle III

The fact that a person who committed an act which constitutes a crime under international law acted as Head of State or responsible government official does not relieve him from responsibility under international law.

Principle IV

The fact that a person acted pursuant to order of his Government or of a superior does not relieve him from responsibility under international law, provided a moral choice was in fact possible for him.

Principle V

Any person charged with a crime under international law has the right to a fair trial on the facts and law.

Principle VI

The crimes hereinafter set out are punishable as crimes under international law:

a. Crimes against peace:

(1) Planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances;

(2) Participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the acts mentioned under (1).

b. War crimes:

Violations of the laws or customs of war which include, but are not limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave-labour or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity.

c. Crimes against humanity:

Murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhuman acts done against any civilian population, or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds, when such acts are done or such persecutions are carried on in execution of or in connexion with any crime against peace or any war crime.

Principle VII

Complicity in the commission of a crime against humanity as set forth in Principle VI is a crime under international law.

Neither the Nuremberg Judgment nor the Nuremberg Principles fixes definite boundaries on personal responsibility. These boundaries will have to be drawn in the future as the circumstances of alleged violations of international law are tested by competent domestic and international tribunals. However, Principle IV makes it clear that superior orders are no defense in a prosecution for war crimes, provided the individual accused of criminal behavior had a moral choice available to him.

The Supreme Court upheld in *The Matter of Yamashita* 327 U.S. 1 (1945) a sentence of death against General Yamashita imposed at the end of World War II for acts committed by troops under his command. The determination of responsibility rested upon the obligation of General Yamashita for the maintenance of discipline by troops under his

command, which discipline included the enforcement of the prohibition against the commission of war crimes. Thus General Yamashita was convicted even though he had no specific knowledge of the alleged war crimes, which mainly involved forbidden acts against the civilian population of the Philippines in the closing days of World War II. Commentators have criticized the conviction of General Yamashita because it was difficult to maintain discipline under the conditions of defeat during which the war crimes were committed, but the imposition of responsibility sets a precedent for holding principle military and political officials responsible for acts committed under their command, especially when no diligent effort was made to inquire, punish and prevent repetition. *The Matter of Yamashita* has an extraordinary relevance to the failure of the U.S. military command to secure adherence to minimum rules of international law by troops serving under their command. The following sentences from the majority opinion of Chief Justice Stone in *The Matter of Yamashita* have a particular bearing:

It is evident that the conduct of military operations by troops whose excesses are unrestrained by the orders or efforts of their commands would almost certainly result in violations which it is the purpose of the law of war to prevent. Its purpose to protect civilian populations and prisoners of war from brutality would largely be defeated if the commands of an invading army could with impunity neglect to take reasonable measures for their protection. Hence the law of war presupposes that its violation is to be avoided through the control of the operations of war by commanders who are to some extent responsible for their subordinates. [327 U.S. 1, 15]

The Field Manual of the Department of the Army, FM 27-10, adequately develops the principles of responsibility governing members of the armed forces. § 3 (b) makes it clear that "the law of war is binding not only upon States as such but also upon individuals and, in particular, the members of their armed forces." The entire manual is based upon the acceptance by the United States of the obligation to conduct warfare in accordance with the international law of war. The substantive content of international law is contained in a series of international treaties that have been properly ratified by the United States. These include 12 Hague and Geneva Conventions.

These international treaties are listed in the Field Manual and are, in any event, part of "the supreme law of the land" by virtue of Article VI of the U.S. Constitution. Customary rules of international law governing warfare are also made explicitly applicable to the obligation of American servicemen in the Manuals issued to the armed forces.

It has sometimes been maintained that the laws of war do not apply to a civil war, which is a war within a state and thus outside the scope of international law. Some observers have argued that the Vietnam War represents a civil war between factions contending for political control of South Vietnam. Such an argument may accurately portray the principal basis of the conflict, but surely the extension of the combat theater to include North Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Okinawa removes any doubt about the international character of the war from a military and legal point of view. Nevertheless, even assuming for the sake of analysis that the war should be treated as a civil war, the laws of war are applicable to a limited extent, an extent great enough to cover the events at Songmy and the commission of many other alleged war crimes in Vietnam. § 11 of the Field Manual recites Article 3 common to all four Geneva Conventions on the Law of War (1947) and establishes a minimum set of obligations for civil war situations:

In the case of armed conflict not of an international character occurring in the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties, each Party to the conflict shall be bound to apply, as a minimum, the following provisions:

(1) Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed *hors de combat* by sickness, wounds, detention or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth, or any other similar criteria.

To this end, the following acts are and shall remain prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever with respect to the above-mentioned persons:

(a) violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture;

(b) taking of hostages;

(c) outrages upon personal dignity, in particular, humiliating and degrading treatment;

(d) the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples.

(2) The wounded and sick shall be collected and cared for. An impartial humanitarian body, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, may offer its services to the Parties to the conflict.

The Parties to the conflict would further endeavor to bring into force, by means of special agreements, all or part of the other provisions of the present Convention.

Such a limited applicability of the laws of war to the Vietnam War flies in the face of the official American contention that South Vietnam is a sovereign state that has been attacked by a foreign state, North Vietnam. This standard American contention, repeated in President Nixon's speech of November 3, 1969, would suggest that the United States government is obliged to treat the Vietnam conflict as a war of international character to which the entire law of war applies.

Several provisions of the Field Manual clearly establish the obligation of the United States to apprehend and punish the commission of war crimes:

§ 506. Suppression of War Crimes.

a. *Geneva Conventions of 1949.* The Geneva Conventions of 1949 contain the following common undertakings:

The High Contracting Parties undertake to enact any legislation necessary to provide effective penal sanctions for persons committing, or ordering to be committed, any of the grave breaches of the present Convention defined in the following Article.

Each High Contracting Party shall be under the obligation to search for persons alleged to have committed or ordering to be committed, such grave breaches, and shall bring such persons, regardless of their nationality, before its own courts. It may also, if it prefers, and in accordance with the provisions of its own legislation, hand such persons over for trial to another High Contracting Party concerned, provided such High Contracting Party has made out a *prima facie* case.

Each High Contracting Party shall take measures necessary for the suppression of all acts contrary to the provisions of the present Convention other than the grave breaches defined in the following Article.

In all circumstances, the accused persons shall benefit by safeguards of proper trial and defense, which shall not be less favourable than those provided by Article 105 and those following of the Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of Prisoners of War

of August 12, 1949. (GWS art. 49; GWS Sea, art. 50; GPW, art. 129; GC, art. 146)

b. *Declaratory Character of Above Principles.* The principles quoted in a, above, are declaratory of the obligations of belligerents under customary international law to take measures for the punishment of war crimes committed by all persons, including members of a belligerent's own armed forces.

c. *Grave Breaches.* "Grave breaches" of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and other war crimes which are committed by enemy personnel or persons associated with the enemy are tried and punished by United States tribunals as violations of international law.

If committed by persons subject to United States military law, these "grave breaches" constitute acts punishable under the Uniform Code of Military Justice. Moreover, most of the acts designated as "grave breaches" are, if committed within the United States, violations of domestic law over which the civil courts can exercise jurisdiction.

§ 507. Universality of Jurisdiction.

a. *Victims of War Crimes.* The jurisdiction of United States military tribunals in connection with war crimes is not limited to offenses committed against nationals of the United States but extends also to all offenses of this nature committed against nationals of allies and of cobelligerents and stateless persons.

b. *Persons Charged with War Crimes.* The United States normally punishes war crimes as such only if they are committed by enemy nationals or by persons serving the interests of the enemy State. Violations of the law of war committed by persons subject to the military law of the United States will usually constitute violations of the Uniform Code of Military Justice and, if so, will be prosecuted under that Code. Violations of the law of war committed within the United States by other persons will usually constitute violations of federal or state criminal law and preferably will be prosecuted under such law (see pars. 505 and 506). Commanding officers of United States troops must insure that war crimes committed by members of their forces against enemy personnel are promptly and adequately punished.

§ 508. Penal Sanctions.

The punishment imposed for a violation of the law of war must be proportionate to the gravity of the offense. The death penalty may be imposed for grave breaches of the law. Corporal punishment is excluded. Punishments should be deterrent, and in imposing a sentence of imprisonment it is not necessary to take into consideration the end of the war, which does not of itself limit the imprisonment to be imposed.

§ 509. Defense of Superior Orders.

a. The fact that the law of war has been violated pursuant to an order of a superior authority, whether military or civil, does not deprive the act in question of its character of a war crime, nor does it constitute a defense in the trial of the accused individual, unless he did not know and could not reasonably have been expected to know that the act ordered was unlawful. In all cases where the order is held not to constitute a defense to an allegation of a war crime, the fact that the individual was acting pursuant to orders may be considered in mitigation of punishment.

b. In considering the question whether a superior order constitutes a valid defense, the court shall take into consideration the fact that obedience to lawful military orders is the duty of every member of the armed forces; that the latter cannot be expected, in conditions of war discipline, to weigh scrupulously the legal merits of the orders received; that certain rules of warfare may

be controversial; or that an act otherwise amounting to a war crime may be done in obedience to orders conceived as a measure of reprisal. At the same time it must be borne in mind that members of the armed forces are bound to obey only lawful orders (e.g. UCMJ, Art. 92).

§ 510. Government Officials.

The fact that a person who committed an act which constitutes a war crime acted as the head of a State or as a responsible government official does not relieve him from responsibility for his act.

§ 511. Acts Not Punished in Domestic Law.

The fact that domestic law does not impose a penalty for an act which constitutes a crime under international law does not relieve the person who committed the act from responsibility under international law.

These provisions make it amply clear that war crimes are to be prosecuted and punished and that responsibility is acknowledged to extend far beyond the level of the individuals who performed the physical acts that inflicted harm. In fact, the effectiveness of the law of war depends, above all else, on holding those in command and in policymaking positions responsible for the behavior of the rank-and-file soldiers on the field of battle. The reports of neuropsychiatrists, trained in combat therapy, have suggested that unrestrained behavior by troops is an expression almost always of tacit authorization, at least, on the part of commanding officers; a form of authorization that conveys to the rank-and-file soldier the absence of any prospect of punishment for the outrageous behavior. It would thus be a deception to punish the triggermen at Songmy without also looking further up the chain of command to identify the truer locus of responsibility.

II. SOME COMMENTS ON THE SONGMY MASSACRE

The events took place on March 16, 1968. The Secretary of Defense admitted knowledge of these events eight months before their public disclosure. The disclosure resulted from the publication in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* in November 1969 of a photograph of the massacre taken by Ronald Haerberle. The lapse of time, the existence of photographs, the report of the helicopter pilot, the large number of American personnel (approximately 80 men of Company C, First Battalion, 20th Infantry Division) involved in the incident, creates a deep suspicion that news of the massacre was suppressed at various levels of command and that its disclosure was delayed at the highest levels of military and civilian government. The numerous other reports of atrocities connected with the war have also not been generally investigated or punished with seriousness. In fact, other evidence of atrocities has been ignored or deliberately suppressed by military authorities at all levels of the U.S. command structure.

The massacre at Songmy exhibits a bestiality toward the sanctity of civilian lives that exceeds earlier atrocities that took place at Lidice or Guernica. At Lidice, Czechoslovakia, on June 10, 1942, the male population of the town was shot, women were taken off to concentration camps, and the children sent off to schools and families. At Songmy women and children were not spared. At Guernica bombs were dropped on an undefended Spanish village, terrorizing and killing the inhabitants, a scene made universal by Picasso's mural commemorating the horrifying events. Such military tactics are daily employed by American forces in Vietnam. At Songmy civilians were systematically chosen; they were the intended victims of the act, not the uncertain, random victims of an air attack.

The Songmy massacre is the culmination of the policies of counterinsurgency warfare in South Vietnam. It is not, however, an isolated atrocity, as many other occurrences in South Vietnam have revealed a brutal dis-

regard of Vietnamese civilians and have disclosed little or no effort by military commanders to punish and prevent this behavior. In addition, the Songmy massacre is consistent with the overall effort of "denying" the National Liberation Front its base of support among the civilian population of Vietnam, whether by the assassination of civilians alleged to be NLF cadres (from December 1967 to December 1968, 18,393 such civilians were killed in the Phoenix Operation), by fire-bomb zone attacks against villages in NLF-held territory, defoliation and crop destruction, and by search-and-destroy missions that involved the destruction of the homes and villages of many thousands of Vietnamese civilians. It is estimated by the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Refugees, chaired by Senator Edward Kennedy, that over 300,000 South Vietnamese civilians have been killed since the beginning of the war, mainly by U.S. air strikes and artillery. Such a figure represents a number six times as great as American war dead, and suggests the indiscriminate use of weapons against the very people that the U.S. government contends it is fighting the war to protect.

The massacre at Songmy stands out as a landmark atrocity in the history of warfare, and its occurrence represents a moral challenge to the entire American society. This challenge was summarized by Mrs. Anthony Meadow, the mother of David Paul Meadow, one of the soldiers at Songmy, in a simple sentence: "I sent them a good boy, and they made him a murderer" (*New York Times*, November 30, 1969). Another characteristic statement about the general character of the war was attributed to an army staff sergeant: "We are at war with the ten-year-old children. It may not be humanitarian, but that's what it's like" (*New York Times*, December 1, 1969).

III. PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY IN LIGHT OF SONGMY

The massacre at Songmy raises two broad sets of issues about personal responsibility for the commission of war crimes:

The legal scope of personal responsibility for a specific act or pattern of belligerent conduct;

The extralegal scope of personal responsibility of citizens in relation to war crimes and to varying degrees of participation in an illegal war.

(1) *The War Criminal: Scope of Responsibility.* We have already suggested that evidence exists that many official battlefield policies relied upon by the United States in Vietnam amount to war crimes. These official policies should be investigated in light of the legal obligations to the United States and if found to be "illegal," then these policies should be ceased forthwith and those responsible for the policy and its execution should be prosecuted as war criminals by appropriate tribunals. These remarks definitely apply to the following war policies, and very likely to others: (1) the Phoenix Program, (2) aerial and naval bombardment of undefended villages, (3) destruction of crops and forests, (4) "search-and-destroy" missions, (5) "harassment and interdiction" fire, (6) forcible removal of civilian population, (7) reliance on a variety of weapons prohibited by treaty. In addition, allegations of all war atrocities should be investigated and reported upon. These atrocities—committed in defiance of declared official policy—should be punished. Responsibility should be imposed upon those who inflicted the harm, upon those who gave direct orders, and upon those who were in a position of command entrusted with overall battlefield decorum and with the prompt detection and punishment of war crimes committed within the scope of their authority.

Finally, political leaders who authorized illegal battlefield practices and policies, or who had knowledge of these practices and pol-

icies and failed to act are similarly responsible for the commission of war crimes. The following paragraph from the Majority Judgment of the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal is relevant:

A member of a Cabinet which collectively, as one of the principal organs of the Government, is responsible for the care of prisoners is not absolved from responsibility if, having knowledge of the commission of the crimes in the sense already discussed, and omitting or failing to secure the taking of measures to prevent the commission of such crimes in the future, he elects to continue as a member of the Cabinet. This is the position even though the Department of which he has the charge is not directly concerned with the care of prisoners. A cabinet member may resign. If he has knowledge of ill-treatment of prisoners, is powerless to prevent future ill-treatment, but elects to remain in the Cabinet thereby continuing to participate in its collective responsibility for protection of prisoners he willingly assumes responsibility for any ill-treatment in the future.

Army or Navy commanders can, by order, secure proper treatment and prevent ill-treatment of prisoners. So can Ministers of War and of the Navy. If crimes are committed against prisoners under their control, of the likely occurrence of which they had, or should have had knowledge in advance, they are responsible for those crimes. If, for example, it be shown that within the units under his command conventional war crimes have been committed of which he knew or should have known, a commander who takes no adequate steps to prevent the occurrence of such crimes in the future will be responsible for such future crimes.

The United States government was directly associated with the development of a broad conception of criminal responsibility for the leadership of a state during war. A leader must take affirmative acts to prevent war crimes or disassociate himself from the government. If he fails to do one or the other, then by the very act of remaining in a government of a state guilty of war crimes, he becomes a war criminal.

Finally, as both the Nuremberg and the Tokyo Judgments emphasize, a government official is a war criminal if he has participated in the initiation or execution of an illegal war of aggression. There are considerable grounds for regarding the United States involvement in the Vietnam War—wholly apart from the conduct of the war—as involving the violation of the United Nations Charter and other treaty obligations of the United States. If U.S. participation in the war is found illegal, then the policymakers responsible for the war during its various stages, would be subject to prosecution as alleged war criminals.

(2) *Responsibility as a Citizen.* The idea of prosecuting war criminals involves using international law as a sword against violators in the military and civilian hierarchy of government. But the Nuremberg Principles imply a broader human responsibility to oppose an illegal war and illegal methods of warfare. There is nothing to suggest that the ordinary citizen, whether within or outside the armed forces, is potentially guilty of a war crime merely as a consequence of such a status. But there are grounds to maintain that any one who believes or has reason to believe that a war is being waged in violation of minimal canons of law and morality has an obligation of conscience to resist participation in and support of that war effort by every means at his disposal. In this respect, the Nuremberg Principles provide guidelines for citizens' conscience and a shield that can and should be used in the domestic legal system to interpose obligations under international law between the government and the society. Such a doctrine of interposition has been asserted in a large number of selective service cases by individuals refusing to enter the armed forces. This

assertion has already enjoyed a limited success in the Federal District Court's decision of Judge Wyzanski in the case of *U.S. v. Sisson* (D. Mass. 1969), the appeal from which is now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The issue of personal conscience is raised for everyone in the United States. It is raised more directly for anyone called upon to serve in the armed forces. It is raised in a special way for parents of minor children who are conscripted into the armed forces. It is raised for all taxpayers whose payments are used to support the cost of the war effort. It is raised for all citizens who in various ways endorse the war policies of the government. The circle of responsibility is drawn around all who have or should have knowledge of the illegal and immoral character of the war. The Songmy massacre puts every American on notice as to the character of the war. The imperatives of personal responsibility call upon each of us to search for effective means to bring the war to an immediate end.

And the circle of responsibility does not end at the border. Foreign governments and their populations are pledged by the Charter of the United Nations to oppose aggression and to take steps to punish the commission of war crimes. The cause of peace is indivisible, and all those governments and people concerned with Charter obligations have a legal and moral duty to oppose the continuation of the American involvement in Vietnam and to support the effort to identify, prohibit and punish the commission of war crimes. The conscience of the entire world community is implicated by inaction, as well as by more explicit forms of support for U.S. policy.

IV. FINAL QUESTIONS

Some may say that war crimes have been committed by both sides in Vietnam and, therefore, prosecution should be evenhanded, and that North Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam should be called upon to prosecute their officials guilty of war crimes. Such a contention needs to be understood, however, in the overall context of the war, especially in relation to the identification of which side is the victim of aggression and which side is the aggressor. More narrowly, the allegation of war crimes by the other side does not operate as a legal defense against a war crimes indictment. This question was clearly litigated and decided at Nuremberg.

Others have argued that there can be no war crimes in Vietnam because war has never been "declared" by the U.S. government.

The failure to declare war under these circumstances raises a substantial constitutional question, but it has no bearing upon the rights and duties of the United States under international law. A declaration of war is a matter of internal law, but the existence of combat circumstances is a condition of war that brings into play the full range of obligations under international law governing the conduct of war.

V. CONCLUSION

This memorandum is a very tentative statement of some implications of the Songmy disclosures. These disclosures suggest wider responsibilities in relation to Songmy, in relation to other war practices in Vietnam, and in relation to the war itself. These responsibilities include the clarification and identification of what sorts of behavior make one subject to prosecution as a potential war criminal. These responsibilities also range beyond the idea of criminal liability to encompass all Americans and, indeed, all peoples and governments in the world. We call upon people everywhere to investigate the actions of the United States in Vietnam and to relate their conscience to these actions. Such is the full call to responsible action in the wake of the Songmy disclosures.

VA SHOWS CONCERN FOR YOUTH

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, it has recently come to my attention that the Veterans' Administration, under the very capable leadership of Don Johnson, is again pioneering in Federal efforts to serve the Government more effectively. This time he has seen a need to more actively involve young people in the operation of our Government. Mr. Johnson has established a Committee on Youth Recruitment and Career Development to oversee the program in the Veterans' Administration. The following newsletter further describes their activities:

ADMINISTRATOR ESTABLISHES YOUTH COMMITTEE

On November 24, 1970, the Administrator established a committee on Youth Recruitment and Career Development. Mr. Johnson stated "My deep concern regarding the problem of recruiting, employing and retaining young people for service with the VA has prompted me to create an advisory committee on youth employment. This committee will serve in an advisory capacity to aid the VA in the recruitment of top quality young personnel."

Mr. Johnson then established an operational group to begin full-time deliberations into the affairs of youth in the VA. The members of this operational group are Bruce Orr, Gene Sober, Roger Bauer and Marvin Poin-dexter. Also appointed to the Committee in an advisory role are Nelda Brown, Connie English, Julia Hysom and Scott Mason. The Advisory group will devote their efforts to this work as time allows. Field station representation has been secured through the selection of youth advisors nationwide.

In this paper and in those which follow, the direction and areas of committee interest will be listed. Present activities concern the elements of attracting, recruiting, retaining and developing young people to assume positions of responsibility in the VA.

FIELD STATIONS CHALLENGE VACO

Responding to an all station telegram on youth recruitment and career development, field stations challenged VACO to present a meaningful display of sincerity relative to the current youth programs. One station felt the effort expended by the field stations would be "fruitless rhetoric" and voiced a challenge to CO to display more meaningful signs of sincerity thru the implementation of the recommendations of this committee. They said, "We want to believe".

Over 225 field station reports were received by the Administrator's Committee on Youth and many voiced common concerns. Because of the volume of reports, individual responses have not yet been prepared. All have been reviewed, however, and initially collated. Many stressed the idea that more modern management and supervisory techniques should be used, and that our image of ourselves and the image that others have of us should be improved. Numerous solutions were offered in the area of internal reorganization and public relations programs. Greater emphasis on advertising the more socially relevant work of the VA was suggested.

Involvement, or rather the lack of it, was one of the strongest concerns. Young people want to know what is going on. They want to participate in the planning of their own jobs and careers. Inability to move "the system" was discussed and certain working conditions were questioned. Reforms in recruit-

ing and career development programs were offered as well as suggestions on improving supervisory selection techniques, providing greater flexibility in work schedules, and maintaining closer relations with area colleges.

The youth groups formed at the field stations in response to Central Office telegram displayed an eagerness to continue meeting in an effort to make a contribution to the total program. Because of the diversity of concerns—such as image, recruitment, training, job assignments, career development, etc.—it appears advantageous to divide the work into many small areas. Then each field station can be assigned a segment to investigate in detail and offer a complete report thereon. Each station need not explore all areas, just their own assignment. Yet they know that all of the segments are being studied and each station will benefit from the entire program, of which they played a part.

Coordination of this project will be provided by the Administrator's Youth Committee in Central Office. Assignments will be delegated in part on the basis of the concerns displayed in the initial report submitted by each field station.

PROFILE OF TODAY'S YOUNG EMPLOYEE AND WHAT THIS MEANS TO THE SUPERVISOR

This article is intended to provide insight into the character of the young employee, and provide a key to supervisors by which they may guide their management styles to deal more effectively with this employee. Much of the authority of this paper is based upon a study conducted by Charles A. Stenger, Ph.D., Chairman of the Vietnam Era Veterans Committee. Dr. Stenger's paper, "Profile of Today's Veteran" is paraphrased and quoted extensively herein. Also included are findings of an agency-wide survey conducted by the Administrator's Committee on Youth.

Today's young employee does not respond to authority in the manner common to earlier generations. He is less willing to accept authority complacently and will generally question it and often challenge it. Many of the young currently employed by the VA resent the manner by which they are supervised. Young employees feel strongly they have a right to know about that which affects them individually and to have a voice in such affairs. This is the result of a basic sense of identity as an individual as opposed to simple opposition to authority. Dr. Stenger's paper has pointed out that "It is important that the distinction be clearly understood between the deep urge to be treated as an individual, which typifies most young (people), and the destructive disregard by a small segment of society for all but their own wishes and aspirations. The former is perceived as a right of all and appears to be a healthy response . . . The latter is a gross rejection of social values essential for the survival of a society."

The implication is clear to supervisory personnel that established routines should be reexamined. Trivia and nonessential administrative tasks should be eliminated and necessary but antagonizing procedures should be minimized and deemphasized. The young employee will cooperate willingly and responsibly where he understands the purpose of what he is doing.

Young employees share the concern of other contemporary youths that authority of any form will not be responsive to their intense need to be treated as individuals, as stated, and they anticipate that they will be pressed to conform regardless of personal desires or feelings. "There is a built-in readiness to react by direct confrontation, by physical withdrawal or by reduced psychological involvement. The latter response is often referred to as being "turned off." It exists in varying degrees in young veterans

and young people. In its most extreme form it means alienation from the values of one's society, functional isolation, and a sense of meaninglessness in life and one's role in it. More simply, it is manifested in degrees of bitterness, distrust, and suspicion of those in positions of authority and responsibility."

A study conducted by Roper Research Associates, Inc. for the Standard Oil Co. (N.J.) dated May 1969, indicated that college freshmen and seniors will choose careers other than government by wide preference margin. The survey showed that the students opinion of what constitutes an attractive career is the one in which they may make their own decisions. The opportunity to make decisions was considered more important than those career situations which would lead to advancement, increased financial rewards and even contributions to society. Students were least attracted to positions where they would be a "cog in a machine". Mentally stimulating work was desired by both college students and college alumni. Government work was not considered as attractive as other private sectors of employment such as business, education and the professions. In fact, the alumni, as compared to students, were generally the most skeptical of opportunities in government. "Playing the angles" and "not sticking your neck out" were considered by alumni to be the two most prominent qualities felt to be necessary for success in a government career.

The attitudes of the young employees present a challenge to the supervisor for he must utilize techniques whereby he may effectively communicate and work with the young employee. In bridging the generation gap it is not, as Dr. Stenger has pointed out, necessary to adopt the values of the young, but it is necessary to respect the right of the young to have them. Success in bridging the gap results in positive productive functioning of the young employee; failure means unsatisfactory work and resentment.

At the present time, I am trying to visit all of the college campuses and high schools in my district. I have been very impressed with the intelligence, dedication, and sincerity of the young men and women whom I have met during my visits. It has certainly renewed my longstanding faith in the youth of our Nation. Don Johnson's commitment to the youth employed within the Veterans' Administration indicates that he, too, shares this faith in our young people. I am especially pleased to see the Veterans' Administration take the initiative in following President Nixon's directive in this respect. As the President stated it:

I have called for an alliance between the generations. I have asked the Nation's youth to respond affirmatively to the challenge, and pledge that we will do our best to keep faith with their hopes.

WELFARE: AMERICA'S NO. 1 PROBLEM

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. CRANE, Mr. Speaker, newstories indicate that the distinguished Governor of California, Ronald Reagan, has proposed a number of major reforms in that State's welfare budget.

I am concerned about the rising wel-

fare cost problem, as are all of my colleagues. So that all of the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD might have an opportunity to share some of Governor Reagan's ideas on this most important subject, I include in the RECORD the text of an interview with the Governor which appeared in U.S. News & World Report on March 1, 1971:

WELFARE: AMERICA'S NO. 1 PROBLEM

Q. Governor, what do you regard now as the most important domestic problem in the country?

A. I suppose I should say inflation, yet I believe we are embarked on a program to do something about that.

So, let me switch to another one—one that I really feel we are not realistically dealing with and one that can literally bankrupt every level of government in this country. I'm talking about welfare.

The welfare program in this country is adrift without rudder or compass. It basically has no goal. To simply say we're going to keep on feeding and providing a livelihood for an ever-increasing number of people is not a goal.

My own idea of a goal for welfare—and I know this is contrary to the whole philosophy and ideology of the so-called professional welfare worker—would be to eliminate the need for it.

Q. What do you mean by that?

A. Well, first of all, you separate the real pensioners—the permanently dependent, the aged, the disabled, the blind—separate them from the bureaucracy of the social services, make them pensioners, automate their payments. Certainly make their payments enough to provide a living with a certain amount of dignity—a living that affords some of the luxuries that make life worthwhile.

This could be done just with the savings in the administrative overhead right now.

You know, we have caseworkers who drop in regularly on old people just to see if they're still growing old. This is an evident fact of life that doesn't require checking. Through Social Security, which has a very low overhead, for example, these people could receive fair incomes as Social Security recipients do, and that would be that. There is no need to look in on them.

Now, you turn to the rest of welfare—those able-bodied people who, for one reason or another, are not now subsisting without aid.

The entire approach to that body of people should be: Our job is to remove them from welfare, and to make them independent and self-sufficient as quickly as possible. That's our goal, and, therefore, we should measure our success each year in how much we've reduced the number of those remaining on public welfare.

Q. How do you account for the big increase in the numbers on welfare rolls?

A. We're still thinking of welfare and those who are dependent as we thought of them in the '30s. But the fact is we have a totally different problem today.

In the '30s, in the depression era, you had men and women with job skills who were desperate for work, and you didn't have the jobs for them. So welfare, in everyone's mind, was a temporary situation, simply bridging an economic problem until these people could be employed.

And this is why, up until the beginning of World War II, WPA [Works Progress Administration] grew more in size than direct relief grew. It was the big thing, because it was directed at people with skills who wanted to work.

I know all the jokes about leaf raking and boondoggling in WPA. There was some of this. One weakness of that program was that it depended on local entities' finding projects

in order to get the federal money. And sometimes those projects weren't really up to standard.

But over all, if you look back, we're now enjoying a lot of benefits that came out of the WPA program.

In other words, for the money spent, society got quite a return.

Look at the beautiful waterfront in Chicago. Look at the bridges that were built, the farm-to-market roads that were constructed by a branch of the CCC [Civilian Conservation Corps]. Look at the men today who were salvaged—men who will tell you that they were on the way to becoming bums until the CCC straightened them out.

Q. Do you feel that today's situation is different?

A. World War II was the only thing that ended unemployment in this country and ended WPA. When World War II ended, there began to be a new kind of welfare. These weren't the skilled workers with no job. These were the rural poor who had been drawn to the cities by wartime work and who didn't have a skill to take into the marketplace.

Most of these are people who either through lack of basic education or lack of any kind of motivation, lack of any job skill, or maybe just because they don't want to work—these are the welfare recipients. Every one of them is an individual problem. And someplace along the line, instead of welfare caseworkers' simply seeing how much more money they can get for them from government to make them that much more comfortable in their dependence on the rest of us, the welfare worker's task really should be: What is this individual's reason for not being able to work? What can I do and what can we do to put him out there, able now to get out and have a job? It's an entirely different kind of welfare person.

And the worst part of it is, some of these people are the second and third generations of their families who have been raised on public subsistence in an unbroken cycle. They don't even have an idea that there is any other way of life.

THE PROGRAM THAT COSTS THE MOST

Q. Isn't the program that is causing the great increase in the case load and welfare costs the one called Aid to Families With Dependent Children?

A. That's right. And this is one no other country in the world has.

Q. What is happening in your State in this category?

A. Well, let me give you just two or three of the things that are making this the worst program in the world:

1. In California alone, we estimate that there are 250,000 fathers of families of this kind who simply run out on them. We're trying to find a way with the counties to make these fathers accept their responsibility as you would anyone else who deserted a family and neglected his children. These men—who knows where they are?

We have some regulations in the MARS program—man assuming role of spouse. Is a male wage earner responsible for the family with which he's living? Under current federal regulations, the answer is: "No, he isn't. He can live there, and the woman still gets the grant." He doesn't have to contribute anything, even though he may be either the husband or the common-law husband of this woman.

2. Back in WPA days, there were women who could work and had job skills, and many had small children. What do you do about their children while they're working?

You found with these women who were given jobs in WPA there were other women who didn't have job skills—so they were given jobs taking care of the children of other women.

There's no reason in the world why this couldn't be done again. You could set up child-care centers, but, again, what has hap-

pened? The regulations call for people with master's degrees and professionals as the only ones who can take care of these welfare children. This is ridiculous.

You can have a supervisor, someone in charge of a child-care center. Then you can use some of these welfare women in schools, as teacher's aides. They don't need a formal education to serve as wardens on the playground. There are any number of things that these women could be doing that would be helpful.

Q. Do the present programs provide any incentive to work?

A. We're caught up with a legal kind of cheating on this. It isn't cheating in the technical sense, because it's all legal and aboveboard under the existing federal regulations.

In an effort to stimulate women to get jobs, provisions were made on the theory that if a woman has to trade dollar for dollar—if she gets a dollar for doing nothing—what incentive is there for her to work for the same dollar and lose the welfare dollar? So the whole idea was: Well, let her work and be able to keep some of the welfare grant. But Washington never put on a ceiling. There is no ceiling on the earnings that a person can get from working and still technically remain eligible for at least a part of the welfare grant.

Here is a specific example: A woman in California is earning \$582 a month. Her welfare grant for herself and her four children was \$339. Now, in computing how much of the \$582 is income—legitimate income that determines how much of her \$339 welfare she gets to keep—the welfare agency takes off the first \$30. That's incentive. Then they take off a third of the balance. This is what keeps it open-ended. It is a third of the gross.

Then they take off all withholding for taxes; all union dues, if any; any retirement programs for which money is subtracted from her paycheck. None of this has to be counted.

They make a child-care allowance, they make a clothing allowance, they make a transportation allowance—which is interpreted to include payments on a new automobile.

Finally, when they get down to the end, just to make sure they haven't missed anything, there is another \$25 that is taken off—kind of a miscellaneous incentive.

Now this \$582-a-month welfare woman—they reduce her income to \$42 so that they consider she's really only earning \$42—and, on a sliding scale, they pay her \$310 in public assistance.

Q. How many children does she have?

A. Four. Now, here is a woman who has a gross income of \$892, counting both her earnings and her welfare grant. But there is another woman across the street with four children, and she's only getting \$339—all from welfare. This second woman doesn't have a job skill and can't get a job.

Here is where we think a correction should be made, but we've got a court order preventing it right now, brought by an Office of Economic Opportunity neighborhood legal assistance program against us in behalf of the Welfare Rights Organization.

We wanted to reduce the amount of the grant to the woman with earnings, and take that money and increase the grant to the poor woman who is trying to raise her kids and doesn't really have enough to send them to school properly clothed and fed.

Q. Is this by law or regulation?

A. Well, the Health, Education, and Welfare Department will tell you that it's all law—that their regulations reflect the intent of Congress. We don't believe it.

I talked to a Senator the other day who told me that the men in Congress had no idea that this is the way things are being applied at the local level.

For example, the regulations are interpreted to mean that no caseworker can chal-

lenge or question a welfare applicant's statements. You have to take his word for it that he's telling you the truth.

The other day a woman died in Sacramento—she had been on welfare for 15 years—and we discovered after she died that she had \$88,000, owned a couple of pieces of property and had a military pension from her deceased husband.

We have thousands of aliens in California who have entered this country illegally, and we're not even allowed to ask about their legal status for welfare.

Q. You mean the State cannot even investigate their claims?

A. Not under the interpretation of the regulations. It is considered that to question the people on welfare "demeans and humiliates" them. How many times have you been demeaned and humiliated along about income tax time?

Now, there are some other things about this. There are regulations that, to spare recipients embarrassment, all their records must be kept confidential.

Just to show you how ridiculous this can become, there was a county welfare director in California whose own employees in the county welfare department refused to give him the information he asked for. He went to court and got a court order to make his employees tell him.

What turned up was that some of the employees—welfare employees—were also on welfare. They had put themselves on welfare.

WHEN A FATHER RUNS OUT

Q. Governor, do you know what percentage of your aid-to-dependent-children case load represents children in fatherless homes?

A. We've had a task force working for a long time on this whole subject—on finding out all the information so that we could get at some realistic reforms. I know there are 250,000 homes where the father has run out. Around 80 per cent of all the AFDC children are in homes where one parent is missing.

Q. Do you know how many might be fathers who are just absents themselves for the purpose of helping their families get more welfare?

A. No, because some time ago, in one of our counties, officials started doing some spot checks after dark on houses to see if the absent father was coming in the back door at sundown. But this was stopped as being a horrifying invasion of privacy—the check wasn't allowed.

Now, the other day, Nevada suddenly conducted a door-to-door canvass of welfare recipients and found that 22 per cent of the people in this program were receiving the benefits illegally.

Maybe the fathers wanted to run out anyway; they just didn't like the burden.

Once upon a time, if there was no welfare program, there would be a mother and children and a lot of interested people tracking this guy down for abandoning his family. But now, automatically, the next morning when she knows he's gone, the mother can come in and get on this welfare program, and many times get as much as he was earning, so no effort is made to find him.

This is what's happening to break up families. The father says: "I can leave and someone else can take care of the family."

Q. Do you try to track down missing fathers?

A. Well, this is supposed to be at the county district attorney level. We are working now with the county supervisors' association to see what the State can do to be helpful in this, and to assist the counties in tracking these men down and make them responsible.

But you've got a right in your own mind to say, "Well, what have you been doing for the last four years?" And I want to tell you that sometimes I feel ashamed.

And yet, whether it's rationalization or

not, I can only tell you that for these past four years our major effort has been devoted to welfare, and we have finally come to the conclusion that we just aren't getting the information we need from our own professional welfare types. Many times we have had the promise of reforms and programs that were going to work. I went out making speeches saying, "Oh boy, here we are on the right track." But the promises just frittered out.

So we set up a task force that did not involve the professional welfare types—an outside task force, independent lawyers that aren't even employed by government, to go in and look at the regulations and conditions. We're finding some amazing things. Finally, we're trying to plug the loopholes.

UNIONS "FED UP WITH WELFARE ABUSES"

Q. What is the attitude of the labor unions toward the welfare program?

A. At the moment, I could tell you that the rank and file of organized labor is probably the strongest force in this country against it. Maybe the union hierarchy still wants these social-reform programs. The rank and file are the ones who see the abuses next door and across the street. They're fed up to the teeth with what's going on. You go out to a blue-collar audience and talk about this problem and you get standing ovations.

Q. How about the academic community?

A. One element of the academic community, particularly the professional social worker—they've lobbied through all sorts of programs about the kind of education that you've got to have to be a welfare caseworker. We found in California—and if you think this didn't cause some screams of rage—we found that we were paying caseworkers to return to the university and get master's degrees in social welfare. We canceled that.

But these people in the whole social-reform, social-welfare area—they're the ones who keep thinking of these things that sound great, like an incentive to get a job. And it even sounds good to protect the dignity of the individual. No one in this country, if you've got any charity at all in your heart, wants to make the person feel embarrassed who's receiving it. And so we listen with a pretty sympathetic ear to any proposal that protects an individual's dignity.

But now we've got to recognize the kind of thing that happens when they begin with these regulations, and how they lead to abuses. Say here's a woman with a couple of children who is widowed or divorced. She meets a nice man and she gets married to this man—second husband. And he's got a good job, nice home. He becomes the head of the household. They have no financial problems. But the very fact that he is not the legal father of her children keeps her and her children on medicaid. She is eligible for all of the benefits of medicaid. And when she has a child by her new husband, the taxpayers pay the hospital costs and the doctor's cost.

Q. Well, under divorce law, if she got remarried, her previous spouse would be relieved of alimony and the new husband would assume all responsibilities, wouldn't he?

A. Yes. The only way that she can lose her technical eligibility is if her new husband legally adopts the children. And in the instance of divorce, with a living father, most new husbands don't do that. They respect the right of the previous husband.

Q. Do you think that welfare mothers with children should work, the same as nonwelfare mothers?

A. Well, let's take a canvass of all these women you see working now and find out how many of them don't have a husband and do have children and are not on welfare.

There was a significant story in a Cali-

fornia paper recently. Here was a young mother who's a fire watcher—up there alone on that lonely mountaintop for a number of days and nights, watching for the fire. And the reason her story got in the paper was because she happened to be on one of the towers where they finally had to swoop in with a helicopter and get her out of there just in the nick of time ahead of the fire.

And in telling her story, it develops that this young lady is a widow and she has three or four small children, but she has this job. Her mother is also a fire watcher, and they are both widowed. And their schedules have meshed so that the one baby-sits for the other's children—they mesh their schedules, their time off and time on as fire watchers, and they're working, and they're raising their kids. I doubt if their salary will pay for sending those kids to college, but, like a lot of other families, the kids will scramble for scholarships and work their way.

When you look at that—well, by what right does a welfare worker say that just because a woman has children no one should expect her ever again to be self-supporting?

There are millions of women who are out working and supporting their kids.

MOTHERS WHO WOULD LIKE TO WORK

Q. Do many of the welfare mothers work, too?

A. The terrible thing is that millions of these women on welfare would like to work.

The other night in California there was a TV interview with a Negro woman with 11 children. She had a job from late afternoon until about 11 o'clock at night. And she liked it. She liked working. She'd go to work and leave the oldest child in charge of the others.

Then she came home one night, and there was her welfare worker sitting in her living room with her oldest child waiting for her. And the welfare worker said: "Welfare is going to take these children away from you." The woman said: "Why?"

And the caseworker said: "Because we don't think that this child that you're leaving in charge is capable and old enough to supervise the other children. Therefore, we're going to take them away from you."

Well, the mother said, "What can I do?" And the welfare worker said: "Well, you can quit your job and go on welfare, and then you can stay home and take care of the children, and that'll take care of everything and we won't take the children away from you."

So, the woman said: "Here I am on welfare. I've never been on welfare before. I don't want to be on welfare. But I have been ordered on welfare if I want to keep my family."

Q. Should the Government provide child-care centers for welfare mothers?

A. We thought in California that, if they would waive the regulations on an experimental basis, we would try this. In the average community, there are so many people who want to do something for others. There are 65 million people, by a recent survey, in this country who give anywhere up to 8 hours, 10 hours a week or more in work of some kind, whether it's teaching Sunday school or taking care of Cub Scouts or Boy Scouts or whatever.

There are churches scattered all over every neighborhood. There are physical facilities. Suppose that government—instead of declaring that everything has got to be so grandiose, and has got to be so official, and has got to have a person with a teacher's certificate in charge of these kids—suppose instead that you were able to enlist the churches. All churches are in need of money. Pay some token rent for this facility. Then see how many volunteers you get.

We've got State mental hospitals that have some of the most fantastic volunteer programs going on with people who every day of their lives give up hours to come out

there. If we had to replace what they're doing with paid employees, I don't know how we'd do it. Well, the things that they're doing just wouldn't be done. But the things they're doing are a tremendous aid in the helping of these mentally ill people.

Q. Could a majority of these people who are on welfare be trained for gainful employment—are jobs available for them?

A. Well, remember we're talking in the midst of a temporary situation now of unemployment at certain skilled levels. Yet, you go out and check in any community on the jobs that are going begging, and you'll find that for some time past they have been not the jobs for highly skilled people. They are such jobs as waitresses, domestic help, department-store clerks and those in service trades.

I remember a statement in one hearing where one of these women from the Welfare Rights Organization got fired up and screamed out: "And don't talk to us about any of those menial jobs."

Now, I don't think jobs are menial. You know, here's a woman who is demanding her right to be supported by the working people, and she's saying to millions of other people who are chambermaids in a hotel or maids in homes—she is insulting them and saying that somehow they're beneath her and that she will only work if you can guarantee that the job will be at an executive level.

Q. What kind of jobs are suitable to these people?

A. I happen to believe the answer might be a kind of public work force. I'm not talking boondoggles and I'm not talking that you put them to work on the regular public payroll. But if you had a public work force doing useful work that is not now being done for government, you'd have an incentive.

We need some incentives that are also the carrot-and-the-stick philosophy. You'd have persons drawing the same money they're drawing now, but performing some service for it for the public good.

Compared with the pay and the type of work for which she might be available, even without training, this might be an incentive. Now she wouldn't have the comparison of x number of dollars for doing nothing or x number of dollars for becoming a chambermaid or something else. Now she'd look at a job and pretty soon she'd say: "Gee, I can get a raise, and maybe the hours are even better, and I'm more independent if I leave this public work force and take that job."

Q. Governor, has thought been given to bringing in people from the business community to operate these government programs?

A. Well, this is what you've done in California. I'm proud of the people that we have in our government, our administration in California. We have taken young men with promising careers in corporations. We twisted the boss's arm. We got them to give up a couple of years of their lives. They're not the people who ordinarily come into government.

We took 250 of the top professional, business and industrial people in California—the really top—and they formed themselves at our request into task forces. And they gave up as much as six months full time from their businesses and their careers. They went into every agency and department of our State government and came back to us with the recommendations as to how modern business practices could make government more efficient and more economical.

We have saved hundreds of millions of dollars in the cost of government from their recommendations.

Now, this was the thing we finally did

with welfare—this task force I mentioned. And right now, we're in the process of putting together their ideas and their recommendations for a complete reform of the welfare program.

Q. How much of your problem is a racial or a minority-group problem in welfare?

A. Well, the funny thing is, not as much, particularly in the aid-to-dependent-children program, as everyone says. And I'm happy to answer that, because many of the minority communities are self-conscious about this, and the minute you talk as I've been talking about this, they think "Uh-huh. He's aiming at us, at the minorities." This is not true. This is not confined to any racial or minority group. And, as a matter of fact, we have found that the majority of the people who are working and also drawing welfare are white.

Q. You came to office four years ago, Governor, pledged to try to cut taxes, economize in government, bring in efficient business-management methods. How has it worked out?

A. We know that government can be made businesslike and efficient. Where we're frustrated is mainly in this area of welfare.

Now, education—we've also had a task force working on that in the public-school system for the use of the State monies. But the biggest thing is welfare.

TAX SHARING: A WAY TO CUT OVERHEAD

Q. Governor, what do you think of the President's revenue-sharing proposal?

A. Well, I'm all in favor. I told him once on the phone when he talked to me about it that I hope that in his proposal he envisioned not only turning the money back to the States but in returning with it some of the responsibilities that are now being carried by the Federal Government—in other words, a free hand in the using of this.

Because I believe that, without the mandating on us of all the red tape and restrictions and federal regulations, we can in return for that money take dollar for dollar that much of a burden off the Federal Government's back and probably do it much more economically because we won't have this great administrative overhead.

You know, the tax dollars, they go to Washington and then they came back to us minus a certain amount for overhead. There's a great duplication of the Health, Education and Welfare bureaucracy, then the State bureaucracy, then the county bureaucracy, for example.

Q. Will this result in lower taxes for the middle-income man and the homeowner and the wage earner, or is this just going to be another add-on where the Governors and the mayors can continue to increase government spending?

A. In California, I am confident that we can do things that will eliminate part of the bureaucracy of Washington, and that we can do it in such a way that, yes, we will be able to reduce the tax burden on our people.

MESSAGE WITH FAMILIAR RING

HON. JAMES R. MANN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, last week Japan offered to voluntarily limit the flow of textile imports to this country. From what I have read about the proposal, I consider it to be a meager, paltry offer at best, and I seriously doubt that it will provide relief for domestic textile manufacturers who see their losses

mount or for domestic workers who see their jobs endangered. I believe that restrictive quota legislation is long overdue, and this nation is threatening to wreck one of our most vital industries because of the mistaken notion that negotiations will provide lasting relief. In 1968, Mr. Nixon and his spokesmen promised to obtain relief for the textile industry, but the administration has failed to obtain viable agreements, through diplomatic channels, which would make quota legislation unnecessary. Now it is high time for Mr. Nixon to get behind legislation and support it, as promised, with all the power and prestige of his Office.

For further commentary, I would like to put into the Record the following editorial from the Greenville, S.C., News of March 2, 1971.

The editorial follows:

MESSAGE WITH FAMILIAR RING

The finalized version of a proposal by the Japanese textile industry for voluntary limits on textile imports to the United States will need to be studied before an informed judgment can be rendered on its validity. Initial reports, however, indicate that the proposal is shaping up as just another attempt to stall off any meaningful import quota legislation.

Information made available through the Chemical Fiber Association of Japan does not offer much encouragement that the proposal will be anything more than a variation on the unacceptable negotiator demands of the Japanese government. Congressional leaders should carefully read all the fine print in the "voluntary" offer before dropping legislative efforts to obtain fair treatment for the American textile industry.

Objections to the Japanese textile industry's proposal are basically the same as the objections that have held up a successful negotiated settlement of the import problem during talks between the governments of Japan and the United States. The proposal, as announced, would be short-lived and would offer this country's hard-pressed textile industry little real relief.

The Japanese textile leaders are willing to impose restrictions on an over-all basis limited to a 5 per cent annual increase for a two-year period, based on 1970 foreign import figures. This would leave them free from any bothersome category limitations, which simply means that Japan could zero in on a specific classification of textiles and concentrate its quota to literally wipe out the American market in that classification through saturation.

Another glaring inequity in the proposal is suggested establishment of 1970 as the base year. The Japanese had their biggest year in 1970, exporting to the United States more than four billion square yards of material. Any meaningful agreement must be based on a more average year for foreign imports.

A first glance at the proposal of Japan's textile industry points toward a request for more concessions from the United States, rather than a genuine attempt to come to grips with the problem. It appears obvious that the Japanese government and its textile industry are determined to avoid, if at all possible, any encroachment on the fertile import field they have found in the United States.

The American textile industry, in the process, is being rather quickly plowed right under. The suggestions of the Japanese for voluntary restrictions will only increase the pitfalls of an import system that has led to the closing of some 50 textile plants in the two Carolinas, Georgia and Alabama since 1969.

President Nixon and Congress need only

scan the hard facts of the textile industry's increasing dilemma to realize that no amount of Japanese rhetoric can improve the situation. This latest proposal from Tokyo indicates again that the only real solution in sight is a hard-line approach by the federal government to insure that free trade is equated with fair trade.

PROPOSED SURVEYS OF CRITICAL ELECTRICAL SYSTEMS IN VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITALS

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Theodore W. Naslund, of Alexandria, Va., an employee of the Veterans' Administration, advises me he has been unable to get a full hearing on a suggestion for increased efficiency and safety he first submitted to the Veterans' Administration in 1965, and has resubmitted on numerous occasions.

As he still believes, in spite of the lack of interest exhibited by his superiors, that his suggestion warrants more consideration than it has received, he has requested that I include the pertinent information concerning it in the Record.

Mr. Naslund's suggestion is as follows:

PROPOSED SURVEYS OF CRITICAL ELECTRICAL SYSTEMS IN THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION'S HOSPITALS

Nationwide interest in the Veterans Administration's hospitals makes the following proposed surveys of the VA's hospitals and the VA's replies to the proposed surveys of interest to readers of the Congressional Record. Their interest includes all of the calculated risks associated with the VA's older hospitals which might affect the safety of people in the hospitals (For example, the people who were in the VA's old hospital at San Fernando, California when it was destroyed during the recent earthquake).

I. PROPOSED SURVEY OF THE ELECTRICAL SAFETY SYSTEMS IN ALL OF THE VA'S HOSPITALS

A. This survey was proposed to the VA by Theodore W. Naslund, P. E., a VA employee, on April 20, 1965 as follows:

1. The intent of the proposed survey is to obtain information which could enable the VA's management to determine where funds should be spent for improvement in electrical safety system installations in the VA's existing hospitals to provide equal protection for people in the hospitals, whether the hospitals are new or old:

a. The new improved electrical systems in the VA's recently constructed hospitals provide much better protection for people in such hospitals compared to the protection provided by the older or non-existent systems in the VA's older hospitals.

b. Deterioration in the older hospitals increases the possibilities for explosions, fires and electrical power system failures; therefore, the safety systems in the older hospitals should be at least as good or better than the systems in the newer hospitals.

c. Considering the importance of the systems, expenditures for providing adequate systems in the older hospitals are at least as well justified as such expenditures for the newer hospitals.

d. With information from the proposed survey, comparisons could be made between the systems in all of the VA's hospitals. Then, hospitals which contain deficient safety sys-

tems could be detected and the deficient systems could be improved or replaced with adequate systems.

2. The survey should be made at each of the VA's hospitals and should include thorough inspection of all of the significant components in each of the electrical safety systems. Upon completion of the survey, detailed information for at least each of the following systems at each of the hospitals should be delivered to the VA's Central Office in Washington:

a. Isolated type electrical power supply systems for use in critical areas such as operating rooms.

b. Fire alarm systems.

c. Emergency electrical power supply systems (diesel engine-generator systems) for use during failures of the electrical power company systems which normally supply power to the VA's hospitals.

B. Following is the VA's officially signed reply on November 18, 1965 to Mr. Naslund's proposed survey:

"Your suggestion for a proposed survey of existing electrical safety systems on all Veterans Administration's Buildings has been given individual attention by those concerned with its possible use and reviewed by the Staff Office Employee Recognition Committee.

We regret to inform you that your suggestion was not recommended for adoption. Information is available at each station concerning electrical safety systems for use by management in determining if expenditure of funds is necessary for correction or improvement. This information is in the form of record cards and "as built" drawings. Other file records include periodic preventive maintenance inspections and fire and safety inspections as indicated in Chapter 5, MP-3, Part III."

C. On February 16, 1966 Mr. Naslund requested the VA to reconsider the proposed survey and his following additional comments:

1. Information on the VA's record cards and "as built" drawings might not be correct, as many VA employees know.

2. The VA's records and inspection reports for the older deteriorated hospitals might not indicate many potential hazards:

a. Large explosions or fires in the hospitals are not necessarily preceded by the VA's recording of smaller explosions or fires in the hospitals. Sometimes the large explosions or fires are the first ones.

b. Complete loss of electrical power in the hospitals is not necessarily preceded by the VA's recording of smaller losses of electrical power in the hospitals. Sometimes the complete loss of electrical power is the first one.

3. Management at each of the VA's hospitals does not have adequate information with which to compare the adequacy of the safety systems in the older deteriorated hospitals with the systems in the newer VA hospitals throughout the country. Lack of such information seriously handicaps their efforts to obtain sufficient funds with which to improve the safety systems in the older hospitals so they will provide protection equal to the protection being provided in the newer hospitals.

4. Comparisons at the VA's Central Office of the existing systems in all of the VA's hospitals throughout the country. Lack of systems so that such inadequate systems could be improved or replaced on a consistent basis throughout the country.

5. Considering the importance of providing equal protection for people in the VA's older as well as newer hospitals and the need for the information which could be obtained by the survey, there should not be any concern about the relatively small cost for making the survey.

D. Following is the VA's undated, officially signed reply to Mr. Naslund's request for reconsideration of the proposed survey:

"Your suggestion concerning the proposed survey of existing electrical systems in all Veterans Administration Buildings has been reevaluated by responsible officials concerned with its possible use and reviewed by the Staff Office Employee Recognition Committee.

It was felt that the reply contained in our letter of November 18 is still valid. Your request for reevaluation dealt in generalities that are not substantiated by facts. The VA is equally concerned with the safety of the occupants of all of its buildings—both old and new. There is presently on record adequate information concerning electrical safety systems and each station has a safety program in operation at all times. The safety records of VA stations do not reflect a need for this type of survey.

In view of the above comments, your suggestion was not recommended for adoption.

E. Mr. Naslund states that the recent destruction of the VA's old hospital at San Fernando, California should cause the VA to review its confidence in its records and inspection reports pertaining to the safety provisions in the older VA hospitals. Earthquake possibilities in the San Fernando area have been well known for a long time. Also, the destroyed hospital's construction features have been well known for a long time.

II. PROPOSED SURVEY OF THE ELECTRICAL POWER DISTRIBUTION SYSTEMS IN ALL OF THE VA'S HOSPITALS

A. On April 5, 1965 Mr. Naslund also proposed to the VA that a similar survey be made for the electrical power distribution systems in the VA's existing hospitals. He submitted long comments about the high probability that many protective devices in the older systems could not safely interrupt short circuit currents. Such failures of the devices could cause fatalities, injuries and property damage in addition to long disruptions of electrical service in the buildings served by the systems.

B. The VA's officially signed replies to this proposed survey and Mr. Naslund's request for reconsideration of it were very similar to the VA's replies to the above proposed survey of the electrical safety systems. The VA did not adopt the proposed survey.

The above statements of Mr. Naslund's proposed surveys are his condensations of the very long proposed surveys which he submitted to the VA; however, the above replies by the VA are verbatim quotations. Anyone interested in obtaining copies of the complete proposed surveys and the VA's officially signed replies to them could request such copies from Mr. Naslund at the VA's Office of Construction, Washington, D.C. 20420.

Mr. Naslund states that during the last six years the VA has been trying to suppress his efforts to make numerous improvements pertaining to the VA's hospitals, in addition to the above proposed surveys, and the VA has repeatedly refused to allow him to have a formal hearing pertaining to such suppression and related matters although he has submitted more than adequate information to the VA to justify the hearing.

CHANGE IN FED CLIMATE SEEN

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, a news report in the Oil Daily of March 3, 1971, carried a clear warning to all extractive industries that the environment must and will be protected. The warning came from no less an authority than Thomas

D. Barrow, president and director of the Humble Oil and Refining Co., in a speech to the members of the American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical, and Petroleum Engineers.

So that my colleagues and others may have an opportunity to be aware of Mr. Barrow's remarks, I include the text of the Oil Daily news report at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

CHANGE IN FED CLIMATE SEEN

OIL DAILY BUREAU

NEW YORK—Thomas D. Barrow, president and director of Humble Oil & Refining Co. told members of the American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical and Petroleum Engineers that oil, gas and other extractive industries can expect substantive changes in the governmental climate within a few years. These include a strong push for a national energy policy, pressures for a national land use policy and improved governmental structures for managing the nation's coastal zones, development of natural resources in offshore and deep ocean areas, and expansion of the government's role in pollution abatement and environmental protection.

The Humble president made these predictions at the annual meeting and centennial celebration of the AIME being held at the New York Hilton.

Pointing out that the U.S. faces an energy crisis with short-term and long-term implications, Barrow said, "The more serious short-term problems involve shortages of some of the prime sources of energy which power the U.S. economy, such as heavy fuel oil, natural gas, coal and nuclear power. On a longer term basis the adequacy and security of our domestic supplies of energy, especially oil, is at stake." He said that a growing public awareness of these problems has led to a wide variety of proposals for development of a national energy policy, and he predicted that such a policy will be announced and put into operation within the next several years.

He said that pressures are building up for some kind of national policy for land use with coastal zone management.

"The coastal zones are those areas contiguous to the coastlines or the Great Lakes shores and they are twice as thickly populated as the inlands," Barrow explained. "There is great pressure for passage of federal legislation to provide at least a rudimentary system of federal support and federal goals for coastal zone planning activities. State involvement will also continue to intensify."

One of the central factors spurring interest in land use and the coastal zones, he said, is need for environmental protection.

"The question of the compatibility of natural resource development with other uses of the same land or ocean space is at issue," Barrow said. "For the foreseeable future the extractive industries can expect to be called upon to demonstrate the validity of the compatible use concept. We will be required to defend the compatibility of our operations with other users in economic, esthetic and ecological terms."

"Although passed two years ago, practical interpretation of the Environmental Policy Act of 1969 has only just begun and will have a profound effect on the extraction industries. The burden of proof will be upon us to show that the benefits offered by our lands—food, recreation, transportation or energy—can be utilized through a system of orderly and cooperative development. We in the oil industry believe that existing operations—for example, off the coast of Louisiana where drilling and production activity has coexisted for many years with a flourishing commercial and recreational fishing industry—will assist in proving this point."

VOICE OF AMERICA CONTEST
WINNER

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, we often hear complaints about the deterioration of youth today. However, I maintain that it is only a small minority who detract from the large body of decent, law-abiding youngsters, who are making daily contributions to the betterment of our world.

The Voice of America, a national contest sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, brings forth youth of just such a high caliber.

A constituent of mine, 16-year-old Miss Helen Curameng of Oxon Hill, Md., has been selected as one of five winners in the Voice of America contest and will represent the District of Columbia in the finals. She wrote and presented her speech, working only from a title, "Freedom Our Heritage", given to all contestants.

Helen's speech should be an inspiration to us all, and I submit this meaningful statement for my colleagues' perusal.

The article follows:

FREEDOM OUR HERITAGE

(By Helen G. B. Curameng)

Ever since the beginning of man's awakening to the inner recesses of his intellect, he has sought a universal law which could be exercised by all men of any foreign realm of this universe; a law which could be justified without that familiar oppressing fear of tyranny. But if we were to search the universe for this law, we would not need to go very far because on a planet earth, in a country called the United States of America such a law has already found its place among history's memoirs; a law whose inception began since a certain struggle for independence some 200 years ago. And the law is this, and I quote: "... all men ... are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights of ... life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." These words have been echoed in every corner of the globe as the immortal words of Americans, who, in their Herculean efforts to unite 13 colonies against the tyrannical forces of England's reign, did not aspire to be free for themselves but for the freedom of their posterity. And our forefathers did not limit their struggles for ten years and only on American soil; they fought in almost every social evolution on the soils of over ten countries, and why? Because Americans have inherited a trait which enables them to consecrate themselves, as a result of their desire to be free to the service of the world.

In our battle for justice we are not fighting men alone. We are fighting nations who deprive their people of their inalienable birthrights of freedom. Nations who have turned their people into subservient machines. But we Americans are human beings and we must make every effort to attain every circumstance of progress for humanity and for the world.

These nations may boast of their economic power but we may boast of our spiritual advances for the humanism of man.

These nations may tell their people that freedom in America breeds an uncontrollable people but we may say in a greater light of truth that freedom in America has bred the affirmed maturity of its people as a nation;

a freedom which enables us to act responsibly.

These nations ever since, have challenged us by attacking the spiritual foundations that our previous generations had built their dreams upon. But all this we consider to be a test of patience which becomes more of an abrasive ordeal as time passes. But we have learned that in tests like these, one wins only by accepting challenges on their merits. The point is, there is a curious trait in the American character which does not allow us to denounce these attackers of American moral philosophy. It is a trait that has become the American inherent best.

We are optimistic people who dream the improbable dreams of peace and mutual understanding between all nations. But much more than this optimism is our hungry desire to be free. This is the reason we will not stand by as thousands are swept under the wings of false freedom propagated by the Communist powers of the world. Even time could not permit us, because we have learned from our ancestors that the insurance of freedom originates only when men become inspired by strong determination and self sacrifice. We have been proud heirs of freedom's flame too long that we will not extinguish it now or ever.

It is true that we are bold insofar as that we have assumed the heaviest burden of the world's welfare the history of man has ever witnessed. But we are even bolder in the fact that we will die to stay free and to live as free men. Because as Edward Everett wrote of Americans, "... the faithful marble may preserve their image and their worth, ... but the humblest sod of Independent America is a prouder mausoleum than kings can ever boast ... because the country's independence is their monument."

And as these words have magnified, freedom for we Americans lives as our challenge; it lives as our sacred epitaph and it forever lives to be our sacred heritage.

CARRYING THE WAR TO NORTH
VIETNAM FOR PEACE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, after the sacrifice of American men, materiel, and money for years in some ill-conceived policy of police action for containment of communism in Vietnam; loss of face around the world due to the image of U.S. military forces being held at bay by a small fifth-rate state that cannot even produce a good grade of firecracker, and years of "peace talks" without even being able to get the Communist aggressor to the peace table, it appears that President Thieu of South Vietnam may have come up with a real prod to get the Communist regime of North Vietnam to do more than use "peace" as propaganda.

President Thieu's new strategy, years overdue, is merely to tell Hanoi that if it does not stop its aggressive invasion in South Vietnam and negotiate for peace, the South Vietnamese will retaliate by taking the war to the North and forcing the Communist regime to the peace table.

Of course, President Thieu can expect little political support for South Vietnam from her allies in Washington, since

such a show of support would prove that we had truly Vietnamized South Vietnam, that is, given her leaders the freedom to run their own country without U.S. interference—additionally, it might be embarrassing to our Chiefs of Staff, State Department diplomats, and other "softies" in the executive branch—who have been carrying the party line that we cannot win in Vietnam and that victory would be immoral—if the South Vietnamese occupied North Vietnam and ended the war in victory.

Mr. Nixon as a candidate for President called for victory in Vietnam.¹ And apparently Henry Kissinger now believes victory is possible, but for some strange reason he is concerned that the South Vietnamese might carry the war to the North, thereby achieving that goal. Why does Kissinger fear victory for the free world?

Peregrine Worsthorpe, a political columnist for the London Sunday Telegraph, who interviewed both Nixon and Kissinger gave the following report on this subject:

KISSINGER'S CONVERSION

Henry Kissinger is engagingly frank on this point. He admits that on first coming into the White House his assumption was that the Nixon policy of combining American withdrawal with rapid Vietnamization was in effect little more than a face-saving formula. The Vietnamization program was seen as a bluff designed to build up a slightly more favorable negotiating position from which to reach a settlement that would in effect be a North Vietnamese victory, only delayed long enough to save America's face. The last two years, however, have drastically altered his judgment. Vietnamization has succeeded beyond his wildest expectations.

It will be as difficult and painful for the Americans to rediscover their faith in South Vietnam in the 1970s as it was difficult and painful for them to lose it in the 1960s, and as difficult and painful for them to lose their awe for North Vietnam as it was for them to develop it.

Kissinger believes it to be the task of the realist today to prick the defeatist bubble. He is no longer worried by the possibility of the North Vietnamese pulling off some catastrophic surprise. Much more dangerous and possible in the long run, in his view, is the possibility of the South Vietnamese doing something untoward. One almost got the impression from Kissinger that he is more worried today that the South Vietnamese will invade the North than vice versa.²

I continue to support the South Vietnamese who, after years of punishment from an outside aggressor, have now served notice that they are ready to carry the ball into the enemy's own territory. I likewise feel that such a movement would have the overwhelming confidence and imaginative support of the great majority of the American people.

I insert a related newsclipping in the RECORD:

THIEU THREATENS ATTACK ON NORTH IF
WAR GOES ON

SAIGON.—President Nguyen Van Thieu tonight threatened to attack North Vietnam "in their own territory" unless the North Vietnamese immediately stop their

¹ See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 116, Part 1, pages 917-919.

² "Mr. Nixon Is Playing to Win," Washington Post, Feb. 28, 1971.

aggression in the South and withdraw their troops.

His statement was released to the press at Independence Palace and then broadcast on Vietnamese radio and television, a move which emphasized its importance.

An unofficial translation of the broadcast said Hanoi should stop its aggression "if the North Vietnamese want to avert an invasion." The official press statement did not use the word "invasion," however, but used the expression "that course of action" after referring to attacks on the North.

IN SELF-DEFENSE

"I wish the Communist North Vietnamese would soon awaken to reality and not put us in a situation which forces us to attack them right in their own territory," he said. He added that such an incursion would be based on "legitimate self-defense."

The statement caught observers by surprise, although both Thieu and Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky have repeatedly given hints and unofficial statements in recent days that they might be considering an invasion of the North.

Thieu conferred with both U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker and Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam, before making the statement and it was believed he had told them of it in advance.

(In Washington, White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said there has been no discussion within the U.S. government about providing American air support for a possible South Vietnamese invasion of North Vietnam.

(Senate Majority leader Mike Mansfield said today he was "opposed unequivocally" to an invasion by South Vietnamese troops. He said he did not know what was behind Thieu's references to a possible invasion, "but if you threaten it enough, and there have been such indications for the past few weeks, there is the possibly it might happen." He added: "I don't think we have any obligations to carry on an adventure of that type.")

Thieu mentioned a possible attack on North Vietnam last Thursday when the official Vietnam press agency quoted him as saying a drive into the North "is only a matter of time."

KISSINGER'S DOUBTS

Dr. Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's national security adviser, was asked then about the statements. He said on Friday that an invasion of the North was not "the dominant probability at the moment."

"It's a novel problem because now it is North Vietnam that has invaded neighboring countries," Kissinger said on a CBS-TV news program. "The idea of anyone invading North Vietnam would have been unthinkable a year ago. This certainly indicates an evolution in the balance of strength (in Indochina)."

Then he added that an invasion "is not the dominant probability at this moment" and said South Vietnam "could not involve us in any military move" of that type without the expressed approval of the President.

President Nixon, at a news conference in his White House office on Feb. 17, said in response to questions about a possible invasion:

"I won't speculate on what South Vietnam may decide to do with regards to a possible incursion into North Vietnam in order to defend their National security."

Asked later in the news conference about the subject, Nixon said:

SAIGON'S DECISION

"I will not speculate on what South Vietnam will do in defense of its national security. South Vietnam now, as we withdraw,

has an ever-increasing responsibility to defend itself. South Vietnam will have to make decisions with regards to its ability to defend itself."

The North Vietnamese and Viet Cong delegates to the Paris peace talks charged that President Nixon and his "Saigon puppets" were plotting to invade North Vietnam and warned that this might bring Communist China into the war.

Kissinger, asked about this, said Hanoi probably is correct in believing that Red China would enter the war if North Vietnam's existence were threatened. But he added he felt "we are correct in pointing out it is highly unlikely that Communist China will come in under conditions that currently exist."

Thieu emphasized that any attack would be in self defense.

"If the Communist North Vietnamese want to avoid that course of action, then they had better stop being stubborn, they had better stop immediately their aggression in the South and withdraw their troops back to the North," Thieu said in his press statement.

A MATTER OF TIME

The official South Vietnam press agency quoted Thieu last week as saying a drive against North Vietnam was "only a matter of time." But spokesmen later refused to confirm or deny that he had actually made the statement in a speech at Pleiku.

Tonight his official statement was more to the point.

"I wish the Communist North Vietnamese would soon awaken to the reality, and not put us in a situation which forces us to attack them right in their own territory," he said.

"In other words, we let the authorities in Hanoi decide by themselves whether or not they want to be attacked by us right in their own territory, which is North Vietnam."

Thieu said the attacks on Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia and Laos had inflicted heavy casualties on the North Vietnamese.

CONTRADICTIONARY ROLES PLAYED BY AEC

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, in recent years, I have frequently brought to the attention of my colleagues in this body the contradictory roles played by the Atomic Energy Commission, insofar as it serves as both promoter and regulator of the use of atomic energy. At the beginning of this Congress, I introduced H.R. 1197, which would transfer the licensing functions of the Commission to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Hopefully, the Secretary would show more concern for the public health and safety, and for the environment, than has been demonstrated by the AEC in the past.

The Long Island Catholic, a highly respected weekly, recently included a thoughtful article by Dr. James B. Kelley, who suggests that the licensing procedures now under the aegis of the AEC should be transferred to the Environmental Protection Agency. In my judgment, such a change of jurisdiction—to either EPA or HEW—would do much to increase public confidence in the licensing procedures. I, therefore, include

Dr. Kelley's article at this point in the RECORD for the consideration of my colleagues:

AEC CAN'T BE BOTH PROMOTER, REGULATOR OF INDUSTRY

(By Dr. James B. Kelley)

That the industrial world of the West would be faced with a shortage of electrical power was something no one could ever believe, and certainly something no one would have cared to predict seriously ten years ago.

But magazines and newspapers, television and radio have been telling us about what is happening in England, and what can happen, and to some extent, did happen last summer, in the United States, especially in the metropolitan New York area.

England is having real deep "brown-outs"—the term the public relations people at the power companies thought up to describe a lack of adequate electric power to run a modern industrial country. In the summer of 1970, there were "brown-outs" or power reductions in New York.

DIM PROSPECTS

The simple fact is that American economy is built on the existence of massive electrical power. Right now the prospects for meeting the needs of American homes and factories in the next ten years are not good.

It is, at the same time, safe to say that the conservationists and the environmentalists will receive a large share of the blame for this reduction in power output; it will be translated as their insistence for clean air and clean water which make it impossible for the power companies, whether privately or publicly or cooperatively owned to produce electrical power.

It is worth nothing at this point that switching from private to public ownership seldom does much to reduce violations against the environment. The worst offenders against air pollution rules and regulations in New York City were, for many years, the City-owned incinerators.

Even Consolidated Edison, a perennial whipping boy of both the press and public officials, could scarcely outdistance the good old incinerators.

Long Island, as one of the fastest growing population areas of the United States—a role it has assumed since the end of World War II—must face the power question along with the rest of the nation. The Long Island Lighting Company nuclear plant at Shoreham has been the source of constant dispute ever since it was proposed.

Recently the Federal Water Quality Administration became the first federal agency to jump into the fight against the plant. Previously the arguments opposing the plant had been largely devoted to its nuclear character. Now added to this is the question of thermal pollution—a question which was always lurking in the background.

There are at least two points to be made about this intervention of the FWQA. One is that the Atomic Energy Commission has chosen over the years not to be concerned with environmental problems.

The second point is that no other Federal agency than the Atomic Energy Commission has permit-granting powers for the construction of nuclear installations of whatever kind: research, medical, or power.

There has been long, and sometimes bitter debate among experts in the field of environmental protection that the AEC should be forced to assume overall responsibility for the safety of nuclear electric power plants.

In other words, the AEC should not restrict itself to checking the radiation levels which might emanate from the plant and stop at that point. This is not really any kind of environmental protection.

POLLUTED WATER?

What the Federal Water Quality Administration is concerned about is what will happen to the waters of the Long Island Sound into which the heated effluent from the cooling system of the plant will flow. The AEC is not concerned, because it is not in the water quality business. The Long Island Lighting Company is not too concerned about the Federal Water Quality Administration because the only Federal agency which has the power to issue a construction permit for a nuclear power plant is the Atomic Energy Commission.

As a first step in building public confidence, and at the same time protecting the orderly and necessary development of our power resources, the entire licensing procedure should be removed from the jurisdiction of the AEC.

The same agency cannot be both promoter and regulator of an industry; it does not make sense, and causes suspicion. There is a second reason why the AEC should be out of the picture, and that is the environmental problem.

It has already been noted that the AEC has never been concerned about danger to the environment except insofar as an accident might happen releasing radioactive materials into the atmosphere or into water supplies. It has never considered itself an environmentally oriented organization.

There is such an agency in existence now; the Environmental Protection Agency, which should be given full responsibility for the environmental licensing of all power plants, whether nuclear or otherwise. For further protection, a separate group consisting of both private and public experts should set the standards for the location, construction, and environmental (including radiation) safety of the plants and the surrounding communities and resources.

This puts the responsibility in one place; there can be no buck passing. The EPA is strictly a regulatory agency with a set of standards which were put together outside of its own organization, and these standards would be under constant review.

The electrical problem is too serious in this country for it to become a political or legal football, chasing in and out of the courts, with decisions being made on who has the authority to issue the license or permit, instead of whether there should be reservations about issuing the permit in the first place.

The United States cannot afford in any sense a power shortage; it would be economically and socially a disaster. But the United States cannot afford to have its environment further degraded, because this is also an economic and social disaster.

At the moment it appears that the power people, whether public or private and the conservationists are locked in a struggle to the death. It is to be hoped this is not the case.

The nuclear power plant which LILCO wants to build cannot be a disaster in any sense of the word; the power is needed but both the atmosphere and the waters off Long Island—already to terribly abused—cannot be further destroyed.

Nuclear power is one type of power source available to us; it is still experimental in many respects. It must be examined and re-examined, but this must be done in a reasonable atmosphere of trust; the public deserves this, and part of the public will be the people who are employed in the power plant.

So far the news reports, the discussions, the documents submitted in the Shoreham case all sound like more of the same old thing, with the same charges and claims being only vaguely answered in too many instances, and with the AEC still occupying its strange contradictory role.

BANK AGENCY RUINS LIFE OF FORMER BANKER

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, one of the responsibilities of any government in a free society is to serve its people. When government ceases to perform this function, then it has violated one of its most important trusts.

An agency of our Government has indeed violated the trust of Mr. Irving Molever, now a resident of Phoenix. Until 1966, Mr. Molever was a successful businessman and certified public accountant, but now he has lost his business, cannot practice his profession, and is nearly broke, all because the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation did not act in a responsible capacity in connection with a bank that ran into financial difficulty.

Mr. Speaker, I will not take the time to recount Mr. Molever's story since I am including in my remarks a front page article from the February 26 edition of the Los Angeles Times that spells out in detail the ordeal that Mr. Molever has gone through because of the ineptness of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

On Monday, the House Banking and Currency Committee will hold hearings on the problems of bank regulation and bank failures. The witness will be Mr. Frank Wille, Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Chairman PATMAN of the Banking Committee, like myself, has been interested in the problems of Mr. Molever and on several occasions has attempted to get answers to the thousands of questions arising out of the Molever case. I commend Chairman PATMAN for his actions in this area and hope that he will continue to press for the facts when Mr. Wille appears before this committee on Monday. Somewhere along the line something must be done to rectify the injustices that have befallen Mr. Molever. Perhaps on Monday we can begin to restore Mr. Molever's confidence in his Government.

The article follows:

BANKER'S ORDEALS RUN OVER BY GOVERNMENT, HE FIGHTS ON
(By Al Delugach)

Until five years ago, life was a piece of seven-layer cake for Irving Molever. He had a thriving practice as a certified public accountant in Pittsburgh. He owned a string of retail stores. He had capital and a line of credit worth \$260,000.

He even became (to his lasting sorrow) the founder and president of a bank in Wheeling, W. Va., within commuting distance of his handsome home in suburban Pittsburgh.

Now they are gone—those tangible proofs of success.

Today Molever, 46, lives in Phoenix. He is almost broke. He cannot practice his profession. He is a man with an obsession.

The Bank of Wheeling nearly went under in 1966 and a powerful government agency, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., stepped in.

REFUSES TO BE DEAD

Molever was run over by the government machine. But he has refused to be dead.

He accuses the FDIC of covering up evidence not only of his innocence of apparent irregularities in the bank, but of possible crimes, as an expediency in keeping the bank open.

After moving his family (his pretty wife, Joy, a daughter, 9, and three teen-age sons ranging up to 19) from their lifelong home "in disgrace," Molever has spent more than four years and all his resources in a frustrating campaign to clear his name.

Only now is he beginning to see some light at the end of the tunnel.

With the aid of documents uncovered in recent months in a pending lawsuit, Molever has aroused the interest of congressional investigators.

The record shows a curious course was taken by the FDIC in avoiding payment of deposit insurance.

First, the FDIC had ordered Molever ousted under the stigma of blame for the bank's near failure.

Later the agency came up with long-existing evidence that cleared Molever.

But it was kept secret until Molever forced it into the open last summer in legal proceedings. All the while his pleas for a hearing were ignored by the FDIC.

TWO DIRECTORS APPOINTED

Meanwhile, to get the bank going again, the FDIC chose a couple of the bank's directors, wealthy brothers, of Wheeling.

The FDIC did this despite the fact, disclosed in the lawsuit, that one of its own bank examiners had reported that the brothers had used the bank in an apparently illegal scheme to benefit their furniture business.

Although FDIC examiners have reported apparent criminal law violations at the Bank of Wheeling, no charges have been brought by federal prosecutors.

Molever has resembled a character in a Kafka tale in his baffling, frustrating journey through the mazes of federal bureaucracy and the civil courts.

But he is stubborn. He has amassed a great array of documentation in devoting himself to a lopsided struggle.

As he explained in a recent letter to Chairman Wright Patman (D-Tex.) of the House Banking Committee, Molever had "no choice but to spend three years of his life, at the sacrifice of his family, investigating the affairs of this bank in order to undo the corrupt investigation of the FDIC and the unjust condemnation of an honest and innocent man."

Molever estimates he has spent \$70,000 to wage a long legal battle to vindicate himself and collect damages on behalf of the bank's minority stockholders—including relatives and friends he had gotten to invest with him.

HAD ASSETS

In his more bitter moments, Molever reflects that a citizen without the assets he started with could never have persisted so long in a quest for justice.

The costs have been high.

"I had built up a line of credit, unsecured, of \$260,000," Molever told the House committee. "Today I have no credit; my net worth was totally destroyed. I cannot practice my (CPA) profession. I had no income for the years 1966 through 1969 while I carried on this investigation."

He is working on salary for a Phoenix swimming pool construction company that trusted him in spite of the cloud on his reputation reflected in credit reports.

MAJOR TOPIC

His wife and children have become steeped in the bank case. It has been the major topic in their household for years. In Pittsburgh they had borne the brunt of rumors, questions, bad feelings that arose from the bank blowup.

Friends have often advised Molever to for-

get the bank and make a new life. His wife, for one, says she would have preferred this route to the anguish of Molever's chosen path. But her pride in him is obvious.

Molever puts it this way:

"A crook doesn't mind being called a crook but an honest man suffers. I've got three boys growing up and I can't do anything but go on until I clear my name."

In recent months he has finally had some encouragement.

The House Banking Committee staff is impressed with his case, though so far Chairman Patman has not held a hearing because of the pending civil litigation.

Earlier this month an Arizona congressman, Sam Steiger, wrote to Patman offering to rally Republican support in any effort "to not only rectify the past wrongs of the FDIC but to minimize any future transgressions on their part."

The FDIC itself has not responded to a request by The Times for information on the Bank of Wheeling matter.

But much of it already has been spread on the public record through Molever's civil court fight.

The main legal action is a stockholder derivative suit against Donald and Robert Levenson of Wheeling, who are directors of the Bank of Wheeling, their furniture company and the bank itself.

The lawsuit is expected to get to trial soon, after many delaying actions.

It has been a long road.

Just this month Molever saw a small but encouraging victory. A federal appeals court overruled a district judge who had dismissed the suit for lack of jurisdiction in the amount of monetary interest involved. Before too much longer the bank case may finally be heard on its merits.

The suit seeks \$500,000 in actual and \$50,000 in punitive damages.

AUTO LOANS

The bulk of the damages claimed involve the bank's loss on a single line of auto loans made by the bank in late 1965 and early 1966. The suit accuses the Levenson brothers of mismanagement and breach of fiduciary obligations.

The lawsuit also covers, in a separate cause of action, the area that the FDIC ignored in letting the Levensons take over the bank.

It is alleged in the suit, and supported by bank records and documents on file in the case, as follows:

The Levensons used the bank to fraudulently obtain 1½% to 2½% discounts from their furniture company's wholesale suppliers under a nonexistent financing arrangement with the bank.

More than \$15,000 in discounts on more than \$500,000 in purchases was falsely obtained from the bank in 80 instances in less than a year preceding April, 1966, it is alleged.

The bank was deprived of the interest that it would have earned if the financing arrangement had been bona fide and existing, the plaintiffs' action states.

The Levensons allegedly used the bank's own stationary in misrepresenting to suppliers that the arrangement existed. After preparing the letters at the furniture company, the Levensons had them signed by the bank's cashier and executive officer in charge of operations, Jay Noel.

Noel, in a deposition taken in the lawsuit, said he concealed these matters from Molever.

Donald Levenson said during his deposition that he had discussed financing arrangements with Molever.

"The bank is not out one single dime," Levenson contended.

He also maintained that the suppliers were aware that the furniture company, not the bank, was receiving the discount.

The lawsuit is the culmination of an ordeal that followed from Molever's venture into what was for him unfamiliar territory—the banking business.

With some associates and local business people in Wheeling, he had opened the Bank of Wheeling in April, 1965. Within a year it was tottering from about \$500,000 in losses on a \$1 million line of used car financing.

FDIC documents, which remained in the agency's confidential files until they came to light as exhibits in the stockholder suit, disclosed the following about the FDIC's ensuing conduct:

In a June, 1966, report one FDIC examiner detailed the Levenson's nonexistent financing plan as among "apparent irregularities."

FBI NOTIFIED

His immediate superior transmitted the report to the chief of the FDIC's examination division, noting that the FBI had been notified of "apparent violations" of federal criminal statutes.

A month later, in July, 1966, another examiner was sent into the bank to follow up on the bank examination with a criminal investigation.

The documents also reveal that second examiner, Thomas Lindsey, did not make a written report to federal prosecuting authorities until June, 1967. It made no mention whatsoever of the Levensons, who had by then gone ahead with the bank recapitalization under FDIC guidance. It made no mention, either, of the furniture store discount through the bank.

What the report did have was a discussion of "apparent irregularities" centering on the disastrous auto line of loans.

And it listed Molever and cashier Noel as among those "believed responsible" in a "conspiracy" with the auto dealer.

Not mentioned in the report was the fact that Noel in a letter of resignation to the bank board of directors in April, 1966, had assumed all blame and responsibility for the auto loans.

But on June 25, 1968, a year after his first report, Lindsey filed an addendum, which also is on file in the lawsuit. He explained in a separate letter to the FDIC examination division chief that he had reviewed his 1967 report in preparing his defense to a defamation suit filed against him by Molever, which has since been dismissed.

GREAT DETAIL

His addendum to federal prosecuting authorities reported Noel's resignation statement in great detail. It included statements that Noel had deceived Molever about the auto loan losses. Noel told the same story in his deposition in the stockholder lawsuit.

Lindsey, questioned for the lawsuit last July 22, said he could not recall the basis for naming Molever in his original report as among those believed responsible for irregularities. He said, however, he would stand by his two reports.

The FDIC board of directors on Aug. 25, 1966, had ordered the bank to take certain steps under pain of losing its FDIC-insured status.

Among them was removal of Molever from any connection with active management (he had resigned a week earlier).

SOUGHT HEARING

For months afterward Molever sought a hearing from the FDIC. He was notified Dec. 27, 1966, that a hearing would be scheduled if the FDIC board decided to "proceed further" than its August, 1966 order.

In February, 1967, Molever was notified that the FDIC had decided to terminate the proceedings against the bank. Therefore, he was told, an administrative hearing would not be held.

As recently as December, 1969, Molever wrote a long and impassioned letter to the FDIC's then chairman, concluding:

"The writer, his wife and four children, all honest and decent citizens, beg and plead with you. Won't you please look at our evidence?"

Molever said he did not get a reply.

DISPOSAL OF METALLIC SOLID WASTE

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, in our search for ways to protect and improve the environment, one major difficulty facing us is the disposal of metallic solid waste—items such as old cars, refrigerators, stoves, and so forth. Perhaps the answer to this problem is extensive usage of iron and steel scrap processors.

Using a process developed by this industry, not only reclamation of the waste is possible, but also the preservation of our national resources follows as a direct result.

In the December 1970, edition of Association Management, a publication of the Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel, Inc., there appears an article written by a former student of mine, James E. Fowler, director of public relations. This statement presents clearly the objectives and accomplishments of the iron and steel scrap processors, and because of the hope it offers, I present the article here for the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

CASTOFF INDUSTRY TURNS UGLIFICATION INTO BEAUTIFICATION

INSTITUTE OF SCRAP IRON AND STEEL SOLVES PROBLEMS OF LAND POLLUTION BY RECYCLING OBSOLETE METALLICS BACK INTO ECONOMY AS NEW USABLE PRODUCTS

(By James E. Fowler)

Reclamation, conservation, beautification—these three words probably best describe the achievements of the iron and steel scrap processing industry in dealing with the mounting problems of metallic solid waste which plague our environment.

This \$3 billion industry was built on the concept that our discarded metallics do not have to be left to waste, but should be recycled back into the economy. It is, in essence, an environmental control industry—one which takes the obsolete and allows it to be made new again—a profit making solution to one of the most visible forms of land pollution.

Our lawmakers, government officials, and the public at large have only recently grown concerned with what has been happening to our land, air, and water. Although the realization that something would have to be done has been emerging steadily, it has only been in the past few years that the stop-pollution cry has reached priority levels. The public outcry has led to the political outcry—something must be done, something must be stopped, something must happen if we are not to be destroyed by the very technological advances that made our modern civilization possible.

INDUSTRY IN AGE OF ECOLOGY

It is within this framework that the Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel, international association for more than 1,300 processors and brokers of iron and steel scrap, has found it necessary to define more accurately its role in representing its industry effectively in

this age of ecology. The basic function of the industry has not changed, but the climate in which this industry functions has changed drastically. Our ecological balance has been left unchecked for far too many years. Everyone must share the blame, and everyone must cooperate in finding solutions to the problems that confront us.

This, then, is the role which the Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel has defined for itself in answer to one aspect of environmental control—a role of industry interpretation through research and education to those seeking solutions.

It is being accomplished through a master plan of programs and projects directed to various publics with one paramount objective—an understanding of the iron and steel scrap industry as a force in dealing with the problems leading to the pollution of our land.

To explain this role of the Institute, one must know something of the industry which it serves.

FACTORIES WITHOUT ROOFS

The scrap processor takes the cast-offs of our society, such as obsolete automobiles, washing machines, and refrigerators, as well as industrial scrap which results from the manufacturing of new products, and converts them into essential raw materials which can be recycled into the economy through remelting by steel mills and foundries. This is reclamation, achieved by heavy investment in equipment and machinery in what often is referred to as factories without roofs.

By recycling discarded metallics, a conservation need is filled because the product saves irreplaceable natural resources. Specifically, one ton of scrap iron and steel conserves up to 1½ tons of iron ore, one ton of coke, and a half ton of limestone needed in the steelmaking process.

OLD CARS ARE RECYCLED

It is through reclamation and conservation that strides are made in beautification. Old automobiles need not contribute to uglification if they are moved to the scrap processor for recycling as scrap to steel mills and foundries. And as an alternate metallic input for these consumers, many areas of otherwise attractive land need not be mined.

Yet in performing his function which serves environmental quality, the scrap processor is often confused with the junk dealer or automobile wrecker. He is included in statutes, erroneously, which have as their intent control of the latter two business operations.

The iron and steel scrap processor has been subjected to many legal abuses through the years because he was thought to be a part of the problem. Although the frequency has subsided somewhat, the attempts to legislate him out of business continue. However, the rebuttal not longer takes on a defensive tone, but rather a positive one, because environmental quality is a major concern of the day. And, scrap processors are the only entity serving to help solve the problem.

PRIVATE SECTOR SOLUTION

Public officials are more cognizant of solid waste problems. Disposal in most areas of the country is costly and inadequate. By the very presence of an industry which recycles metallic solid waste, totally within the private sector, they have one less category of solid waste to deal with, one less cost factor to budget. What could be a potential problem for them is instead a contribution to their own economy. In short, public officials are more quickly convinced that scrap processors are not a part of the problem but helping to solve the problem.

Probably the most visible form of metallic

solid waste is the abandoned and obsolete automobile. Of equal concern, but less obvious, are the other forms of obsolescent scrap referred to as consumer goods—refrigerators, stoves, washing machines, appliances and the like.

SOCIAL-AESTHETIC LIABILITY

These forms of scrap are not reaching the processor to be reclaimed at the rate they are being discarded. Instead, they are accumulating throughout the nation in increasing numbers, creating a social and aesthetic liability.

It is in the category of discarded consumer goods, and particularly the abandoned and obsolete automobile, that the Institute has selected to place the thrust of its public relations program in order to achieve its objective of public understanding. The junk car is an obvious problem which blights our landscape from city streets to the rural countryside. It represents all that is offensive to the public and to the government officials who are desperately seeking some type of relief.

Ironically, while the old car is a social and aesthetic liability, it also represents an economic asset if recycled back into the economy by iron and steel scrap processors.

Singled out, the old car tells most vividly the story of the industry's theme—reclamation, conservation, beautification.

One additional reference point should be made. Since the iron and steel scrap industry is one of environmental control through metallic solid waste management, almost anything which would affect the industry would in turn affect its ability in some form to deal with this problem. For this reason, the environmental theme is woven throughout the total efforts of the Institute—from hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission concerned with freight rate increases to hearings before county zoning commissioners on the site of a scrap processing plant.

INDUSTRY AS A GOOD CITIZEN

Within this framework, I would like to highlight some of the programs and techniques employed by the Institute to interpret its industry's environmental role in order to achieve public understanding.

To establish the industry as a good citizen within the nation, an industry concerned with issues of state, the Institute introduced its first external periodical, *Phoenix Quarterly*. With a mailing list of nearly 25,000, the recipients are opinion and thought leaders, including elected and career government officials at all levels, educators, civic leaders, those involved in ecology, conservation and beautification, and editorial writers and columnists. Each issue provides a forum for ideas on a subject of interest to the country and the industry. Three of the five issues to date have dealt with environmental concerns. Articles for *Phoenix Quarterly* are solicited from experts within the field and are selected so as to encompass various points of view on the theme subject.

As an example, the first issue was devoted exclusively to the abandoned car crisis. Authors included Sen. Jennings Randolph, chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee; Secretary of Transportation John Volpe; New York Mayor John V. Lindsay; Maryland Governor Marvin Mandel; and the Institute's president, Leonard I. Abrams, presenting the industry's view.

Now in its second year, *Phoenix Quarterly* has generated favorable editorial comment and, on several occasions, articles have been reprinted by newspapers and other periodicals.

FORUM FOR IDEAS

To create an in-person forum for ideas, the Institute last March sponsored *Landscape:*

1970—The National Conference on the Abandoned Automobile. More than 250 city, county, state and federal representatives came to Washington to review progress being made in solving the old car problem and to hear presentation and ask questions about case studies of successful auto recycling programs. The Institute had sponsored a similar conference in 1964 which dealt primarily with defining the scope of the problem.

Planned and arranged by the Institute's Task Force on Disposal of Obsolete Automobiles, the conference had a four-fold objective: to talk alternative solutions with local government officials; to produce an up-to-date document, the conference proceedings, dealing with the problem and solution; to provide news for mass media coverage of the abandoned car crisis; and to reinforce the Institute's leadership role in solving the problem.

In post-conference evaluation sessions, it was the consensus that all four objectives had been met.

The conference proceedings are receiving wide distribution. Copies were sent to each member of Congress, the governors of each state, state legislative services, and government agencies and departments who have an interest in the abandoned automobile.

The highlights of the conference were also featured in the summer issue of *Phoenix Quarterly*, which resulted in increased awareness of the problem and additional editorial and news coverage.

MINI-CONFERENCE APPROACH

In a pilot project, one of the Institute's 25 chapters, encompassing Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama and Florida, has undertaken a state-by-state approach to focusing attention on the abandoned car problem with a series of mini-conferences. Taking the problem where it exists, to the local level, each meeting has resulted in excellent attendance, news coverage, and local recognition of the industry as a leader in seeking environmental quality by working with local officials in formulating workable programs.

It is with the objective of generating more local action that the Institute undertook sponsorship of the Jaycees Environmental Improvement Program. It is also hoped that sponsorship will provide these 325,000 action oriented young leaders with a better understanding of the iron and steel scrap processing industry.

Jaycees President Thomas B. Gordan says, "We are grateful to the Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel for making our nationally distributed Environmental Improvement manual possible, and also for their participation in our recent environmental control seminar. The manual will be sent to approximately 8,000 local chapter presidents and other Jaycee officials to provide the expertise necessary to help stem the critical problems in this priority area."

LOCAL SOLID WASTE PROJECTS

Although the manual will cover air, water, and land pollution, it is anticipated that many Jaycee chapters will undertake metallic solid waste projects such as old automobile removal. In such instances, efforts are being made for local Institute members or chapters to work with the Jaycees in planning and implementing such programs.

Probably no group in the country today is more concerned with the decay of our environment than the nation's youth. This became acutely obvious to the Institute just prior to Earth Day, April 22. One hundred thousand four-page tabloid newspapers were quickly prepared and offered free through the Earth Day sponsor's "Environmental Action" newsletter and to Institute members for their local distribution. The supply was almost im-

mediately depleted, and hundreds of requests for the tabloid had to be refused although other materials were substituted when possible.

The nature of the requests was most enlightening since many came from elementary students and teachers. This added impetus to the Institute's plans to produce a sound filmstrip for the middle grades—5, 6, 7 and 8. But, due to budgetary considerations, funds were not available. A membership survey indicated that a sizable number of prints would be purchased if the film-strip were produced. A New York film company is now completing production of that filmstrip in cooperation with the Institute on the basis of a minimum guarantee of orders. It appears that the result will be a successful program for the Institute and its members, with no cash investment by the association.

FILM VIEWED BY 8 MILLION

The Institute's 16mm color film, "The Endless Search," has conveyed the industry's story to nearly 8 million television viewers through public service time. A 28 minute production, it is made available in high schools, colleges, and universities through the insti-

tute, and to specially defined audiences through a professional film distributor.

While these and other facets of the Institute's programming are felt to be improving public understanding, the board of directors also anticipated that the industry itself would have to better understand the ramifications of attempting to cope with metallic solid waste.

RESEARCH IN FERROUS WASTE

Realizing this great need for research in the reclamation of ferrous metallics, the Institute in 1967 formed the Scrap Metal Research and Education Foundation. The objective was to focus more attention on the research function within the industry. In May 1970, the Foundation received a grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Bureau of Solid Waste Management, and the Institute for "A Study to Identify Opportunities for Increased Recycling of Ferrous Solid Wastes." It is hoped that this study will also identify those areas which tend to break down the scrap cycle, with the thought that future Foundation research will determine methods to eliminate inhibiting factors.

The Foundation is also supporting research work by the Association of American Railroad Car Dismantlers, an adjunct of the Institute. Of concern is a method to dismantle obsolete railroad cars other than by open-burning which creates air pollution.

BRIDGING THE ECOLOGY GAP

This, then, is the basic role which the Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel plays in bridging the ecology gap between its industry and public—a clearing house and information source on the state of metallic solid waste reclamation for government, concerned and interested citizens, the news media and industry.

It is through the determination of the Institute's public relations committee, with advice of public relations council and the Institute staff, that this program has taken meaning.

In the future, as in the past, the Institute will be a flexible organization ready to meet the needs of its members and the society which they serve in the quest for environmental quality through reclamation, conservation, beautification.

SENATE—Friday, March 5, 1971

(Legislative day of Wednesday, February 17, 1971)

The Senate met at 11:45 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. ELLENDER).

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Father, on this World Day of Prayer we lift our prayer to Thee that by drawing close to Thee the people of the whole world may be drawn closer one to another in the brotherhood of man. Put away from us all that breaks kinship with the race which Thou hast made of one blood. United in prayer may the nations join in striving to make all mankind one family, living in a more perfect society where peace and justice shall reign according to Thy will. Forgive our warring world, and hasten the day when swords are turned into plowshares and men cultivate the sinews of the spirit.

Hear the prayers which we speak and the deeper prayers of our hearts which our lips cannot frame.

In the Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, March 4, 1971, be approved.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the order entered yesterday, the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT) is recognized for 15 minutes.

(The remarks of Mr. FULBRIGHT when he introduced S. 1125, dealing with Executive privilege, are printed later in the Record under Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.)

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries.

SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING FOR URBAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT ASSISTANCE FOR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs:

To the Congress of the United States:

As the size of Federal programs for renewing our cities has grown in recent years, so has the evidence of their basic defects. Plagued by delay and duplication, by waste and rigidity, by inconsistency and irrationality, Federal grant-in-aid programs for urban development have simply not achieved the purposes for which they were established. Sometimes, they have even worked to complicate and extend the very problems they were designed to remedy.

The time has come for us to stop merely giving more money to these programs and to begin giving more thought to them. That is why I am proposing today two new instruments for renewing and rebuilding our cities. One is a new plan of Special Revenue Sharing for Urban Community Development. The other is a new program of Planning and Management Assistance for State and local governments which will benefit both urban and rural areas.

GROWING NEEDS AND GROWING EXPENDITURES

The Federal Government's first significant involvement in community development came with the passage of the Housing Act of 1949, which established as a national goal the realization of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family. . . ." We were already a nation of cities when that legislation was passed. In the two decades since that time we have become even more highly urbanized.

In 1950, some 56 percent of our population lived in metropolitan areas; today the comparable figure is almost 69 percent. The recent Census shows that three-fourths of our population growth in the last ten years came in metropolitan areas, especially in the suburbs which grew by more than 25 percent.

This concentration of population growth in already crowded areas is not a trend that we wish to perpetuate. This administration would prefer a more balanced growth pattern—and we are taking a number of steps to encourage more development and settlement in the less densely populated areas of our country. But this does not mean that we will avoid or slight the challenge of the cities and the suburbs. This is a highly metropolitan nation. It must have an effective