

By Mr. MAHON:

H.R. 12492. A bill to amend the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 to exempt any nonmanufacturing business, or any business having 25 or less employees, in States having laws regulating safety in such businesses, from the Federal standards created under such act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 12493. A bill to provide that the President of the United States shall designate as Governor and Lieutenant Governor of American Samoa the individual who is nominated by the electors of American Samoa for each such position, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MELCHER:

H.R. 12494. A bill to amend section 5a of the Commodity Exchange Act, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 12495. A bill to modify ammunition recordkeeping requirements; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MINISH:

H.R. 12496. A bill to amend the Urban Transportation Act of 1964 to authorize certain emergency grants to assure adequate rapid transit and commuter railroad service in urban areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MYERS:

H.R. 12497. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to permit the disclosure of certain information to prosecuting attorneys for use in securing child support and maintenance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PATTEN:

H.R. 12498. A bill to amend the tariff and trade laws of the United States to promote full employment and restore a diversified production base; to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to stem the outflow of U.S. capital, jobs, technology, and production, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PUCINSKI:

H.R. 12499. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to individuals for tuition expenses incurred in providing nonprofit elementary and secondary education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SCHERLE:

H.R. 12500. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to establish orderly procedures for the consideration of applications for renewal of broadcast licenses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 12501. A bill to provide more effective means for protecting the public interest in national emergency disputes involving the transportation industry, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SHOUP:

H.R. 12502. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to establish orderly procedures for the consideration of applications for renewal of broadcast licenses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SYMINGTON:

H.R. 12503. A bill to strengthen and improve the Older Americans Act of 1965; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas (by request)

(for himself, Mr. TEAGUE of California, Mr. DORN, and Mr. HAMMER-SCHMIDT):

H.R. 12504. A bill to amend chapter 15 of title 38, United States Code, to provide for the payment of pensions to World War I veterans and their widows, subject to \$3,000 and \$4,200 annual income limitations; to provide for such veterans a certain priority in entitlement to hospitalization and medical care; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. KEE:

H.J. Res. 1020. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the first Sun-

day in June as "National Shut-In Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOLLING:

H. Res. 768. Resolution making in order a motion to adjourn the House to a day and time certain; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HAYS:

H. Res. 769. Resolution authorizing payment of compensation for certain committee employees; to the Committee on House Administration.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. BINGHAM:

H.R. 12505. A bill for the relief of Portia Brooks; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN:

H.R. 12506. A bill for the relief of Jerry A. Langer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FREY:

H.R. 12507. A bill for the relief of Teresa Ryan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 12508. A bill for the relief of Jack George Makari; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TIERNAN:

H.R. 12509. A bill for the relief of Adelaide Monteiro Caetano Monteiro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

180. The SPEAKER presented a petition of Andrew W. Schroeffel, Las Angeles, Calif., relative to impeachment of a judge, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

INTERNATIONAL AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION FOSTERS IMPROVEMENTS IN WORLDWIDE TRAVEL—FLOYD HALL ADDRESSES WASHINGTON AERO CLUB

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, in the years since commercial aviation began revolutionizing travel throughout the world, there have been many improvements in what is now one of our largest industries. Perhaps the most obvious changes have taken place in the equipment itself. In the early days, flying was almost in the category of a hazardous adventure for the brave and fearless.

The advantages, though, were great. The time it took to fly from place to place 40 years ago may seem long today, but it was a tremendous improvement over other forms of available transportation.

Continual technological improvement has provided the big jets of today with the capability to carry several hundred people quickly to any point on the globe.

But there have been less visible changes in airline travel that facilitate the movement of passengers. Years of work have produced a national and international

structure that works for laws and regulations designed to make air travel easier.

On the worldwide level, the International Air Transport Association—IATA—while a controversial group, has done much to lower travel barriers between nations and to secure cooperation between competing airlines.

Mr. President, on January 18 I was privileged to be a guest at the annual luncheon of the Aero Club of Washington. At that time, Floyd D. Hall, chairman and chief executive officer of Eastern Airlines, reviewed the history and accomplishments of IATA in his capacity as president of that association.

The Aero Club, affiliated with the National Aeronautics Association, also elected its new officers for 1972. Chosen to lead the club this year were Donald R. Jackson, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, president; J. C. Owen, of Pneumo Dynamics Corp., first vice president; James P. Bass, of American Airlines, second vice president; Edward W. Stimpson, of General Aviation Manufacturers Association, third vice president; J. Donald Reilly of Airport Operators Council International, secretary; Col. James M. McCarry, Jr., of Eaton Associates Inc., treasurer; and Ernest W. Robischon, retired official of the National Air and Space Museum, historian. Elected trustees were George U. Carneal,

Jr., of the Federal Aviation Administration; Col. Jack Reiter, U.S. Air Force, retired; Brian S. Aviation Administration; retired; Brian S. Tennant of the Boeing Co.; and Harry J. Zink, of the Civil Aeronautics Board. Retiring Club President Edward M. Lightfoot, of Lockheed Aircraft Corp., was made an ex-officio trustee.

Mr. President, because of the importance of international air travel in our society, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from Mr. Hall's speech be printed in the RECORD.

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

In its present form, the International Air Transport Association was born near the end of the Second World War, when the leading aviation nations of the world began to face for the first time the complex problems of carrying passengers by air between nations. Practically speaking, the capability for doing this hadn't existed before the war. The United States government recognized the need for certain binding international agreements governing this new kind of international commerce. As early as 1944, then, the U.S. invited representatives of 54 nations to attend an international conference on civil aviation in Chicago.

A year later, there was formed the International Air Transport Association—a trade association of 44 airlines from 24 countries. It was the successor to the International Air Traffic Association, an admitted-

ly weak organization founded at The Hague at the very dawn of regular air transport back in 1919.

In 1945 as now, IATA was a voluntary, non-exclusive, non-political organization. It was and is open to any airline licensed to provide scheduled international air service whose country is a member of the International Civil Aviation Organization, which creates standards for the technical regulation of civil aviation.

IATA's rate-making machinery was born of necessity, out of the inability of governments working by themselves to reach agreement satisfactory to all sovereign nations. And it was we Americans who joined with the British to involve IATA in the rate-making business.

Since that time, of course, the number of IATA airlines has more than doubled, and annual international air traffic has increased 25-fold. Most of the governments of the world have come to realize that some kind of regulation of fares and rates is not just desirable, but necessary, and that IATA is the agency best equipped to handle this difficult task. In fact, 90 percent of the bilateral agreements now in force throughout the world specifically name IATA as the primary agency for establishing rates and fares, subject to governmental approval. Far from working against the interests of the people and governments of the world—as is often irresponsibly charged—IATA from its very inception has worked to insure the continued expansion of international aviation and the improvement of orderly access to and from all the countries of the world.

IATA has been called "an international cartel that is an enemy of the traveling public" by some pretty vocal critics. And large numbers of people throughout the world—almost all of whom have personally benefitted from IATA's accomplishments—are misinformed and misguided about IATA's purposes, achievements and value.

In all the history of the world, there has never been another service quite like that provided regularly by the international scheduled airlines. Our industry is unique in its international scope, in its capital requirements, in its vital nature, and in the complexity of the environment in which it performs its service.

This unique service requires a unique kind of service organization—and that is what IATA is. It acts as both a bridge and a buffer between a number of private companies and a number of governments, absorbing pressures and enabling governments to avoid direct confrontations harmful to everybody concerned, including the traveling public. It has demonstrated that it can accommodate and reconcile apparently conflicting interests of many companies and governments so that the peoples of the world have access to the air transportation they so depend upon.

In performing these assignments, IATA must adhere to the laws and regulations of the 125 countries served by the member companies of this organization. That membership consists of 40 government-owned airlines, 24 which are privately owned and have no direct connections with governments, and 43 others which come under no convenient category but are partially privately-owned and partially government-owned.

But what of the charge that IATA is an enemy of the traveling public, of the people who use its members' services? What has IATA done to justify its claim to being, perhaps more than any other trade association in the world, a friend of the people on whose trust and patronage its members depend?

Let's start with the first and most obvious example. In the last ten years, what has happened to the cost of air travel across the Atlantic Ocean? Has IATA, that faceless con-

spiracy, colluded to keep prices at the highest possible level? All of you in this room know that the scheduled carriers of the world have hardly been paragons of profitability in the last decade. Yet in the last ten years, the lowest available fare between New York and London has dropped as much as 50 percent. During this same ten-year period, the price of a hotel room in London went up 160 percent, the price of a hotel room in New York by 140 percent. Costs of food and entertainment in New York rose by an estimated 130 percent. In London, they doubled.

There are many other achievements. As you know, it's possible to call any single airline in almost any country in the world and order a trip from there to any ultimate destination, with any number of stops along the way. You can pay for that trip in any form of currency, and be sure that your ticket will be accepted by the airlines in all the countries along the way.

Meanwhile, IATA's technical committees provide benefits to airlines and consumers by assuring that the aircraft they use will be serviced by exacting standards and provide a safe, comfortable trip to destination. The environmental cause has also been served by IATA's activities. For example, through the exchange of information by carriers under IATA's auspices, significant improvements have been made in engine ground-training times, which means reduction of noise in airports throughout the world. Other technical information exchanges have resulted in easy introduction of new kinds of aircraft, including the wide-bodied jets.

And one last area: IATA has worked for, and will continue to work for simplified, standardized procedures which make it as easy as possible for customers and cargo to get from one spot to any other spot on this globe.

Facilitation, we call it.

Twenty years ago, every country demanded passenger manifests from each airline flight entering its national boundaries. Because some of these countries demanded as many as 26 copies for each landing, passengers had to arrive at the airport hours before takeoff. Today, this kind of form has been vastly simplified, and approximately half of the countries cooperating in IATA do not require it at all.

We're still working on all phases of the facilitation problem—not just to eliminate abuses but also to further ease international travel through more customs preclearance and the simplification of passports.

In sum, IATA has been a conscientious, devoted and effective servant to the needs of the traveling public. Our industry should be the one consumerists point to as the standard for others to emulate. And, within the IATA framework, the vigorous competition that pertains helps guarantee our own commitment to the standard.

There are few industries in the world which have been able to contribute so greatly to the service of mankind and the widening of man's horizons as our own airline industry. I hope we realize this truth nationally and I hope we will come to realize it more and more internationally. I believe that IATA, now comprised of 107 airlines from 76 countries, has played an integral role in that contribution.

In its 27th year, now, IATA is still a youth if no longer a child. During the difficult years of its growing up, it has evidently shared the frustration of many other youths—that of being generally misunderstood and only occasionally able to convince parents and neighbors of its good character and honorable directions.

Those of us who are involved, however temporarily, with the efforts of IATA—an only child, after all—assure you that we are not all bad and that we are determined to be better.

WHY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST ACT TO ASSURE SAFER BLOOD

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, as part of my research on blood banking the Library of Congress did a survey on State blood banking laws and standards for me. The results are disturbing to say the least.

At a time when transfusion hepatitis is reaching epidemic proportions across the country, we were shocked to discover that 17 States have no laws on blood banking at all. In these States anyone may open a blood bank and operate it anyway he pleases. Purity and sanitation standards simply do not exist.

As dangerous as this is, there are 21 other States whose citizens have even less protection than citizens in States with no laws. In 21 States there are no laws or standards for blood banks to live up to but there is a law which prevents almost everyone injured by tainted blood from suing to recover for their injury. We found only seven States in the United States that license blood banks, and only five that bother to inspect them.

This laxity would be unthinkable if we were talking about milk or meat. I cannot believe it is acceptable for the most basic life-giving fluid there is—especially when so many people are dying from blood transfusion infections.

The list of State laws compiled by the Library of Congress follows:

[From the Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service]

STATE LAWS ON BLOOD BANKS AND HUMAN BLOOD TRANSACTIONS

1. Alabama—No laws.
2. Alaska—No laws.
3. Arizona¹—Rev. Stats., 36-1151, 471.
4. Arkansas—No laws.
5. California²—West's Annotated Codes, Health and Safety Code, 1600-1620.
6. Colorado—No laws.
7. Connecticut¹—Acts, 1971; Public Act No. 397, June 2, 1971.
8. Delaware¹—Code, 5A 2-316.
9. Florida²—Statutes Annotated, 483.11 (Board of Examiners in Basic Sciences), 483.11.
10. Georgia²—Code, 84-5508.
11. Hawaii—No laws.
12. Idaho¹—1971 Laws, Ch. 24, February 15, 1971.
13. Illinois²—Smith-Hurd Annotated Statutes, 111½ 601-101 to 611-103 (Illinois Blood Bank Act).
14. Indiana—No laws.
15. Iowa—No laws.
16. Kansas¹—1971 Laws, Ch. 215, April 7, 1971.
17. Kentucky¹—Baldwin's Rev. Stats., 139.125.
18. Louisiana¹—Civil Code, 1764.
19. Maine¹—Rev. Stats., 11, 2-108.
20. Maryland²—Code, 43-34.
21. Massachusetts²—General Laws, 111-184B; 106, 2:316.

¹ States whose only blood banking law excludes warranties of fitness and merchantability.

² States which license blood banks.

³ States which inspect blood banks.

22. Michigan—Compiled Laws, 691.1511.
23. Minnesota—No laws.
24. Mississippi—Code, 7129-71.
25. Missouri—1971 Laws, Act 68, June 14, 1971.
26. Montana—Rev. Codes, 69-2203 to 2205.
27. Nebraska—Rev. Stats., 71-4001.
28. Nevada—Rev. Stats., 460.010.
29. New Hampshire—No laws.
30. New Jersey—Statutes Annotated, 26:2A-1 to 2A-12.
31. New Mexico—1971 Laws, Ch. 119, March 17, 1971.
32. New York—McKinney's Consolidated Laws, Public Health Law, 3100-3123; 570-581; Laws 1971, Cr. 195.
33. North Carolina—No laws.
34. North Dakota—Century Code, 41-02-33.
35. Ohio—Page's Revised Code, 3701.30, 31.
36. Oklahoma—Statutes Annotated, 63-2151, 2152.
37. Oregon—Revised Statutes, 97.300.
38. Pennsylvania—No laws.
39. Rhode Island—No laws.
40. South Carolina—Code of Laws, 32-559.
41. South Dakota—No laws.
42. Tennessee—No laws.
43. Texas—There is a 1971 law concerning liability for blood transfusions, but it is not now available to us.
44. Utah—Code, 26-29-1.
45. Vermont—No laws.
46. Virginia—No laws.
47. Washington—1971 Laws, Ch. 56, March 22, 1971.
48. West Virginia—Code, 16-23-1.
49. Wisconsin—No laws.
50. Wyoming—Statutes Annotated, 146.31.

CHRISTMAS CAME A LITTLE EARLY AT FORT HALL

HON. LEN B. JORDAN

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is the frequent target of critics of the bureaucratic administration—and I have been among those critics—so I feel compelled to give credit to Secretary Morton and the BIA for an outstanding job of redtape cutting which permitted a pre-Christmas payment of a land claim judgment to members of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribe in my State.

The payment of this claim is described in an article in the Pocatello, Idaho, Idaho State Journal of December 23, 1971. The Post Register in Idaho Falls also devoted an editorial to the subject on January 3, 1972.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent that the Post Register editorial and the Idaho State Journal article be printed at this point in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

EARLY CHRISTMAS AT FORT HALL—GOVERNMENT DISTRIBUTES \$5.4 MILLION TO INDIANS

(By John Chambers)

FORT HALL.—Santa slipped into Fort Hall two days early and left a \$2,000 check today in the stocking of each registered member of the Shoshone-Bannock Indian tribes.

This time Santa came by Lear jet and his base station was the San Francisco disburs-

ing office of the U.S. Treasury Department instead of the North Pole.

The checks represented distribution of \$5.4 million as partial compensation for land taken by the federal government a century ago.

The bill authorizing payment of the money was signed by President Richard Nixon at 11 a.m. Wednesday, preparing the way for pre-Christmas distribution of the funds.

Computerization hastened Santa on his way by speeding the check-writing procedure in San Francisco. The jet chartered by the tribal council a week ago in anticipation of the President's action already was waiting.

Aboard the aircraft were Tribal Chairman Kesley Edmo, council member Alvin Buckskin, Supt. William A. Mehojah Sr., Idaho Falls attorneys Reed and Dwight Bowen, and a Secret Service agent.

Well before the 9 a.m. start of distribution, tribal members began lining up in Timbee Hall to start picking up their checks. About 20 Bureau of Indian Affairs employees and representatives of the tribal council sat at a row of tables stretching almost the width of the floor in the hall's gymnasium with typewriters, lists of names and stacks of those blue-green U.S. Treasury checks.

The first to get his check was Andrew Punkin.

Not all of the Indians got their checks today. The direct distribution totaled 1,759 checks of \$2,000 each. The remainder was held in trust in an individual Indian account for persons found by the Social Services agency to be minors not living at home, incompetents or minor children of incompetents.

Most parents were given the option of withdrawing their children's money or leaving it in an account with the BIA drawing six per cent interest.

Persons judged incompetent were to be allowed to draw a stipulated sum monthly, rather than getting a lump payment.

"We've been trying to get this for 50 years," commented a jubilant Alvin Buckskin. "This is the first time we have gotten a per capita payment."

About 75 per cent of the 7,365,000 was to go to individual payments. The remaining 25 percent was to be used for reservation development projects.

Buckskin called the distribution a Christmas present and said he hoped it would bring the people closer together in their enjoyment of the holidays.

For the people waiting in line, there was the joking about how the money was to be spent. The most popular one was about the Indian, check in hand, and the used car dealer, lifetime contract in hand, and the car dealer warning the Indian not to kick the tires.

One recipient, Bobby Burns, commented, "The old people especially should get the money, they can't farm."

Burns has 40 acres that he has been unable to farm personally because of the lack of money for equipment. He was non-committal about whether he planned to buy any tools with his money.

"We thank the main gunner, Kesley Edmo, for getting our money for us," he said.

Calico Collin, check in hand, planned to "catch up on bills and later invest in a home."

Tribal policeman Enos Osborne planned to put his four children's money in a savings account to draw interest until they were of age. One son, however, who is enrolled at Utah State University probably would need the money immediately, he added.

Daniel J. Ball has one beef cow toward starting a herd. He plans to use his share of the money to build up a herd.

The initial payment of \$5.4 million is part of \$15.7 million overall five-state Indian settlement for 38 million acres of land taken by the U.S. in 1868 and 1869. The amount

has been increased considerably since the 1968 judgment.

LATE RESTITUTION TO THE INDIAN

As the Shoshone-Bannock tribe at Fort Hall received the government's tardy recognition of their land claims, Clyde Ormond, Post-Register outdoor columnist, wrote at the same time.

"Anyone who has hunted in the wilder parts of Idaho, or the nation, will have come across remaining evidences of Indian hunters who once hunted these same areas. To one who loves to hunt, some of the tragedy of the Red Man comes close to the surface while he stands upon those lands. The Indian not only loved to hunt; his existence depended upon it. And one of the great blots on our history is the fact that the whites, as a people, stole the lands of the Indian and starved them into near oblivion."

One cannot read a dispassionate account of the West's history without realizing that this is essentially true. We never understood the barbarity of the Indian, only excused our own. The Indians scalped and raided and our western movies have chronicled the fearful savagery of their retaliation to the white man's invasion . . . as he had with the competing Indian tribes before the white man.

But, the compulsion of our frontier taming, demanded that, our attitude dictated that these Red Men were only half-human. If they were, we could not justify the violation of reservation treaties with the lust for gold . . . for it was gold, finally, and miners taking it where they found it, that stirred the last Indian wars. The Indians, cornered by the Army and seeing the senselessness of their position, had been promised sanctuary and independence in their reservations providing they behave themselves.

The gold miner invasion was the last straw. The retaliation understandably angered the West. But the West at that time, did not see beyond the retaliation to the causes, to the years of tension building from the abject humbling of the Red Man, the land-taking, the broken treaties and mindless policy reversals in the ever-changing prescription for the Indian. The relative suddenness of this over-running of the Indian never allowed for any reasonable adjustment. Given the temper of the time and the Indian's fierce independence, the result was inevitable, however.

Now the government seeks absolution in a \$7 million payment. It should not be lost on our appraisal of this gesture to the Shoshone and Bannocks, and to the Nez Perce in North Idaho, that we have a government capable of such restitution. This is indeed a tribute to American conscience.

The \$7 million payment comes at a time when the Fort Hall Indians can well use the money. But the fact that only 25 per cent is being retained for reservation development, leads to the worry that too much of this money will not make the durable imprint on Indian direction-finding that it should. And it should go without saying that while it should be a continuing goal to preserve the Indian's rich heritage in making the reservation serviceable, there always be need to assist the Indian to live and work alongside the white man, whether factory, ranch, or store. This will demand a new resourcefulness in training and educating programs. We owe this to the Indian, too . . . especially this, and especially, our understanding of the singular difficulties of his adjustment to the amazing velocity of our change.

Mr. President, the bill authorizing payment of this Indian Claims Commission award was not cleared for the White House until December 10. At that time, members and officials of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribe expressed the hope that at least a partial payment could be made

by Christmas. This was an appropriate request since members of the tribe had waited many years for the claims action to be completed in the courts and for the Shoshone Bands in three States to get together on the allocation of the awarded funds.

However, most of us in this body are well aware of the delays that can be encountered in enrolling bills, the final processing in the executive branch, and in this case, the administrative procedures to make the payments after the bill was enacted. Hence, the members of the Idaho congressional delegation had our fingers crossed when we told the tribal leaders that we would endeavor to get a partial payment by Christmas.

We communicated the request for an early Christmas at Fort Hall to Secretary Morton, and asked that he have the Bureau of Indian Affairs accomplish as much as possible of the payment processing in the hope that we could get the bill enacted in time. He readily agreed to do this and subsequently advised us that the paychecks would be ready for signing at the San Francisco disbursing office when the bill was signed.

Here another problem surfaced. An airline strike complicated plans to make an air pickup and delivery of the signed checks. However, the Shoshone-Bannock Tribe was able to charter a private plane and Tribal Chairman Kesley Edmo, Tribal Attorneys Reed and Dwight Bowen, Council Member Alvin Buckskin, and Fort Hall Superintendent William A. Behojah, Sr. were aboard the plane when it took off for San Francisco in a snowstorm on the morning of December 22d, immediately after the delegation had learned that the President had signed the bill that morning at 11 o'clock Washington time.

Thanks to the advance cooperation of BIA and Interior officials, the \$5.4 million in \$2,000 checks were issued by the disbursing office's computers, and the checks were distributed at Fort Hall the following day, on December 23d.

On behalf of my colleagues in the Idaho congressional delegation—all of whom supported this legislative and administrative effort—I wish to thank all those in the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs who cooperated in this successful move to provide a long-awaited, happy, and eventful Christmas on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation in southern Idaho.

SMILE—THE YOUNG ARE MAKING IT EASIER

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, for 15 years now, a newspaper in my district, the Louisville Times, has carried on a most splendid Christmas tradition.

Each Christmas Eve, it devotes front page play to the oft-neglected subject of "the good things teen-agers do." The newspaper's teen columnist, Mrs. Mary

Phyllis Riedley, each year renders an accounting of the good deeds performed by the community's adolescent citizens. This annual column makes wonderfully reassuring reading and makes one feel good about the future, soon to be inherited by these fine young people.

I include this year's column, entitled "Smile! The Young Are Making It Easier," in the RECORD:

SMILE! THE YOUNG ARE MAKING IT EASIER
(By Mary Phyllis Riedley)

Through the years, our teen-age panelists have come up with an infinite variety of names for our annual Christmas column about the thoughtful things teens do all year 'round. Goodniks, cheerios, yuleys—you name it, and the kids already have.

Our present panel members—who meet to discuss topics for Saturday Date columns—call our Christmas file "Smiley." It was christened in August, when we received the letter telling us about 14-year-old Cindy. It was written by Cindy's mother and we love her opening line: "If you think it's easy to be a good kid, it's because you haven't tried."

Cindy's trials began last year when she clipped our Christmas column and announced to her family that "before next Christmas, I'm going to do something really neat. I'm going to make old Mrs. Bailey smile."

Mrs. Bailey is Cindy's next-door neighbor—the over-proud owner of the most formidable frown in town. And, she had a disposition to match.

Cindy's opportunity to kick off her campaign presented itself a few days later when she spied her elderly neighbor lumbering up the street laden with packages. Cindy offered her willing arms and her offer was accepted, but . . . without a smile. Instead, Mrs. Bailey insisted on paying Cindy a quarter and informed her: "I've always paid my own way, and I'm always going to."

Cindy sent her neighbor a birthday card. She was rewarded with a thank you. Still no smile. And so it went for two months. Then, one icy day, Cindy burst into the house ecstatic.

"She smiled! She smiled!"

The family couldn't believe it.

"Well," Cindy said, "it was a sort of smile. I went up to her door to ask if she needed anything at the drug store because I was going there anyway. She said no and as I slipped on the steps. That's when she smiled."

Cindy kept trying. Months later, she'd gotten no further than that icy day's sort of smile. Then, in July, Cindy went to camp for two weeks. About four days after her departure, there was a knock at the family's door. Opening it, Cindy's mother found Mrs. Bailey standing on the porch.

"Where's the girl?" she asked. "Is she sick?"

"No," said Cindy's mother, "she's away at camp." Then, she had a sudden thought. "Come in," she said. "I want to tell you about Cindy's project."

A few days later, the family got a call from their jubilant camper.

"Guess what," she squealed. "Today I got a letter from Mrs. Bailey. All it said was 'Merry Christmas' and it had a Smiley button pinned on it."

"SUBSTITUTE BEST FRIEND" TURNS SUNSHINE ON

Our Smiley file is fat with such contributions. In addition to the 141 letters from readers and the notes we jotted down from telephoned reports, our panel members clipped 49 letters to the editor that have appeared this year in The Courier-Journal and The Louisville Times lauding teens for their helping hands.

We have so many Smileys . . . let's begin with this one:

"When our 18-year-old went away to college, our retarded son lost his best friend. He missed her so. His usual sunny disposition changed over night. For days, he sat in his sister's room looking so lost and lonely."

"A few weeks later our daughter Susan's close friend, Martha, stopped us as we were leaving church to ask how Susan liked college. During the conversation, I told her how much Roddy missed his sister. Since that day, Martha has been a regular visitor at our house. Always she comes bearing a little surprise for Roddy—a gingerbread man, a yo-yo; one day she brought him a mirror and he sat fascinated for hours talking to himself."

"When she has to run an errand, she stops by and takes Roddy with her. Together they write a weekly letter to Susan."

"This girl's thoughtfulness is the most wonderful experience I've ever had. Roddy adores her and is once again his old happy, loving self."

A GIFT IN SIGHT

The mother of a 9-year-old boy sent us this letter:

"I don't write or spell too good but you will get the idea why I'm writing for your Christmas story. This boy who's 17 has been helping my 9-year-old boy with his school lessons because he wasn't doing good at all. This has helped Timmy very much and his school work is getting real good. But the big thing I am writing for is that last month Allen noticed Timmy couldn't see good. He asked if we'd had his eyes tested and I said only at school. He asked if I cared if he took him to a doctor and I said no and he took him. The doctor said Timmy needed glasses and they were expensive and I didn't have \$28 right then. But Allen not only paid for the glasses he paid the doctor out of his own money he had in the bank for going to college."

"Nobody has done anything so nice for us before and I thought it would be nice if you told others how good Allen is in your Christmas story."

TEACHERS RECORD LESSONS OF LIFE

A teacher, who retired last year and describes herself as "not a pupil's pet," was touched to tears when she received the following note from one of her former students, "a girl with a good mind, who seemed more interested in playing the clown than the student." The note, which arrived a week after her retirement, read:

"Every teacher upon retirement must wonder just how much influence she has really had upon the thousands of students she's taught during her career. I can't speak for thousands. Only for myself. Though I know you think that all your very good advice to me fell on wooden ears, this is not so. You, more than any other teacher I have had in 11 years, have shown interest in me as a person, not just as a student."

"I know you are right about my antics and loud mouth. As a retirement present to you, I am going to start practicing what you have been preaching. I'll never forget that day you called me to your desk after class—and I'd been such a mess that day—and you just looked at me and said softly, 'Why?' I knew what you meant though I acted like I didn't. Then you told me what a fine mind I have, how attractive I am and to please be kind to myself. You said, 'Be yourself. Let others know what a truly fine person you are.'"

"Every time I get ready to ham it up or open my big mouth, I'm going to repeat your words to myself. One day, I hope you will be proud of me. Thank you so much for caring. I miss you."

From other teachers we have heard about:

The junior high boys who bought with their combined allowances a new pair of sneakers to replace those stolen from a

classmate. The boy whose shoes were stolen has 11 brothers and sisters and buys all his own clothes with money earned after school.

The 16-year-old girl who enrolled in a sewing class so she could learn to make clothes for the needy 10-year-old she tutors.

The three senior girls who showed up last Christmas to cook dinner for their English teacher who'd fallen and broken her hip a few weeks before the holidays. The teacher, a widow, has no family here and the girls knew her friends would be busy with their own families.

From the elderly, we heard about:

The four boys who finished painting their 68-year-old neighbor's garage after he fell off a ladder trying to do it himself.

The two teen-aged sisters who gave each of their four elderly neighbors 10 hours of errand-running for Christmas last year.

The 15-year-old boy who helped a senior neighbor move her furniture when the fellows she'd hired failed to show up.

Thank you, teens. Have a happy Christmas. Somebody up there is very pleased with His birthday present.

INNOVATIONS AT FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY

HON. WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, a young Virginia native has been responsible for some interesting innovations at the Folger Shakespeare Library here in Washington. Richmond D. Crinkley, who received his bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees from the University of Virginia, became the library's first program director in 1969 and established the Folger Theater Group shortly thereafter. A recent article in the New York Times details the activities of Dr. Crinkley and the Folger Theater Group. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

INNOVATIVE THEATER INVADERS THE FOLGER (By Nan Robertson)

WASHINGTON, January 6.—The newest stage company in Washington is bringing youth and spirit to a period-piece house that waited for regular theater for 40 years.

The Folger Theater Group, headed by Richmond Crinkley, a 31-year-old Virginian with a Harpo Marx hairdo, has transformed the Elizabethan theater of the Folger Shakespeare Library from a museum into a lively arts center.

Its second season began with two Pinter plays, "Landscape" and "Silence," and will end with a modern staging of Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet." The current offering, which runs through Sunday, is "The Revenger's Tragedy," a 365-year-old melodrama done as black satire. One reviewer called it a 17th-century counterpart to Jules Feiffer's "Little Murders."

"BACCHAE" UPDATED

The group is trying all kinds of innovative techniques in the tiny, half-timbered theater on Capitol Hill. Their mod version of "Twelfth Night" last spring prompted Joseph Papp to bring an earlier Folger production, a rock-musical adaptation from Euripides's "The Bacchae" called "Dionysius Wants You!" to New York in September.

"Twelfth Night" was directed by Mr. Crinkley and Louis W. Scheeder, a 25-year-old New Yorker with shoulder-length locks flowing down from a center part on the crown of his head.

The two sheathed the stage in 900 yards of aluminum foil, has actors sliding down firehouse poles in bell-bottoms and hot-pants, dumped balloons on the audience like a climax of a political convention, combined the twins, Viola and Sebastian, into one sex-switching character and made Feste the fool a torch-singing woman.

SILENCE IN THE ROOMS

The hullabaloo is startling at the Folger, which contains an incomparable collection of Shakespeareana within its tightly guarded, cloistered walls. The silence in the Elizabethan reading room is broken only by the tinkle of a bell when a scholar wishes to be let into the rare-book vaults. Tea is served every afternoon at 3, and the ashes of the founders, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Clay Folger, are behind a brass plaque at one end of the room.

From 1932, when the building was finished, until 1970, Mr. Crinkley's first season, only one play was produced within the theater. This was in 1948, when the Amherst Players gave seven performances of Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar." The trustees of Amherst, where Mr. Folger was a student, administer the library under the terms of his will.

Mr. Crinkley came to Washington in 1969 with O. B. Hardison Jr., the newly appointed director of the library. They became friends at the University of North Carolina, where Mr. Crinkley taught drama and Mr. Hardison was a professor of English literature.

TROUPE IS YOUNG

As the library's program director, Mr. Crinkley formed his troupe of about 25, a changing mix of college drama students, struggling nonunion actors and several more experienced "Equity guest artists" for each production. The average age is around 25. Mr. Hardison's three youngest children, 10, 12 and 13 years old, serve as ushers and checkroom attendants for the 198-seat theater.

The Equity actors each get salaries of \$200 a week; the rest, expenses. The latter "are working out of love and pride and ego," Mr. Scheeder said, but their work with the group gives them "exposure and experience." Mr. Scheeder added, "We're doing very serious—quote—theater; it's highly theatrical as opposed to literary."

By now, Washington's first-string critics are reviewing the Folger's opening nights.

Mr. Crinkley's yearly budget is \$40,000, and he has a theater, the services of the Folger building and publicity staff and a venerable institution behind him—assets any infant theatrical company would envy.

Until he came along, the theater was open only to groups of tourists or for a rare concert or lecture. In 1969, the Folger spent \$20,000 on fire-proofing the house and about \$6,000 more to make it playable.

PILLARS PRESENT OBSTACLE

The shallow stage, cramped between two pillars 17 feet apart, was and still is a headache. But the pillars support the ceiling and could not be removed. So Mr. Crinkley covered the first rows of seats with a thrusting forestage 12 feet deep. The rake of the center platform is two inches to a foot, twice as steep as the usual sloping stage, but it gives an illusion of depth.

Mr. Crinkley's first production in the Folger Library was "Natural and Unnatural Acts," vignettes on the life of Byron by Michael Menaugh, a young British playwright. The Virginian and Menaugh met at Oxford University, where Mr. Crinkley, on a Fulbright scholarship, got together with some schoolmates to produce Gogol's "Diary of a Madman." Mr. Menaugh was in the cast.

Mr. Crinkley, who got his bachelor's, mas-

ter's and doctoral degrees in English literature at the University of Virginia, said dryly of his premiere effort at the Folger: "It was not the great event of our lives."

But the reviews have picked up steadily since. "The Revenger's Tragedy," rife with betrayal, rape, incest, at least a dozen dead and featuring a skull with poisoned lips, has been praised here for the directing and acting.

FARM INCOME IS NATION'S NO. 1 PROBLEM

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to join in tribute to the farmers and in pointing out what I consider to be the No. 1 problem of our land; that is, the situation we have in our rural areas.

Anyone who is cognizant of the fact that in the years 1950 to 1960 inclusive, 800,000 people a year left rural America for already overcrowded cities, and in the 10-year span from 1960 to 1970, 600,000 people a year left rural America for our already overcrowded cities, who is not cognizant of the fact that we do have a farm and rural problem, just does not have a conscience.

Now, what has happened in the past 20 or 30 years so that this situation would develop? I believe I can best illustrate it by an experience I had as a small boy when I was living on a farm.

Our farm happened to be where there was a very wild forest. Just as soon as I was able to comprehend stories, I heard the horror stories, being warned about not going into that forest. My mother, father, sisters, brothers, and my neighbors would tell me never to go into that wild forest.

I wondered why. They told me that for some reason or other—no one knew where they came from—in that forest were a group of wild boars, and therefore I was to stay away from that forest.

All the horror stories and scare stories were told to get children to stay in line, and they would say, "If you do not behave we will send you to the forest where these wild boars are." It was the folk story of the times, of the era and of the place.

So at one time a man who was a traveling salesman, with the stovepipe hat and an undertaker's coat, and a horse and buggy, happened to come into one of the church gatherings, and they started to tell him the story about these wild boars. He became quite intrigued by these wild boars that were in the forest, so he went out into the woods to take a look. Everybody laughed and said, "Good bye, Mr. Salesman, we will never see you again, the man with the stovepipe hat, the man with the undertaker's coat."

In several hours, he came back, and he went over to the store, and he said, "Give me an ax." They all thought he was going into the forest to kill these wild boars with an ax.

He stayed there for a couple of days, and then he came back with the ax. This

time he came in and he asked for a half bushel of corn.

He went out to the forest, and everybody thought he was crazy. First he took the ax, and now he wanted the corn.

In about 4 hours he came back out of the forest. All the neighbors were gathered around, wanting to know what happened. He said, "I want to show you something." So he took them out to the forest. He had built a pen with the ax, and in that pen were 50 wild boars. The neighbors said, "How in the world did you do it?" He said, "It is very easy. Just give me the choice of a free handout, and I will capture the wildest animals in the forest." In this case it was a few kernels of corn.

That is exactly what we did to the farmers of the United States of America. With a few kernels of corn we took away their freedom and liberty, just like this man with the stovepipe hat and the undertaker's coat took away the freedom and liberty of these wild boars of the forest. How did we take away their freedom and liberty? By the promise of a few handouts, a few kernels of corn. In this particular instance it happened to be by their saying, "If you will let us run your farm and let the Government tell you what to sell and what to reap and how much we will give you parity."

What is parity? They never told the farmer what parity would be—whether it would be 47 percent, or 50 percent, or 75 percent or 90 percent or 100 percent. They fell for the handout of parity which they never got and which happened to be an illusion and not a good thing. So, with this illusion of parity in the last 20 years, what did we get? In the first 10 years we had 800,000 people a year leaving the farms. In the second 10 years we had 600,000 people a year leaving the farms. In that way, we arrived at the situation we face today.

What we have to do is set the farmers free. We captured them and took away their freedom by the illusion of parity, but we have to set the farmers free in the United States in order to let them produce what they want. God knows the biggest problem in the world today is hunger. The American farmer has the know-how to lick the world's greatest problem if we would only let them go and free them.

At the same time parity turned out to be a disadvantage to the farmer. Stripped of all of its artificialities, what is parity? It is price control. We have price control by the Federal Government on a permanent basis in only one segment of our economy, and that is the farm segment. Parity instead of being something beneficial to the farmer has turned out to be his greatest liability. Parity is price control.

I was in the sad situation about the middle of March of having the dairy farmers of my State coming to Washington practically on their hands and knees. For what? They said: Mr. Congressman, can you not, please, beg the President, beg the Congress, and beg the Secretary of Agriculture to raise the parity on milk from 80 to 85 percent?

What is that but price fixing? When they are getting 85 percent, that means 85 percent of the cost of production.

They are losing 15 percent on every 100 pounds of milk they produce at 85 percent parity. They were thankful that they got a raise from 80 to 85.5 percent of parity.

But look how the farmers lost their freedom to the point where they have to come to Washington, D.C. They are the only segment of our economy that has to beg for their prices year after year. If you let the farmer go free and give him freedom along the lines that I advocated a long time ago, the freedom that we give to every other segment of our society; namely, the freedom of collective power and collective bargaining, he will be all right.

The farmer is the most unselfish member of our society. My farmers told me:

Congressman, we do not want any of these handouts from the Federal Government, we do not want these kernels of corn that took away our liberty and our freedom in return. We do not want anything from the Federal Government. What we would like for the Federal Government to do is to leave us alone. What we want is a fair price for our product in the market. We do not want Government handouts. We want a fair price for our product—cost of production plus a fair profit in the market.

How unselfish are their demands? That is all they want—a fair price for the product.

They want a fair price for their product, the cost of production plus a fair profit at the marketplace. That is all they want and they will be able to achieve it through a system of collective bargaining.

Mr. Speaker, there is just one other step we have got to take besides letting them free and giving them collective bargaining, and that is educating the consumer. Unfortunately, the consumers in America outnumber the farmers 50 to 1 and that is where the disadvantage is. I know, because I was in a household during the holidays. I was there at a time when the housewife called the grocer. She ordered one case of beer, two gallons of wine—and, how much is milk today? Twenty-four cents a quart. How much is bread today? Twenty-three cents a loaf. They do not argue about the price of a case of beer. The average consumer does not argue about the price of two gallons of wine, but when you ask 23 or 27 cents for a loaf of bread or a quart of milk, my God, it is outrageous.

We have got to educate the consumers of America to the fact that a quart of milk, a loaf of bread, are worth just as much as a bottle of beer. If we accomplish that, the farmers will have good times in the United States of America.

THE FUTURE IS COMING TRUE WITH EROS PROGRAM

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, one of the exciting new programs in which all of us have had a part through the approval

by Congress of the concept and the funding is the earth resources observation satellite activity of the U.S. Geological Survey.

Otherwise known as EROS, this program offers a tremendous potential to mankind in achieving substantially greater understanding of our resource problems and needs and offering new and increased opportunities for providing solutions to these problems and needs.

In connection with this program, at the request of Senator MUNDT, with whom I have worked closely in the Appropriations Committee in moving the Data Center project at Sioux Falls forward, I am pleased to call attention to an interesting article on the EROS program contained in the December issue of *Nation's Business*.

Entitled "Pick Up the Phone and Learn the Earth's Secrets," the article was written by C. V. Glines. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the *RECORD*.

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

PICK UP THE PHONE AND LEARN THE EARTH'S SECRETS

(By C. V. Glines)

A dozen men, representing ranching, mining, fishing, manufacturing, petroleum, timber and agricultural interests, deplane at the Sioux Falls, S. Dak., airport.

They taxi to a new federal facility in a downtown office building, where they are met by government experts and escorted to separate meeting rooms. Each group pores over photographs, computer print-outs and other data.

Based on information from the photos and data, and interpretation by the experts:

A cattleman changes the grazing plan for his large herd because a water shortage can be expected next year.

A fishing fleet owner orders his ships to move to a new position off the California coast where there are large schools of tuna.

A mining company seeks exploration rights for an area in a Northern state where there is a 90 per cent chance copper will be found.

A drilling firm in Hawaii decides to prospect for water at a certain location, with a 10 to one likelihood of success.

A lumber company learns that a small forest fire, not yet detected by lookouts, has started in one of its vast preserves.

Did these things really happen?

No.

But they could, beginning next year.

U.S. Geological Survey personnel are now in the process of establishing the Sioux Falls facility. Known as the EROS (for Earth Resources Observation System) Data Center, it eventually will be staffed with about 150 specialists from the Interior Department and other federal agencies. Its purpose will be to provide the public with data about the earth's resources, gleaned from unmanned satellites.

EROS is a companion program to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Earth Resources Technology Satellite (ERTS) project, in which a series of satellites will be launched, starting next March.

Each satellite will look down with three TV cameras. One will record green light, to permit views of lands beneath shallow waters; another will record red light, to survey land use patterns, and a third will record near-infrared energy to survey land forms and water distribution information.

Other remote sensing units and measuring instruments will collect additional resource data.

These eyes in the sky will be placed in 500-mile-high orbits to provide coverage of any spot on earth every 18 days at exactly

the same time of day. Each satellite will remain in orbit about a year.

The images and data acquired will be transmitted to receiving stations at Fairbanks, Alaska; Mojave Calif. and Greenbelt, Md. At the Goddard Space Flight Center in Greenbelt, all data will be put on TV tapes or photo negatives and sent to the EROS center at Sioux Falls.

JUST A PHONE CALL AWAY

The current EROS facility is a temporary one. Eventually, after a permanent center is built, the data will be beamed directly to it.

Mapmaking computers at the center will ingest the information, translate it into photo form and make it available to the public, along with data acquired from ground and aerial surveys. Charges will be nominal—the cost of reproduction. Requests can be made by mail or telephone.

Advisory and interpretation service will also be available upon request so laymen can learn from experts how they might use the information to satisfy their particular requirements. There will be fees for this service. However, no strings will be attached; all data will be available to anyone who asks.

EROS' permanent facility will be located 10 miles north of Sioux Falls on 300 acres given to the federal government by the people of the area (the economic activity surrounding the data center is welcomed by local businessmen, among others).

Its first component will be a \$5 million building erected by the Sioux Falls Industrial Foundation, which the federal government will lease. At the end of 20 years, ownership will revert to the government. Completion is scheduled for the summer of 1973.

The EROS program's vast potential comes from the relatively recent development of sensors that can detect and identify objects from great distances. Matter in its various forms—water, vegetation, rocks, animal life, etc.—absorbs, emits, transmits, reflects or scatters photons, the basic units of electromagnetic energy. Because each type of matter has a different atomic and molecular structure, they produce distinctive "signatures" in the sensors' receiving apparatus.

Remote sensing devices—infrared, radar, electromagnetic—are a spin-off of the nation's many aerospace programs. The Viet Nam War has also produced a share of the technology involved, in the form of now-declassified electronic surveillance systems.

A major advantage of electronic sensors over conventional photography is that some of them can obtain "signatures" of earth resources and interrelated environmental features through clouds, darkness, vegetation, water or soil.

For example, oats can be differentiated from wheat; iron can be distinguished from copper; fish can be seen beneath water's surface.

With such detection capabilities, the application possibilities are phenomenal.

The world's crops can be inventoried. The effects of forest fires, floods, insect infestation, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions can be quickly assessed (and impending volcanic activity can be detected before eruptions).

Urban planners will be able to pinpoint areas of deterioration. The total effects of pollution on air, water and land, and its sources, can be studied.

In a short time, the entire world can be mapped accurately.

And even more significant, perhaps, will be man's capability to locate, assess and catalog resources hidden beneath the world's water and land masses.

ASTRONAUTS PAVED THE WAY

The nation's scientists, after many years of experience with sensors mounted in air-

craft, have great confidence in the EROS program. They became truly excited about satellite potentials after studying filtered photographs of the earth taken by Gemini and Apollo astronauts. Some of the discoveries:

A fisherman illegally dredging oysters in Galveston Bay.

A trace of a fault, near Charleston, S.C., that may have caused a major earthquake in 1886.

Errors in maps of the Marshall Islands in the Pacific.

A potential copper lode near the Arizona-New Mexico border.

Confirmation of theories about river sedimentation in the Northern Hemisphere.

Says William A. Fischer, EROS program manager for the Geological Survey:

"We have already identified several hundred practical uses for this new space capability. Almost every day we learn of still others which the combined computer, electronic, photographic and spacecraft arts may soon make possible."

But Mr. Fischer is cautious.

"Users should not expect miracles from EROS," he says. "There will be a learning period during which we will have to verify the space information by aerial photography and ground surveys. The satellite should be considered an addition to our box of resource measurement tools—not a replacement for them."

Remote sensing's value to farming is recognized by Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin, who says: "Data collected by sophisticated cameras and other instruments carried by planes and satellites will enable early detection of crop diseases such as corn blight. Insect infestations of fields and orchards can be spotted in time to prevent widespread damage."

Corn blight appears dark in infected fields on infrared film while healthy corn shows high reflectance. Using "multispectral" techniques, it may soon be possible to detect the spread of this and similar plant diseases while they are actually being borne by the winds from infected to healthy areas. This will enable farmers downwind to protect their crops well in advance.

Agricultural Research Service scientists estimate remote sensing can reduce disease and insect detection costs by a third. In addition, they say, the new technique can be of great economic value in determining range conditions, water resources, water pollution, soil types, and fertility deficiencies.

WHERE THE Poppies GROW

One related possibility is control of drug traffic through remotely sensed surveillance of the world's opium poppy-growing areas. Crops spotted from space could be destroyed before they were ready for processing into opium.

Though Department of Housing and Urban Development officials think they will be able to use satellite-gathered information to predict urban deterioration, they feel its use is many years away. Charles F. Withington of the Geological Survey is at work on developing necessary techniques. An expert in infrared analysis, he is comparing high altitude aerial photos of urban areas taken over a period of years.

"Quite possibly we will be able to pinpoint neighborhoods headed for decay long before city fathers do," he says. "For example, when people let a neighborhood run down they leave more garbage lying around and they water and fertilize their lawns less. Over a number of years photos taken during the summer months are going to show this."

Infrared photographs show healthy growing matter as a rich red. Less healthy vegetation is readily detectable by comparison.

Infrared's ability to reveal the growth of oxygen-consuming algae in streams was vividly shown on Nation's business' cover for January, 1971. This type of water pol-

lution is one of the prime concerns of the Environmental Protection Agency.

EPA Administrator William D. Ruckelshaus observes that "when fully developed satellite-borne sensors may play an important role in environmental surveillance systems" and adds that "it may be possible to detect and monitor oil spills, algal blooms, red tide outbreaks, developing smog conditions and other similar problems."

SATELLITES AND SOVEREIGNTY

Since the satellites will be scanning every spot on earth, there is concern in some nations that the inventory of their resources could be to the ultimate disadvantage of their economies.

But William A. Chapin, EROS project officer in the State Department's Bureau of International and Technical Affairs, feels that "reluctance of foreign nations is diminishing" in regard to resource satellites. "Knowing that resources are there," he says, "doesn't mean that they can be exploited."

The Geological Survey's Mr. Fischer cites the atmosphere at a meeting last May at the University of Michigan's Ann Arbor campus of the International Workshop on Earth Resources Survey Systems.

Representatives from 51 nations, including the Soviet Union, were present, and Mr. Fischer says he doesn't recall the question of sovereignty being raised at any time.

The U.S. will make EROS information available to all. Foreign nations will be able to obtain resource information about their own or any other country.

And anyone with the money to build a receiving station will be able to freely record the data when it is being transmitted to the U.S. stations. Canada plans to have an antenna complex, in Saskatchewan, ready for the first satellite launch.

President Nixon enunciated national policy before the United Nations in September, 1969. "I feel it is only right that we should share both the adventures and the benefits of space," he said. He added that "this program will be dedicated to produce information not only for the United States but also for the world community."

NO BACKLASH ON ECOLOGY

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, there are those within the Nixon administration who feel that it is essential that we allow the polluters to continue to pollute. I disagree with this view and it is encouraging to note that the New York Times, in an editorial carried in its January 10, 1972, issue, expressed a similar view. I include the text of the New York Times editorial at this point in the RECORD:

NO BACKLASH ON ECOLOGY

On the environmental front, 1971 was, superficially at least, something of a comedown. Where the very word environment, like motherhood or Americanism, had been almost enough to assure passage of a bill the year before, a certain coolness was discernible in 1971 both in Administration circles and in Congress. Secretary of Commerce Stans articulated the change when he urged industry and Government to go slow in trying to restore the country's air, land and water: "We must weigh environmental goals against economic reality and say 'Wait a minute'—or there might be an environmental backlash."

The tone of White House pronouncements themselves underwent a less than subtle change in the direction of this same "reality." The President's rhetoric accompanying the first report of his Council on Environmental Quality had rung with warnings of "ecological disaster," "literally now or never," and the like. But Mr. Nixon's concern this past year was the threat of "ecological perfection at the cost of bankrupting" industry. And the Government's health and environmental officials baffled the public by suddenly urging a return to phosphate detergents, hitherto condemned, on the misleading ground that alternative cleansers were probably worse.

Nevertheless, it would be unwarranted to conclude that Secretary Stans' threatened backlash has come to pass, still less that concern for the environment is turning out to be a fad, as some have been dolorously predicting. "Environmental backlash is a myth propagated by lobbyists for the polluters," in the view of Representative Reuss of Wisconsin, a leading environmentalist, who denies any decline at all in Congressional support for the movement.

The test will be in the second session, which normally completes more legislation than the first. Considering the present status of bills, it is reasonable to expect, besides a major water bill, legislation to protect marine mammals, reduce ocean dumping, create a Joint Congressional Committee on the Environment, set aside four new wilderness areas and several new national parks, curb strip-mining and possibly establish a far-reaching land-use policy. Added to the modest achievements of the first session—such as a ban on hunting animals from airplanes and the establishment of three new national parks—the list will not be unimpressive.

No year can be counted negative for environmental progress, moreover, that includes such contributions by the Administration as cancellation of the senseless Cross-Florida Barge Canal, which had already been begun, vital support for New York's Gateway National Recreation Area and the saving of Florida's Big Cypress Swamp from private "development." These are no mean achievements.

Judicial vigilance blocked the proposed Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, a project for needlessly paralleling the Mississippi River at a cost of nearly \$400 million, and more displaced earth than was required by the Panama Canal. And, besides the Gateway, New Yorkers can be especially grateful for a new Adirondack Park Agency, charged with keeping all lands within the park's boundaries—public and private—compatible with the character of the park itself. Also notable was the saving of Jamaica Bay from the fatal encroachment of airport runways—not to mention the demise of Governor Rockefeller's cherished plan for a Hudson River Expressway which would have done violence to a historic and lovely shoreline.

If the year's record, all told, is only moderately encouraging, it is still hard to disagree on balance with C.E.Q. Chairman Russell E. Train's estimate that "the sudden emergence of the environment as a high-priority public concern constitutes one of the great forces of change of our time."

GOVERNMENT FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICY

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Wall Street Journal of January 4 contains an excellent editorial on government fiscal and monetary policy.

The editorial includes the interesting observation that when the U.S. Treasury enters the money market to sell securities in order to finance the mounting public debt, it will inevitably put upward pressure on interest rates.

It has been my observation that this has occurred several times in recent years, and I see no reason to doubt that history will repeat itself.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "Good News and Bad News," be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

GOOD NEWS AND BAD NEWS

In the area of economic controls there is both good and bad news this holiday season, with the bad news, unfortunately, considerably outweighing the good.

The good news, such as it is, is that C. Jackson Grayson, chairman of the Price Commission, hopes to start soon on plans for decontrol. "After all," he says, "we are not designing a permanent controls system."

Even a casual look at the existing setup would persuade anyone that the planners could not conceivably expect it to last forever, at least in its present form. It leans heavily on so-called voluntary compliance by unions and businessmen, and the urge toward voluntarism, never strong among the unions, is sure to weaken as time drags on.

And Mr. Grayson makes no secret of the fact that he expects time to drag on. He thinks that controls will last through 1972 and probably until mid-1973. "I do not mean," he says, "that we might not want to decontrol some areas before that. But it will take a year and a half for this to begin to wind down."

Even then the Price Commission chairman doesn't really look for complete decontrol. Major industries may never entirely escape. "That sector will always be subject to some voluntary control—some form of jawboning or direct controls," in Mr. Grayson's view.

One of the sorrier aspects of this outlook is that the economy, despite controls, has begun to show signs of growing strength. The continuing confusion over the mass of rules and regulations cannot help but slow the rate of recovery.

As Bill Paul reported in this newspaper recently, even the Internal Revenue Service, the agency charged with Phase 2 enforcement, isn't always sure what it's doing. The agents spend most of their time simply trying to explain the rules to the public, and to each other, instead of enforcing them.

The longer the rules persist the more specialists there will be in the field, advising businessmen and unions how to avoid the controls legally, or perhaps how to evade them without getting caught. The administration is trying hard to maintain a minimum of machinery, but with the passage of time more and more private and public resources are sure to be tangled up in the apparatus.

Mr. Grayson and other controls officials argue that their overriding responsibility is to squeeze inflationary expectations out of the economy. If Americans look for more inflation they keep trying to protect themselves against it by pushing up wages and prices. But can such expectations be eliminated merely by trying to curb prices and pay, the symptoms of inflation?

At the moment, at any rate, the Federal Reserve Board does not seem to think so. In Congressional testimony Arthur F. Burns, board chairman, stressed that wage-price control was no more than "a temporary effort aimed at speeding the return to noninflationary conditions in a free economy."

"This goal requires that we conduct fiscal

and monetary policies so as to avoid setting in motion forces that would lead to excessive aggregate demand on our resources and trigger still another round of inflation. Only if all of the policy instruments available to the government are working in harmony can the present anti-inflation policy succeed."

Harmony, sad to say, is something we haven't got. The Fed has restrained monetary growth in recent months, but fiscal policy is something else again. According to early reports the administration doesn't see any hope of balancing the budget even on the artificial full-employment basis.

To finance the enormous deficits the Treasury in coming months will have to sell a lot of securities and the Federal Reserve, like it or not, will see to it that there's enough money around to buy them. Treasury competition in the financial markets will help to put upward pressure on interest rates, and there's no indication that the Fed has broken its bad habit of trying to keep the rates down by pouring out still more money.

Most worrisome, perhaps, 1972 is an election year and with Congressmen courting votes they are only too likely to make the administration's loose budget even looser. Moreover, both the administration and Congress will be pressing for the sort of economic stimulation that in the past has mainly produced more inflation.

Happy New Year, everybody.

OUR NATION'S POLICEMEN

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, the policemen of our Nation are the No. 1 line of defense that stands between the criminal and a person's security, to his person, and to his home.

The county of Nassau has an outstanding police department, and in a recent newsletter of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association two articles appear which I think point out facts important to every American. The first of course is the need for our policemen, and the second is the agony of the service they render to the people. They are set forth herein:

A MINORITY THAT IS INDISPENSABLE

(By Hon. Charles L. Gould)

This concerns a minority group with high visibility.

It is a group too often condemned and too seldom commended.

There are fewer than 800,000 of this minority in all the United States. In all of California, there are fewer than 50,000.

They tend to congregate in core cities. There are 1,872 in San Francisco.

Members of this minority group have longer work days than our average citizen. Their earnings are limited. Few belong to unions.

They get jobs others shun. Their work is frequently dangerous. As a result, their insurance rates are higher than average.

In the past 10 years more than 640 of their number have been brutally gunned down.

Many have been targets for rocks, clubs, bottles, and bags of human excrement. Many have been spat upon. Most have been insulted and called vile names.

The lives of many have been threatened. The homes of some have been bombed and burned. Children and wives of this minority

group are often terrorized and criticized. The men are expected to accept insults without responding in kind.

While earning less than some laborers, they are required to expertly and instantaneously make legal decisions that may require months of deliberation by the Supreme Court.

They are criticized and condemned for being too soft. Just as they are criticized and condemned for being too tough.

They are not without fault, but if all of our citizens were as law-abiding as they, all people could walk our streets in safety at all hours.

They give strength to laws. Without them our cities would become jungles. They are as precious to society as doctors, lawyers, teachers, and preachers.

They belong to all the races of man. They are black and white and brown and yellow. They are Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and agnostics.

They are our police officers . . . members of a proud profession.

They merit more respect than they receive.

MIDNIGHT LAMENT

(By Mrs. Jake Pavlica)

The night is still and your heart is the same, it's the darn old thing—the 12-8 game.

The pain is in your stomach and also your heart, as 11:00 comes around then it's time to part.

Five nights of this worry must be endured, and year after year the anxiety can't be cured.

You check the kids all sleeping in their beds, and you cherish their innocence and clear heads.

You check the windows and glance in the streets, the air so still and the darkness your eye meets.

Is it as dark and still where he is now too? What do the shadows hide for my guy in blue?

Oh, please dear God, make the clock soon reach eight, and quickly send home my dear loving mate!

The thought is always there that he may not be back, and the stabbing pain does your body rack.

Will you be strong? Could you continue to live? Is the Lord really kind? Will he take or give?

You go to bed and toss and turn, but the tears in your eyes sting and burn.

All of the shifts really make you quite leery, but the midnights seem to make you very weary.

The hours do pass and the years as well. Can you survive more midnights, the living hell?

The dawn is here, wake the kids and listen for your guy. You hear the car, the key in the door and you heave a sigh.

A quick little prayer of thanks and again return to your chores, till the dread midnight hour returns and you again close the doors.

HAVE AMERICANS BECOME SO INURED TO GRAND CALAMITY THAT THEY REJECT INDIVIDUAL SUFFERING?

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, several weeks ago a small girl appeared on the side of a major eastern highway and cried for help. She was unclothed and

apparently alone in the darkness. Despite her pleas, speeding motorists ignored her. Her ravished body was found the next day in a nearby swamp.

There may be rationalizations for such apparently inhuman behavior in this particular case. It was dark; many passersby may not have spotted her alongside the road, or if they did, hesitated to stop at night on a high-speed expressway. Others who might have seen the pleading child could have suspected a trap. Parenthetically, one of my aides recently stopped on Constitution Avenue one night to aid a young lady with apparent car trouble. He was rewarded with the loss of his wallet and a sum of money.

But quite obviously, in the case of this poor girl, there were many people passing her by who just did not want to become involved.

This heartless reaction was especially highlighted in a more recent California case involving a woman trapped in a snowstorm with her dead or dying husband. I am sure many of you are familiar with the news reports of the woman seeking emergency aid, and being rejected by one or more fellow humans.

Such callous conduct leaves most of us speechless. It is the reaction of one of our gifted newspaper columnists, Don Daniels of the Wheeling News-Register, which places into well-chosen words the indictment on humanity such actions portend. Mr. Daniels asks:

Have Americans become that impersonal? Is the first person singular now the dominant word in our language? Is it fear that in helping a fellow American we will somehow contract whatever illness that besets him?

I feel that in too many cases Americans have become so inured to calamity on a grand scale that daily and personal tragedies seem unimportant. Yet it is difficult to understand how, in a face-to-face confrontation with a suffering human, any person could turn away.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article written by Mr. Daniels be printed in the RECORD, and that a subsequent item in his daily column be appended.

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

[From the Wheeling (W. Va.) News-Register, Jan. 6, 1972]

HAVE AMERICANS BECOME SO INURED TO GRAND CALAMITY THAT THEY REJECT INDIVIDUAL SUFFERING?

(By Don Daniels)

For God's sake!

Here was a woman, exhausted, whipped, beaten from struggling three hours through a monstrous blizzard crying "help me, please help me." And nobody did!

Nobody did.

"My husband is dead in the trailer," she cried and her voice was an open wound and nobody helped. Nobody answered.

One man was "going the other way." Another was too busy. His kids were playing in the snow. Too busy to be bothered with a weary woman who had marched miles through hip deep snow and who cried, "help me, my husband is dead in the trailer."

For God's sake, America! for Sweet Heaven's sake, has this nation become a collection of crass fools? Has this land that has nurtured a world with compassion fallen into one of Dante's Hells wherein there is no

thought of our brother, no concern with need and sorrow?

Here was a 49-year-old woman who with her husband had fled the smog and pollution of the city to bring their trailer to the clean air of the mountains. And the snow came and the oxygen for the man whose lungs were scarred with emphysema and whose heart struggled to move his blood . . . the oxygen ran out.

He said to his wife, "I can't breathe," and that was the last he said. And the woman was snowbound, no phone, nothing to cling to. So she walked through the snow for hours, falling, stumbling, weeping, praying and when she came to a man he said, "I'm going the other way." And when she came to a man he said, "I'm too busy. The kids are playing."

For God's sake!

Listen, citizen, this land was built solid and strong because when one man needed help another was there to provide it. If a farmer's barn burnt down, other farmers built him another one. If his crop failed the others shared their wheat.

If a child was lost whole communities joined to search the storm.

What in the everlasting hell has happened, America?

Have we become so frightened that we clutch the helping hand into a fist and hide it like a weapon? Have the small outlaws, the protesters, the muggers, the hopheads so coerced this land that we must all now suspect our neighbor?

Are we all so fearful of becoming "involved" that we will look with blind eyes at suffering, that we will turn a shoulder to the raw wind of another man's pain?

For God's sake!

There in California citizens of this nation, taxpayers, probably churchgoers, perhaps well respected members of their own city, could not find it within themselves to give aid to a struggling, needful woman marching against the storm with death a chasing spectre behind her.

And the woman "just plodded along." She plodded along for miles until at last she found a telephone and could call friends. And after the sheriff's people came and last Sunday they brought out the body of her dead husband.

I find it impossible to believe this . . . yet it happened.

In the United States it happened.

I ask you how it could happen? Why did it happen?

Have Americans become that impersonal? Is the first person singular now the dominant word in our language? Is it fear that in helping a fellow American we will somehow contract whatever illness it is that besets him?

If I have a prayer this day, citizen, it will be that this incident in California was an isolated affair. It will be that it all sprang from an eerie combination of circumstances and that real Americans are not that cold, that cruel. It will be that most of us still retain not just the instinct for self-survival but the concern for the survival of our fellow citizens which is the bulwark of our land.

If we have lost that, then indeed we have lost everything. The disease of uncaring is the most fatal rot of all. I pray this nation, all of the myriad little people who compose it, have not lost compassion because that is the instinct we must live by . . .

For God's sake . . . and for our own.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, in a subsequent column, Mr. Daniels offers his readers what might be considered a recipe for happiness. It is one that I think every American citizen should try, for the result would be a better world in which to live. Here are the ingredients:

1 cup good thoughts; 1 cup kind deeds, 1 cup consideration for others, 2 cups sacrifice.

3 cups forgiveness, 2 cups well-beaten faults.

Mix these thoroughly and add tears of joy and sorrow and sympathy for others. Flavor with little gifts of love and kindly service. Fold in four cups of faith to lighten the other ingredients and raise the texture to a great height of living. After, pour all this into your daily life, bake well with the heat of human kindness. Serve it with a smile.

I suppose if all of us tried that recipe, life would taste a lot better, wouldn't it?

NUCLEAR PLANT EMERGENCY COOLING: A SAFETY REEVALUATION

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the proliferation of nuclear powerplants around the Nation, many of them in increasingly populated areas, has made the question of the safety of these plants one of prominent concern to many Members of the Congress. One of the most disturbing question marks in the nuclear safety picture is the possibility of a "meltdown" accident caused by a loss of coolant, and the adequacy of the systems that have been developed to guard against such an accident.

Last year I successfully proposed an amendment to the AEC authorization bill increasing funds for development of nuclear safety systems, particularly emergency core-cooling systems—ECCS. I was, therefore, interested by a reevaluation of this problem presented by Prof. Daniel F. Ford on behalf of the Union of Concerned Scientists at the recently concluded American Association for the Advancement of Science meetings in Philadelphia. Dr. Ford documents what he calls the "exceptionally limited understanding with which designers of presently operating and planned nuclear power reactors have approached the potentially most serious accident that can occur in such complex machines—as nuclear reactors"—and concludes that, in view of "the frailties" of existing emergency core-cooling systems, no additional reactors should be licensed "until ECCS effectiveness is assured."

I found Dr. Ford's analysis to be particularly thorough, balanced, and specific on a subject which is all too often treated with alarmism. His detailed discussion of the possibility that current emergency core-cooling systems might not work due to blockage of coolant flow channels is particularly enlightening and sobering.

Dr. Ford's paper, entitled "A Reevaluation of Reactor Safety," follows:

A REEVALUATION OF REACTOR SAFETY

(By Daniel F. Ford)

A modern nuclear power plant after a period of operation contains a huge fission product inventory, on the order of ten billion curies. We depend on the postulated effectiveness of engineered safety systems incorporated in these nuclear power plants to mitigate fission product release into the environment in the event of abnormal reactor operations. The release of any appreciable fraction of this activity into the environment could develop into an enormous catastrophe

with lethal effects at ranges up to nearly 100 miles.

This paper is a report on the review by the Union of Concerned Scientists of available engineering data pertaining to a key reactor safety feature, the emergency core-cooling system (ECCS).¹ We have found that there is not presently available sufficient information to provide an objective confirmation of the ability of presently designed emergency core-cooling systems to perform their vital function. This safety system has never been tested under conditions expected to occur in the accident situation in which it would be called upon to perform. Moreover, the small number of semi-realistic experiments that have been performed to date indicate that various phenomena would exist in an accident situation that would very likely cancel the postulated effectiveness of the ECCS. This paper discussed some of these phenomena and rejects the contention of reactor manufacturers and the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) that presently available experimental data provide a basis for confident reliance on these engineered safety systems.

I

Most of the nuclear power reactors operating or planned for this decade use slightly enriched uranium dioxide as fuel and ordinary water as coolant and neutron-moderator. The uranium dioxide is in the form of ceramic pellets sheathed in thin twelve-foot long Zircaloy tubes. There are thirty to forty thousand fuel rods in the core of a large modern reactor. The core is contained within a steel pressure vessel, itself situated in a large 'containment' structure.

The fission products formed during reactor operation normally remain within the uranium dioxide fuel pellets where they are formed, although a percent or so of the halogen and noble gas activity escapes from the pellets into the gap between the pellets and the zircaloy tubing and into the fuel rod plenum. If a fuel rod ruptures, the free gas volume of halogen and noble gas activity within the rod is available for release outside the fuel rod. If a fuel rod melts because of deficient cooling, all of the gaseous and volatile fission products, comprising 20 percent of the fission product inventory, would be released from the uranium dioxide pellets. The impermeability of containing structures and the efficiency of gas treatment systems determines whether or not release of fission products into the environment will occur.

In the event of core meltdown, presently designed nuclear power plants would not be able to prevent the release of a substantial fraction of core fission product inventory into the environment. First, as portions of the molten core came in contact with residual water in the reactor vessel or containment structures, steam explosions would be expected that would be capable of rupturing the containment structures. Secondly, even if such steam explosions were avoided, the molten core would melt its way through the steel pressure vessel and concrete containment structures. Breaching of the containment would mean that all of the gaseous and volatile fission products, approximately 20 percent of the core fission product inventory, would be available for transport under the prevailing meteorological conditions. The gaseous fission products would be released most probably as a cold, ground level cloud. An AEC study in 1957 set forth the methodology for estimating the lethality and range

of such a cloud. Applied to a reactor of the size now operating and on the present refueling schedule, the methodology developed in the 1957 AEC study—which, it should be noted, is still up-to-date—yields the result that under not uncommon weather conditions (night-time temperature stratification and a 6.5 mph wind) the release of core gaseous fission products could be lethal for 75 miles downwind of the plant in a corridor up to two miles wide, with acute and long-term human injuries extending for as far as several hundred miles. Given the proximity of presently operating and planned nuclear power stations to populated areas, core meltdown could clearly be a catastrophic event.

Since the release of appreciable fission product activity into the environment implies the melting of fuel elements, the primary nuclear reactor safety concern is whether adequate core cooling is guaranteed in all circumstances by system design. Potential cooling problems range from small leaks in primary cooling system piping to ruptures of the reactor pressure vessel—the five-story boiler that contains the twelve foot high nuclear core. The most serious accident presently considered credible in the design of light-water cooled power reactors is a double ended rupture of the largest pipe in the primary cooling system. The accident subsequent to such pipe ruptures is designated a "loss-of-coolant accident" (or LOCA).

The LOCA begins with the rapid loss of system pressure and ejection of coolant from the reactor pressure vessel. Depending on the size and location of the rupture, and on the initial coolant conditions, the depressurization may cause violent flow conditions that the core cannot withstand. If the coolant is initially subcooled, as in a pressurized-water reactor (PWR), blowdown phenomena may start with disruptive acoustic disturbances, and the rapid fluid accelerations and high fluid velocities may generate severe structural loads that can endanger the integrity of the primary system internals. During the blowdown or depressurization portion of the LOCA transient, the temperature rise of the Zircaloy fuel cladding is determined by the redistribution of stored thermal energy in the fuel rods. Subsequently, decay heating by core fission products and the exothermic contribution of Zircaloy-steam reactions become the driving forces in core heatup. The Zircaloy-steam reaction—the burning of the fuel cladding in water—becomes significant as a heat source as temperatures rise above 2100° F. and autocatalytic at approximately 2750° F. Core heatup is quite rapid, and if no emergency cooling were provided at all, the clad temperature would increase from a normal temperature of 600° F. to above 3000° F. within the first minute following the pipe rupture. At this point addition of emergency cooling water would aggravate the accident because of the heat contributed by the exothermic reaction between the fuel cladding and the emergency cooling water. Thus, if a LOCA were not interrupted by effective injection of emergency cooling water, an uncontrolled meltdown would be in progress at the end of the first minute of the transient.

II

To have confidence in the emergency core-cooling system, detailed information would be required on the nature and sequence of events during the LOCA transient that the ECCS would have to deal with and the capabilities of the ECCS, as demonstrated in suitable tests.

There are, however, major gaps in general basic knowledge concerning LOCA phenomena and ECCS effectiveness. In 1967 and 1968 the AEC published several assessments of ECCS effectiveness made by Battelle Memorial Institute, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, and an ad hoc Task Force called

¹ See Ian A. Forbes, Daniel F. Ford, Henry W. Kendall, and James J. MacKenzie: *Nuclear Reactor Safety: An Evaluation of New Evidence* (UCS, Cambridge, Mass., July 1971; reprinted in *Nuclear News*, September 1971); *A Critique of the New A.E.C. Design Criteria for Reactor Safety Systems* (UCS, Cambridge, Mass., October 1971, reprinted in *Nuclear News*, Jan. '72)

together to review this system. The Battelle report stated flatly that "the effectiveness of the emergency core-cooling system is largely unknown" and proposed major research projects to obtain basic and much needed data. The ad hoc Task Force also recommended much research and development work. And the Oak Ridge state-of-the-art study concluded:

(1) that the underlying assumption of calculations made concerning core behavior in a LOCA had not been substantiated;

(2) tests of the ECCS have never been performed in the environmental conditions of the dynamic pressure, temperature, and humidity that might prevail in a LOCA; and

(3) so little information existed on key LOCA phenomena "that a positive conclusion of the adequacy of these systems would be speculative."

In response to such strong doubts about the postulated effectiveness of the ECCS, the AEC formulated a water-reactor safety research plan that identified "all the factors affecting the performance and reliability of ECCS" as "the most urgent problems in the safety program today." This research program plan was published in February 1970.

The research performed since the Oak Ridge, Battelle, and Task Force reports has made some important contributions to our understanding but has not yet provided engineering data that convincingly confirm the postulated effectiveness of ECCS. Indeed, perhaps the major contribution of the research to date has been to demonstrate that suspected problems concerning ECCS effectiveness are very real problems.

The latest ECCS state-of-the-art study was presented in July of this year by Aerojet Nuclear Corporation (ANC), which operates the National Reactor Testing Station in Idaho for the AEC and does major research on ECCS. This very recent survey still indicates the overall lack of knowledge about LOCA phenomena and ECCS effectiveness pointed to in the earlier assessments. ANC presented the state-of-the-art survey results in a convenient diagram. (see figure) The slide shows an "event matrix" that sets forth basic LOCA developments as they relate to different parts of the reactor primary system. The diagram contains a coloring scheme that indicates, in ANC's words, "the general level of understanding of each of the events; for example, whether or not we have a verified descriptive or predictive analysis capability." Those areas that are blackened are considered resolved. Events lightly polka-dotted are 'under control' to the extent indicated. Events about which there has been 'limited study' are colored grey. And events for which integral testing is required are in light hatching.

The overall impression given by the event matrix for a LOCA is that only a very small percentage of LOCA transient events are well understood and that relatively unstudied and uncomprehended events abound.

Can the containment structure withstand the containment pressure transient caused by blowdown and thereby serve as a leak-tight vessel to contain fission products? This question has only received limited study. Can the core withstand blowdown forces and maintain itself in a geometry amenable to cooling? Limited study, at most, has been given to issues associated with this question. In particular, can the ECCS perform the vital function for which it was designed? This question is neither resolved nor under control; at most, certain aspects of this question have received limited study.

ANC has concluded, moreover, on the basis of available data, that various mechanisms will operate during the LOCA that will cause the emergency coolant to flow around, rather than through, the areas of the core most in need of coolant or even, perhaps, bypass the

core altogether. The coolant starvation produced by these mechanisms, in ANC's words, "may cancel the margin of safety previously thought to exist in emergency core-cooling systems" (IN-1387, p. iii). Research on this flow maldistribution problem was recommended in the safety research program proposed by Battelle in 1967. The problem was noted by the Oak Ridge report, the ad hoc Task Force report, and by the Committee on Reactor Safety Technology of the European Nuclear Energy Agency in their 1970 report. And in 1970 ANC proposed a series of tests, in a document that is highly respected among reactor safety researchers, to investigate this serious problem. This ANC research proposal was not funded by the AEC.

This overview of the state-of-the-art in emergency core-cooling has brought out the exceptionally limited understanding with which designers of presently operating and planned nuclear power reactors have approached the potentially most serious accident that can occur in such complex machines. Basic data upon which the postulated effectiveness of the ECCS is supported is fragmentary and derived from experiments whose relevance to a large modern reactor is quite indirect.

III

It is not possible to discuss all of the major uncertainties about ECCS effectiveness in this brief presentation. But to make this overall analysis of the state-of-the-art in emergency core cooling convincing to you on a technical level, I shall discuss in some detail one particular phenomena which we expect will render presently designed ECCS ineffective; namely, the blockage of coolant flow channels in the core that arises because of fuel rod swelling during core heatup.

It was noted earlier that roughly one per cent of the fission product gases escapes from the UO_2 fuel pellets into the gap between the pellets and the cladding and into the fuel rod plenum. This accumulation of fission product gases in the free volume of the fuel rods results in an internal pressurization of the rods which can range from 50 psi to about 2000 psi. A fuel rod's internal gas pressure is a function of the geometry of the rod and the burnup of its fuel—which is measured in megawatt-days per ton of fuel. As cladding temperature increases during core heatup in a LOCA, the strength of the cladding rapidly decreases until its ultimate tensile strength is below that required to withstand the hoop stresses resulting from fission gas internal pressure. Before the rod ruptures, internal pressure will cause swelling and ballooning of the cladding. The amount of swelling is a function of internal pressure and, to some extent, heating rate.

Concern over rod swelling during a LOCA is obvious. If fuel rods swell on the same, or nearly the same, horizontal plane, the cross-sectional area defining the coolant passage-way could be reduced so as to prevent or seriously retard core cooling. Moreover, flow blockages near the center of an open-lattice pressurized-water reactor core would increase the resistance to axial flow and cause coolant to flow radially from areas of greater to areas of lesser blockage. Put another way, the flow resistance in blocked areas of the core would cause the coolant to flow around, rather than through, the region of the core most in need of coolant. Such hot-spot flow starvation would quickly initiate core meltdown.

It should be emphasized that retardation of core cooling is potentially as serious as outright prevention of core cooling. If the time at temperature above 2000° F is long, embrittlement of the cladding can result. Embrittlement from oxygen reactions with the cladding means that upon quenching by emergency cooling water the rod could fragment. If significant crumbling of the core occurred, the debris created could develop a configuration that could not be cooled.

Because of the real and proper concern that flow blockage might prove detrimental to ECCS effectiveness, a concerted effort has been made at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory to study the swelling and rupture behavior of zircaloy fuel rod cladding. Experimental data evolved by ORNL has greatly clarified the determinants of rod swelling and provided data on the magnitude of flow blockage that can occur in a LOCA. The reactor manufacturers have also done some work on this area, the results of which are consistent with the ORNL results.

A montage of photographs of the rupture area of tubes from one ORNL test series is shown on the next slide. Test internal pressure increases from left to right and heating rate increases from top to bottom. Rod temperature at rupture, maximum internal pressure and percent circumferential strain are indicated below each picture. One should keep in mind in looking at this data that AEC ECCS design criteria permit fuel tubing temperatures up to 2300° F during a LOCA. With the exception of three rods in the picture, all of the rods reached their maximum swelling and ruptured below 2300° F.

If we inspect each row, we see that swelling is greater at the ends of the row than in the middle. The next slide shows this general relationship between rod internal pressure and the extent of rod expansion and channel blockage. This figure plots available data from single- and multi-rod tests performed by ORNL and three of the four reactor vendors. (Data from the fourth reactor vendor, Westinghouse Electric Corporation, is considered proprietary and is not publicly available.) The shape of the curve is a reflection of the changes in the stress-strain properties of zircaloy that occur during the LOCA temperature transient.

Unfortunately, the internal pressures of fuel rods in a reactor core fall mostly in the range of pressures associated with maximum rod expansion. In a boiling-water reactor, for example, the range of internal pressures is 50 to 150 psi with most rods at less than 100 psi. Thus the experimental flow blockage data indicates the potential for development of 90 to 100 per cent coolant channel blockages in this kind of reactor during a LOCA. One can estimate for a pressurized-water reactor as well that as much as 50 per cent of the core could be greater than 95 per cent blocked during a LOCA.

Studies of the disruptive effects from metal-water reaction from molten metal indicate that if more than a fraction of one percent of the fuel cladding in a reactor melts that an uncontrollable situation is likely to develop. We can see that our estimates of the damaging level of flow blockage can be badly in error and still have an accident present a major hazard.

The implications of flow blockages of this magnitude have not yet been explored in any systematic way. Some preliminary calculations, on the one hand, and a few experiments of doubtful relevance, on the other hand, are the only information on the effects of flow blockage presently available. The calculations, done by Battelle Memorial Institute, are presented in the next slide. The calculation is cited by reactor manufacturers when they seek to prove that their systems can cool cores with 50 or perhaps 90 per cent blockage. However, the 95 percent or greater blockages that would be expected on the basis of available data would cause cladding temperatures to rise into the autocatalytic zone zircaloy-water reactions within 45 seconds after the beginning of the LOCA. The onset of such extensive metal-water reactions is the first step in the irreversible event of core meltdown. Even if these high blockages cause clad temperature to rise somewhat more gradually than predicted by Battelle, they would reduce cooling efficiency and tremendously increase cladding em-

brittleness and, therefore, the probability of core fragmentation. In short, the crude analytical models available suggest that the high blockages expected to occur in a LOCA on the basis of fuel rod swelling data could seriously degrade, if not totally negate, ECCS performance.

Experimental information pertaining to the effects of flow blockage on ECCS performance is limited to a few tests that simulated moderate flow blockage and one test that involved a full-size bundle of electrically heated internally pressurized rods. The method of simulation and degree of blockage simulated make the first set of tests essentially irrelevant to the central problems. The latter set of tests deserve more substantial comment.

The unique test of full-length electrically heated internally pressurized zircaloy clad simulated fuel rods was performed by General Electric Company under an AEC contract. The test is designated Zr-2. Zr-2 was one test in a series of 144 tests. In 143 of the 144 tests unpressurized rods were employed and thus was omitted the critical simulation of flow blockage. Test Zr-2 was deeply flawed. Twenty per cent of the electric heaters in the rod bundle failed. Zr-2 did not represent a maximum power bundle. And its instrumentation was extremely poor: for example, 57 per cent of the thermocouples failed or performed erratically during the test; only two thermocouples were placed above the bundle midplane and both misbehaved during the test; heater rod power input was uncertain because of bungled meter and fuse arrangements. The interpretation given to Zr-2 by General Electric Company and the AEC Staff—that it demonstrated the ability of the ECCS to overcome flow blockage and effectively cool the core—extends far beyond the facts of the test and far beyond the level of reliance that could reasonably be placed on such a poorly instrumented and poorly analyzed experiment.

IV

Since the consequences of an ECCS failure in a LOCA could be of catastrophic proportions, the Union of Concerned Scientists undertook a detailed technical assessment of this system's effectiveness, including an extensive review of available engineering data on ECCS and numerous discussions with people engaged in ECCS experimental research programs. The assurances given by the reactor vendors and by the AEC of ECCS effectiveness were not found in our review of the literature on ECCS and were not given to us by any of the experimenters on the ECCS. I represent to you that we found, outside of those of the reactor manufacturers, no technical reports that claimed to have assembled data sufficient to objectively demonstrate the assured effectiveness of presently designed ECCS.

I further represent that we found, other than those of the vendors, no expert engaged in reactor safety system research who felt that the effectiveness of the ECCS was confirmed by available engineering data. On the contrary: available engineering data shows ECCS effectiveness to be unproved and indicates that there may be developments during the LOCA that the ECCS cannot overcome. Much research is planned to remove these doubts about ECCS effectiveness.

Major tests of the ECCS will be conducted, on the present schedule, some time in 1975. Until this work is completed, our reliance upon presently designed ECCS is an act of faith. In view of the frailties of the ECCS emphasized in the technical literature and by those engaged in research in this area, and in view of the consequences of an uncontrolled LOCA, the Union of Concerned Scientists cannot support the licensing of additional reactors until ECCS effectiveness is assured.

TOWARD A MORE SECURE AMERICA: AN ALTERNATIVE NATIONAL DEFENSE POSTURE

HON. GEORGE McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of my recommendations for an alternative national defense posture be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

TOWARD A MORE SECURE AMERICA—AN ALTERNATIVE NATIONAL DEFENSE POSTURE

(By U.S. Senator GEORGE McGOVERN)

INTRODUCTION

(1) Planning assumptions

The beginning premise of this alternative national defense posture is that the United States should *buy what we need* to deter or counter foreseeable threats to American and allied security.

That guideline automatically limits some of the artificial standards which have had a profound influence on military spending in past years.

Our defense posture has been built upon conservative planning assumptions—on preparing for “greater than expected threats.” The alternative posture accepts that premise in part. It starts by assuming that the major communist powers, China and the Soviet Union, will remain actively hostile to U.S. interests, and that there is a real risk of confrontation if one or the other can expect military advantage as a result.

Hence the proposed budget retains more nuclear weapons than necessary for deterrence, as insurance and as a hedge against possible build-ups on the other side. General purpose forces are maintained against dangers which are both slight and exceedingly remote, given the expected military balance and political outlook. Intensive research and development efforts are proposed, to maintain the clear U.S. lead in military technology.

But conservative planning can be pushed too far. As it aims for maximum safety, it can also fuel futile, costly and perilous arms competition. And it can lead to the needless maintenance of active forces against threats which do not and likely never will exist. It can be said, for example, that there is probably no more reason to maintain forces to fight Hungary, Czechoslovakia or Poland, than there is to plan for a conventional war against West Germany. Instead of being added to the Warsaw Pact, the troops of those countries could easily be subtracted, to account for the Russian forces they divert from the threat to NATO.

Certainly we should be able to find the line between conservatism and paranoia. Conservatism in planning should be able to co-exist with realism in understanding changed world conditions, and with caution in adding military forces that can needlessly heighten the dangers and raise the costs of national security. This alternative posture is designed to meet those standards.

Shifts in aggregate military spending from year to year are often portrayed as a measure of national will—as evidence of our determination to resist communism—quite apart from the size of standing forces. The alternative budget rejects such mindless measurements. The nation's security does not demand, and is not served, by contests which are based less on strategy and power than on a willingness to waste public revenues.

The size of the recommended budget for procurement of new weapons is almost always judged by comparisons with spending in prior years. But clearly that is no guide to a prudent defense posture. If the Defense Department spends \$15 billion on new weapons in one year and \$5 billion in the next, anyone should be able to see that it has not reduced defense outlays in the second year; it has added to them. Prior investments must be seen as a base upon which to build, not a target to be matched or surpassed. The same process exposes the nonsense in hysterical references to “unilateral disarmament” in connection with military budget reductions.

Significant shares of existing and planned military forces are justified primarily as “bargaining chips” to be traded away in negotiations. The Safeguard ABM system and U.S. troops in Europe are important current examples. But both the American taxpayer and the prospects for arms limitation suffer, as both are suffering now, when negotiations become an excuse for buying more than we need. A desire to negotiate from strength should not compel arms outlays that will be inappropriate even if negotiations fail.

Military spending programs are usually justified by reference to the country's global responsibilities, so that a “new isolationist” attitude is ascribed to those who raise questions. This alternative budget rejects the notion that military might is the only method by which the United States can fulfill international responsibilities and serve the cause of freedom. And it incorporates some of the painful lessons of recent years, about the military damage done to helpless people in freedom's name, and about the relative impotence of sophisticated weapons in forcing other countries and other people to act in ways we might prefer.

In sum, this alternative posture suggests that misleading and irrelevant planning assumptions should be discarded. Instead the nation's military establishment should be constructed, first, by a careful analysis of the potential danger to U.S. security interests and, second, by retention of that portion of existing forces, and by construction of the new forces, needed to deter and defend against threats for which it is reasonable to remain actively prepared.

The second major premise of this budget is that realistic ceilings on military spending can produce armed forces which are both leaner and tougher than those now in being.

Congressional investigators and Presidential Commissions have documented astonishing waste and inefficiency in military programs. Further, defense planners have shown a remarkable attraction for strategies and systems which relate less to current and future conditions than to the world as it existed decades ago.

It is vain to hope that simple admonitions will correct these conditions. Sharp fiscal discipline is required if more efficient use of available resources is to be achieved. Such discipline can trim both physical and intellectual fat from the Pentagon, and bring much more productive capabilities to bear on strategies and systems which are directly relevant to a changing world.

(2) Timetable

The recommended force and spending levels of this alternative defense budget should be achieved by fiscal 1975, with proportional reductions beginning in fiscal 1973. Total spending estimates are adjusted on manpower for inflation at an annual rate of approximately four percent in the Consumer Price Index and, on procurement, on cost growth at a rate midway between projected increases in consumer and wholesale prices. Hence the total figures must be read with due consideration of the hazards in making such projections.

This phased approach allows, first, for an appropriate response to possible changes in the threat. The recommended force level is fully adequate to deal with dangers which can be foreseen, based on the best current estimates of adversary plans. Significant changes in those estimates as they are updated could result in adjustments in these recommendations.

Second, the process of phased reductions will allow advance preparations by military planners, to assure that obligations incurred in prior years do not exceed the 1975 recommended ceiling. A big share of actual spending each year is made in pursuit of authority granted in the year before. The two measurements should be equal by fiscal 1975.

Third, the recommended timetable will permit fulfillment of the government's obligation to assist in the conversion of excess military resources into other public and private enterprise. A program to meet accumulated civilian needs, applying both savings from the military sector and general revenues, can occupy a large share of the facilities freed by this budget. Such a program can also guarantee alternative employment to all workers displaced from the defense sector, and reduce economic dependence on superfluous military spending.

STRATEGIC FORCES

Strategic forces are maintained for the purpose of protecting against—primarily by deterring—nuclear attack against the United States. Components include land and sea based ballistic missiles, long range heavy bombers, a missile warning system, air defenses against bombers, and the early stages of an antiballistic missile system.

U.S. and opposing forces

In mid-1971, U.S. forces for the conduct of nuclear war were officially numbered at some 4,600 offensive force loadings. That figure does not include more than 7,000 smaller nuclear weapons listed as "tactical" and not counted in the strategic nuclear arsenal, although at least a proportion of those weapons could also be delivered on targets in the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China.

Offensive nuclear weapons are carried aboard three delivery systems; 1,000 Minuteman and 54 larger Titan intercontinental ballistic missiles in hardened silos in the United States; 520 heavy bombers composed of 450 B-52s (26 squadrons) and 71 FB-111s (four squadrons), and 656 Polaris and Poseidon missiles aboard 41 nuclear submarines.

The single active strategic defensive system in being is composed of some 600 manned interceptors and 1136 surface-to-air missiles, along with extensive surveillance and warning system, for protection against an attack by strategic bombers. The United States also maintains an extensive enemy missile warning system whose radars, communications and computing devices will provide notice to U.S. decision-makers within minutes of any enemy launch against the United States.

The country's offensive nuclear forces are by no means static. All three of the delivery systems are being made more formidable, through incorporation of multiple independently-targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs) on portions of the land and sea based missile forces, and through initial development of a follow-on bomber, the B-1, plus new penetration aids and stand-off missiles which can be used either on the B-52 force or on the B-1. The missile plan now being implemented will (1) replace the 16 Polaris missiles on 31 of 41 nuclear submarines with Poseidon missile carrying approximately ten independently-targetable warheads each and (2) replace 550 of the 1,000 ICBMs currently deployed with Minuteman III missiles each carrying three independently targetable

warheads, leaving a land-based force equivalent to 2,000 missiles. When these conversions are completed U.S. nuclear force loadings will be in the range of 10,000 warheads, most of which will be smaller in megatonnage than those now in being but still well above the power of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs used at the end of World War II. Moreover their vastly improved accuracy largely offsets reductions in explosive force.

In the defensive sphere the most ambitious development currently underway is the Safeguard ABM system designed to intercept incoming enemy ICBMs. However, it is better described as an adjunct to an offensive weapon, since its primary stated goal would be to preserve confidence in the Minuteman force. The United States is also upgrading air defenses through the planned Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS), which will have the capacity to look down and spot low-flying enemy bombers.

In mid-1971 the Soviet Union had approximately 2,000 total offensive nuclear force loadings, or about 40 per cent as many as the United States. U.S. estimates credit them with about 1,500 ICBMs, 175 to 195 bombers, and 400 Polaris-type sea-based missiles. Their defenses include between 3,000 and 3,300 interceptor aircraft, 10,000 surface to air missile launchers, and 64 antiballistic missile launchers in the Galosh system around Moscow.

Soviet force levels have not been static either, although it is, of course, difficult to make reliable predictions about Soviet plans in the absence of firm knowledge about their intentions. In the past several years they have deployed about 300 very large SS-9 missiles capable of carrying single warheads of as much as 25 megatons, and they have tested multiple reentry vehicles (MRVs), multiple warheads which are not independently targetable, which could be deployed on the SS-9 to supply, for example, three five-megaton warheads on each missile. In 1970 SS-9 construction appeared to be halted. In 1971 additional silo construction was detected, but the purpose was not clear. The new silos could be for purposes other than additional SS-9 deployments, such as further hardening of existing forces. No MIRV deployments have taken place, and it is questionable whether the Soviet Union has even tested independently targetable warheads. They are at least three years behind the United States in this technology. In recent years there have also been additions to the Soviet force of SS-11s, an ICBM capable of carrying payloads comparable to those of Minuteman, but powered by liquid fuel. These deployments have also leveled off.

The most active Soviet construction has been in nuclear Y-class submarines, which are being produced at a rate of seven or eight each year. Slightly over 30 are either in being or in various stages of production, suggesting that they could equal U.S. numbers by the mid-1970s.

While moving ahead on ICBM and SLBM construction the Soviet Union has placed little emphasis on its aging fleet of intercontinental bombers. The numbers have remained in the range of 200, declining slightly due to normal attrition. At least 50 are believed to be configured as tankers. Neither of the two aircraft involved, the Bison and the Bear, is supersonic. The Bear is a turboprop aircraft; the Bison is somewhat like the B-52 although with less range and payload. They have no tactical aircraft with nuclear weapons within ranges allowing completion of strike missions against the United States.

Although they have traditionally emphasized defensive measures, the Soviet Union has not made significant advances with respect to missile defense. Deployment of their ABM interceptors has never gone beyond a small system around Moscow. They have developed interceptor aircraft with improved

capabilities, but numbers have tended to decline slightly.

The other country considered a nuclear adversary of the United States, the People's Republic of China, is reportedly developing medium range missiles which would be incapable of reaching the United States. They have been expected to have a small force available in the late 1970s or early 1980s, possibly including ICBMs to reach U.S. targets.

Comparisons such as these can be helpful in determining the relative status of U.S. opposing forces. But they can also be quite misleading because first, they do not account for qualitative differences; second, they do not indicate the extent to which each side can rely on its nuclear forces to perform missions assigned to them; and third, they do not account for differences in effectiveness depending on who strikes first.

On the first point, for example, concern has been expressed about estimates that the Soviet Union has more megatonnage, although fewer force loadings, than the United States. However, a simple comparison of megatonnage can be grossly misleading. For destruction of most targets a single small weapon delivered with high accuracy is just as effective as a weapon of much greater yield. In fact, the United States explicitly chose smaller yields and greater numbers when the Minuteman program was initiated, and is now going to even lower yields in MIRV programs in part because a number of smaller warheads can do more damage than a single large one, and because they pose a more difficult interception problem besides.

On the second point, the bare fact that the Soviet Union has 64 ABM interceptors, while the United States has none, might suggest that they enjoy a substantial advantage. In truth the resources they have expended on their ABM have been a near total waste because the system can be easily penetrated or overwhelmed and thus provides virtually no defense at all. The area it is supposed to protect is as vulnerable as it ever was to thousands of incoming warheads; indeed more vulnerable because the U.S. reaction has been to increase offensive forces and to target the Moscow area more heavily.

Deterrence—the essential mission

(1) Force requirements

The overriding mission of U.S. nuclear weapons is to deter nuclear attack by hostile powers, by demonstrating the ability to absorb a first strike and then retaliate with enough force to inflict unacceptable damage in return.

The Soviet Union today has the unquestioned capability to literally demolish the United States as a modern society, and we are helpless to prevent that result if nuclear war occurs. Therefore, the only real defense to nuclear attack is to prevent it, both by diplomatic means and by military preparations designed to convince the adversary that he can gain nothing by initiating nuclear war.

The minimum size of the arsenal needed to accomplish this objective cannot be calculated with any degree of precision, primarily because the process of deterrence depends less on physical capabilities than on mental perceptions and attitudes. The basic aim is to affect the minds of individuals who have the power to initiate nuclear war in countries which both possess nuclear weapons and have interests which are in conflict with those of the United States.

Considering the other side of deterrence, it is hard to imagine a goal for which an American president would accept the certain destruction of, say, New York or Los Angeles, which could be accomplished by very few nuclear warheads, certainly less than ten. It is at least arguable that the undoubted capability to deliver enough weapons to destroy Moscow or Peking would be sufficient to deter either the Soviet Union or China from at-

tempting a first strike against the United States. At least it is clear that the provocation would have to be overwhelming.

On the other end of the scale, it is clear that no amount of nuclear weaponry can deter a suicidal adversary, nor prevent a totally irrational decision to launch. Under such circumstances it is plain that the Soviet Union could destroy a large proportion of the American population and most of the country's industrial capacity as well. All of the enormous destructive capacity in the U.S. nuclear arsenal would be unavailing in those circumstances, and we could do no more than retaliate with similar destruction.

While sufficiency for deterrence cannot be readily determined, there is at least one commonsense top limitation on the size of the nuclear force which is useful for this purpose, and that is the number of targets worth attacking. It makes little sense to be able to send a second warhead to a target which has already been destroyed. And since the marginal destruction—and hence the added deterrent effect—would be quite small compared to the total and therefore not decisive, it also makes little sense to be able to target nuclear weapons on small rural communities and agricultural regions once the adversary's major centers of population and industry have been accounted for.

In the case of the Soviet Union, some 34 per cent of the population and 62 per cent of the industrial capacity is concentrated in 200 cities, almost all of which would be destroyed by a like number of one-megaton equivalents. Doubling the number of deliverable warheads would add only another six per cent to the number of people lost, and another ten per cent to the amount of industrial capacity demolished.

The same 2000 megaton equivalents targeted on Chinese cities could destroy 80 to 90 per cent of her industrial capacity, but since China's population is much more widely dispersed, only about nine per cent of the population would be killed immediately. Doubling the number of warheads would increase the population loss by only one percentage point, and would not measurably raise the damage to industry.

All of this destruction would be immediate, of course. The long term damage from fallout, exposure to radiation, and other factors would be considerably greater in both countries.

It is logical to conclude, therefore, that the guaranteed capability to deliver some 200 one megaton equivalents on separate targets in both the Soviet Union and China accomplishes at or near the maximum the United States can expect from the strategy of deterrence. While there has been no proposal made to reduce U.S. forces to that figure, it contrasts with some 4,600 existing force loadings and as many as 10,000 force landings planned at the end of the Minuteman III and Poseidon conversions. The United States plainly keeps many multiples of the maximum practical deterrent even after discounting for weapons that might fall or be lost to an initial attack.

(2) The First Strike Risk

Because of the lead times required for the deployment of new weapons and the practice of basing U.S. plans on "worst case" projections of Soviet capabilities, doubts have nevertheless been raised in recent years about the U.S. deterrent notwithstanding the vast excess of weapons in the arsenal. The primary source of concern has been the SS-9 missile which if its accuracy were improved and if the Soviet Union does proceed with MIRV warheads, could threaten the pre-launch survivability of existing Minuteman forces. The United States is already reacting to this possibility with the Safeguard ABM system, MIRVs, possible superhardening, and exploration of hard point defense concepts.

But it is worth considering the problems any adversary would face in attempting to

prepare for a viable "first strike" strategy against the United States, i.e., a strategy in which the United States could be destroyed while holding the attackers to acceptable levels.

Casualties

Assuming existing U.S. forces only, they must first develop technology and deploy weapons to destroy on the ground or intercept in the air all or most of more than 1,000 separate ICBM warheads. An ability to destroy Minuteman in its silos, as the SS-9 may eventually be able to do, would be of doubtful value in this respect because they could not be sure that we would not, if such a threat were posed, temporarily adopt a "launch on warning" strategy and cause our Minuteman to be fired before they could be hit on the ground. Whether or not the United States were to announce such a strategy, they would certainly be extremely hesitant to assume that we had not adopted it and to make a first strike decision on the basis of that assumption.

Second, they must develop and deploy defenses capable of locating and intercepting a large force of low-flying intercontinental bombers armed with both gravity bombs and nuclear-tipped standoff missiles. Such defenses can be envisioned, but there is no doubt about the present ability of U.S. bombers to penetrate Soviet airspace. Historically, there has never been a defense against bombers that would destroy the high percentages of U.S. bombers necessary when a single bomb can destroy a city.

Or, alternatively, they would have to be able to destroy the bombers before they could be launched, a task which is exceedingly difficult to say the least. It could not be done with ICBMs because they would be sighted far enough in advance to allow alert bombers to become airborne. It could conceivably be done with low-trajectory submarine launched missiles, but this could be countered by a return to the practice of maintaining part of the bomber force on airborne alert at all times. Furthermore, such an attack would give longer warning to our ICBMs, which cannot be destroyed by the submarines.

Third, they must be able to locate and destroy, simultaneously, all or most of our Polaris/Poseidon submarines, or else intercept all or most of their multiple warhead missiles. No such capability is envisioned. The United States is far ahead of the Soviet Union in researching such technology, and we have not even come close. As far as we know, no Polaris submarine has ever been located on station.

Fourth, all of these capabilities must coincide. An adversary will not be less deterred if it can, for example, neutralize our bomber force if we can still destroy them with ICBMs, SLBMs or both. All of these defensive or counterforce capabilities must be operative for a single nuclear exchange, and they must be coordinated with absolute precision. And this requirement adds an additional fatal complication to the first and second requirements listed above because it is physically impossible to strike bombers with SLBMs and missiles with ICBMs at the same time. The attack on one will inevitably give the other sufficient warning for launch.

Fifth, the adversary must be able to accomplish all of these objectives with absolute confidence. He must have faith that his systems will actually perform in a nuclear war environment—even though they cannot be tested in such an environment—if he is to limit destruction to his own society. It is exceedingly difficult to imagine provocation severe enough, short of certainty that a first strike against him was underway, to inspire a willingness to rely on such systems.

These considerations suggest that there is not the slightest foreseeable danger to the ability of the United States, now in being, to achieve all the deterrence that is possible. But there is a sixth. The same defensive and

counterforce capabilities must be developed for potential improvements in United States forces designed to enhance their ability to penetrate new defenses or escape new counterforce weapons. There is, for example, no evidence that technology on either side has reached the point where multiple reentry vehicles such as those already mounted on U.S. Polaris missiles can be intercepted. In fact, it is probable that neither side would even put much faith in its most advanced ABM technology to intercept even single-warhead missiles. Yet offense, through our own MIRV deployments, is nevertheless taking another great qualitative leap ahead of defense, over a relatively short period of time.

In sum, SS-9 notwithstanding, there is not the slightest cause for hysteria over the status of the U.S. deterrent.

The Triad deterrent

(1) Triad Theory

The primary deterrent mission is now assigned to the underwater Polaris/Poseidon fleet. Based upon the most careful estimates of enemy defensive capabilities, it is impossible to foresee any method by which the Soviet Union could interfere with the capacity of these forces to inflict a society-destroying blow. They can move about in millions of square miles of open ocean, and there is no technology in being which would allow more than intermittent detection, let alone simultaneous detection, localization and destruction. They carry more than enough force loadings to fulfill the deterrence mission even without the consideration of bombers and ICBMs.

U.S. military planners have nonetheless argued that we must maintain and improve, in addition to our SLBM force, both the full complement of ICBMs and a sizable strategic bomber force, each also capable of the assured destruction required for deterrence. Instead of considering land-based missiles as replacements for bombers, and sea-based missiles as replacements for ICBMs, we have developed a "Triad Deterrent" thesis providing for the retention of all three forces at full strength.

The "Triad" premise holds that our deterrent is much more secure if it can penetrate in more than one mode, i.e., ballistic missiles and aircraft carrying gravity bombs and standoff missiles, and/or if it is deployed in conditions requiring more than one method of pre-launch destruction. This requires the adversary to expend resources on more than one kind of defensive or disarming system if he hopes to degrade our ability to retaliate.

Elimination of the Minuteman and bomber forces would not, of course, simplify the enormous problems of detecting and destroying our most secure system, the nuclear submarines. The argument is that the adversary is less likely to pursue such efforts, or can devote a smaller proportion of his limited resources to them, if he must also concern himself with intercepting bombers and land based missiles.

(2) Practical Complications

The case for attempting to force the Soviet Union into increased expenditures on strategic weapons is not persuasive because American resources are limited and the process of postponing the obsolescence of older strategic systems is enormously expensive. By far the greatest proportion of all expenditures on strategic systems programmed for the years immediately ahead will be laid out in a possibly futile attempt to retain ICBMs and manned bombers as viable independent deterrent forces. Under its most recent rationale nearly all of the cost of the Safeguard ABM could be appropriately assigned to Minuteman, and Minuteman is also being equipped with MIRV warheads, at substantial cost, to increase the potency of the surviving force and to improve its chances of penetrating a po-

tential, though nonexistent, nationwide Soviet ABM. Further hardening of Minuteman silos and a Hardpoint ABM defense are also being explored. Meanwhile the Air Force is promoting a follow-on to the B-52 with somewhat improved capabilities.

Even with all these expenditures it is not clear that the United States will gain significant improvements over existing systems. In the case of Minuteman, the mode of penetration does not differ significantly from that of Polaris/Poseidon, so it adds little besides numbers to the enemy's problem of interception. Its pre-launch vulnerability, meanwhile, can be greatly increased by improvements in the accuracy of Soviet missiles, and the Safeguard system, because of grave technical deficiencies, is unlikely to provide much protection.

While it can be said to be invulnerable once airborne, meanwhile, the manned bomber must be seen as inherently inferior to defensive missiles designed to prevent penetration of Soviet airspace to deliver gravity bombs. The B-70 was cancelled in the early 1960s because of fears that it would be unable to escape interception by surface to air missiles, notwithstanding its supersonic speed. The later model B-52s have been modified to penetrate at low altitudes to escape radar detection, and the FB-111 was designed for that mode. But if the Soviet Union develops a "look-down-shoot down" capability, perhaps along the lines of U.S. AWACS system, we can expect substantial erosion in confidence that manned bombers can penetrate Soviet airspace in large numbers. While the B-1 will have a few features which cannot be incorporated into existing bomber forces, they will not alter the most serious problems of penetration and will not, therefore, provide a significant improvement over the B-52-FB-111 combination.

An unyielding determination to keep ICBMs and bombers regardless of developments on the other side could easily result in large expenditures to little or no effect. Much smaller amounts devoted to new technology in the realm of sea based weaponry could yield much greater returns. Extended range Poseidon could make the sea based force much more secure than it already is, and if further problems develop the Undersea Long-Range Missile System (ULMS) could add quieter operation and a series of other improvements. Yet funding for these programs could suffer because of the great sums spent to keep ICBMs and bombers in the force.

(3) Real Triad Benefits

This does not suggest that the Triad supplies no advantage. As noted in the previous section, it unquestionably does assist in rendering unattainable any enemy ambitions for a first-strike capability. Moreover, because of the impossibility of striking bombers and land based missiles before launch at the same time, the most vulnerable legs of the Triad do provide mutual protection. Whether or not the Triad is necessary, for that purpose, it does for the present at least compound the insoluble problems facing any adversary that might seek to develop a first strike posture.

The principle difficulty with the Triad theory is not so much the concept as the practice. Theoretically, at least, the presence of three systems should lead to additional stability and more carefully-planned responses to developments on the other side, because the deterrent will continue to exist even though there may be doubt for a time over the ability of one or another element of the Triad to survive and penetrate. In practice, however, the managers of each system have tended to regard their system as the only one available, to ignore the others, and to believe that deterrence is bound to fail if their system is even temporarily degraded. This is clearly the basis upon which

decisions have been made in recent years, such as MIRVing Minuteman and Poseidon in response to a potential Soviet ABM that did not develop, and initiating deployment of the Safeguard ABM system in response to a possible SS-9 counterforce threat to Minuteman, even though there has been no question about the capability of both bombers and SLBMs to penetrate during the time period when that threat could occur.

This alarmist approach to nuclear force planning has tended to aggravate the negative values of the Triad while downgrading the positive. Both the ABM and MIRV are ambiguous systems—while we may regard them as purely defensive attempts to preserve our deterrent, they can readily appear to the Soviets as attempts to undermine their deterrent and achieve a first strike capability—and they are thus likely to provoke a Soviet response. Because of the long lead-times associated with these deployments, the refusal to tolerate a possible degradation of one or another system several years hence requires that we look in very early to a specific kind of response to a threat which may or may not develop, thus allowing the other side to change plans accordingly.

It may be that the Soviet Union will decide, for some reason, to deny this country much of the added confidence afforded by the Triad, by continuing deployments against the vulnerabilities of bombers and fixed-site ICBMs. Such an effort would require vast resources and it would not gain any additional safety for the Soviet Union. In fact, it could increase the risk to both sides. But it is probably not beyond their capabilities.

Whether they do or do not take that course, however, the most prudent basis of planning for the United States would be to avoid new deployments of our own until obtaining the best possible picture of whether they will be necessary, not to prevent a gap in the reliability of a single leg of our deterrent, but to assure that deterrence itself, considering all three major systems, will not fail. The existing Triad force should be seen as a means of at least partially avoiding the long leadtime problems which have in the past impelled inappropriate and often unnecessary reactions to developments on the other side. Soviet intentions are not discernable, but our ability to respond to what they actually do can be greatly improved.

At the same time, because it is conceivable that developments could lead to an increase in the vulnerability of manned bombers and land based missiles, and possibly raise pressures to adopt a launch on warning strategy for the latter, special emphasis should be placed on movement toward potential improvements in the SLBM force so that deployment can, if necessary, be completed within a relatively brief period of time.

Beyond deterrence

The need to maintain a credible retaliatory force has not been the only pressure for qualitative and quantitative additions to U.S. nuclear force levels.

(1) Nuclear Superiority

Perhaps the most widely accepted additional motive—and the least valid—has been the quest for "nuclear superiority." It is frequently argued that the country's security is weakened if we have fewer nuclear warheads, less megatonnage, or fewer or less advanced delivery systems than the Soviet Union.

Such concerns are given credence in part because relative numbers and relative sophistication do make a difference in the conventional military sphere. In addition, military planners reflect a persistent belief that the United States international posture will be generally degraded—that we have less credibility with our allies, that our adver-

saries will be more likely to risk confrontations, etc.—if our total nuclear forces are less impressive than those of the Soviet Union.

Yet it is impossible to find any practical application. If both the United States and the Soviet Union have the assured capability to destroy each other, then it would be a foolish leader in either country who would take more nuclear chances simply because he commanded more overkill capacity than the other. The outcome of nuclear war will be the same regardless of relative numbers of missiles, bombs and megatons. Both sides will be destroyed, since both sides have long since passed the point where conventional "balance of forces" concepts have any meaning.

"Superiority" can have no real meaning unless we talk ourselves into believing that it does. At best it is a dubious—and dangerous—method of inspiring national pride.

(2) Defense and Counterforce

A more serious area of dispute involves the question of what preparations the United States can or should make for a possible failure of deterrence. While there is unanimity on the primary objective of preventing nuclear war, there are sharp differences of opinion over counterforce strategies and systems designed to limit damage, through either interception or pre-launch destruction of enemy weapons, should war occur. A substantial proportion of the weapons either sought or built by the military in recent years have been justified at least in part in terms of nuclear war fighting, rather than nuclear war preventing capability.

Thus in the early 1960s the justification for building an antiballistic missile system, then the NIKE-X, was to intercept at least a portion of the Soviet missiles which would strike the United States in a nuclear exchange. While it was clearly impossible to prevent disastrous damage to the United States, supporters of the system pleaded that it could at least save some lives, surely enough lives to justify the cost. The current model Safeguard ABM systems has also been justified in part by the thesis that it could limit damage in the event of an attack from China or an accidental launch.

Similarly, while the United States is admittedly defenseless against an ICBM or SLBM attack from the Soviet Union, we are nonetheless continuing to maintain and upgrade defenses against an aging, slow and shrinking fleet of Soviet strategic bombers. The air defense system is rationalized by a scenario which foresees the Soviet Union using all or most of its land and sea based missiles as counterforce weapons, to destroy our ICBMs and SLBMs. If we are without bomber defenses, it is argued, they could then use their bombers to destroy our population and industrial centers without interference.

Another scenario is used to justify the maintenance of a U.S. manned bomber, in terms illustrating that some weapons systems have both deterrence and counterforce rationales. It is suggested that there might be a nuclear exchange in which a first wave is directed away from population centers and exclusively toward enemy offensive systems. Each side would presumably withhold some missiles for use against population and industry in a second round if the war cannot be stopped after the initial exchange. Since our bombers would have taken to the air to avoid attack, they would then be available to strike remaining Soviet missiles in their silos. It is contended that bombers are uniquely suited to this mission because they are manned and are thus arguably capable of visually distinguishing between empty and loaded ICBM silos.

Such planning reflects an understandable distrust of exclusive reliance on deterrence. Deterrence alone cannot restore the safety we

could feel before the advent of nuclear weapons and before the end of the U.S. nuclear monopoly in the 1950's. Certainly it is not unreasonable to want some further protection.

Yet there are still sounder reasons for moving with extreme caution on weapons designed for defensive or counterforce missions.

The first derives from technological limitations. We have yet to discover methods for limiting damage in nuclear war which cannot be countered with relative ease by new Soviet developments either in the form of additional weapons or new strategy. The advantage, both tactical and economic, tends to be with the offense.

Much more serious is the fact that with few exceptions counterforce weapons, because of unavoidable ambiguity with regard to their missions, are likely to produce reactions and—because they, too, plan conservatively—overreactions in the Soviet Union. The capabilities required to limit damage in the event of war are identical to the capabilities needed to undermine the Soviet deterrent and build a first strike capability of our own. Because they, like we, cannot tolerate degradation of their own capability to deter a first strike, the Russians are bound to react. Each step inevitably moves the arms race to a new, more expensive and more deadly level.

U.S. counterforce weapons affect not only Soviet deployments but their nuclear strategies as well. For example, if we develop an assured capability to strike Soviet ICBMs on the ground, they could adopt a "launch on warning" strategy which would inevitably increase the danger of accidental nuclear war. Or, returning to the bomber scenario used to justify retention of the manned strategic bomber, the fact that we have plans to use these aircraft to strike Soviet missiles on the ground after an initial exchange has the practical effect of assuring that they will not be retained on the ground—of solidifying the guarantee that any nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union will be total war. After a first round has occurred, directed against missiles on both sides, it is preposterous to think that Russian leaders would sit and wait for our bombers to arrive and eliminate the forces they have remaining to deter a follow-on attack against their cities.

The probable effects of that imaginary counterforce exchange also illustrate the practical futility and the dangers involved in concerning ourselves with nuclear war fighting capability, at the possible expense of deterrence and at the obvious expense of nuclear arms stability. With a sufficient quantity of MIRVed SS-9 missiles, the Soviet Union could deliver, at U.S. Minuteman sites, as many as 1,000 nuclear weapons, with a total force of some 250,000 times that of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki blasts and enough fallout to contaminate much of the North American continent. It would be a disastrous event for the American people even if the second wave against population and industry never occurred.

In a sense, therefore, it is accurate to describe damaging limiting systems and strategies as attempts to choose between calamity and catastrophe. For the present there is really no practical alternative to reliance on deterrence, and is therefore foolish and dangerous to attempt damage limitation when those efforts tend to undermine by far the most important objective. By following natural instincts to seek the neutralization of enemy weapons, we can only increase ominous stockpiles of nuclear weapons and detract from the already too precarious competence to prevent nuclear war.

Conclusions and recommendations

The issues described above suggest that when total U.S. nuclear forces are considered, instead of looking one at a time at component nuclear systems, there is in the foreseeable future no reason for alarm over the

status of the U.S. deterrent, and no reason for panic over the potential degradation of one or another component of the force—bombers, ICBMs or SLBMs—since our ability to deter will remain so long as at least one component remains secure. Moreover, we have substantial "overkill" capacity in the case of each.

So long as we do what is necessary to maintain a credible deterrent, we gain little, while inviting a great deal of additional danger, by stressing such concepts as "nuclear superiority" or by following natural instincts to deploy counterforce weapons whose missions are bound to be ambiguous. The former course has little or no practical utility and the latter simply invites additional futile rounds of the arms-race cycle.

Deterrence and arms stability must remain the preeminent objectives of U.S. nuclear strategy, with primary reliance placed on the most secure component, the Polaris/Poseidon fleet. In research and development efforts, the main priority should be placed on programs, such as extended range Poseidon, to assure that the submarine force will remain immune from attack and capable of inflicting unacceptable damage in retaliatory strike.

At the same time there remain good reasons, both military and economic, for retention of existing ICBM forces, and a portion of bomber forces, as long as they can make a valid contribution to overall nuclear strength without requiring excessive new outlays. That contribution could be greatly reduced, but the cost of maintaining these forces is low enough to warrant retaining them while their value lasts. They should be kept in the force, but under conditions which allow the American people to reap the benefits, in both economy and stability, which should flow from the Triad theory.

As long as it can complicate the defense and counterforce problem facing the adversary, we should regard the Triad as allowing less, rather than requiring more, haste in adding new weapons which may or may not ultimately prove to be necessary.

On specific elements of Strategic forces posture:

(1) Forces for Deterrence

For the present Minuteman is a potent force with respect to the Soviet Union, and it enhances the prelaunch survivability of the strategic bomber force. In addition it can be relied upon for an indefinite number of years as a China-oriented deterrent without modification. Since it is inexpensive to operate, Minuteman should be retained, although there is no need to keep the small force of Titan ICBM's.

B-52G's and H's and FB-111's have a strong capability to penetrate existing Soviet defenses, and physical age is not a serious problem with respect to the later models. Considering their payload capability, a force of six B-52 squadrons and three to four squadrons of FB-111's would constitute targeting flexibility and payload fully adequate to maintain an effective bomber deterrent.

The Polaris/Poseidon force is by far the most reliable and most important element of the nuclear deterrent force, and it has developed added striking power through the Poseidon conversions completed thus far. The full fleet of 41 submarines should be retained, and conversions authorized through fiscal 1972 should be completed.

The minimal Soviet effort on strategic bombers indicates that they place little emphasis on that form of delivery; hence extensive air defenses are not justified by the threat. More significantly, even the most advanced and effective bomber defense imaginable would offer little in the way of protection, since with it the United States would still be vulnerable to attack by both ICBM's and SLBM's, threats against which it is admittedly impossible to defend. Hence it is prudent to reduce the Army's surface-to-air

missile capability and the Air Force's interceptor force by slightly more than half, leaving essentially a surveillance capability and an interceptor force to deal with the very low risk of conventional air attack from a nonnuclear power.

Antisubmarine warfare programs conducted to date have not produced a capability to detect and destroy Soviet submarines similar to our own Polaris fleet. However major portions of ASW programs—including ASW aircraft, nuclear attack submarines, and surface ships—serve both conventional and strategic war roles. While the enormous striking force of Soviet Submarines with nuclear weapons makes a low defense capability equal to no defense at all, defense against conventional submarine weapons is somewhat more practical. Modifications in ASW forces are discussed in the section on conventional forces.

The recommended force level by 1975 will include the following:

Type of force:	Quantity
Minuteman missiles.....	1,000
Titan II missiles.....	0
Polaris:	
Submarines	34
Missiles	544
Poseidon:	
Submarines	7
Missiles	112
Strategic bombers.....	190
Manned fighter interceptor squadrons	5
Army air defense batteries.....	8

(2) Procurement and Modernization

The deployment of Minuteman III and MIRV warheads on Minuteman and other plans to upgrade Minuteman should be discontinued. The fixed-site ICBM concept is one decreasing viability if the adversary is determined to build ICBM's large and accurate enough to destroy our missiles in their silos, and while they will expand the number of targets which can be hit by surviving missiles, MIRV's will not make Minuteman less vulnerable prior to launch. On the other hand, if there is no determination to degrade U.S. land-based missiles, the programmed upgrading and MIRV deployment will be unnecessary. MIRV is not needed in order to penetrate existing Soviet defenses, and it could be deployed more rapidly than a national Soviet ABM system if such a system is contemplated.

Deployment of the Safeguard system should be halted, and further work on programs of this kind should be confined to research and development at least until much more promising technology is available. The capacity of the system to protect the Minuteman force is open to sharp question on technical grounds—it is both vulnerable and easily saturated—and it promises to be an economic albatross. The cost of providing this doubtful form of protection for Minuteman is at least three and possibly ten times greater than the cost of the missiles themselves. In addition, ABM construction is bound to give the Soviet Union ambiguous signals about U.S. intentions, perhaps causing acceleration of their multiple warhead programs and adding to existing dangers.

Prototype development of the B-1 bomber should be halted, and further research and development and procurement decisions should be aimed at increasing the potency of existing bombers. The B-1's performance will not significantly affect the feasibility of gravity bombing, regardless of the environment in which it operates. Work on SRAM (short range attack missile) and SCAD (subsonic cruise armed decoy) should proceed for incorporation into the B-52/FB-111 force, and further modifications of the B-52, including the proposal to fit new engines, should receive active consideration. Studies of a possible follow-on should concentrate

on a bomber designed principally for a stand-off role, armed with a longer-range follow-on to SRAM.

Primarily because it is unnecessary given the current state of Soviet defenses, the conversion of Polaris to Poseidon should be halted after seven conversions. There is no compelling present reason to deploy MIRV as an ABM penetrator, particularly with some conversions already completed against the fledgling Soviet ABM, and if such a requirement does develop there will be ample time to convert the remainder of the force. If there is a threat to U.S. sea-based missiles, and none can be foreseen at present, it is likely to come from a growing capability to detect and coordinate an attack on the submarine fleet. The primary research and development effort should, therefore, be concentrated on that issue. The U.S. should get ready for a production option on longer range sea-based missiles, and should continue to examine the more costly ULMS alternative.

The United States has a great interest in a strong and thorough ASW research and development effort, both for conventional and nuclear war contingencies. In addition to enhancing our own capabilities, research can help measure what is technically feasible in the ASW field, thus pointing the way to countermeasures which could preserve the security of the U.S. SLBM force in the face of Soviet ASW programs. At the same time extreme caution should be practiced in further deployments both because of the risks to stability and because slight incremental improvements in ASW capabilities are unlikely to justify the costs involved.

GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES

General purpose forces are those maintained to protect the United States and its allies and interests against conventional or non-nuclear threats. The primary elements are ground combat and support forces, tactical air, airlift and sealift, amphibious landing forces, antisubmarine warfare, and tactical nuclear weapons.

Special considerations

(1) Qualitative Measurements

As opposed to strategic forces, the numerical forces, the numerical balances of forces does have a significant bearing on our ability to deter or to successfully conclude a conventional war. Nevertheless it is still misleading to calculate posture on the basis of numbers alone. Such factors as the mix of purposes for which forces are maintained, (i.e., with emphasis on offense or defense), the capacity for rapid mobilization, problems associated with supply and maintenance, the dependability of communications, the adequacy of training, and the sophistication of conventional weapons systems are all as important as numbers in obtaining a complete strength. The probability of contingencies used in planning, the strategies contemplated for those contingencies, and overall foreign policy decisions identifying U.S. vital interests and commitments must also play a decisive role in setting force levels. In the event of protracted war, even the relative economic vitality of the United States and its adversaries could easily be the decisive factor.

(2) Active Forces

It is also pertinent to note that the United States does not and need not maintain conventional forces for the full duration of any major conflict. A confrontation with the Soviet Union might, for example, proceed in one of three ways. It could be ended fairly quickly, given the dangers of escalation to nuclear conflict and the negotiating machinery available, it could escalate into nuclear war, or it could become a protracted conventional land war with a tacit understanding that neither side would use nuclear weapons. In the former case the large numbers of conventional forces required to fight

a prolonged conventional war would not be needed. In the case of nuclear escalation the balance of land forces would not be a relevant factor. In the latter case—protracted war—the United States could mobilize additional forces during wartime. Hence, the primary objectives of active forces in being are, first, to deter war by notifying the adversary that he will be denied a quick victory, and second, to prevent serious losses during the initial months while rapid mobilization would be underway.

(3) Contingency Planning

Nor does the United States maintain forces to meet all major contingencies at the same time. We planned through 1969 for two and one-half simultaneous wars—major wars in Europe and Asia and a smaller conflict elsewhere. The planning assumption has since been cut back to one and one-half wars, to reflect a more realistic comprehension of the political nature of potential adversaries and of their internal differences. Considering their bitter disputes over both ideology and territory, it is exceedingly improbable that the United States would be required to take on both China and the Soviet Union at the same time. On the contrary, their rivalry detracts from the aggressive war-making capacity of each, because they must both keep substantial numbers of forces on their common border. Therefore, while it is wise to have some excess of the military elements which involve extensive preparations, primarily sophisticated weaponry, it involves a very low risk for the United States to plan on the basis that we will not be involved in major conflicts in both Europe and Asia at the same time.

(4) Defense of the United States

Force planning should also be influenced by the recognition that very little is required for the defense of the continental United States against conventional attack. Because its geographic characteristics are ideally suited for defense, it is safe to say that no country in the world is within reach of the numbers and kinds of forces which would be required to pose a serious conventional threat to the United States. This high degree of security is enhanced still further by the fact that the United States enjoys good relations with the great majority of its immediate neighbors.

It follows that aside from small forces for protection against unforeseen contingencies, the great majority of all U.S. conventional forces exist either for the protection of American interests in other parts of the world, or for the fulfillment of commitments to help preserve the security of other countries. To reflect this reality, it has been suggested that the largest share of the U.S. defense budget, perhaps all but about \$30 billion, would be better labeled "military assistance" because it is maintained primarily to assist other countries rather than to defend the continental United States.

(5) Allied Forces

It follows from the previous point that the capability of the United States to meet its conventional war objectives is only a part of total allied capability. When determining total capacity to deter war, or to conclude it successfully once begun, it is proper and necessary to factor in the military forces of other countries whose security is of sufficient concern to the United States to warrant regarding an attack against them as equivalent to an attack on the United States. It is obvious that this process contributes substantially to the likelihood that our conventional military objectives can be met. It also requires examination of such additional complicating factors as the status of integrated command and control machinery, our allies' perception of the threat, the degree to which they maintain forces for purposes other than those upon which the alliance is

based, and their own capacity to mobilize additional forces if war breaks out.

Allied and opposing forces—land war contingencies

The United States maintains active conventional military forces for three broad geographical areas; the Western Hemisphere, Europe and Asia. No forces are programmed for Africa. However, the Middle East represents an important contingency.

(1) Western Hemisphere

One land division and one carrier task force are currently allocated to a possible Latin American contingency, and the United States maintains close military contacts with the leadership of and has supplied substantial military assistance to Latin American nations.

Although there is continuing concern about a possible Soviet submarine base in Cuba, neither China nor the Soviet Union has military bases in the Western Hemisphere; hence, the earmarking of active U.S. forces to the region must be seen as a reaction to whatever indigenous threat exists. Neither of the two socialist countries in the region, Cuba and Chile, has sufficient military establishment to conduct successful overt military actions against its neighbors, nor is such action deemed likely. The greater danger to stability comes from indigenous revolutionary forces, supported to a modest extent from the outside.

Both legal and practical considerations contend against direct American involvement in potential civil conflicts in the region. It is exceedingly unlikely that U.S. force allocations have any significant impact in terms of deterring revolution in Latin American nations, nor would they have a bearing on the outcome nearly as important as other factors which are beyond any direct U.S. influence, principally the ability of indigenous leadership to inspire popular support.

(2) Europe

The majority of U.S. active and reserve forces are allocated to the defense of Europe, fulfilling the commitment undertaken through U.S. membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The formal U.S. commitment to NATO involves about eight ground divisions, 12 land based air wings, and two carrier task forces. Current planning sets higher force levels for Europe, however, including nine active land divisions, eight Army and one Marine, with about four and one-third of those divisions stationed in Europe; four carrier task forces, two stationed in the Mediterranean at all times; sixteen tactical air wings based on land; plus up to six National Guard and reserve divisions and an equal number of reserve tactical air wings.

U.S. forces in Europe are also equipped with tactical nuclear weapons. Thus we theoretically contribute to a "flexible response" capability, designed to deal with a variety of potential hostile actions ranging from a limited probing conventional attack to a nuclear confrontation.

Active allied land forces assigned to NATO and present on the Central Front, encompassing West Germany, Denmark and the Benelux countries, include approximately 794,000 men, with the largest numbers coming from West Germany (326,000) and the United States (200,000) respectively. Excluding the United States, regular armed forces in NATO total about 2.9 million men, plus another 3.8 million if trained reserves are included.

The alliance also has approximately 2,100 deployed aircraft in combat ready status, plus large numbers of sophisticated conventional land weapons such as tanks and artillery and antitank weapons.

Estimates of comparable figures for opposing Warsaw Pact forces vary widely depending on the source. A medium-range calcula-

tion puts total active manpower on the Central Front, encompassing East Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia on the Pact side, at about 685,000, including 285,000 Soviet troops. Exclusive of the Soviet Union, Warsaw Pact countries maintain about 970,000 active armed forces, plus another 1.9 million trained reserves.

It is impossible to determine the proportion of total Soviet active and reserve forces that could be deemed ultimately available for use in Europe. The Soviet Union has total armed forces of about 3.3 million men, plus another 2.3 million in reserves. One reasonable method of assigning them to the European contingency would at least add the estimated 450,000 Soviet troops stationed in the European U.S.S.R., and it is possible that greater numbers could be moved to the European theater with relative speed, assuming that problems of logistics could be surmounted. At the same time, however, it is clear that the Soviet Union would be reluctant to reduce forces presently maintained on its extensive common border with China.

The Warsaw Pact has approximately 2,900 tactical aircraft deployed in Europe. While that is larger than the comparable NATO figure, it also accounts for a much larger proportion of total tactical aircraft of the countries involved. NATO forces could be augmented by aircraft stationed elsewhere to achieve an overall superiority. The Pact also has more tanks than the combined NATO force, but, as noted below, the significance of this figure, like that for tactical air forces, must be heavily weighted to account for extreme differences in capabilities, and it also tends to ignore U.S. and allied tanks stored in Europe.

The foregoing suggests that to the extent numbers are a guide, Warsaw Pact and NATO forces are in rough balance. There are, however, several of other factors which render numerical comparisons virtually meaningless.

First is the all-important matter of force readiness, in the context of the likely duration of any confrontation in Europe.

If it is realistic at all to contemplate a Pact invasion of Western Europe in today's political and military context, the most important objectives of the Pact would be to move quickly, to capitalize on surprise, and to take and hold substantial amounts of territory in the first few days of fighting. As a consequence a more relevant comparison is one which considers the numbers and kinds of forces which would be available in the first few days, up to the first month.

Based on present deployments, the Warsaw Pact has 275,000 men in East Germany which would be available on the first day of fighting. NATO has 583,000 stationed in West Germany—a clear margin of superiority.

Within 15 days the Pact could mobilize another 547,000 from troops stationed in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, while NATO could add 198,000 more from the Benelux countries and from Italy. At this stage the Pact would have a small numerical advantage.

By the thirtieth day, the Pact could conceivably add another 585,000 troops from the European U.S.S.R., Bulgaria and Rumania, bringing the committed total to 1.4 million. NATO, meanwhile, could add another 604,000 from Britain, Canada, Italy, France, Greece, and Turkey, bringing the total to almost the same size as the Pact force.

But this comparison assumes no deployments to Europe from approximately eight and two-thirds active divisions, or about 400,000 men, from the United States, nor does it assume the use of NATO member forces other than those explicitly earmarked to the alliance. The U.S. is acquiring the capacity, with a programmed fleet of C-5A transport aircraft, to move as many as 560,000 troops and supplies each month, many

of which could clearly arrive well before the first 30 days of fighting had been completed. And to the extent they are ready forces, it seems quite likely that other NATO members would speedily commit additional forces if an invasion threatening their territory did, in fact, occur. On the other side, however, the thirty day scenario would have employed all available Soviet combat manpower in Europe.

Under the most realistic planning assumption, therefore, NATO clearly has more than enough forces to repel a Pact attack.

A second major factor is the relative quality of allied and Pact forces, and here the advantage is decidedly in favor of NATO. The Pact's slight numerical advantage in tanks, for example, is negated by the fact that NATO tanks are much more sophisticated, and by NATO's clear superiority in antitank weaponry. The differences in tactical aircraft are even more substantial, with NATO planes rated at least twice as effective as those of the Pact in such key measurements as effectiveness of payload, loiter time and crew training. Moreover NATO has a numerical advantage of nearly three-to-one in multi-purpose fighter and attack aircraft, while the Pact's planes are concentrated on the interceptor category which is better suited for defense than offense.

A third factor bearing on the adequacy of NATO's capability to deter or defend against attack is its very definition as a defensive entity. In the conventional war context the advantage is inherently with the defense. Its installations can be more heavily fortified, and its supply and logistics problems are much less severe. Even such factors as motivation may have a great bearing—NATO members can be expected to fight forcefully in defense of their own territory, whereas it is at least problematical whether Russian, Polish or Czechoslovakian troops would be as enthusiastic about taking part in expeditionary operations hundreds of miles from home in the midst of a hostile population. Historically these factors have meant that an invading force must have a substantial numerical superiority in order to achieve any degree of success. The Pact has nowhere near such an advantage and is not likely to achieve it.

These three factors—force readiness, the quality of weaponry and the defensive nature of NATO—lead to the unmistakable conclusion that the alliance poses a formidable defense of Western Europe, one which is fully capable of deterring any calculated attack from the Warsaw Pact or of defending against such an attack should it occur.

This is not to say that NATO does not have weaknesses. It does, and they are significant. Active forces are not deployed in positions dictated by wise military planning. They could not respond as quickly as would be possible under other arrangements, and they are concentrated too heavily in a limited number of locations. The ratio of support and command to combat forces is excessively high, and serious questions have been raised about the ability of the command structure to communicate and operate efficiently in an emergency situation. The 1968 movement of Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia illustrated that there is no assurance of a response to ominous developments on the other side, and this must be traced not to military weakness but to command and control deficiencies. These are problems which exist irrespective of the numbers of men and the amounts of arms contributed by the United States, yet they have a much more serious bearing on NATO's overall capabilities.

At the same time the Pact has problems of its own. As compared to NATO a much greater proportion of its total forces come outside the immediate region, i.e., from the Soviet Union, which means that supplies must be moved great distances overland,

communications are quite difficult, and command and control are correspondingly vulnerable to disruption. Preparations for attack could not be conducted in secrecy; any buildup would be easily detected. Further, and of very great importance, a large proportion of Soviet troops stationed in Europe, and probably some other Pact forces besides, probably would not be available for an assault against NATO members because of internal differences among Pact members. This situation is best exemplified by the fact that 75,000 of the Pact forces in Eastern Europe were moved there for actions directed not against NATO but against Czechoslovakia, a Pact member, in 1968. It is not clear whether those troops should be added to or subtracted from total Pact capabilities.

In sum, the NATO alliance, despite its weaknesses, is in a very strong position with respect to the single threat against which it is arrayed. Further, the number of United States forces committed to NATO and stationed on European soil is not, within limits, a major factor in NATO's capability to deter or fight a war on European soil, so long as sufficient numbers are present to convince the Warsaw Pact that the United States remains firmly committed to European security, and so long as lift capacity can provide speedy reinforcement. A smaller number of U.S. forces would notify the Soviet Union of our guaranteed involvement in the defense of Europe, and should reassure our European allies on the same issue.

Their contribution to overall military capability is but one issue bearing on the question of how many U.S. forces should be stationed in Europe. Proponents of the present level of some 300,000 men also argue that any reductions could possibly cause panic among our allies, forcing them to accelerate plans for accommodations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. But the United States places itself in an extremely odd position if we are attempting to discourage the European nations whose safety is directly at stake from seeking to improve the degree of safety through methods other than military build-ups.

Similar considerations apply to the rather vague warnings that any withdrawals of U.S. forces will increase the political power of the Soviet Union in Europe. If NATO remains capable of fulfilling its military purposes, it is exceedingly difficult to determine how adjustments in troop deployments would make the Soviet Union more adventurous or our allies less resolute.

Our European allies all devote a smaller share of their national wealth than the United States to national defense. With the exception of West Germany all have, in fact, failed to join the United States in meeting the commitments they have undertaken as members of the alliance. Yet they have all achieved dynamic economies since World War II, and they are unquestionably capable of carrying a greater share of the burden of their own defense.

Moreover, U.S. forces in Europe pose a balance of payments problem for the United States which would not be suffered by NATO partners supplying added forces to meet their own assigned quotas.

(3) Asia

There is a healthy measure of ambiguity in U.S. military posture planning for Asian contingencies. Noncommunist Asian societies are for the most part much less capable than our European allies of committing large resources to defense, but we have nevertheless moved to a position of demanding much more from them. In the post-Vietnam era the U.S. contribution will be generally limited to military assistance and possibly tactical air wings; official descriptions of U.S. policy call upon Asian allies to supply their own ground forces.

The disparity between our approach in

Asia and in Europe reflects in part the much greater extent to which we see our own vital interests involved in European security. Aside from Japan, Taiwan, Australia, and possibly South Korea, Asia is seen as having only a marginal bearing on vital American interests. Two other factors, the nature of possible threats to the internal security of Asian nations and the limited scope of external conventional threats, should also have a bearing.

Active U.S. baseline forces for Asia, above and beyond the Vietnam buildup, have included six Army and two Marine divisions, two of the eight in Korea and the remainder deployed on island bases and in the United States; and seven carrier based and eight land based air wings.

Where allied force levels and capabilities are concerned, South Korea, with continuing assistance from the United States, has developed an extremely potent 570,000-man force. In Southeast Asia the combined forces of the South Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian and Thai governments outnumber by substantial margins those of North Vietnam and indigenous revolutionary organizations, but they nevertheless appear to be lacking in important elements of a successful defense effort. Elsewhere in Asia, the Chiang Kai-shek government on Taiwan maintains more than one-half million active forces, Japan has had approximately one-quarter million in recent years, India has roughly 900,000, Indonesia approximately 350,000, and Pakistan approximately 275,000. In several cases—as in Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia and Australia—geography is at least as great a deterrent to attack as military force.

Opposing forces in Northeast Asia include about 370,000 North Korean troops, significantly fewer than those in South Korea. In Southeast Asia the major communist power—North Vietnam—has between one-quarter and one-half as many active armed forces as South Vietnam.

The primary source of U.S. concern in Asia has been the People's Republic of China, with armed forces numbering roughly 2.5 million. However, the degree of concern should be moderated by a number of factors. The training and orientation of China's armies have concentrated on defense, and the military in China is an integral part of the country's administrative machinery, made up as much of civil servants as of soldiers. Large proportions of the armed forces are massed along the common border with the Soviet Union and in provinces across from the island of Taiwan. Naval forces are primarily coastal ships without a capability for operations on open seas. The great majority of Chinese aircraft are older model Soviet fighter-interceptors. Because of inadequate transportation facilities, the People's Republic would face massive difficulties in mounting an expeditionary force of any size for any duration.

Thus there is little cause for worry about aggressive operations from China. The country's capacity for self-defense is formidable indeed, but Chinese leaders have not placed priority on offensive capabilities.

The international posture of China in the years since 1949 tends to confirm the impression of caution and defensive orientation. Chinese manpower has been detected in neighboring countries, mainly in Burma and North Vietnam, but in numbers too small to be significant and not in combat roles. The several cases in which Chinese forces have been involved in active combat since 1949 have been either to advance claims to disputed territory, as with India and the Soviet Union and in Tibet, or to defend against perceived threats to Chinese territory, as in Korea. In the latter case it is significant that Chinese forces quickly withdrew after the Korean armistice. There are no Chinese military bases on foreign soil.

As in the case of Europe, force level cal-

culations give no more than a rough guide of the potential capacities of Asian nations to defend themselves. Other issues have a much greater bearing on attempts to determine the proper approach for U.S. planning toward an Asian contingency.

Most analysts seem to agree that the United States, for a variety of reasons, plans for a lower level of involvement in Asia than in Europe in the post-Vietnam era. But it is virtually impossible to tell from most descriptions what this means in practical terms, or how it should influence the numbers and deployments of U.S. forces assigned to an Asian contingency.

It is likely that civil conflict, with some degree of external support from China and/or the Soviet Union, will continue. But, as the Vietnam experience teaches, the prospects for successful defense against such internal revolutionary movements depend heavily on conditions which are almost totally independent of a United States willingness to intervene. Governments which earn the respect and support of their own people will likely be able to assure their own survival; those which do not will probably be unable to prevail without massive infusions of outside military help including the direct involvement of American personnel. But in such circumstances U.S. intervention can probably accomplish no more than to prevent or postpone defeat, while further weakening the position of the government with respect to its own people. It may be possible to set aside questions of whether the United States has either a moral or legal right to intervene, and to conclude that the United States really has no practical alternative but to steer clear of such involvements.

This does not suggest, of course, that "wars of national liberation" are likely to sweep through Asia. In each case the prospect will be influenced primarily by internal factors, and past experience suggests that both the Soviet Union and China will be quite cautious in supporting overt revolutionary efforts in countries with strong non-communist governments. They, too, must afford respect to nationalistic aspirations, and they are unlikely to promote what they see as futile endeavors.

While the United States certainly has an interest in their prevention, it also seems clear that we have little basis upon which to become directly involved in legitimate territorial disputes in Asia, regardless of the ideology of the parties. In such cases we should instead seek resolution before appropriate United Nations agencies.

In the foreseeable future, therefore, it appears that the one broad contingency which might justify American intervention would be an aggressive attempt by China or another communist power to conquer and subjugate new territories. However, this eventuality, because of the nature and numbers of forces in the region, seems to be by far the least likely to occur, requiring preparations which would take several years at the very least.

There is, of course, one case requiring special attention—that of the sharp conflict of opinion over the status of Taiwan. Both the People's Republic and Chiang Kai-shek's government assert that the island is part of China. The United States has meanwhile committed itself to assist in the defense of Taiwan against an attack from the Mainland, while the People's Republic insists upon its right to eventually "liberate" the island and thus finish the Chinese civil war which was interrupted by the insertion of United States forces in the Taiwan strait in 1950 and by the 1954 defense treaty.

For purposes of U.S. force planning the most pertinent aspect of the current situation is that Chiang's forces are abundantly equipped to defend the island against the kind of attack the Mainland could mount in the foreseeable future. This development is

underscored by the virtual elimination of U.S. patrols in the Taiwan strait.

In sum, regardless of how the United States sees its own interests in Asia, the military balance is such that the maintenance of substantial conventional forces for an Asian contingency is not a current necessity.

Allied and opposing forces at sea

While their maintenance must, of course be generally related to specific land-war contingencies, U.S. naval forces operate in a theater of their own, relevant to any major conflict and to many minor ones. They have two primary purposes; first, the projection of force ashore, as in the case of marine amphibious landings, carrier-based tactical airpower, and standoff shelling of land targets; and, second, control of the seas, including principally the protection of warships used for the first purpose and of commercial and supply shipping. Some elements, such as aircraft carriers, destroyers and cruisers, have capabilities and missions related to both general purposes.

The U.S. Navy consists of some 700 ships. The bulk of general purpose naval forces, excluding Polaris/Poseidon submarines, is built around aircraft carriers, vessels which have no counterpart among communist powers. In fiscal 1972 the operative carrier fleet included 12 attack carriers (CVAs), with 61 tactical air squadrons, plus two anti-submarine warfare carriers (CVSs), and one experimental dual purpose attack/ASW carrier.

The amphibious landing capacity currently maintained is sufficient to land one and one-third division-sized Marine amphibious forces (or four brigades), although plans have been laid to increase the landing capacity to one and two-thirds divisions.

Military sealift capacity is supplied by 98 troopships, cargo ships and tankers, with potential augmentation from commercial shipping. As compared to World War II a substantially larger proportion of lift capacity, for men and smaller supplies and equipment, is now supplied by air.

Surface and undersea combatant forces are assigned primarily to the protection and underway replenishment of carrier, amphibious landing and sealift ships. On the surface, we program 227 missile cruisers, frigates, destroyers and ocean escorts, plus a number of special purpose ships such as minesweepers, and numerous smaller craft. We have a total of 95 submarines, of which 55 will be nuclear powered. Four additional nuclear powered subs will become operational during the year.

The protection of nonmilitary shipping is assigned almost entirely to allied naval forces, with some help from U.S. reserve ships and amphibious assault escorts. U.S. allies in both the Atlantic and the Pacific have substantial naval capabilities, primarily in the category of escort ships in which they outnumber the United States. They also have a quantity of attack submarines.

The numerical description of current U.S. forces is somewhat misleading because they are in a state of fluctuation as older ships (generally those in service more than thirty years) are being retired and, after some time-lag, replaced. The most extensive modernization programs are geared toward the procurement of additional land based and sea based antisubmarine aircraft, "high speed" nuclear attack submarines, ASW destroyers, and a nuclear-powered guided missile frigate. Further improvements are being pursued in such areas as surveillance and communications, a surface-to-surface missile capability, ship air defense systems, and a very high speed missile attack ship using hydrofoil design.

The Soviet Union is the only potential U.S. adversary with significant naval forces. They presently include an estimated 215 major surface combat ships, 264 conventional submarines and 87 nuclear subs, plus a number of

minor combatants comparable to U.S. forces of the same kind, but with a heavier orientation toward short range surface-to-surface missiles. None of the Soviet Union's Warsaw Pact allies has a significant naval capability. In combination they possess only eight major surface ships and eight conventional submarines. The People's Republic of China has a few submarines and many patrol craft, but no major surface ships.

As implied by the numbers and kinds of ships each maintains, the United States and the Soviet Union rely upon naval forces for different purposes. In any protracted conventional confrontation with the Soviet Union the United States will have to depend heavily upon shipping to supply its own land based forces and to provide supplies and economic support to its allies. In Europe, meanwhile, the Soviet Union would be able to transport the bulk of its supplies over land routes.

Therefore, the major part of the Soviet Union naval buildup in recent years has focused on offensive weaponry—such as surface-to-surface missiles and submarines—rather than on attempts to catch up with allied superiority in transport and escort ships. They have equipped over 200 medium bombers with antiship missiles, they have long-range antiship missiles on 65 submarines, and they have 161 patrol craft and 21 major surface ships designed to carry surface-to-surface missiles.

Nor has the Soviet Union made any significant attempts to match U.S. capabilities for the projection of sea based force ashore. The larger surface combatants could, of course, serve as bases for artillery attacks against land targets. But, as noted above, the Soviet Union has no aircraft carriers and no capability for amphibious landings.

(1) Projection of Force Ashore—Aircraft Carriers

The number of carrier task forces is a major determinant of the cost and composition of U.S. naval forces, accounting for as much as 40 per cent of total Navy spending in recent years. Hence the carrier has become the principal focus of debate over force structures.

It has two main deficiencies when considered as a form of basing for tactical air forces—costs and vulnerability. The cost of the carrier itself, of its escorts, and of logistic support ships must, of course, be included in calculating the cost of a carrier-based air wing, and these factors run the total investment to many multiples above the amount required for land based air wings. And while land based aircraft can be protected at moderate cost through the construction aircraft shelters, a carrier can be detected with relative ease, and it can be placed out of commission with a few well-placed strikes.

The likelihood of disabling strikes against carriers becomes a virtual certainty in any conflict involving the Soviet Union. Four or five air launched cruise missiles, or an equal number of acoustic homing torpedoes targeted on the ships screws, would be enough to force a modern carrier to retire for extensive repairs, if not to sink it. Anti-war and submarine warfare measures, including those aboard the carrier itself and on escorts, do supply some defensive capacity, but they are not nearly effective enough to protect a carrier against sustained assaults over any lengthy period of time.

These factors, plus the very high probability that sufficient land bases would be available on allied soil in the case of a confrontation in Europe, suggest that it is neither wise nor necessary to rely on aircraft carriers to perform tactical air missions in any conventional war involving the Soviet Union.

Although the importance assigned to each varies, the same three considerations—cost, vulnerability, and the availability of land bases—apply as well in the case of other contingencies. Carriers have been used in

Vietnam, of course, and it is argued that they can at least supply tactical air support while land bases are being constructed, and that they reduce the need to rely on land bases in a world which is increasingly inhospitable to such U.S. installations. However, the increased ranges and payloads of modern tactical aircraft serve to make up for close bases. It is difficult to imagine U.S. involvement in defense of an ally which would deny the use of its airfields or the right to construct bases, and "bare base kits" allow tactical air forces to begin operations very quickly from the kinds of airfields which exist in virtually every country in the world. Carrier-based wings would still compare poorly with land based wings in terms of costs, and they would still be more vulnerable than land bases, at least in the case of any adversary equipped with significant air forces, with submarines, or with surface-to-surface missiles. On the latter point the sinking of the Israeli destroyer *Elath* in 1967 with a relatively simple and short range Soviet Styx missile launched from a patrol boat supplies an unmistakable object lesson.

As noted below, carriers do have some continuing role in the protection of shipping. As in the case of the Middle East, they can also be used to illustrate deep U.S. concern and commitment plus the capacity for speedy intervention, in a tense situation, without requiring an actual physical military presence on the territory of one or another disputing party. While it could be fulfilled in part by other vessels, this capability for "showing the flag" is thought to have significant political value. Aside from such uses, their utility in the future will be limited to cases, like Vietnam, where they can operate from sanctuaries or where antiship defenses are virtually nonexistent. Considering the growing American resolve to avoid future Vietnam-type involvements, these purposes hardly justify the enormous costs of maintaining a large attack carrier fleet.

(2) Projection of Forces—Amphibious Capability

The single purpose of amphibious assault forces is to land Marines in heavily defended areas. The mission requires several different types of ships capable of handling landing craft, helicopters, tanks, general transport, gunfire support, air support, and mine countermeasures. Present forces have the capacity to land and support two brigades (about 5,500 men per brigade) on the Atlantic side and two brigades on the Pacific side simultaneously. Ships assigned to direct involvement in landing operations, some of which are now under construction, include five general purpose assault ships, (LHAs), 22 tank landing ships (LSTs), two landing force fire support ships (LFSs) and 15 dock landing ships (LSDs). A single LHA and one or two LSTs can put a battalion landing team ashore. In addition an estimated 48 escort ships, plus 61 minesweepers, are assigned or available to amphibious landing forces.

Several factors argue against an amphibious landing force of this size. First is the one and one-half land war planning assumption, which should go a long way to eliminate the need for keeping amphibious assault forces for both the Atlantic and Pacific theaters simultaneously. Second is the low probability that U.S. land forces will again be committed to war in Asia. And third is the very strong doubt that traditional World War II type amphibious landings would be either necessary or practical in any foreseeable conflict. It is quite difficult to imagine a situation in Europe where opposing land forces would have overrun sufficient territory to require amphibious landings; if that situation did occur, any attempt at an amphibious landing would probably be suicidal considering the certainty of detection and the immensely more sophisticated defenses, especially from the air, which would be encountered.

(3) Protection of Shipping—War at Sea

The heavy economic dependence on shipping which is a reality with respect to both the United States and its allies would clearly increase during any extended war. And while air transport has provided a viable alternative for manpower and for some goods, the costs of moving most commodities by air are plainly prohibitive.

The primary danger to U.S. shipping comes from the Soviet Union; there is little doubt that U.S. ships would be fairly secure in other contingencies against countries which are not naval powers. The Soviet threat to shipping from the air is not great because of the lack of Soviet air bases near Atlantic and Pacific shipping lanes and because longer range Soviet aircraft would have to pass through regions where the United States has clear air superiority. The threat from missile-carrying surface ships is more serious, and it supplies a marginal reason for maintaining at least some carrier forces. Soviet cruisers carry the Shaddock surface-to-surface missile with a range of up to 400 miles (with mid-course correction). The *Strela* SSM, carried by Soviet destroyers, has a range of about 100 nautical miles. There are presently 21 cruisers and destroyers equipped in this fashion. They could be attacked by carrier-based aircraft from locations beyond their range. However, U.S. nuclear attack submarines, as will be seen below, are a much more potent answer.

The most ominous threat to shipping comes from attack submarines, and there is virtually no comparison between today's submarines—American or Soviet—and World War II models.

Older subs could stay submerged no more than 18 to 24 hours. They were armed only with short-range torpedoes, which had to be fired at or near the surface. Because of limitations on communications and detection techniques it was exceedingly difficult, and often impossible, to locate surface targets and then to communicate their position to submarines close enough to intercept. Diesel-electric power plants produced little speed and required constant refueling.

Nuclear powerplants, together with modern internal support and navigation techniques, allow today's submarines to remain submerged for months, to avoid detection, and to achieve speeds faster than many destroyers. Meanwhile satellite reconnaissance has developed to the point where a convoy would be extremely fortunate to escape detection virtually anywhere in the world. Communications systems can transmit messages to submarines on a worldwide basis with great efficiency. Most ominous of all, long-range homing missiles allow subs to attack surface ships not only from submerged positions but from many miles away. With these advances, it is likely that the growing Soviet submarine fleet could, given the motive, come close to eliminating surface ships as a viable method of moving large quantities of goods in wartime.

The dominant feature of the U.S. response to this development has been to seek additional methods of defending surface ships against submarine attack. But absent unforeseen breakthroughs in technology, such steps can only increase the tonnage which must be devoted to defensive weaponry, and advances in technology often tend to widen the advantage of submarines over surface shipping. They are pursued, along with such concepts as safety in numbers, for want of an alternative method of shipping bulky solid goods.

It should be noted here that ASW carriers do not constitute an important response, since land based antisubmarine aircraft can reach fully 80 per cent of the earth's ocean surface and shipping can be readily rerouted to stay within that range of protection. To the extent that it can be accomplished at all, the ASW role of carriers can be handled just as well by other means.

The growing numbers of modern submarines maintained by both the United States and the Soviet Union constitute one of several major factors tending to greatly reduce the likelihood of a World War II type extended conventional war at sea. Neither country can assert that its surface ships, whether commercial, seafloor or combatants, could long survive against submarine attack. This fact deters assaults against U.S. shipping which are unrelated to any land contingency, because the Soviet Union is aware that there is no way it can prevent a full measure of retaliation for any damage it inflicts. As noted earlier, it is exceedingly unlikely that a land war with the Soviet Union would last long enough to invoke a heavy dependence on shipping, or to allow for the sustained submarine pressure which would effectively close the seas to the surface fleets of both sides.

To the extent that preparations are made for a war of longer duration, it may be possible to place additional reliance on airlift capacity, to be maintained on a standby basis and used, because of high costs, only to move the most urgent necessities under emergency conditions. Additional heavy supplies could also be pre-positioned. ASW research efforts must continue, of course, and it may also be worthwhile to explore the potential of nuclear submarines as cargo vessels, at least for the fluids and granulated commodities—largely fuels and food grains—which together account for as much as 70 to 80 per cent of all shipping. The U.S. does presently have one cargo submarine in the force.

MODERNIZATION AND TECHNICAL ISSUES

It is possible to say that not a single weapon in the entire U.S. military arsenal—strategic or general purpose—is completely up to date, or has not fallen some distance toward obsolescence. The process occurs in several ways.

First, like other mechanical devices, weapons wear out with continued use and age. And the more complex they are, the more likely it is that one or another component will give way and necessitate replacement of all or a part of the system.

Second, the threat which U.S. weapons must counter is constantly changing. An air superiority fighter adequate to combat the Russian Mig-21, for example, may be seriously outclassed when matched against a Mig-23 (or Foxbat). If maintaining air superiority over the Soviet Union is considered a vital element in meeting major defense contingencies, then a new aircraft must be acquired.

A third factor may be called the technological or scientific imperative. By the time the latest technology can be put into production new research and development programs are likely as not to have come up with a more modern version with more impressive capabilities. The pressure to supply American fighting men with the very latest and best in modern weaponry creates an endless demand for incorporating each significant advance in the science of war.

A fourth pressure is strategic obsolescence. Advances in the adversary's technology or adjustments in his strategy may sharply restrict the utility of some U.S. weapons systems, requiring that new strategies and new systems be developed.

However, with respect to the latter, the services have been loath to give up their traditional systems and missions. In many cases a "we need it because we have it" philosophy has prevailed, resulting in the retention and often the costly modernization of weapons systems which are based on obsolete strategies. If they are developed at all, the new systems are stacked on top of the old. The combined result is a much bigger and more physically impressive defense establishment, but with much of it making little or no real contribution to the nation's security.

The overriding influence of these four factors is established by the simple fact that in combination they account for by far the major part of all the Pentagon's research and development and procurement budget—in fact, nearly all of that budget in peacetime, when no weapons are being used up or lost in combat. Modernization is a process which has had an annual price tag of between \$20 and \$30 billion in recent years.

Modern weapons systems are enormously costly. The fighter aircraft requested by the Air Force today cost five to six times as much as airplanes produced just a decade ago, and the sophisticated avionics systems for military aircraft are, on a per pound basis, about twice as precious as gold. The latest aircraft carrier requested by the Navy has a price tag of just over \$1 billion—for a single ship.

The following examples highlight the problems flowing from the current approach to new procurement.

As noted elsewhere, U.S. naval forces are currently undergoing an extensive rebuilding and modernization program. A large proportion of existing ships are approaching, and some have passed, the thirty-year retirement age.

But the bulk of modernization funds are related to amphibious landing systems and to carrier task forces, including new escort and replenishment ships and new carrier-based aircraft. The utility of both of these strategies, at least on the contemplated scale, is open to sharp question in the context of current and foreseen contingencies.

There is no significant difference in capabilities between the land based P-3C ASW aircraft and the carrier based S-3A; and the cost and vulnerability of carriers establishes the S-3A as a very poor second in any competition between the two. This factor has already been recognized to some extent, since ASW carriers have been drastically reduced in recent years. Yet the S-3A is still being acquired.

The major new weapons systems for attack carriers is the combined F-14 and Phoenix missile program. Aside from special purpose planes such as the S-3A, carrier-based aircraft have been designed for several purposes; to fill diverse missions now assigned to carriers and to make the most efficient use of the limited basing space available. The F-14 is designed to replace the F-4 Phantom as the Navy's chief tactical fighter, to provide fleet air defense, air superiority, and air-to-ground capability. To enhance its air defense capabilities, current planning calls for arming the F-14 with the Phoenix air-to-air missile with the claimed ability to intercept both enemy aircraft and missiles.

While the Phoenix may be capable of intercepting a small number of clustered targets, there is no evidence that it could deal with a determined missile assault on a scale which the Soviet Union would be capable of mounting. Prelaunch destruction of air-to-surface and surface-to-surface missiles remains the only plausible method of defending against them. In any case, attempts to defend shipping against threats which we can handle, such as bombers, when there are other threats for which our technology has yet to supply or promise an answer, is not a wise allocation of resources. In short, the Phoenix is not an answer to the arguments contending that the aircraft carrier would have marginal value in any confrontation involving the Soviet Union.

The F-14, meanwhile, would cost as much as \$15 million per copy—several multiples of the cost of the F-4—in large part because of the mixture of missions, and because of the attempt to design a carrier-based aircraft capable of maintaining air superiority over expected new Soviet fighters. The F-14A version now being procured, moreover, has many performance characteristics which are inferior to the Soviet Mig-21 and also to more recent versions of the F-4. Later F-14 versions will not be significantly better except for close-in air-to-air combat, a mission for which

the carrier will not be useful against the Soviet Union, and for which such advanced performance characteristics will not be required in possible contingencies involving other countries.

Finally, with respect to the overall condition of the surface naval fleet, it should be noted that reducing carrier forces to reflect the few remaining missions for which they retain unique capabilities—principally helping submarines in the defense of shipping against surface-based threats and "show of force" functions—would result in a corresponding reduction in the need for replacement and modernization of other naval components. The same result would hold as a consequence of reductions in amphibious assault forces.

Land-based tactical aircraft represent another major area of new procurement. Tactical aircraft are called upon to perform four major missions, each requiring unique capabilities. The first, close air support of ground troops, requires significant payload and loiter capabilities, along with the ability to survive hostile ground fire. The second, interdiction, requires capabilities similar to the first if concentrated on the battlefield, plus much more sophisticated range, payload and defensive capabilities if deep interdiction behind enemy lines is retained as a primary objective. The third, air superiority, requires good visibility, high maneuverability and speed, and highly responsive controls. Finally, airbase defense interception requires high speed, long loiter time, and both a gun and air-to-air missile capability.

As noted elsewhere, NATO allies have a very large overall tactical air advantage in Europe, notwithstanding the fact that NATO aircraft are outnumbered. Many Warsaw Pact aircraft would be next to useless in any confrontation. A similar relationship prevails in other theaters.

However, the United States does have two important tactical air "requirements"—for a new close air support aircraft, and for a new air superiority fighter.

On the former, each concerned service has its own version, in part because there has been no clear assignment of the close air support mission to the Air Force, the Marines or to the Army. The Air Force has developed the AX, a relatively low-cost aircraft with short take-off and landing capabilities, high maneuverability, a large payload, and a number of features, including heavy armor plating and relatively high speed, to assure survivability, at a cost of approximately \$2 million per copy (or up to \$4 million if night and all-weather avionics are added). The Marines are procuring the AV-8A Harrier, a vertical take-off and landing aircraft produced in the United Kingdom with obvious advantages for forward, austere basing, but with limited range and payload, at unit costs of \$4.4 million. The Army has sought development of the Cheyenne, a highly sophisticated helicopter with extensive armaments, with an estimated price of \$5.4 million.

The competition over the close air support role has already been extremely costly, but the necessary outlays will mount to astronomical levels if all three aircraft are procured and if basing and maintenance arrangements for each must be made. While the Cheyenne does have some special characteristics, it compares poorly to the AX in such vital measurements as vulnerability, probable response and loiter times, effective firepower, and costs. The Harrier, meanwhile, is contemplated almost entirely as a specialized aircraft to support Marine amphibious landings. But the likelihood of such landings occurring in the future is quite remote, and the AX or other aircraft could supply close support if the unforeseen did occur. It is also significant that in an area where numerical strength is at least as critical as other factors, the same investment that will buy 222 Cheyenne helicopters or 273 Harriers could acquire 600 AX aircraft.

There is a single candidate for the air

superiority role—the F-15. It is, however, an aircraft which exemplifies the influence of the technological imperative, principally through its complex—and heavy—avionics package, and its incorporation of a stand-off missile capability, both of which detract seriously from its maneuverability and overall air-to-air combat performance. Beyond that it is expected to cost four to five times as much as the F-4 which it is supposed to replace. A lighter, simpler aircraft, without an attempt at air-to-air missile capability beyond systems already perfected, such as the Sidewinder, could be produced for half the cost and would perform the air superiority mission with much greater effect.

Manpower and management issues

Personnel costs make up the largest single category of annual defense spending, accounting for over 50 per cent of fiscal 1972 outlays. The amount programmed was \$39.6 billion, for 2,505,000 active duty military personnel, 1,025 reserves and guardsmen, and 1,082 civilian Defense Department employees. With manpower costs already quite high and promising to go higher as a result of pay raises, there is an obvious incentive to use manpower as efficiently and as effectively as possible. Current practices fall far short of that standard.

(1) Efficient Use of Manpower

The increasing sophistication of both tactics and weaponry doubtless justifies some growth in the ratio of support to combat troops, in the ratio of officers to enlisted men, and in the ratio of maintenance and management personnel to the manpower assigned to active divisions. Yet all three of these ratios have reached alarming proportions.

An active Army infantry division is made up of 16,350 combat troops. To sustain and support these troops in combat currently requires an average of twice again as many backup and support forces, bringing the total per division to slightly over 49,000. But with thirteen and one-third active divisions, or 654,000 men, programmed for the end of fiscal 1972, the planned Army strength at that time is 942,000 men. Another 82,720 men are assigned to such missions as communications, intelligence and security, research and development and support to other nations, bringing the total assigned to 736,720. But that leaves 205,280 active duty Army personnel, or nearly 22 per cent of the total, largely unaccounted for.

In December of 1969 there were 407,951 commissioned officers on active duty in the U.S. armed forces, commanding a total force at that time of 3.5 million men. This provided one officer for every eight enlisted men. At the same time there was one officer or non-commissioned officer to command every two enlisted men. There was a general flag officer to command every 2,900 men. There were about one-fifth more colonels and captains in 1969, with a total force of 3.5 million men, than there were at the peak of World War II with a force of over 12 million. Since the bulk of manpower reductions since then have been in the enlisted ranks, it is safe to assume that the ratios have become still more heavily weighted in favor of officers.

It is also significant to note that both the Army and the Navy actually program wasted time into their budgets. The Army assumes that 11 per cent of the on-the-job time of active duty personnel will be nonproductive. The Navy assumes a higher figure of 20 per cent. These factors suggest room for vast reductions in defense personnel costs simply through improved manpower policies.

The Blue Ribbon Defense Panel suggested a number of other areas for improved management, among them less frequent rotation of officers; increased consolidation of commonly-used services such as data processing, medical services, recruiting, and others; reductions in staff at command levels and in

the office of the Secretary; application of new technology to logistics and procurement; and reduced paperwork requirements in virtually every area of Defense administration.

It is, of course, impossible to set a precise estimate of the savings which would accrue from adoption of these recommendations, and from steps to improve the ratio of combat-to-support and management forces and to scale down the oversized pool of officers. A \$1 billion figure is probably a conservative estimate, and a cut of that size could, in fact, leave room for a significant net improvement in overall fighting capability within a given total manpower pool.

(2) Reserve and Guard Forces

While reserve and National Guard forces are generally counted in total U.S. military manpower, they are rarely considered to be available in the critical stages of any conflict in which the United States might become involved. This reflects an honest, but unfortunate, appraisal of the readiness of reserve forces. It follows that improvements in the operational capabilities of reserve units, to shorten the time needed for their mobilization and integration into active forces when and if required, could go a long way toward maintenance of current overall military capabilities, even in the context of substantially reduced active duty forces.

(3) The Draft

The military draft stands in contradiction to the fundamental premises of a free society, and it has consequently been used quite sparingly throughout the nation's history, with the exception of the period since World War II. It should be regarded as a wholly inappropriate method of recruiting peacetime military forces.

The probable incremental cost of recruiting an all-volunteer force has figured prominently in discussions about draft repeal. Yet the draft itself requires extensive outlays. Less than one in twenty draftees reenlists, hence the Army must maintain a much larger training establishment than would be necessary with a volunteer force. Because military service today requires increasing degrees of technical proficiency with sophisticated implements, the rapid turnover of draftees inevitably leads to inefficiencies in operations. Because it can be relied upon to supply a constant pool of low-cost manpower, the draft tends to encourage inefficient use of human resources.

The additional pay and benefits needed to recruit an all-volunteer force would, of course, vary with the size of the force required. Extensive surveys and studies of past experience, including an accounting for "induced volunteers," have concluded that a total force of about 2 million true volunteers is the breakeven point, requiring no additional pay and benefits. The pay raises adopted in 1972 were fully justified regardless of whether they were needed to achieve a volunteer force, but they go well beyond the amounts estimated by the Administration to be needed for a volunteer force of over two million men.

Conclusions and recommendations

When considered in terms of the threats against which it is reasonable to prepare—and against which military might can be a relevant response—the U.S. defense posture is not only fully adequate but excessive. It includes an unquestioned capability to defend the United States against conventional attack, plus more active forces than are necessary, in combination with those of allied countries, to deter attack upon or resist aggression against areas elsewhere in the world where the United States has a combined defense commitment and vital security interest.

A prudent U.S. military establishment for the 1970s must account for conditions and perceptions which differ sharply from those which have inspired defense policy for the

past two decades. The economic vitality of Europe should allow fulfillment of our priority commitments in that region with substantially reduced general purpose force levels. The growing separation of inclination and interest among communist countries inevitably reduces the combinations of forces against which it is necessary to remain prepared, and in fact tends to reduce the forces each might be able to commit against the U.S. or our allies. Nuclear weapons, while they are maintained primarily to deter nuclear war, also play a role in preventing conventional conflict between major powers because of the grave risk of escalation to disastrous nuclear confrontation—a risk which is plain to both sides and which doubtless serves as a restraining influence on the actions of both. A number of diverse factors—an improved understanding of the limitations and orientation of China's military establishment, the comparative strength of Taiwan and South Korea, the economic vitality of Japan, the lessons of the Vietnam experience with respect to the limited utility of American military involvements in Asia—also suggest room for substantial reductions in Asia-oriented forces.

Along with threat-related adjustments, significant savings could be made through incorporation of a more efficient defense philosophy established to produce more combat capability than at present per dollar of investment. There is room for a broad range of operating efficiencies ranging from methods of procuring major weapons systems to manpower rotation policies. Costs could be reduced markedly by abandonment of attempts to retain tactics and systems which have become strategically obsolete. Unnecessary sophistication of weapons and duplication of missions among the four services account for many billions of dollars of needless military spending each year.

On specific general purpose forces:

(1) Theater and Naval Force Reductions

Incorporation of the one and one-half war planning assumption, along with extensive airlift and planned improvements in sealift capabilities, underscores the fact that there is no requirement that active duty and reserve forces be assigned exclusively to a specific contingency unless they are stationed at the point where that contingency is expected to occur. If the new assumption has any meaning, then forces stationed in the United States can, for example, be oriented primarily toward the Western Hemisphere and still be available for duty elsewhere.

Europe

As noted previously, the highest priority U.S. defense commitment is to Europe. In the absence of mutual reductions on both sides, U.S. land forces available for service in that theater should not be reduced below the eight divisions and 14 air wings composing the apportioned share of the United States. However, that commitment can be fulfilled in the context of a reduction in forces stationed on European soil, without reducing the overall capability of the Alliance to deter or defend against an attack from the Warsaw Pact, because of the capability for rapid redeployment in the case of attack or ominous enemy buildups, and because the Alliance can marshal clear numerical superiority for the initial stages of any conflict. This course, while suggested by a realistic appraisal of the balance of forces in Europe, is also strongly supported by economic considerations.

Therefore, two and one-third of the four and one-third active U.S. divisions presently stationed in Europe should be returned to the United States, leaving two divisions in Europe. With appropriate withdrawals of command support forces, this redeployment should return roughly 170,000 men, leaving 130,000. A force of that size would be sufficient to supply an important military con-

tribution at the start of any conflict, and also to signal the U.S. commitment both to Europe and in the Middle East.

This shift requires that six U.S. land divisions be available for deployment to Europe, and thus not available for purposes other than another major contingency. The six divisions based in the United States should include one Marine and five Army divisions, augmented by a substantial proportion of reserve forces. Since the prospect of an amphibious landing requirement in Europe must be seen as extremely remote, and probably unfeasible should the condition arise, the Marine division need not have an amphibious capability.

Current overall NATO air superiority also allows a cut in tactical air forces effectively allocated to Europe. Instead of the present estimated 22, the U.S. should maintain 16 air wings ready for action in Europe—four carrier based (including one in the Mediterranean), one double Marine wing, and 11 Air Force wings. Two carriers would be on station at all times.

Asia

The first priority with respect to Asian contingencies should be the speedy end of U.S. involvement in the Indochina conflict. All land and air forces, including ground troops in Thailand, should be withdrawn as quickly as that can be accomplished consistently with their safety, upon the single condition that U.S. prisoners of war be released.

Considering prevailing military balances and political conditions in Asia, there is no immediate threat of aggressive military action requiring or justifying the retention of U.S. land forces in the theater. The remaining division in South Korea should also be returned to the United States, since that country has achieved unmistakable military superiority over the North.

U.S. interests and commitments with respect to Japan and Taiwan will not be threatened in the foreseeable future by limited Chinese conventional capabilities, and Australia and New Zealand are protected not only by natural barriers to at-

tack but also by their own considerable defense capabilities. Therefore, there is no present need to maintain active or reserve land divisions in the United States with an exclusive high priority allocation toward Asia. Any foreseeable threat can be countered by the maintenance of one carrier based tactical air wing on Pacific assignment and seven land based wings, for a total of eight wings. Asia-oriented air wings based in the United States would also be available for minor contingencies elsewhere.

Western Hemisphere

There is a slight risk of military action in Latin America which might call for the involvement of U.S. forces, justifying some preparation in light of the special relationship dictated by the proximity of the region to the United States. The present allocation of one land division should be maintained but it is not necessary to assign a carrier task force because of the virtual assurance that land bases will be available, at much lower cost, in the event that air forces are required.

Strategic reserve

At least two active land based divisions should remain available as a strategic reserve, for defense of the continental United States against unforeseen contingencies. Considering the probable warning that would have to precede any conventional attack on this country, these divisions could easily be augmented by activation of reserve units, as well as by active theater forces based in the United States.

Naval forces

The land and air force structure outlined above contemplates six carrier-based tactical air wings, thus requiring retention of six modern attack carriers. The other major vehicle for projection of sea based force ashore would be the single Marine Expeditionary Force, or capacity for amphibious landing of one Marine division. Since the ASW role can be performed at less cost and with greater effectiveness by land based aircraft, the new posture should include no anti-submarine carriers.

The first major naval requirement is for escorts and for underway replenishment ships to accompany the surface fleet. Based on past relationships, six Underway Replenishment Groups (URGs) of three to four ships each would be needed to service six carriers and one Marine Expeditionary Force. Each carrier should have four combined anti-air and anti-submarine (AAW/ASW) escorts and four ASW only escorts. Each Underway Replenishment Group needs one AAW/ASW escort and two ASW escorts. The Marine Expeditionary Force should have 15 combined AAW/ASW escorts and two ASW escorts. Thus the base force for surface shipping begins at 38 ASW escorts and 45 AAW/ASW escorts, plus the carriers, replenishment ships, and amphibious landing craft.

However, additional destroyers and frigates should be programmed for fire support (bombardment of land targets from sea positions), for escort of sealift and commercial shipping (now assigned primarily to reserve ships and allied naval forces), and to make up a portion of the lost show of force capacity incurred by retiring carriers, as well as to serve as insurance backup to those specifically assigned above. A total of 130 escorts would be sufficient to meet these objectives in addition to filling escort requirements.

The retirement of ASW carriers leaves a need to make up some loss in aggregate protection of surface ships against enemy submarines, and also against surface ships with long-range missiles. This need can be best fulfilled by nuclear-powered submarines with improved weapons systems and speed and silence characteristics. The U.S. should build toward a total of 84 nuclear attack submarines.

Other naval requirements include a slightly larger sealift capacity than is presently in being, since the design of modern commercial shipping makes it less rapidly transferable to military purposes.

SUMMARY

The force structure outlined above would conform to the following totals and rough allocations:

Type of force	Europe	Asia and Western Hemisphere ¹	Strategic reserves	Total	Type of force	Europe	Asia and Western Hemisphere ¹	Strategic reserves	Total
Active Army divisions ²	7	1	2	10	Naval forces: ⁴				
Active Marine divisions ³	1	1		2	Attack carriers ⁷	4	2		6
Reserve land division ⁴	7		2	9	Nuclear attack submarines	42	42		84
Navy air wings	4	2		6	Escort ships	80	50		130
Air Force tactical wings	11	7		18	Amphibious assault ships		56		56
Airlift (squadrons) ⁵	14	4		18	Replenishment ships, ⁸ cargo ships, and troopships	50	30		80
Marine tactical wings	1	1		2					

¹ Contingencies in Asia and Western Hemisphere are sufficiently remote to allow allocation of land forces stationed in the United States to both. If they were to coincide, U.S. based forces oriented toward Europe could be diverted, consistent with the 1½ war planning assumption.

² Active Army divisions allocated to Europe include 2 based in Europe and 5 based in the United States.

³ The Marine division oriented toward Asia and the Western Hemisphere would have an amphibious landing capability; the other would not.

⁴ Reserves would be maintained primarily for augmentation of Europe-oriented forces, but would be available for any major contingency.

⁵ Airlift squadrons include 4 squadrons of C-5's and 14 squadrons of C-141's and other aircraft. The C-5's should all be allocated toward Europe.

⁶ The allocation of naval forces is only a rough calculation, flowing primarily from the apportionment of carriers and amphibious landing forces between Europe and Asia.

⁷ All 6 carriers will have been constructed since 1960, and will thus require less time in port than the existing larger and, on the average, older force. 3 carriers will thus be on station at all times.

⁸ Reflects fewer replenishment ships than at present, accounting for reductions in carrier task forces, and an increase in sealift capacity.

(2) Procurement and Modernization

General considerations

In the wake of scandalous problems with weapons procurement in recent years, it is clear that rigorous new discipline must be applied to the acquisition of new weapons systems and military equipment and supplies of all kinds. Several overriding general rules should be observed.

First, more careful scrutiny of military research and development programs is an absolute necessity, to assure that research which cannot be expected to lead to viable military systems is stopped or held at low levels before it has used up funds far in excess of any potential worth.

Second, modernization and upgrading of existing forces must be constantly re-ex-

amined to assure that the strategies for which replacement systems are designed remain viable in the light of advancing technology among potential adversaries.

Third, unnecessary sophistication of weapons systems and the incorporation of doubtful technology must be avoided. Such recent and current projects as the Main Battle Tank, the Phoenix missile, the Mark 48 Torpedo, and the SRAM air-to-ground nuclear missile are sufficient to illustrate the vast potential waste involved in moving ahead with procurement of "state of the art" technology which does not live up to paper expectations. The reports of many returning Vietnam pilots that the high sophistication of their aircraft often detracted from combat effectiveness supply a clear object lesson. The

persistent difficulties of jamming and misfires which accompanied initial use of the M-16 rifle in combat conditions leave little doubt that the peril of U.S. forces can be increased, rather than lessened, by the procurement of weapons which are not yet perfected.

Fourth, military procurement agencies must understand that cost is an object. While combat effectiveness must obviously play a pre-eminent role in the acquisition of equipment which is directly related to combat, a large share of total military procurement involves goods and services which have only indirect relevance, or no relevance at all, to battlefield conditions. Such items should be procured at the lowest possible cost.

Fifth, every effort should be made to resist vast outlays for major new weapons systems which promise only slight improvements in military proficiency. The maintenance of a substantial research and development program assures that deployed weapons will always fall short of what is within the realm of scientific possibility. Procurement should be postponed until there is both a significant margin of improvement and a demonstrable need for incorporation of the improvement into the active force structure.

Sixth, military force planners should be aware that more effective weapons systems allow fulfillment of the same mission with fewer weapons—that within the context of any given threat new weapons can replace old, less effective models on less than a one-for-one basis.

Naval modernization

The proper general objective of Navy modernization plans is to maintain an active fleet in which all ships are under 30 years of age. That arbitrary limit should not apply in all cases, of course. Ships designed for combat may have to be replaced more frequently, to incorporate new technology and to respond to changes in the threat. At the same time some vessels, such as tankers, tugs and cargo ships, have no high performance requirement and can operate well past the 30 year limit.

The Navy force level recommended here can, with few exceptions, be met by 1975 with existing ships which will all be under 30 years of age by that date.

All six carriers will be 15 years old or less by 1975. Amphibious lift forces currently programmed will be above the requirement for a single Marine Expeditionary Force, with delivery of the general purpose assault ships scheduled to enter service by 1975. Major components will include five general purpose assault ships, 13 dock landing ships, and 20 landing ships, plus associated flagships, cargo and transport capacity, dock landing ships and assault ships.

Existing underway replenishment and fleet support ships are similarly adequate to fill six Underway Replenishment Groups. Some additional construction of submarine tenders and submarine rescue ships may be required.

Escorts now in the force will be sufficient to meet requirements until 1980. By that time those less than 30 years old, counting only ships which were in the force or funded through 1971, will include 70 combined AAW/ASW escorts and 94 ASW only escorts. Sixty-four of the AAW-ASW ships and 23 of the ASW ships will be capable of speeds in excess of 30 knots. The programmed escort fleet is, therefore, well in excess of the 130 ship recommended program, and no further construction is required. (Calculations are based on the slightly larger escort requirements which prevail when the escorts are conventionally powered). Further funding should be confined to subsystem improvements.

The major remaining need for new shipbuilding derives from the recommendation that the nuclear attack submarine force should reach a total of 84 ships. That goal should be achieved by 1980. Under the program already authorized there will be 69 nuclear attack submarines by 1975, leaving a requirement for the construction of three ships per year after that date. By 1980 the oldest nuclear submarine will be 26 years old, but all but seven will have entered the force since 1960. Meanwhile a research priority should be given to improved weapons and detection systems, for incorporation into both new submarines under construction and older submarines already in the active force, to improve capabilities against both submarines and surface ships.

The recommended expansion in sealift capacity will also require some additional construction. However, the Department of Defense has initiated a program to encourage

the construction of appropriate capacity under private auspices, with arrangements for chartering to the United States when new ships enter the service, thus requiring no budget outlays until that time.

Tactical air forces

The competition among three candidates for the close air support mission—the Air Force AX, the Army Cheyenne, and the Marine Corp's Harrier—should be settled in favor of the AX. There is no reason other than service parochialism to suggest that air and ground missions cannot be coordinated effectively between the Air Force and the Army. While the Harrier and the Cheyenne each has unique characteristics, they compare poorly overall to the AX. In fact, the latter, a simply designed, relatively inexpensive aircraft, comes close to exemplifying the kind of intelligent design decisions which should prevail generally in procurement philosophy.

Development of the F-15 should be ended, and design work should be initiated on a substantially less complex Air Force superiority aircraft, with simpler avionics and, for the present, without the attempt at a long-range standoff missile capability. Along with other possibilities, it is worth considering further modification of the F-4.

Similarly, the Navy's F-14/Phoenix Missile combination should be terminated, and a new Navy aircraft should be designed primarily for air-to-surface capability, eliminating the air superiority overlap with the Air Force and recognizing the infeasibility of the form of fleet air defense contemplated in the F-14 design.

(3) Manpower Army

Including initial sustaining and support increments, each division includes about 49,000 men, so the recommended ten division general purpose force structure would involve a reduction of 163,000 men from the 1972 active duty Army of 942,000. A twenty-five per cent reduction in active divisions would permit corresponding cutbacks in base and individual support and training manpower. While some requirements in these areas will remain constant regardless of the size of general purpose forces, the full percentage cut can be achieved by a reduction in programmed Army inefficiency from the current 11 per cent to 5.5 per cent. In addition the ratio of support to combat forces is presently excessive. The consolidation of intelligence activities, plus elimination of domestic surveillance, would allow a reduction in intelligence and security forces by at least 8,000 men. Cancellation of the ABM and cutbacks in Army air defense missile installations account for strategic force reductions. It is also proper to plan a productivity growth factor of at least one-third of that experienced in private industry in setting military manpower levels.

Calculated from these adjustments, the recommended Army manpower level for 1975 is as follows:

General purpose forces (415,000 land forces, 2,000 mobility forces)	417,000
Other mission forces (21,000 Intelligence and Security, 13,000 Communication, 8,000 Research and Development, 8,000 Support to Other Nations)	50,000
General support forces (84,000 Base and Individual Support, 75,000 Training, 25,000 Command, 6,000 Logistics)	190,000
Strategic forces	3,000
Subtotal	660,000
Less productivity gain of 1.3 per cent annually on all but General Purpose and Strategic Forces	-12,000
Total Army	648,000

NAVY

Beginning from 605,000 active duty Navy personnel in 1972, the retirement of the portion of the carrier force recommended above would release 29,000 men from carrier crews and aircraft pilots and maintenance. Corresponding reductions in escort ships would release an additional 30,000. Base and individual support and training could be cut back proportionately.

Recommended Navy manpower levels for 1975 include:

General purpose forces (3,000 Land Forces, 132,000 Tactical Air Forces, 172,000 Naval Forces, and 3,000 Mobility Forces)	310,000
Other mission forces (10,000 Intelligence and Security, 11,000 Communications, 8,000 Research and Development, 5,000 Support to other nations)	34,000
General support forces (83,000 Base and Individual Support, 99,000 Training, 30,000 Command, 7,000 Logistics)	219,000
Strategic forces	19,000
Subtotal	582,000
Less productivity gain on all but General Purposes and Strategic forces	-9,000
Total Navy	571,000

AIR FORCE

The Air Force beginning from 753,000, should be reduced by 40,000 to reflect the reduction in SAC bomber forces, 15,000 for U.S. based strategic interceptors, and 13,000 to reflect the reduction in tactical air wings, with corresponding cuts in support forces.

Fiscal 1975 Air Force Manpower would be:

General purpose forces (68,000 Tactical Forces, 48,000 Mobility Forces)	116,000
Other mission forces (27,000 Intelligence and Security, 29,000 Communication, 18,000 Research and Development, 1,000 Support to Other Nations)	75,000
General support forces (123,000 Base and Individual Support, 56,000 Training, 50,000 Command, 10,000 Logistics)	239,000
Strategic forces	58,000
Subtotal	488,000
Less productivity gain	-12,000
Total Air Force	476,000

Marines

The Marine Corps, beginning from 207,000 men, can be reduced from three to two combat divisions, for a cut of 29,000 men. The logical elimination of the accompanying Marine air wing would release another 10,000, and Base and Individual Support and Training could be cut a total of 24,000.

The 1975 posture would be:

General purpose forces (58,000 land forces, 19,000 tactical air forces, 1,000 naval forces)	78,000
Other mission forces (2,000 Intelligence and security)	2,000
General support forces (26,000 base and individual support, 28,000 training, 6,000 command, 2,000 logistics)	62,000
Subtotal	142,000
Less productivity gains	-2,000
Total Marine Corps	140,000
Total active duty manpower	1,735,000

Reserves and Guard

The reserves should be upgraded to make it realistic that they be included in total force

levels deemed available within 60 days from the beginning of any major conflict. This objective requires improved training and command machinery to facilitate the rapid incorporation of reserve units into the active force structure, a step which could be accomplished without increased procurement costs because of suggested reductions in active force levels and because modern equipment will be freed by termination of the Indochina conflict.

The National Guard should be reconstituted and somewhat reduced in size to concentrate on its primary responsibility as a domestic militia, maintained to handle civil disturbances and natural emergencies. The change would involve significant adjustments in both training and equipment, giving the Guard a capability to deal with civil disturbances with strategies which vary, as they obviously should, from the capabilities required to deal with a military adversary.

The paid Reserve and Guard component of U.S. military forces should thus include the following:

National Guard (200,000 Army, 50,000 Air)	250,000
Reserves (500,000 Army, or nine division equivalents, 50,000 Air Reserve, 50,000 Naval Reserve)	600,000

Total Guard and Reserve... 850,000

Civilian personnel

The reductions in military personnel should be accompanied by proportional cutbacks in civilian personnel employed by the services and defense agencies. Defense civilian manpower under the recommended posture would be:

Army	265,000
Navy	225,000
Air Force	225,000
Defense agencies	46,000

Total civilian manpower... 761,000

End to the Draft

The military pay raises adopted in 1971, plus the application of the January, 1972, civilian pay raise of 5.5 per cent to the uniformed services should, with regular cost of living increases, be sufficient to attract an active duty force of 1,735,000 men composed entirely of volunteers. However, because the 5.5 per cent raise tended to broaden the gap between officer and enlisted men's pay, and because there is, given present excessive officer-to-enlisted men ratios, no need to supply additional inducements for officers, future cost of living pay increases should be applied disproportionately to enlisted pay levels.

Total alternative program (by 1975)

Military personnel:	
Army	648,000
Navy	471,000
Marine Corps	140,000
Air Force	476,000

Subtotal, active duty... 1,735,000

Reserves... 600,000

National Guard... 250,000

Total... 2,585,000

Civilian personnel... 761,000

Strategic forces:

Minuteman Missiles... 1,000

Polaris:

Submarines... 34

Missiles... 544

Posedon:

Submarines... 7

Missiles... 112

Strategic Bombers:

B-52's and FB-111's... 200

Manned Fighter-Interceptor Squadrons... 5

Air Defense Firing Batteries... 8

General purpose forces:

Land forces:

Army divisions... 10

Marine divisions... 2

Tactical air forces:

Air Force wings... 18

Navy attack wings... 6

Marine Corps double wings... 2

Naval forces:

Attack carriers... 6

Nuclear attack submarines... 69

Escort ships... 130

Amphibious assault ships... 56

Troopships, cargoships, replenishment ships... 80

Airlift forces:

Aircraft squadrons:

C-5A... 4

C-141 and other... 14

Total program costs

[billions of 1975 dollars]

Military personnel... \$18.6

Military retired pay... 5.1

Civilian payroll... 10.2

Subtotal, pay... 33.9

Equipment, supplies and services... 20.9

Total... 54.8

Administration's fiscal year 1972

program costs

[billions of 1975 dollars]

Military personnel... \$28.1

Military retired pay... 6.0

Civilian payroll... \$13.2

Subtotal, pay... 47.3

Equipment, supplies and services... 40.1

Total... 87.3

Less estimated Vietnam increment (fiscal year 1972 in fiscal year 1975 dollars) ... -12.8

Total baseline... 75.5

Proposed strategic forces program costs—1975

The following estimates are for strategic and related forces, including an allocated share of manpower costs, in billions of fiscal 1975 dollars.

Strategic forces:

Minuteman... \$0.2

Polaris/Posedon... 2.9

B-52/FB-111... 0.7

SRAM/SCAD... 0.1

Bomber Defense... 0.8

Surveillance... 0.7

Safeguard... 0

Subtotal, strategic forces... 5.4

Intelligence and Communications... 3.2

Research and development... 2.5

Supply and maintenance... 1.0

Training, medical and other personnel activities... 1.4

Administration... .6

Total, strategic forces... 14.1

Operating outlays... 7.6

Investment outlays... 6.5

Total... 14.1

Proposed general purpose forces program costs

The following estimates are for the recommended fiscal 1975 General Purpose budget, in 1975 dollars.

General purpose forces	\$17.9
Intelligence and communications	2.3
Airlift and sealift	1.5
Guard and Reserve	3.2
Research and development	3.0
Central supply and maintenance	4.1
Training, medical and other personnel activities	6.1
Administration	1.2
Support to other nations	.5
Military assistance	.9

Total general purpose forces... 40.7

Operating outlays... 26.5

Investment outlays... 14.2

Total... 40.7

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PARENTS ENHANCE EDUCATIONAL READINESS OF THEIR CHILDREN

HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have the opportunity to bring to the attention of my colleagues a program in the District of Columbia school system that acknowledges and uses the various strengths of parents concerned about the education of their children.

The program, a title I pupil personnel program, went into effect last year and it is designed to increase the readiness of children entering school by increasing the knowledge and skills of the pupil personnel staff who help parents of preschool children to become more aware and more competent teachers of their own children through a multidisciplinary approach.

The Journal of Learning Disabilities writes about this program in its December issue—I am pleased to share the article with my colleagues:

PARENTS ENHANCING EDUCATIONAL READINESS

A Title I program of the District of Columbia schools' Pupil Personnel Department, states in its annual report that the program's success is "the result of all our efforts—thinking together, working together, and pulling together—for something we believe in."

The objective of Claire Simpson, designer of the program and a psychiatric social worker, is to increase the readiness of children entering school by increasing the knowledge and skills of the pupil personnel staff, who in turn help parents of preschool children become more aware and more competent teachers of their children through a multidisciplinary approach.

Before pupil personnel staff (tutors) become involved in the program, they are given special instruction in seminars and workshops. In a general conceptual framework, the tutors are taught the sequence of physical maturation and how early learning is influenced by this sequence. It is necessary for them to understand this since learning does not just "take place," but involves the integration of the person's physical, mental and sensory processes.

In the tutors' workshops, educational materials, games, and so forth, are developed and instructions are given on how they are to be used in their work with the children and the parents. The tutors develop a simple

curriculum aimed at helping the parents and children to better understand school expectations. Instruction also involves the proper use of the language, how to train children to pay attention, how to teach them to "observe," and how to identify and match colors, sizes and shapes.

Parents are instructed in the broadening of the family's horizons. Mothers are shown how to teach their children in the home. Actually the tutor provides a model for the parent by utilizing the knowledge gained in tutor preparation classes. The tutor spends from one to three hours a week with each family in their home.

In addition to working with parents at home, central meetings are scheduled for parent participation and exchange of information and ideas. Tutors also have scheduled weekly sessions to review progress and discuss problems encountered.

As the parents' knowledge develops, the frequency of tutor visits decreases. However, the lines of communication are kept open even after it is mutually decided that parents can take over completely. Requirements for participation in this program are that the mother must be at home during all the tutor visits and that parents must request such services.

Due to the greater incidence of learning problems in children from poorer areas and because social problems directly relate to learning disabilities, this program is aimed at using and developing the strengths of the parents. PEER finds that most parents have strong desires to help their children but lack the know-how. PEER believes that the initial school experience can be successful. The program works to give the child a positive feeling about going to school. It is felt that parents will also have a good feeling about a school that has reached out to help them and recognizes the importance of parents to their children.

There has been an enthusiastic response from the parents in this program who now feel they are a part of teaching their own children. Parent attitudes are being influenced by this positive experience with the school. Shortly after the program got underway, there was already a list of parents waiting to take advantage of the program.

As a result, priorities were set up. If a child is identified as having a problem in school and there are preschool children in the home, these are the first contacted. The tutors then go into the homes to work with the mothers of these preschool children. It is felt that these are the ones that need help most urgently as their children could be seen as potential dropouts after they begin school.

A newsletter of the pupil personnel services, "Once Over Lightly," credited Mrs. Simpson as architect of the program and told of her starting the program. In the newsletter, Mrs. Simpson reported that through her work with children she became aware "that some had deficits in sensory processing that were developmental, and that they needed particular kinds of help in learning, which classical teaching did not provide them." Because of her interest, a first program was started at Edmonds School in the District of Columbia which is in a predominantly black neighborhood. In its first year, parents and pupil personnel staff from more than 15 schools were involved.

Mrs. Simpson writes in reference to the PEER program: "Both pupil personnel staff members and parents have learned how children learn . . . that there are developmental sequences and stages in learning . . . Emphasis in the program is on making the parents aware of the many opportunities they have for increasing their children's competence by talking with them, naming objects they use, things they do and feel." She says that "parents are learning to teach shapes, size relationships, colors, and directions, in the course of their normal days with their youngsters."

"The goal of the program," according to Mrs. Simpson, "is to increase the parent's awareness and competence as teachers, to involve them in their children's learning and in the excitement of learning so that they will continue to act as reinforcers and participants in their children's learning throughout their school experience."

Earlier this year when the program was just getting underway and other areas became aware of it, considerable interest was expressed by those involved with developmental problems of children. Mrs. Simpson will be pleased to share her experiences with those who wish to contact her at: Mrs. Claire E. Simpson, Coordinator, PEER, Department of Pupil Personnel Services, Public Schools of the District of Columbia, 3242-A Pennsylvania Ave. S. E., Washington, D.C. 20020.

UNWARRANTED INVASIONS OF PRIVACY BY THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Harrisonburg Daily News-Record of January 10 includes an editorial taking note of the strong and commendable effort by the senior Senator from North Carolina (Mr. ERVIN) to combat unwarranted invasions of privacy by the Department of Defense.

Senator ERVIN has for years done outstanding work in opposition to unjustified Government secrecy and invasions of individual privacy. Senator ERVIN's unsurpassed knowledge of constitutional law well qualifies him to champion the causes of free information and individual rights.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "Senator's Ultimatum" be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

SENATOR'S ULTIMATUM

Sen. Sam J. Ervin, recognized constitutional authority and opponent of government surveillance techniques used against the civilian population, has set the stage for a confrontation over the issue in the next session of Congress.

The North Carolinian will ask the Senate to subpoena Army generals or other officers or civilians engaged in spying activities involving civilians.

Ervin says he also will demand the Pentagon produce all documents collected in the surveillance program, including dossiers produced for Army files and computers. The senator has been trying to get this information from the Defense Department for nine months without success.

The demands will be made, Ervin indicated, soon after Congress reconvenes Jan. 18, unless the Army produces the data voluntarily.

That is not likely to happen. Because the senator is recognized by many of his colleagues as an authority on individual rights protected by the Constitution, his demands will carry considerable weight.

This is one instance in which a more conciliatory attitude on the part of the Army could prove the better part of valor. Ervin is not known for making idle threats. A confrontation such as the one his demands could

create would not help the government's credibility gap, but neither does widespread civilian surveillance by Army agents.

WILL THE PROPOSED LOUISVILLE INTERNATIONAL JETPORT BE A WHITE ELEPHANT?

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, in this day of increasing air travel it is obvious there is a need near metropolitan areas for air space and landing facilities. However, recent experience with several jetports around the country have resulted in being little more than enormous burdens to the taxpayers.

I would like to make a comparison in the case of the Dulles International Airport. Washington National and Dulles International are the only federally owned and operated airports in the country. They are also the only airports that are not in some way responsible to the community of which they are a part. The proposed Louisville International Airport, however, is responsible to the community. Airport planners and agencies involved—including local and Federal agencies—do have a responsibility to the citizens of that community.

It is well known to most Americans by now that the U.S. taxpayer is saddled with a \$120 million "white elephant" built outside of Washington, D.C., Dulles International was thought by some of the best airport facility planners in the country that it would pay for itself in relatively a few short years; yet this "Taj Mahal" set out in the plains of Loudoun and Fairfax Counties in Virginia is still not paying its way today—all at the expense, mind you, of the taxpayer.

Thirty years ago when the Federal Government first got into the airport business, airport location was not a major concern. I submit it should be one of the first concerns. No longer are airports something off to themselves as they were two or three decades ago. In their impact on the environment, their burden upon local ground facilities, their contribution to the area's economy, their performance of vital transportation services, and a dozen other ways, airports today are an integral part of the urban complex they serve.

These factors are even more magnified in Louisville where the Louisville Jetport will not be federally owned and operated and where the communities of this area must have a voice in airport planning and policy. In the Louisville and Jefferson County Air Board booklet entitled, "Facts You Should Know About the Air Board's Proposed New Airport for the Louisville Region," there is a sentence that reads:

Under Federal laws, citizens are given the controlling voice in the decision, and are encouraged to express their thoughts about the project.

I believe our citizens should be given every opportunity to express their views. They are the ones that would have to live with any problems that might be created.

The problems of airport planners today are myriad. They must create a facility that is close by in time to air travelers, economical to build and economical in the services to the airlines. They must offer all the desired services and accommodations for passengers. They must integrate their planning with all surface modes of transportation. They must have sufficient capacity to accommodate present traffic and future growth. Finally, and most important, they must allow for modification in their planning that allows for serious citizen objections.

Of all the factors that must concern today's airport planner, the problem of airport access and ground circulation is of special importance. Airport access apparently was not given much consideration in the construction of Dulles International.

It deeply concerns me that one of the most farcical episodes in the history of Federal projects should bear the name of Dulles after the late Secretary of State who fought so untiringly and so successfully for the cause of universal freedom. For the Dulles International has become a most unamusing and all too costly a joke on the American taxpayer. Yet, one of the prime concerns of the U.S. Congress should be the taxpayer.

I am even more deeply concerned that the same lack of foresight and proper planning will occur with the Louisville Jetport as occurred with the Dulles International Airport.

The Dulles International was completed in 1962 and opened that year. Experts had estimated that this federally financed jetport would cost only \$40 million and would take about 2½ years to complete. At that time there were a few Members in the Congress who insisted that the cost would surely double before completion and that it would take more than 5 years rather than 2½ years. That was a more realistic target date and a voice or two was heard on the House floor, but unfortunately, then as now, some of us in the Congress have to reckon with the immense force of bureaucratic inertia.

When Dulles opened in 1962, the Federal Aviation Administration predicted it would be handling 2,600,000 passengers annually by 1965. Instead fewer than 1 million used Dulles in 1966—4 years after its construction. The FAA estimated in 1966 that Dulles International was only operating at 20 percent of its capacity. So its growth has been far below its expectation.

I am sure the American taxpayer would be interested to know that in 1966 Dulles' net book loss, counting interest and depreciation, was running at a rate of \$7.3 million a year. The Federal Aviation Administration, however, initially assured Congress that the airport would repay its assigned capital costs over 30 years. Later, FAA officials were speaking in terms of 35 years or more. Recently, a former FAA official who played a leading role in the planning of Dulles Airport says that, under present conditions, it might take 45 years or more.

Mr. Speaker, I believe our citizens and taxpayers would also be interested in the adjusted net losses for 1967 through 1971

and the projected operating losses for 1972 through 1977, which I have obtained from the Government Accounting Office and submit for the RECORD:

ADJUSTED NET LOSS REPORTED BY THE FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION FOR DULLES INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

Fiscal year	Loss ¹	Statement page number
Actual:		
1967.....	\$6,947,278	3
1968.....	6,959,665	6
1969.....	6,312,959	9
1970.....	5,720,145	12
1971.....	5,460,914	14
Projected:		
1972.....	5,099,300	17
1973.....	5,955,300	17
1974.....	3,617,400	17
1975.....	3,676,800	17
1976.....	3,020,900	17
1977.....	4,181,300	17

¹ FAA's computed loss for Dulles includes an adjustment to reduce depreciation and imputed interest expenses for constructive grant funding. The adjustment is based on the assumption that, had Dulles been under sponsorship of a State or local entity rather than the Federal Government the airport would have been entitled to Federal grant funds which would reduce investment and related expenses. GAO has not previously reviewed the propriety of this practice.

From these figures, in speaking about Dulles' 1966 net loss there are those who would answer that FAA's decision at that time to allow jets into National Airport is a factor in continued losses. This is only a minor point. It is only a fraction of the major and paramount problem—the problem of inaccessibility. The majority of the jet service for the Washington regional area is furnished at National because of its convenient site location. This results in National being used at virtually maximum allowable levels, whereas Dulles has continued to be substantially underutilized.

The following table compares the actual air carrier operations and related passenger traffic at National and Dulles for each calendar year since 1964.

[In thousands]				
Calendar year ¹	Air carrier operations		Passenger traffic	
	National	Dulles	National	Dulles
1964.....	210.7	28.2	5,993.9	782.3
1965.....	220.1	32.6	6,726.4	946.6
1966.....	216.6	37.1	7,665.9	1,106.3
1967.....	238.5	51.0	9,126.6	1,476.4
1968.....	235.0	58.9	9,672.6	1,661.4
1969.....	221.8	63.4	9,905.1	2,010.9
1970.....	212.3	62.1	9,400.1	1,981.0

¹ Figures compiled by GAO, August 1971.

This table readily indicates the lack of growth at Dulles that was projected in the planning stage.

I bring out these facts and figures to show that at the expense of the taxpayer there has been a great tendency to overestimate the growth of the use of Dulles Airport. I realize that since 1969 there has been a slight decline in air travel and Dulles has likewise had a decline in passenger figures.

At the same time, the General Accounting Office found last month that the Federal Aviation Administration has made no real effort to increase the use of Dulles International, while planning to spend millions more to expand present facilities on the basis of purported needs in the future.

Is this the same bureaucratic Govern-

ment agency—FAA—that is now participating in a dual role with the Louisville and Jefferson County Air Board Airport design miles from Louisville?

I point out that though I have been accused of being a conservative for my years in Congress, this is a matter that very much deserves a conservative viewpoint in not dashing off into large annual deficits at the expense of the American taxpayer or at the expense of our local and State taxpayer.

As the Baltimore Sun reported in late 1961:

When a government project exceeds its original estimated cost in excess of 300 percent, any taxpayer has the right to bawl.

The projected cost was originally \$40 million, but this eventually rose to more than \$120 million to the American taxpayer. I have never heard of any defense overrun running into that kind of extravagant excess.

While all of this may not have been FAA's fault, it was a pretty sorry record and one which makes me wonder whether the Congress would have so blithely embarked on the project had it realized the final cost.

Federal statisticians who forecast the traffic at Dulles International now admit that they overshot their calculations. Will the same gross miscalculation now take place at Louisville? Will this too be another white elephant? They were not even lukewarm in their predictions at Dulles.

As reported in the Washington Post in November of this year, figures by the Government Accounting Office showed that passenger traffic at Dulles for the first quarter of 1971 had dropped 13 percent from the same period in 1970. Since the opening of Dulles, it has now operated at a total deficit of more than \$70 million.

Dulles International today is still only handling about 20 percent of the region's air traffic. The remoteness of Dulles to Washington, D.C., is almost identical to the remoteness of the proposed Oldham-Shelby-Henry Counties location to Louisville.

While we are doing some calculation of facts and figures let us consider the obvious which does not appear to have occurred to the Louisville Jefferson County Air Board officials or to the FAA officials.

This is the matter of the significant difference in the population and jetport needs of the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C., and the metropolitan area of Louisville, Ky., and Louisville's proposed land acquisition as compared to the land size of Dulles.

1970 Census

Population:	
Louisville metropolitan area.....	826,553
Washington metropolitan area.....	2,861,123
Jetport acreage:	
Louisville metropolitan area.....	35,000
Washington metropolitan area.....	10,000

It is obvious that with the population differentials between Washington and Louisville and the comparable acreage difference that there is some very unrealistic planning of this jetport. The greater metropolitan area of Washington has a population of 2,861,123 and the greater metropolitan area of Louisville is

only 826,553—less than a third of that of Washington. Yet, Louisville planners are seeking 35,000 acres compared to the 10,000 total acres of Dulles International or 3½ times as much land for one-third the population.

More important, let us consider the character of these two metropolitan communities. Washington as the seat of our National Government has a regular flow of State, municipal, business, and private persons coming into the Federal City to conduct business with the Government.

There is a huge influx of visitors from across the country who come to visit their Nation's Capital adding to the transitory population that bring a heavy burden on air traffic. Washington is fast becoming the hub of international transportation just as New York is today. There are thousands of groups traveling from abroad that merge on our Capital City. The foreign embassies stationed in Washington regularly have visitors coming to the city. Our own State Department helps to multiply the mass of visitors coming to Washington. All of this bringing about voluminous amounts of airline activity.

If 10,000 acres is the "airport of the future" for the Nation's Capital, should not it be enough for Louisville? This 35,000-acre tract of land for jetport use is unrealistic and will be an even greater burden on our taxpayers than that of the Dulles International.

I believe we owe a much better accountability to our citizens and without much better evidence than has been presented, I oppose our constructing a "35,000-acre white elephant" at the expense of the taxpayer.

Additionally, the jetport studies that I have seen take no cognizance of aerospace innovations of the future. Short takeoff and landing procedures—known as STOL—vertical takeoff engines—already in use by the military are innovations that must be considered when officials consider long term land needs for airport construction. Ten or 15 years from now our jets may well be landing on runways in size, now only capable of accepting small general aviation aircraft. There is substantial evidence to support such a theory.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE RESPONDS

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. KOCH, Mr. Speaker, ordinarily I would not comment on the statements of a Member of this House, but I believe that members of the public who have been attacked on the floor of the House by a Member should have the opportunity to respond. It is for this reason that I am placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, many members of which reside in my congressional district. The statement responds to charges made by our colleague

from Louisiana (Mr. RARICK) against this organization and other Jewish groups. I personally have a high regard for the Anti-Defamation League and its membership, as well as the other Jewish organizations attacked.

The statement follows:

RARICK: EXTREMIST VOICE IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS

For America's extreme ideological and political Right, for the diehard advocates of racial inequality and segregation, and now even for the dark demi-world of professional anti-Semitism, there is a shrill and persistent voice in the Congress of the United States.

The voice belongs to the representative from the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana, 47-year-old John R. Rarick, an Indiana-born former Louisiana state district court judge who was first elected to Congress in 1966. It brings to the House, and to various extremist gatherings, the unreason and the inflammatory vocabulary of blatant white racism and of a stark brand of anti-Semitism unheard in Congress for many years.

Surprisingly, Rarick's demagoguery has received little attention outside of the periodicals of the Far Right and the hate fringe, those whose issues and concerns Rarick has made his own. But as a member of Congress he has provided the extremist causes a new seat of seeming respectability if not a wider and more attentive audience.

The name of John Rarick has been lent to promotional and fund-raising activities of Radical Right and racist pressure groups, and his presence on the platform has been a highlight of many a Rightist rally.

On Labor Day, 1965, before his election to Congress and while he was still serving as a state district judge in Louisiana, Rarick addressed a rally in Bogalusa, La., sponsored by the Anti-Communist Christian Association, a camouflaged Klan group. Leaders, and many members of the organization were at the time defendants in a court action brought by the U.S. Department of Justice to enjoin them from continuing violence and intimidation against black people and white civil rights workers in the area.

Since reaching Capitol Hill, the Louisiana congressman has been using the House of Representatives as a forum and a sounding board to inject into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD long diatribes from the busy extremist presses. These insertions by now total hundreds of pages and have cost American taxpayers tens of thousands of dollars.

ANTI-SEMITISM

It is to this historical record of the Congress that John Rarick has committed a number of baldly anti-Jewish articles and speeches by the conspiracy theorists of extremism, both past and present. Examples:

On April 19, 1971, a speech delivered by Col. Arch Roberts, head of the Committee to Restore the Constitution, a lengthy harangue in which Roberts, quoting from anti-Semitic pamphleteers such as Eustace Mullins, attempted to show that "internationalist money lenders" (a number of Jewish names supplied) had formed an "Invisible Government of Monetary Power" to secure world domination.

In January, 1970, an article by well-known anti-Semite Richard Cotten (a favorite source of Rarick's), again on the alleged wiles of these "conspiratorial" bankers, in which Cotten at several points used the Hebrew word "shekels" when referring to gold and then spoke of "users" and "satanic swindlers" who are, he said, plotting to "destroy Christianity."

On April 23, 1970, a blatantly anti-Semitic speech originally made in 1934 by the late Rep. Louis T. McFadden. Quoting articles published in the 1920's about the notorious

anti-Jewish forgery, the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, McFadden had contended that predictions contained in the spurious *Protocols* had come to pass, that "the Jews have the gold" in the United States and that New Deal monetary reforms had been specifically designed and written by the Jewish international money changers." Rarick quoted McFadden further: "Do you not see the *Protocols* of Zion manifested in the appointment of Henry Morgenthau as Secretary of the Treasury?"

In the fall of 1970, a series of lengthy articles by John Birch Society writer Gary Allen that were then appearing in the Society's magazine, *American Opinion*, and that attributed to "international bankers" the control not only of America's currency but of the nation's newspapers and broadcast media, with lists of predominantly Jewish names allegedly establishing the connection.

On June 4, 1971, a speech by Curtis B. Dall, chairman of Washington's extreme Rightist pressure group, Liberty Lobby, in which Dall charged that these same diabolical bankers and some "well-financed atheists" were threatening Christianity.

On February 23, 1971, an anti-Semitic source of utter fantasy—a discredited canard entitled "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century" which was, said Rarick, "a scheme to bring about self-guilt within the white race and to promote amalgamation of the races." Rarick identified the document as having been written in 1912 by "a member of a different minority group, Communist Israel Cohen." The racial scheme would, in the words of Israel Cohen, "deliver America to our cause."

The truth: There never was such an "Israel Cohen" and there never was such a Communist document. "Cohen" had made his first identifiable appearance in a paid advertisement in the December, 1956 issue of *The Virginian*, an anti-Semitic monthly then published in Newport News. "Cohen" and his so-called "Racial Program" had achieved wider currency after being inserted in the *Congressional Record* by a Mississippi congressman in 1957 and the hoax has been quoted since then in the anti-Jewish propaganda tracts of such professional bigots as Gerald Smith, Kenneth Goff, and Myron Fagan. (It had been thoroughly exposed by the Anti-Defamation League and by the Washington *Evening Star* a full 13 years before Rarick again sought to clothe it in respectability, but like so many anti-Jewish forgeries it has lingered as a useful weapon in the arsenals of bigotry.)

On February 24, 1969, an anti-civil rights statement signed by the Citizens Congressional Committee of Los Angeles, a front group for Gerald Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade.

On March 2, 1971, an article from Ron Gostick's virulently anti-Jewish *Canadian Intelligence Digest* written by Eric Butler, Australia's best-known anti-Semite for more than a quarter of a century. Butler, the author of a scurrilous commentary on the *Protocols* entitled *The International Jew*, was described by Rarick in the *Congressional Record* as "an eminent Australian."

On October 27, 1969, a speech by P. A. del Valle, a retired Marine Corps general who has been a prominent personality in the world of professional anti-Semitism. In the speech revived by Rarick, del Valle charged that "the pride of the Jews" caused them to reject God. He implied that Jews are the "authors" of revolution, asserted that the "sons of Jacob" are plotting the destruction of Christianity, and assailed what he called "the One World Government dreamed up in the *Protocols* of Zion..."

Does John Rarick recognize this as anti-Semitic? On more than one recent occasion, he quoted someone's definition of anti-Semitism—"a smear term used by Communists against those who effectively oppose and ex-

pose them." Rarick himself has made statements that were indicative of his own attitudes about Jews—attitudes not very different from those expressed by the Cottens and the del Valles with whom he sometimes has linked his name.

Shortly before Christmas in 1969, Rarick commented about a protest mounted by the American Civil Liberties Union and others against a sectarian Christmas display under apparent government sponsorship. Rarick said the protest "follows the pattern of the minority, who are not content to live in freedom outside of the way of life of the rest of the Nation, but who feel compelled to bring their neighbors down to their own level in all questions where they find embarrassing difficulties to exist." The congressman added that he was "noting the names of the counsel representing the leftist ACLU . . ." They were three Jewish-sounding names.

On January 2, 1971, Rarick went out of his way to attack the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish community after a number of civil rights groups in Virginia had criticized the use of right-wing films in a training course for the Virginia State Police. Although ADL was mentioned in a newspaper article about the protest, which Rarick placed in the *Congressional Record*, the complaint itself had been brought by spokesmen for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Richmond Urban League, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Virginia Council on Human Relations, a private group. Rarick, nevertheless, declared that "it behooves Jewish leaders to get their activists back into the mainstream of the American society."

Rarick himself is a swimmer in the brackish backwaters of that society's politics. He has, for example, maintained a close and telling relationship with the personages and policies of Liberty Lobby, perhaps the most extreme of America's larger Far Rightist organizations. The founder and guiding hand of Liberty Lobby is Willis Carto, an elusive figure who has been a leading promoter in the underworld of professional anti-Semitism for over a decade. Carto, who has expressed admiration for Adolf Hitler, has been a prime mover behind several blatantly anti-Jewish publications (*American Mercury*, *Western Destiny*, *Washington Observer Newsletter*). He has also sought to revive and to promote the neo-Hitlerian writings of the late Francis Parker Yockey, a shadowy anti-Semite and neo-fascist of the 1940s and 1950s. In 1960, Yockey committed suicide in a San Francisco prison cell, a few days after he had been arrested by the FBI and charged with passport fraud following a series of mysterious trips to various parts of Europe.

Rarick's endorsement of Carto's Liberty Lobby has appeared on the Lobby's promotional materials. Shortly before Rarick was first elected to Congress, editor Ned Touchstone of the anti-Semitic publication, *The Councilor*, with which Rarick has been associated, boasted that candidate Rarick "is on a first name basis" with Carto.

RARICK, THE JEWS AND ISRAEL

The olden anti-Semitic canards that John Rarick has sent re-echoing through the halls of Congress and in its official *Record*, find a practical application to policy matters on the question of the Middle East, where the Louisiana congressman sees most of the problems created by "Israeli aggression." The aroma of anti-Semitism was apparent when on December 10, 1970, Rarick declared that U.S. policy with respect to Israel is that of America's creditors, "the wealthy international bankers."

On that same day, Rarick inserted in the *Congressional Record* a long anti-Israel harangue delivered a week earlier by Alfred Lilienthal, for many years a leading pro-Arab propagandist. Lilienthal's speech was made at a New York dinner sponsored by the

National Economic Council. The NEC affair had been held to honor the organization's founder, the late Merwin K. Hart, a leading personality in the world of anti-Semitism for three decades, until his death in 1962. The dinner's guest list had featured a galaxy of Radical Right leaders and activists such as Founder Robert Welch of The John Birch Society, Arab diplomats and pro-Arab propagandists, and a number of well-known anti-Semites, including Richard Cotten and (on the dais) P. A. del Valle. One of the chief speakers of the evening has been Rep. John Rarick.

Rarick views any U.S. commitment to Israel or any aid for that beleaguered state as dangerous. He has declared: "The apparent policy of our country with regard to Israel is a guaranteed survival, regardless of cost of participation by our Nation."

On another occasion, Rarick charged that the United States was making available to Israel "the weapons with which to continue their transgressions against" the authority of the United Nations—a bizarre argument for a congressman who at other times has parroted the anti-U.N. line of Radical Right extremists and the lunatic hate fringe by describing the United Nations as illegal, un-American, Communist, atheist and anti-white. Rarick, it seems, becomes a champion of the U.N. only when it suits his anti-Israel prejudices.

Those prejudices surfaced as recently as September 24, 1971, following passage by the U.S. Senate of the draft extension law. In the *Congressional Record* of that date, Rarick cast aspersions on the integrity of a number of Senators who had voted for the law, charging that they had bowed to "the financial and political powers in this country"—presumably "the wealthy international bankers." Rarick charged that the Senators had approved the draft extension "to prepare U.S. men for impending hostilities in the Middle East."

Rarick has also attacked respected Jewish organizations because of their support for Israel; the targets have included B'nai B'rith, the United Jewish Appeal and Bonds for Israel. His attacks on UJA have included the placement in the *Congressional Record* of the full text of an anti-UJA blast published by Carto's Liberty Lobby.

Despite his zealous opposition to Israel and to American aid for the Israelis, Rarick has sometimes been less than candid on the subject when approached by Jewish constituents. Persons with Jewish names who wrote him in the summer of 1970 out of concern for the situation in the Middle East, and for Israel's dangerous position there, received a reply which stated in part: "You will be interested to hear that a number of senators have already signed a letter urging the President to authorize the sale of jet aircraft to Israel . . ." The letter contained no indication whatsoever of Rarick's own unyielding opposition to such aid for an Israel confronted by Arab states and the Soviet Communist imperialism that Rarick claims to abhor.

In any case, Rarick is perhaps the most vociferous opponent of Israel on Capitol Hill.

LABOR DAY, 1965

Early in September 1965, John Rarick, then a state district judge in Louisiana, addressed a parade rally held on Labor Day in Bogalusa, La., and sponsored by the Anti-Communist Christian Association, a cover name used by a Klan unit in the Bogalusa area which had been a center of racial tension and of repeated acts of Klan violence and intimidation. The KKK unit had been part of the so-called "Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" and their activities around Bogalusa had been so extreme that the U.S. Justice Department had filed a Federal court action under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, aimed at enjoining the Klan group from further assaults and intimidation against black people and white civil rights workers. The

Klan unit, its leaders, various members, and other individuals were scheduled to appear in a New Orleans court room the day after Labor Day.

Sharing the platform with Rarick at the Klan-front rally was Richard Cotten, the anti-Semitic broadcaster who, according to the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* of September 7, 1965, stated that one of the purposes of his trip from California to Louisiana was to persuade Judge Rarick to run for Congress.

The main speaker at the rally was to have been Robert DePugh, leader of the gun-toting, extreme Rightist organization known as The Minutemen. DePugh, however, was unable to appear and the Labor Day gathering of 3,000 was told by Cotten that DePugh had a court appearance elsewhere the next day and therefore could not make the trip.

When the Klan court case opened in New Orleans the next day, witnesses included Charles Christmas, who had served as Grand Dragon of the Klan unit, and his second-in-command, Saxon Farmer, who had served as Grand Titan.

Both testified that the Klan no longer existed in the Bogalusa area and that because of its "bad reputation," it had been decided to try to "improve" the organizational "image" by dropping the Klan label and replacing it with the Anti-Communist Christian Association name tag.

Christmas testified that most of the officers of the Klan unit had kept the same positions in the Association. (A Congressional committee, which conducted a two-year investigation of the Klans, said in a 1967 report that articles of incorporation for the Association had been notarized in December, 1964, and had subsequently been filed with the Secretary of State of Louisiana. The incorporation papers, published in the report, showed that Saxon Farmer was a registered agent, a director and an incorporator of the Association.)

Christmas also told the court that the Klan had had a "wrecking crew"—a group of so-called "peace keepers"—but that the leaders had come to feel that its work was unnecessary and could be adequately handled by regular law enforcement authorities.

As soon as Christmas and Farmer had testified, the Federal Government—with the permission of the three-judge court—added the Anti-Communist Christian Association as a defendant in the case. The Government charged that the Association was a "front and dummy" for the Klan.

On the second day of the proceedings, the defendants admitted most of the Government's allegations of violence in a stipulation aimed, according to *The New York Times*, at avoiding some of the embarrassment of open testimony concerning assaults, harassment and intimidation. In admitting certain of the charges, the defendants conceded that they had assaulted pickets and demonstrators, threatened Negroes with death, brandished guns and clubs, and that they had threatened civil disorder to discourage demonstrations and speeches by pro-civil rights groups. (They did not, however, agree that each person accused in a specific instance had actually participated.)

On December 1, 1965, the court, headed by Judge John Minor Wisdom, issued a strongly worded injunction, ordering the Klansmen and other defendants to halt their "acts of terror and intimidation." The decision, written by Judge Wisdom, denounced the Klan as a "fearful conspiracy against society" and described the defendants as "ignorant bullies . . ."

It was at a 1965 Labor Day parade rally, sponsored by such types, that John Rarick had appeared, while a state district judge, the year before his election to Congress.

ON MATTERS OF RACE

When elected to Congress, Rarick had served as a member of the State Board of the

Louisiana (White) Citizens Councils, whose leader was Leander Perez, now dead, a leading political figure in Louisiana, a racist, and an anti-Semite. Perez had been excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church in 1962 for his views on race and his opposition to desegregation of Catholic schools in Louisiana. Rarick had also served as an "advisor" to *The Councilor*, the shrilly racist and anti-Semitic paper then published by the Louisiana White Citizens Councils under the editorship of extremist Ned Touchstone.

The Councilor has for some time helped to promote Rarick. In 1967, for example, while he was serving his first term in Congress, the extremist periodical had urged Rarick to run for Governor of Louisiana and had dubbed him the "White Hope."

In May 1971, *The Councilor* sent out a mailing that included a number of speeches by Rarick, reprinted from the *Congressional Record*. The mailing was a promotional effort by Touchstone on behalf of Councilor Research, Inc., which has replaced the Citizens Councils of Louisiana as publisher of Touchstone's hate sheet.

If John Rarick arrived in Congress five years ago as Touchstone's fancied "white hope," he has remained steadfast as a leading spokesman on Capitol Hill for racial segregation—especially segregation in the schools, where Rarick sees integration required by the law of the land as "tyranny" and segregation required by local law as "freedom."

When Rarick placed the "Israel Cohen" propaganda forgery in the *Congressional Record*, his remarks were captioned: "Race Destroyers Are the True Racists." This best describes the crux of his thinking on race problems. In his view, advocates of integration or civil rights are the "racists" and the "destroyers" rather than those who advocate separation and white supremacy.

On January 22, 1971, Rarick introduced two bills to translate diehard extremist "white hope" into action. He proposed legislation that would (1) "amend" the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to permit complete racial segregation in education and (2) make Federal marshals available to maintain segregated schools by force. He has also introduced bills to repeal the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the "open housing" law enacted in 1968:

Rarick has meanwhile accused the Nixon Administration of "continued programs to pacify the fanatical race mixers." He has termed Administration proposals to end housing bias part of a "continuing assault against the greatest culture and the greatest Nation ever bequeathed by God to man." (This culture, said Rarick, has been preserved by the "white population from its suburban homes.")

Rarick's massive injections of extremist propaganda into the *Congressional Record* have included some of the outpourings of the cultists of "scientific" racism—in particular the lengthy didactic letters periodically sent to Presidents, members of the Cabinet and other officials by Carleton Putnam, a tireless preacher of Negro racial inferiority.

Rarick himself has referred to a much-publicized marriage of a few years ago as that of a "high-ranking Cabinet officer's daughter and a member of the Negroid race..." A black New Orleans attorney, Lolis Elie, has testified under oath that Rarick, when a judge, had once said to him in court: "I didn't know they let coons practice law." Elie added that Rarick had brushed aside objections to the use of the word "nigger" on the grounds that its use was an exercise of "freedom of speech."

Rarick had labeled the Army's program for improving race relations "brainwashing," and at the same time has befriended an Army officer who was disciplined for refusing to shake hands with a fellow officer who was black.

Rarick termed it "a disgrace" when the

flag was flown at half-staff for the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., whom he described as an "errand boy" for "International Communism." He has called black Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall "a scamp" and "a cheat."

When Secretary of State William P. Rogers returned from a visit to Africa in 1970, he was sharply criticized by Rarick for the "rapport" he had shown with black African leaders. In the same critical breath, Rarick quoted, with obvious admiration, the Prime Minister of the apartheid state of South Africa.

This reflects still another facet of Rarick's presence in Washington. The Louisiana congressman has been a virtual lobbyist on Capitol Hill for the white supremacy government of Rhodesia. Rarick went to Rhodesia in 1968 as a guest of the American-Southern African Council, a group which has had operational ties with Carto's Far Rightist Liberty Lobby. Rarick has since peppered the *Congressional Record* with articles from Rhodesian government and white supremacy publications, speeches by Prime Minister Ian Smith, and assorted "reports" lauding the Rhodesian government and denigrating efforts at self-government by black African states. One such document, filling 25 columns in the *Record*, was the work of anti-Semite Richard Cotten.

Rarick has also sent personal pleas to President Nixon and Secretary Rogers urging American recognition of Ian Smith's government. He sees political skullduggery in America's unfriendly posture:

"It has been suggested by some critics," he has said, expressing innuendo as though it were not his own, "... that the Rhodesians would fare better if there were more Rhodesians voting in New York. I offer no opinion on this idea."

RARICK AND THE RADICAL RIGHT

While he has made himself the Radical Right's Capitol Hill spokesman, John Rarick has also actively collaborated in the workings of some of the more extreme organizations in the movement, some of them tainted with bigotry.

The congressman's relationship with Willis Carto's Liberty Lobby has been mentioned. In addition to lending his signature to the Lobby's promotional and fund-raising materials, Rarick was also the chief speaker at the 1970 Liberty Lobby national convention in Los Angeles. Not surprisingly, Rarick's voting record was tabulated as 100% perfect in a Liberty Lobby rating chart of congressmen and senators.

In October, 1970, Rarick addressed the Washington "March for Victory," headed by Right-wing preacher Carl McIntyre.

A month earlier the Louisiana congressman had been the lead-off speaker at the annual conference of the White Citizens Councils in Atlanta. On September 21, he inserted in the *Congressional Record* the speech that had been delivered at the segregationist convention by Tom Anderson, a columnist who is also a member of the National Council of The John Birch Society.

In 1968 and 1970, when Rarick sought reelection to Congress, Anderson's name headed the "National Committee" of "American Friends of John Rarick" whose letterhead proclaimed that it was "Dedicated to the Re-election of this Great American and Courageous Congressman." The National Committee of the organization has included anti-Semites Cotton, del Valle and Curtis Dall, and a number of other individuals who have been active on America's political Far Right for many years.

On the Fourth of July weekend in 1971, Rarick addressed the "New England Rally for God, Family and Country," a massive Far Rightist carnival held annually in Boston under the tutelage of John Birch Society officials and supporters.

As mentioned earlier, Rarick was also a featured speaker at a December, 1970 dinner of the National Economic Council, an extreme Rightist organization founded by the late Merwin K. Hart. In addition, Rarick has addressed several conventions of the Far Rightist coalition known as the Congress of Freedom, sharing the platform on at least one such occasion with anti-Semites Richard Cotten and Ned Touchstone, and with former Admiral John Crommelin, a racist, an anti-Semite and in bygone years a frequent candidate for public office in Alabama. Also on the platform was Opal Tanner White, a longtime co-worker of hate-monger Gerald Smith.

Rep. Rarick has himself served as chairman of at least one Far Right organization—the Supreme Court Amendment League (SCALE), which made its debut at the Birchite New England Rally on July 4, 1968, and which boasted an advisory board that included many names well-known as active Right-wing extremists and that also included some well-known peddlers of bigotry.

As a Congressional echo of the Radical Right movement, Rarick has been the drummer for an endless variety of far-out causes. A few examples: his opposition (the extreme Rightist position is usually a negative one) to the United Nations; to civil rights law; to the distribution of UNICEF Christmas cards; to gun registration, the Peace Corps, and the television program "Sesame Street"; to disarmament negotiations, sex education, and the vote for 18-year-olds. On the subject of the Vietnam War, Rarick asked an April, 1971 meeting of the Far Right Liberty Amendment Committee in San Diego, Calif.:

"Why the hell doesn't somebody in Washington have the guts to push the button?"

Rarick has accused the Nixon Administration of appeasing the "Hanoi Fifth Column." He has called the My Lai atrocity "the massacre hoax" and "the Pinkville massacre production."

An article by Rarick that appeared in the September, 1970, issue of the anti-Semitic *American Mercury* bore the title, "Americans Do Not Support the Genocide Treaty"—and yet Rarick has invoked that same treaty in opposing school busing to achieve integration which, he argues, is "genocide."

Recent Rarick statements have brought disturbing echoes of the McCarthy era to the House Chamber. He has said that "in the State Department there is only room for those who are soft on Communism, pinks, punks, and fellow travelers," and he has hinted that the Department is heavily loaded with homosexuals. In the fall of 1970, he declared:

"The American people realize that their major menace is not the big Red army from without, but the big pink army within. With Marxism taking the world, the people are wondering why there is no mention of an obvious Communist menace within the higher echelon of our Government."

Rarick followed this statement by inserting in the *Congressional Record* an article by a leading "subversion" hunter of the Radical Right, Frank Capell, who charged that Secretary of State William P. Rogers "continues to protect the Communists."

Rarick has also placed in the *Congressional Record* attacks published by Capell against Presidential foreign affairs advisor Henry Kissinger in which Capell charged that Kissinger was, like Secretary Rogers, soft on Communists and Communism.

One such Capell attack on the White House aide was inserted by Rarick on January 27, 1969, only a few weeks after President Nixon named Kissinger to his new post, and only three days after it had appeared as the January 24th issue of Capell's *Herald of Freedom*. The same Capell creed made the *Record* again on Rarick's initiative, being reprinted on July 21, 1971. In October 1971, Rarick spread on the *Congressional Record* a more

recent attack on Kissinger published by Capell on Oct. 1.

In each of the Capell articles, Kissinger was described as the son of a rabbi; the 1969 article spoke of Kissinger's father as "reportedly a prominent rabbi and a Zionist in Berlin." (At about the same time in 1969, Americans for National Security—an arm of Carto's Liberty Lobby apparatus—was promoting a so-called "fact-sheet" concerning Kissinger which described the father as "a prominent rabbi and a Zionist in Berlin.")

(Henry Kissinger's father, Louis, now in his 80s, resides in New York City. He told the Anti-Defamation League on October 26, 1971, that he had never been a rabbi, that he had always been a school teacher, and that before coming to the United States in 1938 as a refugee from Hitler's terror, he had never been part of the Zionist movement, although he added that his "heart is for Israel.")

By the time Rarick got around to using Capell's material in the *Congressional Record*, Capell's credentials as a source of accurate information about such matters had been seriously damaged. He had authored, over the years, such sensationalist pamphlets of Far Right extremism as *Treason is the Reason*, *The Strange Case of Jacob Javits*, *The Strange Death of Marilyn Monroe*, and, in 1968, *Robert F. Kennedy—Emerging American Dictator* (renamed *Robert F. Kennedy—A Political Biography* after the Senator was assassinated).

Capell had also run afoul of the law on two occasions. In 1944, while an investigator for the War Production Board, he was indicted by a Federal grand jury on charges of conspiracy to obtain bribes, pleaded guilty to three counts, and in May 1945, was sentenced to pay a fine of \$2,000 on the first count and to serve a year and a day in prison on each of the three counts.

In March 1965, Capell was indicted by a Los Angeles County grand jury of conspiring to commit criminal libel by circulating an affidavit which falsely charged that a U.S. Senator from California had been involved in a morals offense 15 years earlier. Capell wrote a letter of apology to the Senator as part of a *nolo contendere* plea to a lesser charge.

He has since published his booklets and his *Herald of Freedom* from a small town in New Jersey and has attracted a certain following on the Far Right political fringes; articles bearing his name have been appearing regularly in recent months in periodicals published by the John Birch Society, with whom Capell shares a belief in the "conspiracy theory" of history and of current events.

Rarick likewise shares a belief in the "conspiracy theory" of history with other ideologies and pamphleteers of the Radical Right—the theory which leads inevitably to suspicion, to witch-hunting, to smear—and often to bigotry. Rarick himself has insisted upon "the existence of an international conspiratorial plot—an invisible government." An example of the "plot" theory translated into specifics is seen in Rarick's contention that American troops serving with the NATO forces in Europe—he opposes their continued presence—are "hostages" to U.S. agreements and are too close to the Middle East to be removed by the powerful secret forces that he believes decide U.S. policy. The implication of "Zionist" influence is clear, especially when it is remembered that on other occasions Rarick has named the conspiratorial "international bankers" as the framers of U.S. Middle East policies. It is a fact of history on the Far Right that the step from "conspiracy" theorizing to anti-Semitism is a short one.

ASSAULTS ON THE CHURCHES

Rarick's views and recent harsh criticisms of the churches and their leadership are further reflections of the Radical Right perspective on contemporary society. He sees, for example, a "revolution of change and toler-

ance" in the Roman Catholic Church, and contends that recent activities of the Pope "offer tremendous propaganda potential to the Communist conspiracy."

Because they have allocated some donated dollars for a mailing to members of Congress urging support for welfare reforms, America's Catholic bishops, the National Council of Churches, and the Synagogue Council of America have been labeled by Rarick as "pious pickpockets."

In May, 1971, Rarick introduced a bill to strip religious organizations of their tax-exempt status if they use any funds whatsoever for "propaganda"—i.e., if they take public positions on social matters, which sometimes become political matters, and thereby attempt "to influence legislation." Rarick specifically charged the National Council of Churches with what he called "instances of the misuse of tax-free funds." Rarick cited the printing of pamphlets advocating equal rights for blacks as an example of past activity he would like to curb by law.

A spokesman for the House Ways and Means Committee has stated that the Rarick bill is of the sort that is designed not so much to be passed into law as to "hint at legislation that could be enacted unless certain groups change their activities."

By the nature of his charges and by the nature of his assault on democratic ideals and institutions, Rep. John Rarick places himself on the farther shores of American political thinking. His significance on the general scene, however, is that his position as a high elected official in the United States Government is one in which the carrying of the virus of bigotry becomes a matter of special concern. By employing congressional privilege and prestige as a vehicle for the wider distribution of extremist propaganda, and even the canards of hate, Rarick has given new currency on Capitol Hill to many a discredited voice of unreason. In practice, as an examination of his speeches and his voluminous insertions in the *Congressional Record* reveals, Rarick has often used his high public position to attack the integrity and the rights of black Americans and to echo some of the worst effronteries of blatant anti-Semitism.

The most stunning aspect of his record of extremist demagoguery has been the general silence with which it has been met in responsible quarters. The question arises: Have the American people and their elected representatives become so preoccupied that they are unaware of the shrill voices of extremism and bigotry on the national scene? Or are they simply indifferent because they view such voices as unimportant?

INSURING THE NATION'S HEALTH

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, on December 27, 1971, the Memphis Commercial Appeal carried as its lead editorial an analysis of the various proposals pending before the Congress to establish a program of national health insurance. Since the question of national health insurance will be one of the most important ones which the Congress has to deal with this year, I commend the following editorial to my colleagues.

INSURING THE NATION'S HEALTH

On the subject of a national program of health insurance, most authorities agree on one thing: Changes in the system of health

care are necessary and inevitable. After that, disagreements take off like President Nixon on the trail of another summit.

The major controversy, epitomized in proposals by the administration and Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), revolves around the extent to which the federal government should control health care and how much the system should be reorganized.

There is too much good in American medicine to revamp everything, and there is too little proof that wholesale changes will be an improvement to plunge into them without experimentation.

The most responsible concepts of change seem to be those presented by the administration and the American Medical Association, both of which seek to make high-quality care available to everyone at a minimum cost without usurping the prerogatives either of patients or physicians. The Kennedy proposal would cost the federal government an estimated 57 billion dollars and would make the government the manager of American medicine.

Because of the many plans for national health insurance and the intense lobbying by vested interests, none of the bills will have easy going. It's possible that no comprehensive plan will get out of the House Ways and Means Committee, with the members opting instead for a limited attack on a special problem, such as more and better care for the poor.

The committee's second-ranking majority member, Representative Al Ullman (D-Ore.), said, "We want to get started, but we don't want to go in the wrong direction."

The basic problem in health care is that demand has outstripped supply. With the establishment of Medicare and Medicaid in the middle 1960's, many more Americans were able to purchase medical care. The government and the health industry agreed that high-quality care should be the right of every citizen, and not just the luxury of those who could afford it.

Care is not available to everyone at the same levels of convenience or quantity. Physicians and facilities are not distributed evenly among the population. While urban centers attract large numbers of health personnel, many rural counties have few if any.

Certain groups, such as the poor and the non-white, have high rates of disease and disability and low rates of medical treatment. They can't afford private physicians, who tend not to practice in their communities, anyway, and the centralized medical facilities are crowded and difficult to get to.

Medical insurance has become an increasingly unsatisfactory method of buying care. Overhead and risk factors have driven premiums up without expanding coverage appreciably or taking care of catastrophic illnesses, which can put a family in debt for life. Because insurance protection deals mainly with services delivered in hospitals, less expensive care outside hospitals is not sought as much as it should be.

The cost of medical treatment, in general, rose rapidly during the last decade. Pay raises for hospital employees and technological developments were among the major causes. These are the problems that a national health program must solve. Senator Kennedy would do it by eliminating the medical insurance industry, financing federal insurance through new taxes, and giving hospitals and nursing homes predetermined budgets. Health professionals would have an option of going on salary.

The administration argues forcefully that when the government pays all the bills, it has primary interest in holding down costs. This leads it into the business of approving budgets, setting fee schedules, monitoring for acceptable quality of service and other bureaucratic responsibilities that could amount to the nationalization of the medical system.

Both the administration and AMA proposals are presented as starting points from which careful, reliable steps can be taken. The President's bill would require employers to provide private insurance for their employees, and would set up federal insurance for the poor. The cost is estimated at up to three billion dollars for 1974. Additional legislation would address other problems, including the manpower shortage and the weaknesses in the system of delivering care.

The AMA plan would provide income tax credits for private insurance on an income-based scale. Low-income families would get federal subsidies to buy insurance or to join the patients of a group practice.

Neither plan would control insurance costs, specifically. But they envision changes in the health system that do so. The development of more decentralized health clinics and increasing practice of preventive medicine, for instance, would reduce the use of highly expensive facilities. If per-capita payments by insurance companies drop or hold steady, so will premiums.

The quality of American medicine is the finest in the world. To maintain and improve that quality, health professionals must be able to treat patients and seek innovations with as much freedom as is practical from governmental red tape and regulation. Freedom should be limited only by the obligation to make health care available to everyone. But the limits should be carefully applied. The health system would suffer a crippling blow if it were turned into a likeness of the welfare system.

DR. CARLOS FINLAY OF HAVANA,
AND YELLOW FEVER

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, mastery over one of the most deadly plagues of our human existence required many years of patient research and painful experimentation before the stegomyia mosquito was shown to be a carrier of yellow fever infection.

Dr. Carlos Finlay of Havana, Cuba, had long believed that the transmission of the disease was thus transmitted, but the actual fact was not established until the practical experiments of Walter Reed in Havana confirmed the theory involved.

In the Jefferson Medical College Alumni Bulletin of summer 1971, there is a splendid article on the subject of Dr. Finlay's contribution, entitled, "Carlos Finlay and the Carrier of Death." Dr. Finlay was a graduate of the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia, Pa.

The article in question refers to the contributions of Reed, Gorgas, and others who participated in the successful work of dealing with yellow fever.

The Jefferson Medical College, in making publication of the article, in one of its bulletins is commendable and tends to widen the horizons involved. I believe the article is worthy of a place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; and under leave accorded I am thus placing it.

I am indebted to former Congressman Maurice H. Thatcher of Kentucky for furnishing me the indicated article. He

served with General Gorgas of the Isthmian Canal Commission during the period of the Panama Canal construction.

The article follows:

CARLOS FINLAY AND THE CARRIER OF DEATH
(By Juan Angel Del Regato, M.D.)

Yellow fever, for centuries a dreaded scourge that decimated cities, disappeared from the annals of public health everywhere within months of the application of remarkably simple preventive measures advocated by a tireless physician, genial scientist and dedicated humanist, Carlos Finlay. The brilliant and dramatic verification of his experimental work with the mosquito by the U.S. Army Medical Board, and the acceptance and implementation of his culicidal public health measures, freed the world from a dreaded menace, facilitated the development of easier intercourse among nations and made possible the undertaking of civilizing tropical enterprises which affected the history of mankind.

Endemic in the Caribbean islands and coastal areas of South America and Africa, yellow jack made irregular excursions to North America and to Europe. In the United States, the southern ports of Galveston, New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston and Savannah were frequently visited, but the curse occasionally appeared also in Memphis, Saint Louis, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh. In the short span of a few summer weeks the disease demoralized entire populations: households were carted away in wagons, wheelbarrows, trains; roads were jammed with an endless stream of those fleeing on horseback, donkeys or on foot. As the fever found more victims, corpses accumulated with an intolerable stench: there were no coffins, no hearses, no grave diggers! Panic spread even faster than the fever. Men would abandon their sick wives and children and could not be persuaded to return to bury them. Few who had the fever survived; they, and a number of others who were unaware of having suffered a mild attack, became immune and were said to be "acclimated." The statistics of death were the pulse of the epidemic. They could not describe the terror that repressed tears, nor express the sorrow, the desolation, or the solemn oppression of universal death upon the mind: the painful acquiescence that man can suffer from worse than fever and hunger. And then, at the height of despair, when hope and decency had lost their emotional primacy, with the first winter frost, no new cases occurred, deaths decreased, the scurrying absentees returned and life resumed with diminished numbers and damaged dignity.

The city of Philadelphia had been spared for over a third of a century when, in July 1853, the first victim of yellow fever was reported in South Street near the wharves. The next day five new cases occurred in Swanson and Water Streets and the panic was on. The causes of the epidemics had been discussed for centuries and the arguments were the same in the learned academies as in the streets. The contagionists, seeking a foreign cause to the epidemic, accused *The Mandarin*, the three-masted sailing vessel originating in Cienfuegos (Cuba) which had just discharged its cargo in the wharves. The environmentalists, seeking the cause in the local atmosphere, pointed at the unsanitary alleys, the foul culvert along Pegg's Run opening on the Willow Street wharf, the undrained deposits of impure water resulting from the ebbing of the Delaware, the sewer outlet vomiting a steady stream of filth and belching unwholesome gases above water at the South Street ferry dock. The victims could not expect much help from medicine. Many physicians still practiced the controversial purging-plus-bleeding treatment of the famous signer of the Declaration of Independence, Dr. Benjamin Rush. On October 7th, 1853, with the

first frigid embraces of the coming winter, the city of Philadelphia recorded its last case and the end of the epidemic. A young student just arrived from Havana, where the disease had been endemic for over 200 years, must have been impressed by the virulence of the epidemic and the fever of the intellectual debate. On October 27, 1853, he registered at Jefferson Medical College to start his studies of medicine. He was of short stature, elegantly dressed, displaying unaffected courteous manners and spoke with a suggestion of faltering elocution in faultless French, Spanish or English. He signed the registration book as Charles Finlay.

Juan Carlos Finlay was born in Camaguey, Cuba, on December 3, 1833, the son of Dr. Edward Finlay, a Scottish physician, and of a Frenchwoman, Eliza de Barrés, born in Trinidad. Tutored at home by a paternal aunt, Finlay was sent to France at the age of eleven for his secondary education. His studies were marred by French political disturbances which forced him to spend a school year in Germany, and by an attack of chorea which forced his temporary return to Cuba. However, he received a sound foundation in the classics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, geography, and history. He intended to study medicine in France but again was obliged to return to Cuba to convalesce from an attack of typhoid fever. Unable to register at the University of Havana, he turned his interest to the Jefferson Medical College, a young American institution with a vigorous faculty: Joseph Pancoast, the capable Professor of Anatomy; Robley Dunglison, the prestigious physiologist soon to become Dean; Charles Meigs, the brilliant lecturer and obstetrician whose vast culture and high ethics permeated his pupils; T. D. Mütter, the beloved Professor of Surgery who was credited with importing the "quizz" system from Edinburgh; and J. K. Mitchell, the ardent Professor of Medicine whose views on epidemics were to make an indelible mark on Finlay's young mind.

Professor John Kearsley Mitchell was a Virginian and, like Finlay, the son of a Scottish physician. He had studied medicine in Edinburgh and had made a reputation as a competent physician and dedicated teacher. One of Professor Mitchell's lectures, subsequently printed through the initiative of his pupils, was entitled *On the Cryptogamous Origin of Malarious and Epidemic Fevers*. In it he expounded his theory that these diseases were caused by living organisms, by fungi, the spores of which would gain access to the human circulation to produce the fever. Arguing against both the contagionists and the environmentalists, the eloquent lecturer revealed the inconsistencies of their theories and, in the process, opened new questions for which there were no answers. Although yellow fever is predominant in the tropics, why is it diminished by excessive drought and heat? Why do sailors who go ashore in infected areas, from Jamaica to Zanzibar, frequently contract the disease if they stay overnight, whereas those who sleep or stay aboard not only do not have it but do not contract it from their dying shipmates? If incoming boats are vehicles of the disease, why do boats arrive every year from the same infected areas without causing epidemics? If the disease is contagious, why do patients who are removed to the country or to hospitals not give their disease to their relatives or neighbors, to doctors or nurses? If the disease is not contagious, how do we explain the recorded cases of distant relatives who acquired the disease upon receiving the personal belongings and clothes of a relative who died of yellow fever? If the miasmatic gases are the cause, why do gauze veils around face and neck, and window screens, which do not stop the circulation of gases, appear to be protective measures? The Professor commented prophetically:

"After all my labor and your polite atten-

tion, gentlemen, the theory presented to you may not be finally demonstrated. But I hope that it may revive the inquiry into the facts . . . We must, for the present, suppose—he concluded sententiously—that yellow fever is portable yet it is not contagious."

The Professor had all but suggested a vector. Twenty-eight years later his Cuban pupil became the first to suggest, and experimentally prove, the transport of the causative agent, then still unknown, from the blood of a patient to that of another person by the intermediate of an insect.

Upon registration at Jefferson, Finlay had chosen as his preceptor Dr. Silas Weir Mitchell, the young son of Professor John Mitchell. Finlay spent most of his time in the office of his preceptor (who was only four years his senior) and remained with him for an additional year after his graduation. Weir Mitchell had done work in Paris in the laboratories of Claude Bernard, the father of experimental medicine. The brilliant French scientist had planted in the mind of the young American the seeds of scientific investigation and of its proper course: first observation, then logical hypothesis and, finally, construction of an experiment which may prove or disprove the logical assumption. Thus, in his association with Weir Mitchell, Finlay learned the sterility of theories that were not corroborated by experimental work. Their friendship was to last for a lifetime. Although he continued to be active in medicine, Weir Mitchell gave himself more and more to literature and became known as a fiction writer; Finlay returned to Cuba to practice medicine but continued to be fascinated by the unanswered questions posed by epidemic fevers.

Finlay was a busy practitioner of medicine, kind and devoted to his patients. However he always found time for special studies with the help of the binocular microscope which he had brought from Philadelphia. In 1858 he made a prolonged study of the changing alkalinity of the air which he attempted to relate to the changing occurrence of cases of yellow fever. In 1865, he married Adelaide Shine, a finely educated young woman of pure Irish stock and, like his own mother, a native of Trinidad. They were both thirty-two years of age. For fifty years of their married life Mrs. Finlay, a devoted and kind woman, gave her husband the steady, affectionate support which he must have needed to sustain his scientific efforts.

In 1868 there was an outbreak of cholera in Havana and Finlay took care of a number of the victims. His perspicacity led him to observe that all of the patients came from the same side of a street and, in further investigation, to implicate the source of water as the cause of the epidemic, a fact which had not been suspected. This year ended with the rise of Cuban patriots in a cry of independence which was accompanied by the liberation of slaves. The war lasted ten years and ended in a truce.

In 1879 the Spanish Governor of Cuba appointed Finlay, as representative, to collaborate with the members of an American Yellow Fever Commission which arrived in Havana to make studies of the disease. Dr. Stanford E. Challé, Chairman of the Commission, brought with him a young, promising medical student, Rudolph Matas, as a scribe. The pathologist of the Commission was Dr. Juan Guiteras, an American educated Cuban, and the bacteriologist and secretary was Dr. George M. Sternberg. Finlay's collaboration in the work of Sternberg and their passionate interest in yellow fever led to a lasting friendship between the two scientists. Upon return to the United States, the members of the Commission rendered a report in which they included an account of Finlay's work on the alkalinity of the air. The report concluded that yellow fever is a transmissible disease and the causative agent should be found in the air. Finlay continued to study the numerous specimens left with

him by the Commission, particularly blood smears and histologic studies of blood vessels. Professor Rudolph Matas was later to write:

"The image of Carlos Finlay remained in my mind as the model of exemplary wisdom, of the laborious worker, wealthy in strength of knowledge, in rectitude of principles, in conscientiousness and intellectual integrity."

During this time, Finlay, a man of varied interests, was reading a book of botany by van Tieghem. He was attracted by the description of the evolutionary cycle of a parasite of wheat (*Puccinia graminis*) whose spores of the fungus were said to be unable to germinate except on another plant (*Berberis vulgaris*), whose presence was necessary for the parasite to complete its cycle and destroy wheat. Thus, Finlay was led to think of an equally indispensable intermediary between one case of yellow fever and the next. As he sat beside his bed saying his rosary one night, Finlay was disturbed by a persistent mosquito. Distracted from his devotion, his mind, starting the cycle of scientific discovery, first conceived an idea that had never as yet occurred to any man: that the mosquito could be that indispensable intermediary, the carrier, a veritable vector of death between the sick and the next victim. And, once again, as in numerous other instances of important human discoveries, the genesis was not the result of logical conclusions or the yield of an experiment but rather of a sudden thought, as a flash of light in the darkness: a sudden illumination, a manifest sign of long prior cogitation.

The mosquito was the logical hypothesis. Now there was need for serious observation and work. In the identification of Cuban mosquitoes available foreign books were not much help to Finlay so he sought the aid of the Cuban naturalist, Felipe Poey, who had contributed to their classification. With a dedication that must have seemed odd to others, Finlay studied the main varieties of the insect on the walls and ceilings as well as those in flight inside mosquito nets, and finally identified the culprit, the *Culex mosquito* (later renamed *Stegomyia fasciata*, now *Aedes aegypti*); the genus *Aedes* has a sub-genus *Finlaya*). He noted that the male of the species was a dull vegetarian who died shortly after impregnating his mate. Finlay concentrated his attention on the sultry female, studying in detail her anatomy and physiology. He observed that she bit humans after her fecundation and laid eggs several times, but only after gorging in blood. He watched her raise her buttocks and lower her head as she drove her trunk through the skin into the blood capillaries of her victim. After sucking blood, the animal became quiet for several days of digestion while covering herself with a thin coat of her own excretions.

One of Finlay's mosquitoes bit twelve times in thirty-one days. He verified that the insect could hibernate at temperatures just above freezing and could be destroyed by high temperatures. The relatively cooler hours of the evening and early morning were her favorite time for action. He observed that the *Culex mosquito* was not to be found in the plains, away from rivers, that her flight was short due to her small wings and that the rarefaction of air at altitudes beyond 1200 feet interfered with her flight. Because the insect preferred to lay her eggs in the borders of quiet, clean, fresh waters, she was often found near inhabited places and clean households. Finlay also noted the considerable endurance of these eggs, capable of standing dryness for months, before their eventual transformation into myriads of new mosquitoes. It was to be concluded from these observations that ships carrying their drinking water supply could transport the insect to far lands, that hibernating infected mosquitoes could travel for weeks in the holds of steamers hiding in clothing or even closed baggage to start an epidemic in the port of call.

In February 1881 the Spanish government appointed Carlos Finlay to represent Cuba

and Puerto Rico at the International Sanitary Conference held in Washington, D.C. The conference busied itself primarily with resolutions on international regulations and with the exchange of public health data; it is likely that the assembly of functionaries was quite unprepared for a challenge of the concepts with which they had lived. Cautiously, Finlay presented his views:

"Without entering into technical details . . . I beg leave to remind my colleagues here present that the sanitary measures now generally recommended to prevent the propagation of yellow fever are founded upon a mode of viewing that disease which is considerably at variance with a considerable number of observed facts."

"It is my personal opinion that three conditions are necessary in order that the propagation of yellow fever shall take place: (1) the presence of a previous case of yellow fever within certain limits of time; (2) the presence of a person apt to contract the disease; (3) the presence of an agent entirely independent for its existence both of the disease and of the sick man, but which is necessary in order that the disease shall be conveyed from the yellow fever patient to a healthy individual."

"If my hypothesis should be realized, all those measures now employed to check the progress of the disease would turn out to be without effect, inasmuch as the principal efforts should have been directed . . . to destroy the agent of transmission or to divert it from the path that it follows in communicating the disease."

There is no record that anyone present discussed or alluded to Finlay's remarks; it is very likely that no one there understood what he was talking about. Nevertheless, Finlay had put his message clearly, indelibly, on the annals of history.

The time of logical hypothesis and observation was past; now the time had come for experimentation. The experimental production of a few fatal cases of yellow fever would have convinced the skeptics. Finlay, an ethical and compassionate man, could not bring himself to experiment on the unsuspecting nor endanger the lives of those who entrusted themselves to him. Burdened by his own temptation and by the suggestion from others, Finlay's ethical sense and untarnished conscience prevailed. Brought up to safeguard life, he found it impossible to impose death on others; like many before and after him, he may have sensed that to decide someone's death was to begin a moral descent that he must have dreaded. Jenner's discovery of vaccination was over seventy-five years old but it had been thought applicable only to smallpox. Now Pasteur had just suggested that the principle could be applicable to all infectious diseases. Little by little, Finlay gleaned the possibility that, with the help of captive mosquitoes, he might succeed in producing mild cases of yellow fever that would immunize, benefit rather than destroy, the consenting subject of a clinical experiment. A great number of the inhabitants of Havana were immune to the disease and consequently unfit for such an experiment; the volunteers had to be sought among the unacclimated recent immigrants. Finlay talked to the Captain General of the Spanish troops and twenty soldiers volunteered for the experiments. It was important that the subjects should not have been exposed to yellow fever and that they be quarantined for a reasonably time before and after the experiment. The soldiers were quartered on the heights of La Cabafia fortress and brought across the bay in groups of four during the middle of the day to be questioned, examined and carefully chosen by Finlay in his office.

After hatching the carefully collected mosquito eggs, on June 18, 1881, Finlay had a mosquito bite a patient in the fifth day of what proved to be a mortal case of yellow fever and, after twelve days had elapsed, he had that same mosquito bite one of his

volunteers. Nine days later the subject, Francisco Beronat, was hospitalized with a typical case of yellow fever, with jaundice and albuminuria. Finlay inoculated four more subjects, one of them without results. Meanwhile he observed most carefully fifteen other volunteers quartered at La Cabaña under the same conditions as the inoculated ones. None developed abnormalities. Having initiated his human experiments successfully and gaining moral strength from the fact that death had not resulted from them, Finlay presented, on August 14, 1881, to the Royal Academy of Medical Sciences of Havana a paper modestly entitled *The Mosquito Hypothesis Considered as the Agent of Transmission of Yellow Fever*. In proper academic fashion, this was a detailed presentation of his studies of the mosquito and of the recent experiments, emphasizing that a single bite of the infected mosquito had been insufficient to produce a fatal case of yellow fever. He admitted, self-critically, that there could be no certainty that his subjects might not have acquired the disease independently of his inoculations; he also admitted the necessity for further study and time. Finlay's discovery was too revolutionary, and its consequences too transcendent, for it to be admitted readily by anyone, anywhere. His colleagues looked at each other incredulously and the presiding officer of the Academy tabled the paper to obviate discussion and embarrassment to everyone. All that can be said charitably, in retrospect, is that the Cuban academicians were neither original nor exceptional: their attitude was to find its echo everywhere for twenty years.

Claude Bernard had talked of hypothesis, observation and experiment; he did not mention the fight against incredulity. Finlay was to find it the toughest yet. It is not so much that scientists distrust new revolutionary ideas from others; rather it is their incapacity to admit to themselves, all of a sudden, that what they thought they knew was not so. As many other scientists before and after him, Finlay had to learn to live the double life of his convictions, unaccepted by others, and the order of things acceptable to most but not to him. As so often happens, Sir Patrick Manson, working in Asia, had simultaneously discovered that the mosquito was the vector of filaria; this was revealed years later.

Encouraged by the fact that a single bite from an infected mosquito had not conferred a fatal attack, Finlay continued his experiments and found that the longer the time allowed to elapse between the bites to the sick and to the normal, the greater the seriousness of the attack of yellow fever. He also observed that the mosquitoes became infective sooner at a higher temperature. He acquired a new source of volunteers, the Jesuit fathers. Young, unacclimated priests were sent to breezy finca San José outside Havana, where there had been no case of yellow fever in a decade, and there Finlay inoculated them with infected mosquitoes. On July 15, 1883, Father Urrea, S. J., was unsuccessfully inoculated; on August 17 he was again bitten by a mosquito which four days earlier had bitten two patients on their sixth day of the disease; while none of his colleagues showed any abnormality, he fell ill. Father Urrea's daily record (still available today), his temperature and repeated urine analyses revealed all of the symptoms of a mild case of yellow fever; in subsequent years of residence in Cuba he never contracted the disease again.¹

¹ Case number seventy-one was Father Gutiérrez-Lanza who became a noted twentieth century tropical meteorologist at the Colegio de Belén de Havana; it was to him that Finlay confided his story of the rosary and the mosquito. Father Gutiérrez recounted the charming anecdote to the author, in Washington, D.C., in 1939.

Keeping very accurate details of temperature, pulse, urine analysis and follow-up, Finlay accumulated one hundred four records of inoculations; most volunteers developed abortive cases of the disease, few showed frankly pathologic signs; only four of these inoculated volunteers developed yellow fever in the years to follow, two of them fatally.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Finlay wrote forty-five papers to scientific academies or societies. In 1884 he made and reported a comparative study of spontaneous experimental yellow fever. Weir Mitchell was kept informed; he suggested using an intravenous needle for the transfer of blood from the sick to the normal in order to ascertain whether or not the mosquito modified "the poison." Commenting on a Mexican experiment, Finlay wrote, in 1886 in the American Journal of Medical Sciences:

"This unfortunate result agrees with the views that I have entertained since 1881, viz., that whereas the disease is not spontaneously transmissible by infection through the air nor by contact, it can be communicated by inoculation."

Although many were indifferent, others were not. In 1891 Lieutenant Colonel George M. Sternberg wrote:

"I think it proper to make a few remarks in reference to these so-called 'mosquito inoculations' . . . This supposition (Finlay's) that a minute quantity of virus adhering to the surface of the proboscis of the insect is sufficient to produce a mild attack of the disease in an unprotected person, does not appear very probable . . . I know of no experimental evidence which goes to show that the blood of yellow fever patients contains the virus of the disease, and that yellow fever can be transmitted by inoculations of such blood . . . no one has felt sufficiently impressed with its value to repeat the experiments of Dr. Finlay . . ."

Meanwhile, the actual cause of yellow fever remained unknown and Finlay applied himself also to its discovery. This was the era of Pasteur and the solution of every health problem was expected from the discovery of its cause. Finlay identified a micrococcus which he thought to be the agent; a report was sent to the *Lancet* of London and cultures of the bacteria shipped to Weir Mitchell. His diligent and loyal friend had the cultures studied by Welch and Osler at Johns Hopkins and also consulted Sternberg who had identified another bacterium as the cause of yellow fever:

"I have the greatest confidence in your powers of observation—wrote Weir Mitchell to Finlay—I believe that you will come out all right and satisfy everybody, including Sternberg, who is a man of fair mind."

Finlay and Sternberg only added their names to a long list, not yet completed, of prestigious failures in this endeavor.

In 1892 Finlay reported to a Philadelphia journal his experiments on the treatment of yellow fever patients with serum from the immune. In 1894 he reported to the Eighth World Congress of Hygiene and Demography, held in Budapest, the preventive measures to be taken: isolation of patients, fumigation of houses and extermination of the mosquito. Through all these years of effort, Finlay had only one believer, his faithful pupil, collaborator and friend, Dr. Claudio Delgado. Although the disappointment and frustration would have been too much for anyone else, there is no record that Finlay showed signs of discouragement.

Early in 1895, patriotic Cubans launched a second war for independence from Spain which started at the eastern end of the island and the clarion sound of Eduardo Agramonte's *diana mambisa* aroused Cubans to take arms. Less than two years later, having defeated the Spanish armies along their way, the *insurrectos*, among whose ranks was Finlay's son, had reached the western-most province of Cuba. Then the *Maine* exploded in

the bay of Havana. In April 1898, the United States declared war on Spain; the timing was just right for the mosquito! The first troops left Key West in the middle of June and on July 1st, the first case of an American soldier with yellow fever was reported; the number of cases was to mount rapidly. Finlay, who was in Tampa at the time, went to Washington to see his old friend Sternberg, who had become Surgeon General of the Army and also had replaced Dr. Leonard Wood as White House physician. During the first weeks of the war Sternberg's voice was law. Finlay asked that a commission be appointed to verify his work with the mosquito; Sternberg was friendly but unsympathetic. A good excuse was the fact that Surgeon General Wyman, of the U.S. Marine Service, had already done so and that his commission was already working in Cuba. In spite of his sixty-five years, Finlay insisted on serving the American army of occupation as a contract surgeon. On July 22, 1898 he received his papers and was shipped to Santiago on the hospital steamer *Olivette*. When he landed on Cuban soil the war was over, but the health of the doughboys was a mess. The Commander of the American troops in Cuba had asked for immediate evacuation of his "army of convalescents;" in the mixed metaphor of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt:

"My own cavalry brigade was so weakened and shattered as to be ripe for dying like rotten sheep."

According to a witness, officers as well as soldiers would become hysterical, break down and cry when told that they could not leave on the next ship. Roosevelt accused Washington's "elderly men" and their inability to break through routine. The peace was signed in August 1898, and the American occupation extended to the length of the island.

Major William Crawford Gorgas, southern gentleman and career U.S. Army physician, forty four years of age, arrived in Havana in December 1898, to take charge of the health of the city. The son of a Confederate General, Gorgas had been denied an appointment to West Point and chose medicine as the one other door to the U.S. Army and to the honored uniform which was once his father's. Yellow fever was no stranger to Gorgas. He had witnessed epidemics of it and had survived its visitation upon himself; he had a passion for the study of the disease and favored the theory of the miasmas. As he observed later:

"We knew no more of the sanitation of yellow fever than we had known for a century before."

Shortly after Gorgas' arrival in Havana, Finlay, who had returned to civilian life, addressed the medical officers of the U.S. Army and Navy on his plan to abolish yellow fever: the larvae of the insect could be destroyed by disinfectants in stagnant waters, the mosquitoes by fumigation in the houses of patients; the use of screens in windows and doors should impede mosquitoes from reaching the infected patient. The metal screens used in the U.S. for comfort were to be used for health in the tropics. Gorgas provided Havana with a modern and efficient health organization and, in his own estimation, the city became "cleaner than any other city had ever been up to that time." In spite of energetic, but ordinary, sanitary measures, the occurrence of cases of yellow fever and the consequent mortality continued to increase and had tripled by the end of 1899. The paradox was pointed out that the cleanest sections of the city were the worst affected. Gorgas was later to admit that, although he met Finlay almost daily in the Sanitary Department, he was one of those who believed the least in his mosquito theory:

"A most lovable man in character and personality, scientifically honest and straightforward—wrote Gorgas of Finlay—I was constantly bringing to his notice instances . . . which could not be accounted for on the mosquito theory. He, with the greatest in-

genuity, was ready to explain how the mosquito theory could be turned so as to meet just this condition."

Meanwhile Drs. Wasdin and Geddings, reporting for the Marine Service Commission on their work in Cuba, favored the *bacillus sanarelli* as the cause of yellow fever. Sternberg doubted the veracity of their conclusions and recommended to the Adjutant General the organization of an Army Medical Board, headquartered at Camp Columbia, to pursue . . . "scientific investigations with reference to the infectious diseases prevalent in the island of Cuba and especially of yellow fever." He designated his close friend, Major Walter Reed, an intense Virginian, as Chairman. Contract Surgeon James Carroll, an Englishman by birth, had done bacteriological work with Reed on the *bacillus icteroides* in Washington. Contract Surgeon Jesse W. Lazear, a Baltimore microbiologist with training at the Institut Pasteur, had left Hopkins and his association with Thayer to study malaria in Cuba; he was the only member of the Board with interest in, and a knowledge of, the morphology and physiology of mosquitoes. Contract Surgeon Aristides Agramonte y Simoni, born in Cuba and educated in the United States, was a graduate of the Columbia University and a former bacteriologist for the City of New York; he had studied for the Surgeon General the appalling importation and propagation of typhoid fever to American Army Camps in Cuba.

In the afternoon of June 25, 1900, the members of the Board met for the first time on the porch of the medical officers quarters at Columbia Barracks, near Los Quemados, Marianao, eight miles west of Havana. They listened reverently as Reed presented the extensive plans of the Surgeon General. It was an unhurried plan and all felt committed for at least two years, whether or not the occupation of Cuba gave way to a new republic. On the evening of this historic first meeting Dr. Lazear had a long and fruitful conversation with Henry R. Carter of the U.S. Marine Hospital Service. In Mississippi, Dr. Carter had observed that an interval of fourteen to twenty days lapsed between the first and second case of yellow fever in a previously uninfected house; he called this interval the extrinsic incubation period. On June 26 Carter sent Lazear a reprint of his paper on this subject with a handwritten note:

"The a priori argument of Dr. F's theory has much in its favor and to me is more than plausible . . ."

The issue of the *bacillus icteroides* pervaded the work of the Board:

"The laboratory work goes on but not as satisfactorily as I had hoped—Lazear wrote to his wife—Reed and Carroll have notions as to what we should do that I don't agree with. They are not inclined to attempt as much as I would like to see done. They are interested in the controversy with Sanarelli and they think of that all the time."

Agramonte's work did confirm that the *bacillus icteroides* was only a frequent contaminant found in various cadavers. Lazear pursued his interest in malaria and mosquitoes; in his laboratory he developed a colony of the various varieties found in Cuba. In Pinar del Rio as in Santa Clara, Reed and Agramonte were faced with cases and circumstances that threw great doubts on the spread of the disease by direct contact with patients. Towards the end of July the Board members decided to study the "mosquito theory."

"The work along the lines of Dr. Finlay's theory was undertaken as a matter of course . . . and not because as a body the Board thought any too well of it—wrote Agramonte—At the time neither Drs. Reed, Carroll or myself believed in the said theory, the only one of us inclined to consider it favorably being my friend and classmate, Dr. Jesse L. Lazear."

On August 1, 1900, the members paid a visit to Dr. Finlay in his home, 110 Aguacate Street in old Havana. He received them most cordially and, to their astonishment and delight, unveiled before them a multitude of observations and facts accumulated during years of work. In a white porcelain soap dish Finlay gave them mosquito eggs; he admonished them as to the dangerous escape of an infected mosquito. Lazear was the natural heir to this work and he undertook it enthusiastically. To avoid outside criticism the Board members agreed to use themselves, as well as others, as subjects for their experimentation. On the day following their visit to Finlay, Reed returned to Washington where he was to spend over two months writing a report on typhoid fever in the Army of occupation. Assisted by Hospital Steward, John Neate, Lazear hatched the mosquito eggs and with all due precautions travelled by doherty-wagon to Hospital Las Animas to have the insects bite patients with confirmed yellow fever. In the first ten days of their work inoculation attempts were made, without results, on a total of nine non-immune subjects (including Lazear) and early discouragement and incredulity settled among the experimenters. Whether or not they had bitten on yellow fever patients, however, mosquitoes had to be kept alive by letting them suck human blood.

On August 27, 1900, after lunch, Lazear remarked that one of his mosquitoes appeared weak. Dr. Carroll, in a spirit of jest, allowed himself to be bitten by this mosquito which had filled on a patient twelve days earlier: within six days he presented jaundice and albuminuria.

"Lazear and I were almost panic-stricken—wrote Agramonte later—Lazear, poor fellow, in his desire to exculpate himself . . . repeatedly mentioned that he himself had been bitten two weeks before . . ."

Nevertheless, a sense of exultation took hold of them. Lazear observed and recorded the crucial timing of the mosquito bite of the yellow fever patient within the early days of the disease; the earlier inoculations had all been done with mosquitoes that had bitten patients in their fifth or sixth day of the disease. Obviously, he also became interested in repeated infection of the same mosquito by different patients. On the same day that Carroll came down, Lazear and Agramonte, with some hesitation, had the same mosquito bite Private William H. Dean, of the Seventh Cavalry, an impromptu volunteer. Within six days he also had yellow fever:

"I rather think I am on the track of the real germ—Lazear wrote to his wife on September 8th—but nothing must be said as yet, not even a hint. I have not mentioned it to a soul."

Lazear continued to maintain his colony of infected mosquitoes and to make careful notations in his laboratory logbook. On September 13 he attempted to produce a case of experimental yellow fever in a guinea pig; he had the animal bitten by a mosquito which had filled on four patients with the disease in the early part of the month. On that same day, September 13, Lazear submitted to the bite of a mosquito infected ten days earlier. On September 25, 1900 he died a martyr to his own devotion. No one will ever know what motivated this delicately sensitive thirty-four year old scientist. At first he told a story of accidental bite while at Las Animas Hospital for he did not want his young wife to learn that he had purposely endangered his life. Although he expected to recover, he repeated to Agramonte his plea for her protection from the truth. He had planned to take his two weeks leave in October to join his mother and his wife Mabel in Beverly, Massachusetts; he longed for his adored son Houston and his one-month old Peggy,³ whom he was never to

see. His unselfish act which made it no longer possible to ignore the evidence, precipitated attention to the problem and accelerated its solution. Besides the cases of Carroll, Dean and Lazear, there had been only one other case of yellow fever among the 1,400 non-immunes at the barracks.

Just returning to Washington from a vacation in the mountains of Pennsylvania, Reed wrote to Carroll (September 24, 1900):

"Concerning the mosquito propagation of the parasite, I am intensely interested but I cannot say that any of your cases, except perhaps Dean's prove anything."

On the next day Reed wrote a confidential letter to Major J. R. Kean, the Chief Surgeon, Department of Western Cuba, at Los Quemados:

"I have been so ashamed of myself for being here . . . while my associates have been coming down with yellow jack . . . Perhaps I owe my life to my departure from Cuba, for I had agreed to be bitten along with the others . . . The General has suggested that I do not return but somehow I feel that . . . my place is in Cuba . . . I shall take every precaution . . . I certainly shall not . . . allow a 'loaded' mosquito to bite me. Just how far Carroll's and Lazear's cases go to support that supposition I don't know, but I hope to find out . . . I have engaged passage on the *Crook* which sails next Friday 28th . . . I shall expect to take up my old quarters . . . provided you think that there is no probability of that being an infected area . . . If so, I would ask you to engage me a couple of rooms somewhere . . ."

Major Reed arrived in Havana on October 4 and the remaining members of the Board decided on the direction to follow. In Lazear's army blouse Lieutenant Truby found a small notebook which, he kept and delivered to Reed. The notebook contained revealing details of Lazear's observations and in particular of the timing of the mosquito bite of the yellow fever patient, and of the need for an interval of several days before his bite became infective to the nonimmune. In the notebook Reed found the evidence of Lazear's self-inoculation.³ In Washington, Mrs. Reed was understandably worried about her husband getting yellow fever. He wrote reassuringly:

"There is no need for you . . . to continue to worry about me. When I want anything done in Havana, Dr. Carroll goes in for me . . . Dr. Lazear contracted the disease . . . by letting a mosquito bite him . . . deliberately let it get its fill of blood in order to test our theory."

Among Lazear's papers and books, Reed also found several items borrowed from Finlay. On October 7 Reed sent Finlay a courteous handwritten note:

"I am sorry that neither Dr. Carroll nor myself can call at your residence this afternoon, as agreed by Dr. C. and yourself, on his visit of yesterday. I shall hope to pay my respects very soon. In the meanwhile I have taken the liberty of sending my driver for the copy of the *British Medical Journal* containing Durham and Myer's note and for any other articles or publications of yours concerning the mosquito and yellow fever . . ."

The observers from Liverpool, who had spoken with Finlay, Carter and members of the Army Board in July of 1900, wrote the following September:

"This curious and somewhat prolonged interval is suggestive of a development of the infective factor in or about some agent . . . The suggestion propounded by Dr. C. Finlay, of Havana, some twenty years ago, that the disease was spread by means of mosquitos hardly appears so fanciful in the light of recent discoveries . . ."

³ Lazear's notebook presumably in Reed's office at the time of Reed's death, has never been recovered.

² Mrs. Walter D. Briggs, of Berkeley, Calif.

These preliminary notes of the British scientists seem to have spurred Reed to action. Habitually slow (as noted by General Truby) Reed now became a whirlwind of activity. Drawing almost exclusively from the details in Lazear's notebook, he hurriedly wrote a draft of a paper entitled *The Etiology of Yellow Fever. A Preliminary Note*. On October 23, 1900 in Indianapolis he presented the paper at the meeting of the American Public Health Association; it was his first paper on the subject of yellow fever. Sternberg arranged for the paper to be published, five days later in the Philadelphia Medical Journal. Reed gave details of the Board's work and their negative conclusions with reference to the *bacillus icteroides*. He then related the cases of Carroll, Dean and Lazear and, without excuses or euphemisms concluded, authoritatively, that the mosquito "serves as the intermediate host for the parasite of yellow fever." This important declaration was made only four weeks after the death of Lazear. Of the man who had waited nineteen years to see his work accepted by others, Major Reed said:

"We have no space to refer, at length, to various interesting and valuable contributions made by Finlay to the mosquito theory for the propagation of yellow fever . . . We here desire to express our sincere thanks to Dr. Finlay, who accorded us a most courteous interview and has gladly placed at our disposal his several publications relating to yellow fever during the past nineteen years; and also for ova of the variety of mosquito with which he had made his several inoculations."

Based on Carter's observations, Reed concluded that a long period of "external incubation" was indispensable. On this theoretical basis, and without any attempt to experimental verification, he rejected, rather unfairly, the evidence of Finlay's previous inoculations. Finlay had recorded observations to this effect and observed the fact (later confirmed by Gorgas and others) that the warm weather could shorten the required interval (Davis). A more crucial point was the fact observed by Lazear that the mosquitoes had to be contaminated in the earliest days of the disease. Unacquainted perhaps with the long and varied efforts of the Cuban scientist, Reed failed to credit Finlay with having studied and identified the species of the guilty mosquito, with his numerous inoculations and observations and his persistent efforts to call attention to it. Much capital was made that he had "failed to convince" but it was certainly not because of his lack of persistence or patience. Although he was aware of the importance of his associate's work, Reed was in no mood to dilute the attention which he wanted for his Board.

Reed had to admit that the cases of Carroll and Lazear were not conclusive for the subjects came frequently in contact with yellow fever patients and could have acquired the disease by other means; he capitalized on the confinement of Dean to the Barracks. But his critics were quick to point out that this one case was far from proof. Having proclaimed his conviction, Reed found, as Finlay had, that his evidence was not necessarily convincing to others: the unbeliever may prove to be as fervent as the faithful.

Surgeon of the Marine Health Service, Eugene Wasdin, disputed both conclusions: "It is scarcely necessary to call attention to the fact that the . . . absolute failure of these observers to isolate *bacillus icteroides* from the living blood . . . simply proves the inutility of the method employed by them . . . As an offset to this failure they introduce some observations made at the suggestion of Dr. Carlos Finlay . . . My principal reason for not accepting his theory . . . being the fact that I had never known a case of yellow fever thus contracted . . . Nothing has been proved, neither that there is anything new in the blood of yellow fever patients nor that these cases were not the result of natural infection . . ."

As the acceptance of the role of the mosquito was nearing a dramatic climax, the *Washington Post*, in its issue of November 2, 1900, wrote these lines, obviously reflecting "inside" knowledge:

"Of all the silly and nonsensical rigamarole about yellow fever that has yet found its way into print . . . the silliest beyond compare is to be found in the mosquito hypothesis."

Nothing short of a controlled experiment could appease the opposition and bring acquiescence. General Leonard Wood, Military Governor of Cuba, apprised of the Commission's wishes, gave his authority for a controlled human experiment and for the necessary funds. The site for the experiment was chosen and appropriately named Camp Lazear; it was near the finca San José in Quemados, where young Jesuits had been inoculated by Finlay. Meanwhile, Agramonte, who had learned from Lazear the handling of mosquitoes, undertook the careful hatching and preparation of mosquitoes for the eventual inoculations; when Carroll returned from his convalescence leave he joined him in these preparations. Reed proceeded to plan the strategy of the crucial test that so clearly demonstrated the role of the mosquito.

Seven army tents were erected and two frame structures fourteen by twenty feet were built eighty yards apart. Building number one was purposely built with inadequate ventilation, but carefully screened for mosquitoes; it was provided with an oil stove to maintain heat and humidity and furnished with infected bedding; garments soiled with vomit, urine and feces of yellow fever patients were brought in. Building number two was well ventilated and divided by a metal screen, providing also two separate entrances.

On November 20th Privates R. P. Cooke, L. E. Folk and W. G. Jernegan entered the infected clothes house. Meanwhile Private J. R. Kissinger, bitten by infected mosquitoes, was placed on one side of the screen of the clean house and Clerk J. J. Moran, not exposed to mosquitoes, on the other side. Kissinger and Moran had volunteered for the experiment but insisted on not accepting the bonus offered. By December 8th, Kissinger had come down with yellow fever and his case was certified as typical by a panel of experts including Finlay, Gorgas, Guiteras, and Albertini. Everyone else was healthy, and those in the dirty clothes house had managed to gain weight. On that day Agramonte inoculated three non-acclimated Spanish volunteers, A. Benigno, B. Precedo and N. Fernandez. And, like clock-work, they came down with yellow fever after five days, making their own unheralded contribution to the disappearance of vomito negro. Moran, who was rather eager to be inoculated, had the fever as a Christmas gift. Other experiments established the transmissibility of the disease by injecting the blood of the patient into a volunteer and that the mosquito was not a contributing host. The work of the Army Board established the important fact that whatever the transmissible agent was, it was filterable through bacteria-proof filters. The brilliantly conceived controlled experiment closed the cycle of Finlay's discovery.⁴

The feelings were festive in Havana and General Wood, a physician himself, wished that a banquet be organized in honor of Dr. Finlay. He asked Professor Francisco Domínguez-Roldán, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, to make the arrangements for a sumptuous dinner at the Delmonico restaurant, to be presided over by General Wood at one end of the table and Dr. Domínguez at the other. It took place on December 22, 1900. The menu included Pargo Richelleu, Filet Perigord and a Grand Romain Punch for a toast to Finlay.

⁴ Subsequent extensive experiments directed by Guiteras were to claim the life of Miss Clara Louise Maas, a twenty-six year old U.S. Army nurse.

Present were Reed, Carroll, Agramonte, Gorgas, Guiteras, Albertini and over sixty other American and Cuban physicians anxious to render homage to the genial and patient scientist. General Wood's words were remarkably just, transcendent and revealing:

"The confirmation of Dr. Finlay's doctrine is the greatest step forward made by the medical sciences since Jenner's discovery of the vaccination. This accomplishment alone justifies the war against Spain."

Then, the main figures present rose to eulogize Dr. Finlay:

"Dr. Finlay's theory—said Major Reed—was beautifully fortuitous: we have proven that all its essential outlines were miraculously accurate . . . Yellow fever has at last been rationalized—added Gorgas—due to Finlay's scientific clairvoyance."

Dr. Juan Guiteras, a Cuban who had become Professor of Pathology at the University of Pennsylvania, spoke of the magnitude of the tribute in which scientific organizations were represented as well as the world press. Finally, it was the turn of Dr. Domínguez to present to Finlay in the name of his friends and admirers a bronze statuette by Barbedienne entitled *The Thought*. The man who had long awaited to see his work accepted by the incredulous, without ever showing signs of offense or bitterness, rose to accept the tribute. In his low hesitant voice he gave credit to his faithful and efficient collaborator, Dr. Delgado, and to the American scientist who had revealed, as a sparkling diamond for all to admire, the rough stone he had discovered. Then, visibly moved by emotion, he added simply: "Thank you my friends."

Walter Reed spent the last night of the century in Havana, reading a borrowed copy of *La Roche's Yellow Fever*, a book printed in Philadelphia forty-five years earlier, the year of Finlay's graduation from Jefferson. An ambitious, dynamic man, with a strangely commanding personality, Dr. Reed died prematurely less than two years after the dramatic tests of Camp Lazear. Although he had done no other work in yellow fever, the important results of his brief work as Chairman of the U.S. Army Board have linked his name permanently with the disease. Others have been forgotten, but his memory is perpetuated in the outstanding U.S. Army Medical Center in Washington, D.C.

In February 1901, General Wood gave the necessary order of credits and authorized Gorgas to proceed with culicidal measures. Gorgas' carefully chosen "Stegomyia" brigades went through the city of Havana, as modern crusaders, house by house, courteous but firm, inspecting roof gutters, destroying all possible water deposits where the mosquitoes could lay their eggs, providing covers for cisterns in homes and public places, and pouring petroleum on stagnant waters and ditches and fining the contraveners. On September 28, 1901, six months later, the last case of yellow fever was recorded in the city of Havana. Major Gorgas wrote in his report:

"I know of no such prompt and brilliant establishment of a theory by other scientists, nor of any such prompt and successful application of a theory by those having executive power."

That the Military Governor of Cuba, General Leonard Wood, was a physician with an understanding of the issues was a fortunate, though fortuitous, deciding factor.

Gorgas' success in Havana came as a much needed balm to the office of the Surgeon General. Sternberg had suffered the harsh political consequences of the disorganization of the Army Medical Services, overshadowing the good work that he had done in the organization of the Army Medical School. Major Reed, who had doubted the cooperation of Cuban physicians in the task of sanitation, wrote:

"Thank God that the Medical Department of the U.S. Army, which got such a 'black eye'

during the war, has during the past year accomplished work that will always (sic) remain to its eternal credit."

The medical historian must ponder the case of Dr. George M. Sternberg, a man of unquestionably unselfish devotion who "carried his brilliant attainments with a kind of remote severity, quietly authoritative and disdainful of contradiction" (Leech). His long interest and work in the cause of yellow fever brought him repeatedly close to the key, but his mind lacked the intellectual agility that could have made him one of the most important protagonists of the final solution. Sternberg wrote a subsequent article in which he stated that Finlay had been the first to suggest the transmission by the mosquito but that he had failed to convince the medical profession:

"Having for years given much thought to this subject—he explained—I suggested to Dr. Reed that he should give special attention to the probability of transmission by some insect."

In none of his own papers nor in those of his subaltern and appointee nor in the biography written by his own wife, is there any substantiation of this pathetic claim. Sternberg retired from the Army, served on various important committees and died in Washington, in 1915, at the age of seventy-seven.

Carroll, the immigrant Englishman who rose from a Canadian backwoodsman and enlisted soldier to Professor of Bacteriology in the Army Medical School, wrote numerous articles on yellow fever in which he not only omitted mention of Finlay's pioneer work but deliberately endeavored to discredit him: he brought upon himself Agramonte's and Gorgas' public censure before he died in 1907. Dr. Agramonte, son of Eduardo and heir to a legendary name, resigned his Commission in the U.S. Army and became Professor of Bacteriology of the University of Havana. His students considered him an exacting but unimaginative professor who made a fetish of punctuality. In 1931, he was appointed head of the Department of Tropical Medicine of the Louisiana State University; he died in New Orleans that same year. Doctors H. E. Durham and W. Myers, the Liverpool scientists, were in Pará, Brazil, pursuing their investigations, which included the study of mosquitoes, when they both contracted yellow fever: Dr. Myers died; Dr. Durham survived and had a long fruitful career until his death in 1945.

There seems to be no doubt that Agramonte, among the three remaining members of the U.S. Army Board, was the least jealous of the credit that was due to Finlay and to Lazear. At a banquet in honor of Majors W. C. Gorgas and J. R. King, held in Havana in January 1902, he expressed his public recognition of Finlay in the presence of most of the contemporary protagonists of this epic:

"Thanks to the firmly rooted conviction of a good and modest man; thanks to his unswerving purpose in proclaiming and defending what he knew was right, to his wonderful power of observation and his ability for logical deduction, we have found the ounce of prevention so necessary in this dreadful disease . . . I need hardly call the name of this venerable man . . . it is deeply graven in the heart of all lovers of mankind; he sits amongst us tonight, no doubt shocked in his modesty at my thus speaking, yet I must pronounce his name with due reverence, Dr. Carlos Finlay . . . His inspiration was laughed at, his theory was mistaken for the fanciful illusion of a tropical imagination by the very ones who today cannot do sufficiently to exalt him: but that has been the way with all great men in all times."

Reed reproached Gorgas for the credit publicly given by him to Dr. Finlay and suggested that this might make an unfavorable impression. Forthrightly Gorgas replied (February 1902):

"I do not 'honeyfuggle' the old (Finlay) a bit. I think he is an old trump, as modest as he is kindly and true. His reasoning for selecting the stegomyia as the bearer of yellow fever is the best piece of logical reasoning that can be found in Medicine anywhere . . . His theory would have remained an idle dream except for your work—and he added, prophetically—your name will be remembered in Medicine long after the old doctor has been forgotten."

William Gorgas, the gentleman from Alabama, went on to fight against yellow fever, as well as against official inertia, and to win his own right to glory by making possible the American completion of the Panama Canal. He became Surgeon General of the U. S. Army with the rank of Major General. Subsequently, he worked with the Rockefeller Foundation towards the solution of the remaining problem of jungle yellow fever. Dispassionate, dedicated and affable, General Gorgas became the world's consultant on problems of sanitation; he died in London in 1920. His name is appropriately memorialized in the Gorgas Memorial Institute in Panama.

Finlay became the first Director of Health of the Republic of Cuba as it came into being, May 20, 1902. He received an honorary degree from Jefferson Medical College and the Mary Kinsley Medal of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine. He was nominated for the Nobel Prize by Dr. Ronald Ross in 1905, by Dr. John W. Ross, U.S.N. in 1907, and by the Academy of Medicine of Havana in 1912; the numerous, contemporary claims probably kept the Nordic academicians from rendering justice to him. At any rate, man has always had a penchant for worshipping the sunrise rather than the sunset. After seven years service to the young republic, Finlay retired; he died in Havana in 1915. His marble statue was erected in front of the Ministry of Health of Cuba; it is surrounded by the bronze busts of Lazear, Gorgas, Delgado and Guiteras. The Instituto Finlay of Havana was dedicated in 1927 to research in tropical medicine and preventive medicine. The order of merit of Carlos Finlay was created by the Cuban government to recognize personalities in the field of health. The Colegio Médico de Cuba declared December 3rd, Finlay's birthday, the Day of the Physician; for years the occasion was chosen by patients and friends to extend thanks and respects to the practitioners of medicine. The Academy of Medicine of Paris celebrated the centenary of his birth and the city of Paris gave his name to one of its streets in 1934. Jefferson Medical College celebrated the centenary of his graduation in 1955.

At the height of the 1793 yellow fever epidemic, the following anonymous letter was published on the first page of the *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser* of Philadelphia (August 29, 1793):

"As the late rains will produce a great increase of mosquitoes in the city, distressing to the sick, and troublesome to those who are well . . . it will be agreeable to the citizens that the increase of those poisonous insects may be diminished by a simple and cheap mode . . . Whoever will take the trouble to examine their rain-water tubs, will find millions of mosquitoes . . . not quite prepared to emerge and fly off: Take a wine glass full of the water . . . pour half a teaspoon full . . . of any common oil, which will quickly diffuse over the surface, and by excluding the air, will destroy the whole brood . . . A gill of oil poured into a common rain water cask will be sufficient . . . large cisterns may require more, and where the water is drawn out by pump . . . the oil will remain undisturbed and last for a considerable time."

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A VOLUNTEER EDUCATIONAL AND SELF-HELP PROGRAM FOR THE AGING

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, the recent White House Conference on Aging brought to our minds anew the problems faced by our Nation's elderly.

Approximately one of every 10 individuals living in the United States is 65 years old or older. It is estimated that 20 million men and women are in this age group. Due to the migration of young people from rural areas to cities during the 1950's and 1960's the percentage of elderly people in rural areas is above the national average.

Less than 5 percent of the Nation's elderly live in resthomes or similar institutions. About 25 percent live alone or with nonrelatives. These figures reveal that 95 percent of the elderly live in existing communities, villages, and cities. They, like other citizens, rely on the services available in their respective communities.

A high percentage of the elderly in America are poor. The percentage is much higher than for younger age groups. During much of their productive life, incomes, salaries, and wages were below current levels. Therefore, the opportunity to build up a sizable estate or retirement funds did not exist. To-

day the lack of wealth, job opportunities, and inflated prices make it difficult for the elderly to have an adequate standard of living. Furthermore, the opportunities for this age group to participate in community activities become more and more limited as the individual advances in age. The need for a voluntary educational and self-help program for the elderly is urgent.

The formal educational attainment of individuals over 65 years of age reflects the limited availability of schooling during their youth. Fifty percent of this age group never went beyond elementary school. A voluntary educational program is needed to help him cope with today's social and economic standards and problems.

One-fourth of all the elderly in America live in households whose income is below the poverty level. As consumers, these individuals must spend most of their income for food, housing, and medical care. Many exhaust their life savings before they are laid to rest.

The Cooperative Extension Service has been conducting informal voluntary educational programs since 1914. Many of the present-day elderly, especially in rural areas, participated in extension programs in prior years. They know how the Cooperative Extension Service works and the benefits that can be derived by taking part in its programs.

An extension staff exists in every county in America. Current staff members know how to gain participation by those they are assigned to serve and they know how to gain the support and cooperation of local leaders. Therefore, it is logical that Cooperative Extension Service be assigned the responsibility of administering a national voluntary and self-help program for the elderly.

Given this responsibility and funds to conduct such a program, the Cooperative Extension Service could:

First. Initiate volunteer programs designed to encourage older people to use their talents and expertise for the benefit of their communities.

Second. Initiate programs which will encourage the elderly to voluntarily provide services such as transportation, daily contact and the promotion of better health habits among others in this age group.

Third. Promote personal fulfillment through creative activities, hobbies, and reading.

Fourth. Provide the linkage for efforts of agencies and groups working to assist the elderly and those approaching retirement.

Fifth. Provide educational information that would help the aging manage their income and savings.

Sixth. Conduct educational programs on nutrition.

Seventh. Promote food production—backyard gardens.

Eighth. Teach crafts and assist with the organization of shows and sales.

Ninth. Provide information and guidance to individuals that will soon enter this age group.

Tenth. Help secure adequate medical facilities and services for the elderly.

Eleventh. Help communities secure low-cost housing for the elderly and co-

operate with agencies currently working on this problem.

Twelfth. Keep the elderly informed as to availability of legal and medical services and other useful information.

For the Cooperative Extension Service to carry on these or similar programs, additional personnel and funds would be needed. Therefore, if legislation is introduced and enacted giving the Cooperative Extension Service the responsibility of administering a special program for the elderly, the bill should provide adequate funds for this much needed program. It is estimated that to implement such a program would require an appropriation of \$75 million annually. The \$75 million is equal to an annual Federal expenditure of \$3.50 per elderly person. The \$75 million would be used to pay the salaries and support of the following classes of program workers:

Extension Service USDA personnel.

State program coordinators.

Professional county workers.

Paraprofessional county workers.

It appears to me that the Cooperative Extension Service is the logical Government agency through which help to our older citizens can best be rendered. I trust the Members of this body will give careful attention to my proposal.

VOTING RECORD

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have this opportunity to again insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an accounting of my voting record on all recorded votes during the first session of the 92d Congress.

I fully realize how difficult it may sometimes be to properly interpret a Member's position when a half dozen votes pertaining to a single issue are involved. We are not always afforded an opportunity to make clear-cut votes on every issue. However, my affirmative votes reflect a judgment that a bill includes considerably more good than bad.

I would be the first to recognize that not every one of my votes will please every one of my constituents. My objective, and my constitutional responsibility, is to make the best judgment possible at the time based on the facts and circumstances that I can ascertain, in the best interests of the individual citizen, our district, and our Nation.

The format of the voting record includes a succinct bill title and an abridged description—which is not always precise or fully descriptive. Limited space prevents the inclusion of details or any explanation.

Due to official business away from Washington, it was occasionally necessary to miss a recorded vote. On these measures, I have indicated my position.

If more detailed information is desired concerning any particular bill, I will be pleased to furnish this information.

My voting record follows:

VOTING RECORD OF BURT L. TALCOTT OF THE 12TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

(Yea—for; Nay—against; NVA—not voting, against; NVF—not voting, for; NVPA—not voting, paired against; NVPF—not voting, paired for.)

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
002	Jan. 21	Election of the Speaker of the House of Representatives (Albert, 250, Ford, 176)-----	Ford	030	Mar. 3	H.R. 4690: Patman amendment striking section giving the Treasury Department authority to issue \$10 billion in Federal bonds without regard to the statutory interest ceiling of 4.25 percent. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 181 to 212)-----	NVA
007	Jan. 22	H. Res. 5: amending the Rules of the House (1) to make the Select Committee on Small Business a permanent select committee; (2) to permit the Speaker to bring a bill to the floor if the Committee on Rules fails to grant it a rule within 21 days of its being reported by a legislative committee; (3) to provide that committees shall adopt rules which shall be binding on their subcommittees; (4) to provide that each Member of a committee shall have the opportunity to interrogate witnesses under the 5-minute rule; (5) to provide, in lieu of the requirement in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 that the minority shall be allotted one-third of a committee's investigative funds, that the minority shall be given fair consideration in the appointment of committee staff; (6) to provide that the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico shall have the same powers and privileges and be elected to standing committees in the same manner as other Members of the House; and (7) to provide that the Delegate from the District of Columbia shall serve on the Committee on the District of Columbia and shall have the same powers and privileges and be elected to standing committees in the same manner as other Members of the House. Colmer motion to order the previous question. (Failed, 134 to 254).-----	NVA	031	Mar. 18	H.J. Res. 468: Yates amendment deleting \$134 million for the development of the supersonic transport from the fiscal 1971 Department of Transportation Appropriations Act. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 217 to 204)-----	Yea
008	Jan. 22	H. Res. 5: Sisk motion to order the previous question on amendment to delete provisions for a modified 21-day rule. (Agreed to 213 to 174)-----	NVA	032	Mar. 29	H. Res. 349: providing for consideration of S.J. Res. 55, Wage and Price Control Extension Act. Agreeing to resolution under suspension of the rules. (Agreed to, 324 to 6; 2/3 vote required)-----	Yea
009	Jan. 22	H. Res. 5: Agreeing to Sisk amendment. (Agreed to, 234 to 153).-----	NVF	034	Mar. 29	S.J. Res. 55: Reuss amendment requiring the President to implement wage and price controls on a basis sufficiently broad to facilitate substantial cost-of-living stabilization, i.e., to prohibit the President from applying such controls to only one industry. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 143 to 183)-----	Nay
010	Jan. 22	H. Res. 5: On passage. (Passed, 226 to 156; "present" 1)-----	NVA	037	Mar. 31	H.R. 6531: Harrington amendment to Draft Extension Act repealing the President's authority to induct men into the armed forces effective July 1, 1971. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 62 to 331)-----	Nay
013	Feb. 4	H. Res. 193: providing for election of Democratic Members to Standing Committees of the House. Mills motion to order the previous question. (Agreed to, 258 to 32; "present" 42)-----	Yea	038	Mar. 31	H.R. 6531: Whalen amendment extending the draft for one year instead of two. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 198 to 200)-----	Nay
014	Mar. 2	H. Res. 264: authorizing the Internal Security Committee to release to a Federal court certain House documents and information and the testimony or depositions of certain House employees. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 292 to 63)-----	NVF	041	Apr. 1	H.R. 6531: Dennis amendment continuing two-year terms for conscientious objector alternate civilian service instead of three and deleting provisions requiring automatic induction of conscientious objectors doing unsatisfactory alternate service. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 132 to 242)-----	Nay
016	Mar. 3	H.R. 4690: increasing the ceiling on the national debt to \$430 billion from \$395 billion. On passage. (Passed, 228 to 162). [Note: see roll call 030]-----	NVA	042	Apr. 1	H.R. 6531: Fraser amendment prohibiting involuntary assignment of American servicemen to Indochina after December 31, 1971, and the involuntary extension of duty of those serving in Indochina after that date. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 122 to 260)-----	Nay
018	Mar. 10	H.R. 4246: extending through March 31, 1973, discretionary Presidential authority to impose a freeze on wages and prices and the existing ceiling on interest rates paid by lending institutions. On passage. (Passed, 382 to 19)-----	Yea	043	Apr. 1	H.R. 6531: Gibbons amendment prohibiting use of draftees in any war unless declared by Congress or if an attack against the United States was imminent as announced by the President. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 97 to 279)-----	Nay
019	Mar. 10	H.R. 5432: extending the interest equalization tax through March 31, 1973. On passage. (Passed, 393 to 5)-----	Yea	044	Apr. 1	H.R. 6531: Carney amendment extending the draft 18 months instead of 24 months. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 170 to 200; "present" 1)-----	Nay
020	Mar. 16	H.R. 4690: raising national debt limit to \$430 billion and providing a 10-percent across-the-board increase in benefits to Social Security recipients, a \$70.40 minimum monthly payment, a 5-percent increase in special benefits to those 72 and over not insured for regular benefits, an increase in the tax rate to 5.15 percent beginning in 1976, and an increase in the taxable wage base to \$9,000 effective 1972. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 360 to 3; "present" 1)-----	Yea	045	Apr. 1	H.R. 6531: On passage. (Passed, 293 to 99; "present" 2)-----	Yea
021	Mar. 16	H.J. Res. 465: appropriating \$50,675,000 for unemployment compensation for federal workers and former servicemen. On passage. (Passed, 355 to 0)-----	Yea	048	Apr. 6	H. Res. 356: providing for consideration of H.R. 5981, authorizing Secretary of Agriculture to establish feed grain bases for certain sugar beet growers. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 182 to 177)-----	Nay
025	Mar. 18	H.J. Res. 468: Yates amendment deleting \$134 million for the development of the supersonic transport from the fiscal 1971 Department of Transportation Appropriations Act. Reconsidering previous teller vote [see rollcall 031]. (Agreed to, 216 to 203; "present" 1)-----	Yea	050	Apr. 6	H.R. 5981: Findley motion to strike the enacting clause. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 193 to 115)-----	Yea
027	Mar. 23	S.J. Res. 7: amending the Constitution of the U.S. to extend the right to vote to citizens 18 years of age and older in federal, state and local elections. On passage. (Passed, 401 to 19; 2/3 vote required)-----	Yea	052	Apr. 7	H.R. 7016: Hathaway amendment to the Office of Education Appropriations bill of \$4.8 billion, fiscal 1972, adding \$728.6 million for education programs. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 187 to 191)-----	Nay
028	Mar. 24	H. Res. 339: providing for consideration of H.R. 7, Rural Telephone Bank Act. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 366 to 26)-----	Yea	053	Apr. 7	H.R. 7016: Conte amendment deleting section forbidding forced busing of school children. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 149 to 206).-----	NVA
029	Mar. 24	H.R. 7: establishing a Rural Telephone Bank of mixed ownership, with federal and private capital, and authorizing supplemental financing for rural telephone systems. On passage. (Passed, 269 to 127)-----	Nay	054	Apr. 7	H.R. 7016: On passage. (Passed, 355 to 7)-----	NVF
				055	Apr. 19	H.R. 1535: permitting aliens who are over 50 years old and who have lived in the United States for a total of 20 years to become U.S. citizens even if they cannot demonstrate an understanding of the English language. On passage. (Passed, 192 to 84)-----	NVF
				058	Apr. 20	H.R. 4724: authorizing \$507,650,000 in fiscal 1972 appropriations for maritime programs, including subsidies for construction of 22 merchant ships. On passage. (Passed, 360 to 11)-----	NVF
				066	Apr. 22	H.R. 5376: Devine motion recommitting to the Public Works Committee the Public Works Acceleration and Appalachian Regional Development Extensions (authorizing \$5,490,300,000 through fiscal 1978) with instructions to report back deleting Title I provisions extending the Public Works Acceleration Act. (Failed, 128 to 262)-----	Yea
				067	Apr. 22	H.R. 5376: On passage. (Passed, 320 to 67)-----	Yea
				069	Apr. 27	H.R. 2598: Mikva motion recommitting the bill establishing by law a canine corps in the District of Columbia police department. (Failed, 76 to 303)-----	Nay
				070	Apr. 27	H.R. 6417: permitting the District of Columbia to buy back liquor licenses sold to merchants. On passage. (Failed, 178 to 200)-----	Nay

VOTING RECORD OF BURT L. TALCOTT OF THE 12TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
072	Apr. 28	H.R. 5066: providing for a 10-percent increase in railroad retirement annuities. On passage. (Passed, 379 to 0) -----	Yea	104	May 20	H.R. 8190: appropriating \$7,028,195,973 in the Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, fiscal 1971. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 264 to 28) -----	Yea
074	Apr. 29	H. Res. 274: Hayes amendment, to committee amendment, increasing investigative funds for the House Internal Security Committee (HISC) for 1971 to \$570,000 from \$450,000. (Agreed to, 257 to 129) -----	Yea	105	May 20	H.R. 8190: Mahon motion providing that the House agree to Senate amendment authorizing \$155.8 million for termination of the supersonic transport project. (Failed, 118 to 156) -----	Yea
079	Apr. 29	H. Res. 274: Edwards motion recommending the resolution to House Administration Committee with instructions to hold public hearings on the necessity for HISC funding. (Failed, 104 to 275) -----	Nay	106	May 24	H. Res. 415: authorizing trips by committee members and staff members to Europe and the Far East to conduct studies within the committee's jurisdiction. (Agreed to, 201 to 88) -----	Nay
076	Apr. 29	H. Res. 274: Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 300 to 75) -----	Yea	108	May 25	H. Res. 411: disapproving the President's proposed executive reorganization plan to merge the Peace Corps, VISTA and other volunteer organizations. Agreeing to resolution. (Failed, 131 to 242). [Veto resolution defeated, thus merger endorsed] -----	Nay
078	May 3	H.R. 6283: extending for two years the President's authority to submit plans for reorganizing executive branch agencies. On passage. (Passed, 301 to 20) -----	Yea	110	May 26	H. Res. 155: creating a select committee to investigate energy resources in the United States. Agreeing to resolution. (Failed, 128 to 218) -----	Nay
079	May 4	S. 531: authorizing the U.S. Postal Service to receive a fee of \$2 for execution of an application for a passport. On passage. (Passed, 241 to 124) -----	Nay	113	June 2	H.R. 3613: Esch amendment substituting H.R. 8141, the Administration's Manpower Revenue-Sharing Act. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 182 to 204) -----	Yea
080	May 5	H. Res. 422: extending best wishes to former President Harry S. Truman on 87th birthday. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 380 to 0) -----	Yea	114	June 2	H.R. 3613: Esch motion recommending to the House Education and Labor Committee with instructions to report back the substitute bill, H.R. 8141. (Failed, 184 to 202; "present" 1) -----	Yea
081	May 5	H. Res. 423: providing for consideration of H.R. 4604, raising the ceiling on Small Business Act (SBA) business loans to \$3.1 billion from \$2.2 billion, and continuing five SBA programs through fiscal 1972. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 381 to 0) -----	Yea	115	June 2	H.R. 3613: On passage. (Passed, 245 to 141) -----	Nay
082	May 5	H.R. 4604: On passage. (Passed, 383 to 0) -----	Yea	116	June 3	H. Res. 452: providing for consideration of H.R. 7960, National Science Foundation Authorization Act, fiscal 1972. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 357 to 4) -----	Yea
084	May 6	H. Res. 412: authorizing additional foreign travel authority for four subcommittees of the Education and Labor Committee. Agreeing to resolution. (Rejected, 156 to 172) -----	Nay	117	June 3	H.R. 7109: authorizing \$3,433,080,000 in appropriations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal 1972. On passage. (Passed, 303 to 64) -----	Yea
085	May 10	H.R. 5638: extending existing penalties for assaults on police officers to assaults on firemen, and providing criminal penalties for interfering with firemen in the performance of their duties. On passage. (Passed, 312 to 0) -----	Yea	119	June 4	H.R. 8825: providing \$449,899,605 in appropriations for Legislative Branch operations, not including Senate expenses, in fiscal 1972. On passage. (Passed, 259 to 26) -----	Yea
087	May 11	H.R. 8190: Glaimo amendment to Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, fiscal 1971, restoring \$34,178,000 in fiscal 1971 funds for the District of Columbia's share of costs of metropolitan Washington rapid transit system. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 170 to 219) -----	Nay	120	June 7	H.R. 8011: extending authority for government procurement of articles produced by the blind to articles produced by other handicapped persons. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 309 to 0; 2/3 vote required) -----	Yea
089	May 12	H.R. 8190: Boland amendment providing that \$85.3 million authorized for termination of the supersonic transport (SST) project be used for continued construction of two prototypes. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 201 to 195; "present" 2) -----	Nay	121	June 7	H.R. 1161: removing certain restrictions against domestic wine producers to permit American producers to display wines at international trade fairs. Passage under suspension of rules. (Passed, 298 to 13; 2/3 vote required) -----	Yea
090	May 12	H.R. 8190: Boland amendment (above). (Agreed to, 201 to 197; "present" 6) -----	Nay	122	June 7	H.R. 7960: authorizing \$622 million in appropriations for the National Science Foundation in fiscal 1972. On passage. (Passed, 319 to 8) -----	Yea
091	May 17	H.R. 7271: authorizing an increase to \$4 million from \$3.4 million in appropriations for U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 262 to 67; 2/3 vote required) -----	Yea	124	June 8	H. Res. 465: providing for consideration of H.R. 8293, extending the International Coffee Agreement Act of 1968 through September 30, 1973. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 336 to 41) -----	Yea
092	May 17	H.R. 5257: authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to transfer up to \$50 million during fiscal 1971 and up to \$100 million during fiscal 1972 in additional money for free and reduced-price school lunch programs for needy children. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 332 to 0; 2/3 vote required) -----	Yea	126	June 9	H.J. Res. 617: Gross motion recommending to committee with instructions to add an amendment urging a \$5 million cash payment from Japan in lieu of \$5 million in goods and services. (Failed, 166 to 215) -----	Yea
093	May 17	H.R. 56: establishing an environmental data system. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 304 to 18; 2/3 vote required) -----	Yea	127	June 9	H.J. Res. 617: authorizing a contribution to certain inhabitants of the Pacific Trust Territory who suffered damages from World War II, providing for the payment of noncombat claims prior to July 1, 1951, and establishing a Micronesian Claims Commission. On passage. (Passed, 225 to 158) -----	NVF
094	May 17	H.R. 5060: providing criminal penalties for shooting wildlife from aircraft. Passed under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 307 to 8; 2/3 vote required) -----	Yea	129	June 10	H. Res. 471: providing for the consideration of H.R. 8866, extending through December 1974, the Sugar Act, and modifying quotas for foreign and domestic sugar producers. Delaney motion ordering the previous question providing for closed rule for consideration of the bill. (Agreed to, 213 to 166) -----	NVF
095	May 17	H.R. 2587: establishing a National Advisory Committee on the Oceans and Atmosphere. Passed under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 293 to 10; 2/3 vote required) -----	Yea	130	June 10	H.R. 8866: On passage. (Passed, 229 to 128) -----	NVF
098	May 18	H. Res. 437: Madden motion to order the previous question on the rule for H.R. 3613, the Emergency Public Service Employment Act. (Failed, 182-210) -----	Nay	131	June 14	H.R. 8794: providing for payment of the costs of medical care for D.C. police and firemen and members of the U.S. Secret Service who were totally disabled in the course of duty. On passage. (Passed, 311 to 1) -----	NVF
099	May 18	H. Res. 437: Smith amendment to rule, making text of H.R. 8141 (the Administration's manpower revenue-sharing plan) in order as a substitute bill for the committee version of H.R. 3613. (Agreed to, 210 to 177) -----	Yea	134	June 15	S. 575: authorizing \$5,661,500,000 for extending the Public Works Acceleration Act of 1962, the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 and the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 275 to 104) -----	NVF
100	May 18	H. Res. 437: adoption of rule for consideration of H.R. 3613. (Agreed to, 349 to 34) -----	Yea				
102	May 18	S.J. Res. 100: providing for third reading of the resolution providing a 13.5 percent pay increase for signalmen and extending the period of negotiations for prohibiting a further rail strike until October 1, 1971. (Agreed to, 264 to 93) -----	Yea				

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
137	June 16	H.R. 8687: Leggett amendment to Defense Procurement Authorization Act, fiscal 1972 (authorizing \$21 billion for procurement and research of military weapons systems), limiting ARPA funding to that needed for completion of sites at Grand Forks, North Dakota and Malstrom, Montana, and cutting funds by \$102 million. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 129 to 267)-----	Nay	163	June 24	H.R. 9272: Yates amendment to State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations of \$3,684,183,000 fiscal 1972, adding \$11,600,749 for dues owed the International Labor Organization. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 147 to 227)-----	Nay
138	June 16	H.R. 8687: Pike amendment striking \$370.2 million for the B-1 long-range bomber. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 97-307)-----	Nay	164	June 24	H.R. 9272: Gonzalez amendment cutting \$4,250,000 from Appropriations Committee recommendation for the Community Relations Service. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 127 to 233)-----	Yea
139	June 16	H.R. 8687: Stafford modification of Pike amendment (which reduced research and development [R&D] funds by \$900 million, to level of appropriation in fiscal 1971) reducing R&D funds by \$506,632,000. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 135 to 258)-----	Nay	165	June 24	H.R. 9272: On passage. (Passed, 337 to 10)-----	Yea
140	June 16	H.R. 8687: Aspin amendment limiting total procurement and R&D authorization at fiscal 1971 appropriated level. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 118 to 278)-----	Nay	167	June 28	H.R. 6531: Hebert motion to Draft Extension Act to table Whalen motion instructing House conferees to accept Senate's Mansfield amendment declaring it U.S. policy to withdraw all troops from Indochina within 9 months of enactment. (Agreed to, 219 to 175)-----	Yea
141	June 17	H.R. 8687: McCloskey motion adjourning due to incomplete information on Indochina war. (Failed, 30 to 368)-----	Nay	169	June 28	H.R. 9271: appropriating \$4,487,676,190 for the Treasury-Postal Service Appropriations, fiscal 1972. On passage. (Passed, 380 to 6)-----	Yea
142	June 17	H.R. 7016: Flood motion to table Hathaway motion instructing House conferees to accept Senate version of Office of Education Appropriations bill, fiscal 1972. (Agreed to, 228 to 182)-----	Yea	171	June 29	H.R. 9417: appropriating \$2,350,145,035 in fiscal 1972 for activities of the Interior Department and related agencies. On passage. (Passed, 400 to 5)-----	Yea
143	June 17	H.R. 8687: Mink substitute for pending Nedzi-Whalen amendment (below) requiring complete cutoff of funds for military activities in Indochina after December 31, 1971, with no other provisions. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 81 to 327)-----	Nay	172	June 30	H. Res. 489: Hebert motion to table Abzug resolution requesting the President to furnish the text of the Defense Department's secret Vietnam study, covering the years 1945-67, to the House. (Agreed to, 273 to 112)-----	Yea
144	June 17	H.R. 8687: Nedzi-Whalen amendment barring funds provided in the bill for military activities in Indochina after December 31, 1971, giving the President the right to change the fund cutoff date if he could gain support of Congress. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 158 to 255)-----	Nay	173	June 30	H.R. 7016: appropriating \$5,146,311,000 for the Office of Education and related special agencies in fiscal 1972. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 376 to 15)-----	Yea
145	June 17	H.R. 8687: Pepper amendment cutting off funds for military activity in Indochina after June 1, 1972, provided that all POW's had been released at least 60 days prior to that date. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 147 to 237)-----	Nay	174	June 30	H.R. 9382: Clawson amendment to Department of Housing and Urban Development, NASA, VA and Independent Offices Appropriations of \$18,115,203,000 in fiscal 1972, deleting entire \$3 million in the bill for HUD counseling services. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 164 to 217)-----	Yea
146	June 17	H.R. 8687: On passage. (Passed, 331 to 58)-----	Yea	175	July 1	S. 31: authorizing \$2.25 billion to provide public service jobs for the unemployed at the state and local level. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 343-14)-----	Yea
147	June 18	H. Res. 434: authorizing additional foreign travel for members of four subcommittees of the House Education and Labor Committee and attendance by two members of each party at the International Labor Organization Conference in Geneva, Switzerland. Agreeing to the resolution. (Agreed to, 183 to 119)-----	Nay	176	July 1	H.R. 8629: extending for three years health manpower training programs. On passage. (Passed, 343 to 3)-----	Yea
148	June 18	H.R. 7736: extending for one year student loan and scholarship provisions of Titles VII and VIII of the Public Health Service Act. On passage. (Passed, 299 to 0)-----	Yea	177	July 1	H.R. 8630: continuing for three years programs to train nurses. On passage. (Passed, 324 to 0)-----	Yea
149	June 21	H.R. 5237: implementing a provision of the Convention of Paris for the Protection of Industrial Property, as revised at Stockholm, Sweden. On passage. (Passed, 340 to 8)-----	Yea	178	July 7	H. Res. 492: Morgan motion to table resolution of inquiry authored by Paul M. McCloskey directing the Secretary of State to give Congress documents on policy decisions governing U.S. military operations in Laos. (Agreed to, 261 to 118)-----	Yea
150	June 21	S. 1538: providing additional funds for the American Bicentennial Commission. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 336 to 24; 2/3 vote required)-----	Yea	179	July 7	H.R. 8805: establishing definitions of obscene material for purposes of prohibiting delivery of such material to minors and others through the mail. On passage. (Passed, 356 to 25)-----	Yea
151	June 21	H.R. 3146: authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with states in the enforcement of laws and regulations within the National Forest System. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 361 to 2; 2/3 vote required)-----	Yea	182	July 8	H.R. 8181: Wylie amendment to Export Expansion Finance Act deleting language permitting the Export-Import Bank, to finance exports to countries that supply or aid countries in armed conflict with U.S. forces. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 207 to 153)-----	Yea
152	June 21	H. Res. 487: Young motion ending further debate on and barring amendments to the rule under which H.R. 1, increasing Social Security benefits and Medicare and Medicaid assistance programs, was considered. (Agreed to, 200 to 172)-----	Nay	183	July 8	H.R. 8181: Vanik amendment deleting language exempting Export-Import Bank and disbursements from the U.S. budget as well as the spending and lending limits which the budget imposed. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 112 to 249)-----	Nay
156	June 22	H.R. 1: Ullman motion to delete Title IV, the Family Assistance Plan provisions from H.R. 1. [Teller vote]. (Failed, 187 to 234)-----	Nay	184	July 8	H.R. 9093: extending and expanding the Interior Department's water desalting program for five additional years, through June 30, 1977. On passage. (Passed, 325 to 0)-----	Yea
157	June 22	H.R. 1: On passage. (Passed, 288 to 132)-----	Yea	185	July 12	H.R. 8407: authorizing the District of Columbia to enter into the Interstate Agreement on Educational Personnel. (On passage. (Passed, 325 to 4)-----	Yea
159	June 23	H.R. 9270: Conte amendment to Agriculture Department Environment and Consumer Appropriations, fiscal 1972, setting a \$20,000 limitation on subsidy payments for farm products except for sugar and wool. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 214 to 198)-----	Nay	187	July 13	H.R. 8699: providing an administrative assistant for the Chief Justice of the U.S. On passage. (Passed, 263 to 139)-----	Nay
160	June 23	H.R. 9270: Reuss amendment prohibiting funding for any stream channelization project administered by the Secretary of Agriculture unless the project was under way before July 1, 1971. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 129 to 278)-----	Nay	188	July 13	H. Res. 534: Keith motion to recommit resolution citing Dr. Frank Stanton and CBS for contempt of Congress for refusing to provide certain film edited from "The Selling of the Pentagon" to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Investigations Subcommittee. (Agreed to, 226 to 181)-----	Yea
161	June 23	H.R. 9270: Michel amendment barring food stamps to households which need assistance solely because a member is taking part in a labor strike. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 172 to 225)-----	Yea	190	July 14	H.R. 9667: appropriating \$2,733,369,997 for the Department of Transportation and related agencies for fiscal 1972. On passage. (Passed, 401 to 12)-----	Yea
				192	July 15	H.R. 9388: Skubitz amendment to the Atomic Energy Commission Authorization of \$2,321,187,000, fiscal 1972, deleting \$3.5 million for demonstration atomic waste repository project near Lyons, Kansas. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 162 to 207)-----	NAY

VOTING RECORD OF BURT L. TALCOTT OF THE 12TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
193	July 19	H.R. 9265: authorizing a drug treatment and rehabilitation program in the Veterans Administration. On passage. (Passed, 379 to 0) -----	NVF	220	July 29	H.R. 10090: Clark amendment deleting \$100,000 for a restudy of the proposed Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric power project in eastern Maine. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 199 to 181) -----	Yea
194	July 19	H.J. Res. 748: authorizing the Administrator of Veterans Affairs to provide assistance in the establishment of new state medical schools, and the improvement of existing VA-affiliated medical schools, and to develop cooperative agreements between VA and other institutions to train health-care personnel. On passage. (Passed, 371 to 2) -----	NVF	221	July 29	H.R. 10090: On passage. (Passed, 386 to 4) -----	Yea
195	July 19	S.J. Res. 111: extending for two years the existing authority for construction of the Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial in Washington, D.C. On passage. (Passed, 288 to 90) -----	NVF	223	July 30	Procedural motion: Boggs motion to approve the Journal. (Agreed to, 374 to 10) -----	Yea
197	July 20	H. Res. 424: adopting rule on H.J. Res. 3, establishing a Joint Committee on the Environment. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 372 to 18) -----	NVF	224	July 30	H. Con. Res. 384: Adjournment Resolution: Boggs resolution providing that Congress adjourn from the close of business August 6 to September 8, 1971. (Agreed to, 334 to 41) -----	Yea
199	July 21	H. Res. 457: allowing expenditures from the contingency fund to be regulated by the House Administration Committee rather than being taken to the floor for separate votes. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 233 to 167) -----	Nay	225	July 30	H. Res. 566: Colmer motion to order the previous question on the rule under which H.R. 8432, authorizing a federal guarantee on bank loans for failing major businesses (Lockheed Aircraft Corporation), was considered. (Agreed to, 323 to 68) -----	Yea
200	July 21	H.R. 4354: Schwengel motion to recommit the bill increasing bus-width limits on interstate highways to the Public Works Committee. (Failed, 178 to 213) -----	Nay	226	July 30	H.R. 8432: Colmer amendment limiting federal guarantee to 90 percent. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 176 to 205) -----	Nay
202	July 22	Call of the House proceedings. Pucinski motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call of the House. (Agreed to, 371 to 5) -----	Yea	227	July 30	H.R. 8432: On passage. (Passed, 192 to 189) -----	Nay
203	July 22	H.R. 9844: authorizing \$2,138,337,000 in appropriations for military construction and related activities in fiscal 1972. On passage. (Passed, 359 to 31) -----	Yea	228	Aug. 2	H.R. 9272: appropriating \$4,067,116,000 for State, Justice, Commerce Departments appropriations for fiscal 1972. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 337 to 35) -----	Yea
204	July 27	H.R. 9270: appropriating Agriculture Department-Environment and Consumer appropriations for fiscal 1972. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 230 to 162) -----	Nay	229	Aug. 2	H. Res. 539: Collins motion discharging the Committee on Education and Labor from further consideration of resolution requiring the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to furnish the House with documents relating to school desegregation and busing. (Agreed to, 252 to 129) -----	Yea
205	July 27	H.R. 9272: Rooney motion to table Edwards motion instructing House conferees on State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations for fiscal 1972 to accept Senate amendment barring use of Subversive Activities Control Board appropriation to carry out Executive Order 11605. (Agreed to, 246 to 141) -----	Yea	230	Aug. 2	H. Res. 539: Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 351 to 36) -----	Yea
207	July 27	H.R. 10061: Yates amendment to Labor-HW appropriations of \$20,461,146,000 for fiscal 1972, adding \$200 million including \$70 million for the National Institutes of Health; \$10 million for Public Health Service hospitals; \$30 million for communicable disease control; \$50 million for Hill-Burton grants; \$15 million for alcoholism programs; \$5 million for lead-poisoning programs and \$20 million for maternal and child-care grants. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 169 to 215) -----	Nay	231	Aug. 2	H.R. 3628: requiring equal treatment for married women employed by the Federal government. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 377 to 11; 2/3 vote required) -----	Yea
208	July 27	H.R. 10061: Glaimo amendment adding \$82.4 million for the Social and Rehabilitation Service for vocational rehabilitation programs. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 236 to 153) -----	Nay	232	Aug. 2	H. Con. Res. 370: declaring it the sense of Congress that all Public Health Service hospitals, clinics and research centers located in Lexington, Ky., and Fort Worth, Texas, remain open and within the Public Health Service through fiscal 1972. Agreeing to resolution under suspension of the rules. (Agreed to, 370 to 4; 2/3 vote required) -----	Yea
209	July 27	H.R. 10061: Burke amendment adding \$64 million for Child Welfare Services. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 185 to 201) -----	Nay	233	Aug. 2	H.J. Res. 829: continuing in force at previous levels the appropriations for activities for which appropriations bills had not yet been passed. On passage. (Passed, 350 to 6) -----	Yea
210	July 27	H.R. 10061: On passage. (Passed, 372 to 25) -----	Yea	235	Aug. 3	H.R. 9910: authorizing appropriations of \$3,444,350,000 in fiscal 1972 and \$3,494,350,000 in fiscal 1973 for foreign aid. On passage. (Passed, 202 to 192) -----	Nay
212	July 28	H.R. 9092: Gross amendment to the Federal Pay Rate Adjustment bill, eliminating non-appropriated fund employees from coverage under the bill. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 147 to 232) -----	NVA	236	Aug. 4	H. Res. 578: waiving points of order against the conference report on the draft extension bill. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 250 to 150) -----	Yea
213	July 28	H.R. 9922: authorizing \$3,992,000 through fiscal 1978 to extend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 and the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. On passage. (Passed, 376 to 27) -----	Yea	237	Aug. 4	H.R. 6531: Whalen motion recommitting the conference report of the Draft Extension Act. (Failed, 131 to 273) -----	Nay
215	July 29	H.R. 9382: appropriating \$18,339,738,000 in fiscal 1972 for Department of Housing and Urban Development, NASA, VA and Independent Offices. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 363 to 30) -----	Yea	238	Aug. 4	H.R. 6531: extending the draft for two years; expressing the sense of Congress calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina, but setting no specific deadline; and increasing the pay of certain members of the armed forces; and extending the draft for two years. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 298 to 108) -----	Yea
216	July 29	H.R. 9667: appropriating \$8,156,105,000 for fiscal 1972 for the Department of Transportation and related agencies. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 393 to 15) -----	Yea	240	Aug. 4	H.J. Res. 833: Smith amendment to Emergency Supplemental Labor Appropriations Act, fiscal 1972, specifying that the formula for distributing funds shall be based solely on total unemployment in each state in proportion to total unemployment in the United States. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 172 to 213) -----	Nay
217	July 29	H.R. 9667: McFall motion to agree to a Senate-passed amendment reported in technical disagreement by conferees paying aircraft companies \$58.5 million for termination costs of the SST project. (Agreed to, 307 to 99) -----	Yea	241	Aug. 4	H.J. Res. 833: Ford amendment prohibiting payment of funds to any officer or employee of a local government unit which was an eligible applicant for funds. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 171 to 219) -----	Nay
219	July 29	H.R. 10090: Mink amendment to the Public Works-AEC appropriations of \$4,576,173,000, fiscal 1972, barring funds for the Project Cannikin nuclear test at Amchitka Island, Alaska. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 108 to 275) -----	Nay	242	Aug. 4	H.R. Res. 833: On passage. (Passed, 321 to 76) -----	Yea
				246	Aug. 5	S. 581: Export Expansion Finance Act of 1971. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 219 to 140) -----	Nay
				247	Aug. 5	H.R. 10061: appropriating \$20,804,622,000 for the Departments of Labor, Health, Education and Welfare and related agencies for fiscal 1972. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 280 to 56) -----	Nay
				251	Sept. 9	HR 9727: establishing controls over the dumping of waste materials in the oceans and setting up a marine sanctuaries program in the Commerce Department. On passage. (Passed, 304 to 3) -----	NVF

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
252	Sept. 13	H. Res. 483: providing for consideration of H.R. 234, repealing Title II (Emergency Detention Act) of the Internal Security Act of 1950 and prohibiting the detention of U.S. citizens except through an act of Congress. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 345 to 1)	NVF	278	Sept. 30	H.R. 10351: extending the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) for two years through fiscal 1973, authorizing \$5 billion for programs administered by the agency, creating a comprehensive child-care program, and establishing a National Legal Services Corporation to replace the OEO Legal Services program. On passage. (Passed, 251 to 115)	Nay
255	Sept. 14	H.R. 234: Ichord substitute for committee amendment (below) specifying that the repeal of the Emergency Detention Act shall not be construed as affecting the powers of the President under the Constitution and that no U.S. citizen shall be detained for suspicion of espionage or sabotage on account of race, color or ancestry. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 124 to 272)	NVA	281	Oct. 4	H. Res. 596: Udall procedural motion that the Committee of the Whole rise, thus postponing further action on the resolution rescinding the postponement until July 1, 1972, of scheduled salary increases for federal employees and requiring instead that an estimated 5.5 percent federal pay raise go into effect January 1, 1972. [Teller vote]. (Failed, 175 to 198)	Nay
256	Sept. 14	H.R. 234: Committee amendment providing that "no citizen shall be imprisoned or detained by the United States except pursuant to an Act of Congress." [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 290 to 111)	NVF	282	Oct. 4	H. Res. 596: Agreeing to resolution. (Rejected, 174 to 207)	Nay
257	Sept. 14	H.R. 234: On passage. (Passed, 356 to 49)	NVF	283	Oct. 4	H. Con. Res. 374: calling for humane treatment of Americans held prisoner of war by North Vietnam and its allies and endorsing efforts to win their release. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 370 to 0)	Yea
261	Sept. 16	H.R. 1746: Erlenborn Amendment in the nature of a substitute bill providing authority for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to bring suit against recalcitrant discriminatory employees in federal court. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 200 to 195)	Yea	284	Oct. 4	H.R. 9961: providing temporary insurance for member accounts of certain federal credit unions. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Failed, 197 to 122; 2/3 vote required)	Nay
262	Sept. 16	H.R. 1746: Reconsidering Erlenborn Amendment. (Agreed to, 202 to 197)	Yea	285	Oct. 4	H.R. 8083: providing for new career training programs and early retirement benefits for air traffic controllers. On passage. (Passed, 294 to 0)	Yea
263	Sept. 16	H.R. 1746: Ashbrook motion to recommit the bill. (Failed, 130 to 270)	Nay	287	Oct. 4	H.R. 8866: extending the Sugar Act through December 31, 1974 and adjusting production quotas for foreign and domestic producers. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 194 to 91)	Yea
264	Sept. 16	H.R. 1746: On passage. (Passed, 285 to 106)	Yea	289	Oct. 6	H.J. Res. 915: appropriating \$270,500,000 for operations of the Department of Labor and for federal unemployment benefits in fiscal 1972. On passage. (Passed, 394 to 9)	Yea
265	Sept. 22	H.R. 10090: appropriating \$4,706,625,000 for fiscal 1972 for public works projects, the Army Corps of Engineers and the Atomic Energy Commission, including a Senate-passed amendment prohibiting the Project Cannikin underground nuclear test in Alaska without the President's personal approval. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 377 to 9)	Yea	290	Oct. 6	H.J. Res. 916: continuing through November 15, 1971, appropriations for government departments and agencies whose fiscal 1972 appropriations had not yet been enacted into law. On passage. (Passed, 387 to 12)	Yea
267	Sept. 23	H.R. 9166: Gross amendment cutting the over-all authorizations for the Peace Corps for fiscal 1972 by \$27 million, to \$50,200,000 from \$77,200,000. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 113 to 232)	Nay	292	Oct. 12	H.J. Res. 208: Judiciary Committee amendment specifying that the proposed constitutional amendment guaranteeing equal rights for men and women apply both to citizens and noncitizens. [Teller vote]. (Failed, 104 to 254)	Yea
271	Sept. 30	H.R. 10351: Perkins amendment to the Brademas amendment (below) reducing to 10,000 from 100,000 the minimum population requirement for permitting a community to receive federal funds for child development programs. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 226 to 158)	NVA	293	Oct. 12	H.J. Res. 208: Judiciary Committee amendment specifying that the proposed constitutional amendment not nullify federal laws exempting women from the draft, or federal or state laws promoting and protecting the health or safety of women. [Teller vote]. (Failed, 87 to 265)	NVF
272	Sept. 30	H.R. 10351: Erlenborn amendment to Brademas amendment calling for coordination of fees for the child development program with the fees charged in other federal government day-care programs and establishing an annual family income of \$4,320 as the maximum for entitling disadvantaged children to free educational, nutritional, and health services. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 187 to 189)	Yea	294	Oct. 12	H.J. Res. 208: On passage. (Passed, 354 to 24)	Yea
273	Sept. 30	H.R. 10351: Brademas amendment establishing a comprehensive child development program to provide educational, nutritional, and health services free of charge for disadvantaged children from families with an annual income of \$6,960 or less and setting charges on a graduated scale for children from families with higher annual incomes. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 203 to 181)	Nay	298	Oct. 14	H.R. 10835: Fuqua substitute amendment for Moorhead amendment, to bill establishing an independent Consumer Protection Agency and a White House Office of Consumer Affairs, restricting the agency's authority to intervene on behalf of consumers in the proceedings of other federal agencies or in court suits. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 149 to 240)	Yea
274	Sept. 30	H.R. 10351: Cordova substitute amendment to Steiger amendment providing Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands and other trust territories with office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) allotments under the same formula established for the 50 states. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 202 to 161)	Yea	299	Oct. 14	H.R. 10835: Moorhead amendment redefining the agency's authority to intervene on behalf of consumers in proceedings of other federal agencies and providing the agency additional authority to act when other federal agencies refuse to investigate consumer complaints. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 160 to 218)	Nay
275	Sept. 30	H.R. 10351: Devine amendment calling for deletion of Title X creating a nonprofit independent National Legal Services Corporation to take over the OEO's Legal Services program. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 152 to 210)	Yea	300	Oct. 14	H.R. 10835: On passage. (Passed, 345 to 44)	Yea
276	Sept. 30	H.R. 10351: Reconsidering Brademas amendment (see roll 273). (Agreed to, 186 to 183)	Nay	302	Oct. 18	H.R. 9212: extending benefits to orphans whose fathers die of pneumoconiosis (black lung disease). Passage under suspension of the rules. (Failed, 227 to 124; 2/3 vote required)	Nay
277	Sept. 30	H.R. 10351: Erlenborn motion recommitting the bill to the Education and Labor Committee with instructions to report back with an amendment coordinating the fees levied in the child-care section of the bill with fees charged in other federal government day-care programs and establishing an annual family income of \$4,320 as the maximum level entitling disadvantaged children to free educational, nutritional, and health services. (Agreed to, 191 to 180)	Yea	303	Oct. 18	H.J. Res. 923: expressing the federal government's intention to ensure that every school child receive a free or reduced-price lunch as required by the National School Lunch Act. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 354 to 0; 2/3 vote required)	Yea
				304	Oct. 18	H.R. 10458: redefining the powers of the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with countries in the Western Hemisphere to prevent or retard communicable diseases of animals where the Secretary deems such action necessary to protect livestock, poultry and related industries in the United States. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 342 to 0; 2/3 vote required)	Yea
				305	Oct. 18	H.R. 8140: promoting the safety of ports, harbors, waterfront areas and navigable waters of the United States. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 335 to 1; 2/3 vote required)	Yea

VOTING RECORD OF BURT L. TALCOTT OF THE 12TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
307	Oct. 19	H.R. 8697: Hebert motion to order the previous question (ending further debate and blocking the possibility of amending the motion to instruct conferees to accept the language of the Senate-passed Mansfield troop withdrawal amendment) on the Arends motion to instruct conferees not to accept any nongermane Senate-passed amendments to the Defense Procurement Authorization Act of 1971. (Agreed to, 215 to 193) -----	Yea	336	Nov. 1	H.R. 11232: expanding the authority of the farmer-owned cooperative lending system to make loans to farmers and other rural residents. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 331 to 19; 2/3 vote required) -----	NVF
308	Oct. 19	H.R. 8687: Arends motion to instruct conferees not to accept any nongermane Senate-passed amendments in the House-Senate conference (if rejected, House conferees would be free to negotiate without any instructions). (Failed, 192 to 216) -----	Yea	338	Nov. 1	Motion to adjourn: Andrews motion that the House adjourn. (Failed, 51 to 255) -----	NVA
311	Oct. 20	H.R. 9844: authorizing \$1,986,323,000 in appropriations for military construction projects during fiscal 1972. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 370 to 26) -----	Yea	341	Nov. 2	Motion to adjourn: Hays motion that the House adjourn. (Failed, 8 to 285) -----	Nay
312	Oct. 20	H.R. 10367: Udall amendment to Alaskan Natives Land Claims Act (granting Alaskan natives \$925 million and 40 million acres of land to settle longstanding land claims) setting aside 125 million acres for possible inclusion in national park systems and establishing a federal-state planning commission to review land selection by the state and natives. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 177 to 217) -----	Yea	342	Nov. 3	H.R. 2: Sebelius amendment deleting from the bill a provision requiring that the Uniformed Services University of Health Sciences be located within 25 miles of the District of Columbia. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 148 to 215) -----	Nay
313	Oct. 20	H.R. 10367: On passage. (Passed, 344 to 63) -----	Nay	343	Nov. 3	H.R. 2: establishing a Uniformed Services University of Health Sciences to overcome a shortage of career-oriented military personnel in the health professions. On passage. (Passed, 351 to 31) -----	Yea
316	Oct. 21	H.R. 10670: creating a Survivor Benefit Plan to allow career military personnel opportunity to leave a portion of their retired pay to their survivors. On passage. (Passed, 372 to 0) -----	Yea	344	Nov. 3	H.R. 7248: Erlenborn amendment to strike out Title VIII of the Higher Education Act of 1971 authorizing general aid for institutions of higher education. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 84 to 310) -----	Nay
318	Oct. 21	H. Res. 624: Madden motion to order the previous question on the rule under which H.R. 8787, providing for representation in Congress by non-voting delegates to the House from Guam and the Virgin Islands, was considered. (Agreed to, 280 to 62) -----	Yea	345	Nov. 3	H.R. 7248: Hawkins substitute for Quie amendment providing that no college or university shall reduce its operating funds from non-federal sources in anticipation of receiving federal funds. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 210 to 182) -----	Nay
321	Oct. 27	H.R. 11418: making appropriations of \$2,012,446,000 for military construction in the United States and abroad, including funds for the Safeguard ABM systems. On passage. (Passed, 354 to 32) -----	Yea	346	Nov. 3	H.R. 7248: Quie amendment terminating authorization for general institutional aid should the Supreme Court hold that it was unconstitutional for church-related institutions to receive such federal aid. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 119 to 264) -----	Nay
322	Oct. 27	H. Res. 661: adopting rule for consideration of H.R. 7248, extending programs of federal aid to higher education through fiscal 1976. Adopting rule. (Agreed to, 371 to 7) -----	Yea	347	Nov. 3	H.R. 7248: White substitute for Brooks amendment deleting language in the bill establishing an Interns for Political Leadership program. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 229 to 149) -----	Yea
326	Oct. 28	H.R. 7248: Quie-Fraser amendment to Higher Education Act of 1971, substituting a national basic grant program instead of the extension of the existing state-administered educational opportunity grant program included in the committee-reported version. [Teller vote]. (Failed, 117 to 257) -----	NVA	349	Nov. 4	H.R. 7248: Erlenborn amendment to exempt - from the sex discrimination ban on education programs receiving federal funds - the undergraduate admissions policies of all institutions. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 194 to 189) -----	Yea
327	Oct. 28	H.R. 7248: Fraser amendment revising the formula for funds paid to states under educational opportunity grant program to ensure that each state receive an amount proportionate to the number of eligible students it contained relative to the nationwide total of eligible students. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 108 to 220) -----	NVA	350	Nov. 4	H.R. 7248: Matsunaga amendment extending the benefits of land grant college status to the College of the Virgin Islands and the University of Guam. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 219 to 158) -----	Nay
329	Nov. 1	H.R. 2266: authorizing \$1.5 billion in federal aid for desegregating school districts. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Failed, 135 to 222; 2/3 vote required) -----	NVA	351	Nov. 4	H.R. 7248: Brademas amendment restoring in modified form language, previously deleted from the bill on a point of order, creating a National Institute of Education. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 210 to 153) -----	Yea
330	Nov. 1	H.R. 9961: extending for three years the period in which certain federally chartered credit unions could qualify for insurance. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 349 to 0; 2/3 vote required) -----	NVF	352	Nov. 4	H.R. 7248: Gross amendment deleting language authorizing grants for the development of ethnic heritage studies. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 200 to 159) -----	Yea
331	Nov. 1	H.R. 8389: providing LEAA funds for treatment programs for drug addicts confined to or on parole from state or local correctional facilities. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 350 to 2; 2/3 vote required) -----	NVF	353	Nov. 4	H.R. 7248: Pickle substitute - for language in the bill authorizing federal development and enforcement of youth camp safety standards - to authorize a study by the Department of HEW of youth camp safety. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 184 to 166) -----	Yea
332	Nov. 1	H.R. 9180: providing for temporary assignment of U.S. magistrates from one federal judicial district to another during emergency situations. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 344 to 10; 2/3 vote required) -----	NVF	354	Nov. 4	H.R. 7248: Broomfield amendment postponing effectiveness of any federal court order requiring busing for racial, sex, religious or socio-economic balance until all appeals - or the time for all appeals - had been exhausted. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 235 to 125) -----	Yea
333	Nov. 1	H.R. 9323: amending the definition of treatment in the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966 to allow use of methadone in federal narcotics treatment programs. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 354 to 0; 2/3 vote required) -----	NVF	355	Nov. 4	H.R. 7248: Green amendment to Ashbrook amendment to bar any federal employee or agency to force states to expend funds for the forced busing of school students. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 231 to 126) -----	Yea
335	Nov. 1	H.R. 7854: increasing to \$300 million total authorizations under the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 346 to 7; 2/3 vote required) -----	NVF	356	Nov. 4	H.R. 7248: Esch amendment to Ashbrook amendment (below) to exempt - from ban on use of federal funds for busing - districts carrying out a court-ordered desegregation plan. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 146 to 216) -----	Nay
				357	Nov. 4	H.R. 7248: Ashbrook amendment - as modified by Green amendment (above) - barring the use of federal funds for busing students or teachers to overcome racial imbalance or to buy buses for such purpose. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 233 to 124) -----	Yea
				358	Nov. 4	H.R. 7248: Ford substitute for Pucinski amendment (below) to authorize federal study of the needs of desegregating school districts. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 92 to 269) -----	Nay
				359	Nov. 4	H.R. 7248: Pucinski amendment adding to the bill the Emergency School Aid Act of 1971 (H.R. 2266) authorizing \$1.5 billion in aid for desegregating school districts. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 211 to 159) -----	Yea

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
360	Nov. 4	H.R. 7248: Erlenborn amendment to exempt, from the ban on sex discrimination, the undergraduate admissions policies of all institutions of higher education. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 186 to 181)-----	Yea
361	Nov. 4	H.R. 7248: On passage. (Passed, 332 to 38)-----	Yea
363	Nov. 5	H.R. 8293: extending until September 30, 1973, the President's authority to carry out the provisions of the International Coffee Agreement of 1968. On passage. (Passed, 201 to 99)-----	Yea
365	Nov. 8	H.J. Res. 191: Wylie motion to discharge the Judiciary Committee from further consideration of the resolution proposing an Amendment to the Constitution providing that it was constitutionally permissible for persons in public buildings to participate in voluntary prayer. (Agreed to, 242 to 156)-----	Nay
366	Nov. 8	H.J. Res. 191: On passage. (Failed, 240 to 162; 2/3 vote required)-----	Yea
369	Nov. 9	H.R. 10729: Dow amendment to the Kyl substitute amendment to the Dow amendment in the nature of a substitute to the Pesticide Act, which would strike out the provisions specifying that the Environmental Protection Agency administrator could not make lack of essentiality a criterion for denying registration of any pesticide. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 152 to 221)-----	Nay
370	Nov. 9	H.R. 10729: Dow amendment to the Kyl substitute amendment to the Dow amendment in the nature of a substitute allowing any adversely affected person, not only the manufacturer, to institute a court suit against the EPA over registration of a pesticide. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 167 to 209)-----	Nay
371	Nov. 9	H.R. 10729: Eckhardt amendment to the Kyl substitute amendment to the Dow amendment in the nature of a substitute specifying that no manufacturer whose registration has been revoked may be reimbursed for production of pesticides if the manufacturer knew or should have known of the product's adverse effects on the environment. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 168 to 203)-----	Nay
372	Nov. 9	H.R. 10729: On passage. (Passed, 288 to 91)-----	Yea
375	Nov. 10	H.R. 9212: Byrnes amendment to reduce Social Security payments to miners already receiving black lung disability benefits. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 158 to 224)-----	Yea
376	Nov. 10	H.R. 9212: Erlenborn amendment deleting from the bill a provision to give states an additional two-year period to implement the program of disability benefits to miners with black lung disease. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 133 to 245)-----	Yea
377	Nov. 10	H.R. 9212: extending disability benefits to orphans of families in which the father dies of black lung disease and in which the mother also was deceased. On passage. (Passed, 312 to 78)-----	Nay
378	Nov. 10	H.J. Res. 946: Seiberling amendment prohibiting further expenditure of funds by the Department of Defense in fiscal 1972 under the provisions of H.J. Res. 946, Continuing Appropriations Act, fiscal 1972. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 10 to 356)-----	NVA
379	Nov. 10	H. Res. 696: agreeing to the nongermane language contained in the conference version of H.R. 8687, Defense Procurement Authorization Act, fiscal 1972, which had the effect of forcing the United States to violate a United Nations' embargo against Rhodesia by requiring the President to import Rhodesian chromium ore if such ore was being imported from any communist nation. [Teller vote]. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 251 to 100)-----	Yea
380	Nov. 11	H. Res. 698: providing for consideration of H.R. 11341, the District of Columbia Revenue Act setting the annual federal payment beginning with fiscal 1972 at \$170 million. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 359 to 8)-----	Yea
382	Nov. 11	H.R. 11341: Gross amendment reducing the committee-recommended annual federal payment to the District of Columbia by \$44 million, to \$126 million. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 79 to 263)-----	Nay
383	Nov. 11	H.R. 11341: Scherle amendment reducing the federal payment to the District by \$19 million to \$151 million. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 119 to 210)-----	Nay
384	Nov. 11	H.R. 11341: Jacobs amendment providing coverage for area truck drivers under the D.C. Minimum Wage Act, and authorizing overtime pay for work over 40 hours a week, or providing ICC certification. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 139 to 179)-----	Nay
385	Nov. 11	H.R. 11341: On passage. (Passed, 248 to 50)-----	Yea

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
386	Nov. 15	H.R. 11302: expanding the National Cancer Institute of the National Institutes of Health to permit an intensified and coordinated cancer research program. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 350 to 5; 2/3 vote required)-----	Yea
387	Nov. 15	H.R. 11350: increasing the limit on U.S. dues for membership in the International Criminal Police Organization. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 346 to 0; 2/3 vote required)-----	Yea
388	Nov. 15	S.J. Res. 132: extending the duration of existing copyright protection law until December 31, 1972. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 302 to 49; 2/3 vote required)-----	Yea
389	Nov. 15	H.R. 11651: altering the provisions of existing law relating to the payment of military disability and death pensions. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 351 to 0; 2/3 vote required)-----	Yea
390	Nov. 15	H.R. 11562: altering the provisions of existing law relating to the payment of military dependency and indemnity compensations. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 350 to 0; 2/3 vote required)-----	Yea
391	Nov. 15	H.R. 11080: permitting taxpayers who were compensated for property acquired for Redwood National Park to obtain a waiver of capital gain for federal income tax purposes where such money was reinvested in pre-existing businesses. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Failed, 148 to 203; 2/3 vote required)-----	Yea
395	Nov. 16	H.R. 11731: Bingham amendment to the Defense Appropriations Act, appropriating \$71,048,013,000 for fiscal 1972, deleting \$801,600,000 for the purchase of F-14 aircraft during fiscal 1972. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 76 to 311)-----	Nay
398	Nov. 17	H.R. 11731: Yates amendment limiting to 60 days funding for any additional active duty personnel called up by the President in an emergency without the approval of Congress. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 183 to 210)-----	Nay
399	Nov. 17	H.R. 11731: Boland amendment setting a July 1, 1972, cutoff date for funds used in support of U.S. troops and military operations in or over South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Laos, or Cambodia, and calling for a withdrawal of all U.S. military forces by a specified date, subject to the release of all American POW's and an accounting of all Americans missing in action. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 163 to 238)-----	Nay
400	Nov. 17	H.R. 11731: Riegle amendment limiting the net defense expenditures to 95 percent of the funds budgeted for fiscal 1972 - resulting in a cut of approximately \$3.8 billion. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 74 to 307)-----	Nay
401	Nov. 17	H.R. 11731: Aspin amendment reducing total appropriations to fiscal 1971 level - resulting in a reduction of about \$1.5 billion. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 114 to 278)-----	Nay
402	Nov. 17	H.R. 11731: On passage. (Passed, 343 to 51)-----	Yea
406	Nov. 18	H. Res. 710: amending S. 2819 and S. 2820, separate foreign military and economic aid bills, passed by the Senate, by substituting for each the provisions of H.R. 9910, House-passed foreign aid authorizations, and requesting conference with the Senate. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 269 to 115)-----	Nay
407	Nov. 18	H. Res. 711: waiving a House rule requiring a three-day period between the filing of the conference report and a vote on acceptance, thereby allowing immediate consideration of the conference report on H. J. Res. 946, authorizing continuing appropriations for November 16 to December 8, 1971 for certain federal agencies. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 367 to 15)-----	Yea
408	Nov. 18	H.J. Res. 946: agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 344 to 26)-----	Yea
409	Nov. 19	H. Res. 699: providing for consideration of S. 18, authorizing fiscal 1972 and 1973 appropriations for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 290 to 3)-----	Yea
410	Nov. 19	S. 18: On passage. (Passed, 271 to 12)-----	Yea
412	Nov. 29	H.R. 11060: Springer amendment to Federal Election Campaign Practices Act, deleting provisions of the MacDonald amendment establishing regulations for charges made by broadcasters and newspapers for political advertising and provisions requiring newspapers to give equal access to advertising space to political candidates for the same office. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 145 to 219)-----	Yea

VOTING RECORD OF BURT L. TALCOTT OF THE 12TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
413	Nov. 29	H.R. 11060: Pickle amendment to the MacDonald Amendment requiring broadcasting stations to charge the same rates for political advertising time as for comparable commercial advertising time. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 219 to 150)-----	Yea	440	Dec. 8	H.R. 12067: Fraser amendment to the Foreign Aid Appropriations Act of \$3,003,461,000, fiscal 1972, increasing to \$91 million from \$41 million appropriations for contributions to international organizations providing \$50 million of that amount for the U.S. contribution to the United Nations Development Fund. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 119 to 268)-----	Nay
414	Nov. 29	H.R. 11060: Frey amendment to the MacDonald amendment repealing for all candidates for federal office the "equal time" provision of the Communications Act of 1934. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 95 to 277)-----	Yea	441	Dec. 8	H.R. 12067: On passage. (Passed, 214 to 179)-----	Nay
416	Nov. 30	H.R. 11060: Hansen amendment to Harvey amendment in the nature of a substitute bill defining the role which unions and corporations might take in political campaigns, vote drives and voter registration activities. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 233 to 147)-----	Nay	443	Dec. 8	H. Res. 728: Anderson motion to order the previous question on the rule under which H.R. 1163 (providing for strategic grain reserves), was considered, thereby ending debate on a proposed amendment to limit individual farm subsidy payments to \$20,000. (Agreed to, 204 to 164)-----	Nay
417	Nov. 30	H.R. 11060: Danielson amendment to Harvey amendment in the nature of a substitute bill eliminating provision in the bill requiring that copies of reports of campaign contributions and expenditures be sent to the clerks of the federal district courts of the districts and states in which each election was held. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 229 to 155)-----	Nay	444	Dec. 8	H.R. 1163: Price amendment providing that, where practicable, grains would be stored in producer-owned facilities rather than in government-owned facilities. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 147 to 179)-----	Yea
418	Nov. 30	H.R. 11060: On passage. (Passed, 372 to 23)-----	Yea	445	Dec. 8	H.R. 1163: Quile amendment to the Melcher amendment (raising price supports for feed grains and wheat by 25 percent) eliminating wheat from the list of commodities. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 128 to 222)-----	Nay
422	Dec. 1	H.R. 11589: authorizing the sale of certain passenger vessels to foreign nations. On passage. (Passed, 253 to 139)-----	Yea	446	Dec. 8	H.R. 1163: Price amendment requiring that reserve commodities be sold at prices equal to 100 percent of parity, rather than at 120 percent of the average prices over the previous five-year period as provided by the committee's bill. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 145 to 201)-----	Yea
424	Dec. 2	H.R. 11932: Natcher motion to the D.C. Appropriations Act, fiscal 1972, that the House consider the bill in the Committee of the Whole. (Agreed to, 379 to 0)-----	Yea	447	Dec. 8	H.R. 1163: Jacobs amendment authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to store grain free of charge in the homes of hungry Americans. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 17 to 271)-----	Present
426	Dec. 2	H.R. 11932: Glaimo amendment adding \$72.5 million for the District of Columbia's share of construction costs of a rapid transit system. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 196 to 183)-----	Nay	448	Dec. 8	H.R. 1163: On passage. (Passed, 182 to 170)-----	Nay
427	Dec. 2	H.R. 11932: Scherle amendment to halt funding of the transit system until the transit authority complied with a provision of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 requiring submission of an environmental impact statement. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 163 to 205)-----	Yea	450	Dec. 9	H.R. 10947: reducing federal individual and business taxes to stimulate the economy and establishing a federal presidential election campaign fund effective in 1973. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 321 to 75)-----	Yea
428	Dec. 2	H.R. 11932: Natcher request for a separate roll-call vote on the adopted Glaimo amendment adding \$72.5 million for the District's share of construction funds for the metropolitan transit system. (Agreed to, 195 to 174)-----	Nay	451	Dec. 9	H. Res. 729: providing for consideration of conference reports the same day as reported for the remainder of the session, notwithstanding the provisions of clause two, rule XXVIII, which requires a three-working-day interval prior to floor consideration of conference reports. (Agreed to, 342 to 48)-----	Yea
429	Dec. 2	H. Res. 719: providing for consideration of H.R. 11955, appropriating \$786,282,654 in supplemental appropriations for certain federal agencies, for fiscal 1972. Agreeing to resolution. (Agreed to, 308 to 29)-----	Yea	453	Dec. 9	H.R. 11955: providing supplemental appropriations of \$3,406,385,371 for various federal departments and agencies for fiscal 1972. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 301 to 73)-----	NVF
430	Dec. 2	H.R. 11955: On passage. [Teller vote]. (Passed, 271 to 20)-----	Yea	455	Dec. 10	H.R. 11309: Stephens amendment to Economic Stabilization Act Extension, limiting mandatory payment of pay raises scheduled under pre-freeze contracts and laws to those in compensation for which prices or taxes had been raised, appropriations made, funds otherwise raised or productivity increased. [Teller vote]. (Agreed to, 209 to 151)-----	NVF
431	Dec. 6	H.R. 9526: authorizing the loan of certain submarines and destroyers currently operated by the U.S. Navy to Spain, Turkey, Greece, Korea and Italy. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 260 to 116; 2/3 vote required)-----	Yea	456	Dec. 10	H.R. 11309: Badillo amendment requiring disclosure of all information submitted in justification of wage or price increases, except trade secrets. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 73 to 275)-----	NVA
432	Dec. 6	H.R. 11624: authorizing \$5 million in additional funds to conduct the international transportation exposition to be held at Dulles International Airport in 1972. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Failed, 202 to 173; 2/3 vote required)-----	Nay	457	Dec. 10	H.R. 11309: Landgrebe amendment subjecting to stabilization controls contributions to tax-exempt retirement plans which were unreasonably inconsistent with wage and price guidelines. [Teller vote]. (Rejected, 170 to 184)-----	NVF
433	Dec. 6	H.R. 451: creating an institute for research and training in the area in the area of juvenile justice. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Failed, 240 to 135; 2/3 vote required)-----	Nay	458	Dec. 10	H.R. 11309: extending to April 30, 1973, the President's authority to stabilize the economy, and expanding the executive power provided by the Act. On passage. (Passed, 326 to 33)-----	NVF
434	Dec. 6	S.J. Res. 176: extending the authority of the Secretary of HUD to set maximum interest rates on FHA mortgage insurance programs and modifying provisions of the National Flood Insurance Act of 1968. Passage under suspension of the rules. [Teller vote]. (Passed, 357 to 4; 2/3 vote required)-----	Yea	459	Dec. 10	H.R. 11341: setting the federal payment to the District of Columbia at \$173 million for fiscal 1972 and \$178 million for fiscal 1973. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 242 to 93)-----	NVF
435	Dec. 6	H.R. 11809: providing that Post Office property would continue to be maintained as Government property in impact areas. Passage under suspension of the rules. (Passed, 259 to 112; 2/3 vote required)-----	Nay	461	Dec. 13	H.R. 11628: authorizing grants and loan guarantees for construction or modernization of private hospitals and other medical facilities in the District of Columbia. On passage. (Failed, 160 to 200)-----	Nay
436	Dec. 6	H.R. 10420: establishing a permit program to regulate the killing of marine mammals. Passage under suspension of the rules. [Teller vote]. (Failed, 199 to 150; 2/3 vote required)-----	Nay	465	Dec. 14	H.R. 10367: providing Alaskan natives with \$962.5 million and 40 million acres of land to settle land claims. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 307 to 60)-----	Yea
438	Dec. 7	S. 2007: extending the Office of Economic Opportunity for two years, authorizing \$6.3 billion for OEO, establishing a comprehensive child development program and creating a National Legal Services Corporation. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 211 to 187)-----	Nay				

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote	Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
466	Dec. 15	H.R. 11731: appropriating \$70,518,463,000 for Department of Defense spending during fiscal 1972. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 293 to 39)-----	Nay	470	Dec. 15	H.J. Res. 1005: providing funding for the period from December 9, 1971 to February 22, 1972, at an annual rate of \$2,760,927,000 for foreign aid and related international programs and continuing funding for other federal departments and agencies whose regular fiscal 1972 appropriations had not yet been approved by Congress. On passage. (Passed, 235 to 86)-----	Yea
467	Dec. 15	H.R. 11932: appropriating \$932,512,700 fiscal 1972, for the District of Columbia. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 260 to 79)-----	Nay	472	Dec. 16	S. 2819: Morgan motion to table Ryan motion instructing House conferees to accept the Mansfield amendment which set a policy of withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indochina within six months. (Agreed to, 130 to 101)-----	Yea
469	Dec. 15	H.R. 6065: providing one-half unemployment compensation payments for an additional 13 weeks to persons who had exhausted their regular benefits. Agreeing to conference report. (Agreed to, 194 to 149)-----	Nay				

WOMEN'S CLUB LEADER CALLS FOR MORE BALANCE IN ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERN

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times on Sunday, January 2, 1972, published a letter to its editor from Mrs. Earle A. Brown, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, calling for a sound and well-rounded approach to the environmental problems of our day.

Mrs. Brown, who is a resident of Pittsburgh, Pa., and my constituent, warn of the danger in overemphasis on specific aspects of environmental concern.

I ask consent to have a copy placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of all our House and Senate Members. It is evidence of the fine leadership and remarkable understanding of current issues displayed by Mrs. Brown and the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

The federation is comprised of State organizations having a membership of 700,000 women in all parts of the country. Historically, the federation has been a pioneer in encouraging and applying conservation measures. During Mrs. Brown's term of office as president, the theme of the federation is "A better environment."

[From the New York Times, Jan. 2, 1972]
EMPHASIS ON CONSERVATION

TO THE EDITOR: The General Federation of Women's Clubs has supported conservation and environmental protection measures for decades and will continue to support these activities. It appears, however that there may be danger in overemphasis on specific aspects of environmental concern that may have detrimental side effects on other equally vital environmental values as well as on critical social requirements.

Today there is danger that some people have become so committed to one specific aspect of the environmental movement that they are unable to see the total picture and, in pushing relentlessly for their "cause," work against balanced solutions to our environmental problems and to social problems related to the environment.

During the last year or so, the Forest Service has been under attack from all sides, individuals, groups, organizations, industries, and the news media have joined to point up where the Forest Service has been doing too little of this, or too much of that. Some of the criticism has been legitimate, as the Forest Service admits, but much has been

unjustified. A good part of it has been based on projects initiated five or ten years ago at a time when there was little public recognition of the need for environmental protection measures.

It is popular today to criticize Government when circumstances are not as we wish them to be. But in all fairness, if we want good decisions and logical solutions, this criticism must be balanced, factual, and justified.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs has worked cooperatively with the Forest Service for decades in encouraging and carrying out conservation and wise use of our nation's forests. Because of our association with the Service, we are aware that it has done much to recognize and correct its failings and to change emphasis of its programs so as to be more in keeping with present attitudes and desires, and it is trying to seek out and obtain greater public involvement in its decision making. We believe the Forest Service was, and is, the leader in conservation and wise use of forest lands.

The Federation supports "balanced" management of our national forests. We will continue to work cooperatively with the Forest Service in carrying out conservation and environmental practices and ask all others who have a deep interest in our environment to do the same.

LOUISE BROWN,
President.

[News from National Forest Products Association]

J. B. McGRATH NAMED STAFF OFFICER OF NATIONAL FOREST PRODUCTS ASSOCIATION

WASHINGTON, D.C., October 22, 1971.—Joseph B. McGrath, staff vice president and legislative counsel of the National Association of Home Builders, has been named Vice President of Government Affairs for the National Forest Products Association, a new post authorized by the NFPA Board at its annual meeting last May. Both groups are headquartered in Washington, D.C.

NFPA Executive Vice President James R. Turnbull said McGrath would join the forest products industry's national association November 15. NFPA is a federation of 21 regional and wood product associations.

Turnbull said, "McGrath is one of the foremost authorities in the nation's capital on housing legislation and urban development. He is totally familiar with all legislative matters related to home construction."

Since 1967 McGrath has headed the National Association of Home Builders Government Affairs Division, with responsibility for all legislative, tax, international housing, state legislation and other facets of the home building industry's relations with the Congress and the Federal Government.

Turnbull said McGrath, as a highly regarded legislative professional on the Washington scene, will bring "a wealth of talents to the Congressional and Executive Department liaison of NFPA." He emphasized that McGrath has a thorough legislative ground-

ing in the principal markets for softwood and hardwood lumber and plywood and other wood products represented in the National Forest Products Association federation.

"McGrath will be a tremendous asset to the forest products industry in representing its position on vital legislative issues with the Congress, Executive Departments and the Administration," Turnbull said. McGrath has worked closely with NFPA on important housing, resource and product use issues in the past, Turnbull noted, stating: "He is a highly professional legislative specialist and wholly familiar with the forest products industry's program objectives."

McGrath first joined NAHB in 1952 and held a number of posts, including director of government affairs. He then served with Urban America, Inc., as administrator of a Ford Foundation grant program. In that position he was responsible for planning and carrying out nationally a major new program of technical and financial assistance to nonprofit sponsors of housing for low-income families and to local business and industrial leaders interested in forming nonprofit housing development corporations. Prior to rejoining NAHB, McGrath was in the private practice of law.

During the Korean War he was a business counsel with the Office of Price Stabilization. He also has been a trial attorney with the Department of Justice.

McGrath is a member of the bar in Massachusetts and in the District of Columbia.

He is a graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Law School. During World War II he served as an officer in the Army paratroops with service in Europe.

McGrath, his wife and seven children live in Washington, D.C.

TESTIMONIAL OF SERVICE

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, the real reward of serving in Congress is the grateful thanks from the people a Member serves. Since I have been a Member of Congress, I have received over 75,000 letters. These letters of thanks are worth more to me than anything else in the world. I would like to insert here an example of these letters:

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
Madison, Wisconsin.

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR ALVIN: Your letter is so alive with friendliness that I think I am in Asia. (Asia is the heart of an agricultural civili-

zation that may be the reason why the people there pay closest attention to personal relationships. They give presents and write personal and intimate notes and letters.)

You are in an industrial civilization. You are living on concrete and are enclosed in steel and mortar; you use electric lights more than you ever use sunlight. You are subject to 1,000 contacts a day—this is true for some of your days, but you may have more than this on other days.

Here is the great thing about the honorable Member from the Tenth District. He is a three dimensional man. He sees you and me; he has time to say, "Hello." He has time to ask, "How are you? Is there something that I can do for you? Tell me if I can ever serve you." There is an Arab proverb that describes something of this Member: "The quickest generosity is the best." There is an American proverb that also describes this Member from the Tenth: "The ideal of service is the basis of all worthy enterprise." Finally, this Member can say with Shakespeare: "I have done the state some service and they know't."

I am sure the people of northern Wisconsin know it, too.

Sincerely yours,

J. T. SALTER.

SOUTH HALL.

SMOKING ENDANGERS HEALTH OF EVEN NONSMOKERS

HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, a report from the U.S. Surgeon General shows the need for urgent action on H.R. 4776, the Nonsmokers Relief Act I introduced last February 22d. This report shows the health of millions of nonsmoking Americans may be in jeopardy because they are forced to inhale the noxious fumes of a nearby smoker.

The Nonsmokers Relief Act would require airliners, trains, and buses to set aside areas for nonsmoking passengers, and it has drawn overwhelming support from across the Nation. While protecting the right of nonsmokers, the bill would create no hardship on those who chose to smoke despite the strong evidence of its damage to their health.

Now the U.S. Surgeon General has shown that smoke not only causes great distress to the nonsmoker but also may seriously threaten his health.

In Surgeon General Jesse L. Steinfeld's report on The Health Consequences of Smoking, released on January 9th, a study was cited showing that:

The smoking of one cigar completely overcame the effect of an electrostatic filtration device for one hour.

The report also said:

A significant proportion of nonsmoking individuals report discomfort and respiratory symptoms on exposure to tobacco smoke, and the effect of exposure to carbon monoxide (from tobacco smoke) may on occasion, depending upon the length of exposure, be sufficient to be harmful to the health of an exposed person. This would be particularly significant for people who are already suffering from chronic bronchopulmonary disease and coronary heart disease.

Since H.R. 4776 was introduced, many of the Nation's largest air carriers have voluntarily agreed to set aside nonsmok-

ing areas. The American Medical Association has adopted a policy along the same line, and the Interstate Commerce Commission cited the Nonsmokers Relief Act when it issued a new regulation on November 17 requiring separate seating on all buses for smoking and nonsmoking passengers.

Congress must act to protect the rights—and health—of the millions of Americans who have wisely chosen not to smoke. Why should they be forced to undergo burning eyes, irritated noses and throats—why should they be forced to have their health threatened simply because they are caught in the confined space of a plane, train, or bus, with someone who smokes?

The danger of this kind of pollution was brought to the public's attention in an article in the Washington Star on January 10.

NONSMOKERS ALSO PERILED, STUDY SAYS

(By Judith Randal)

Nonsmokers as well as smokers may be harmed by cigarettes, according to a public health service study published today.

The study confirms remarks made last year by the surgeon general, Dr. Jesse L. Steinfeld, that tobacco smoke in closed cars and poorly ventilated rooms can contaminate the atmosphere for everyone.

The report does not say what health price nonsmokers pay for the habits of smokers, but it does say that the chief danger is exposure to low levels of the deadly gas, carbon monoxide. Experiments with animals have shown, it explains, that various concentrations of the colorless, odorless, and tasteless gas "adversely affect" the structure and function of the heart and lungs.

Another new finding cited by the study is that tobacco smoke may increase the severity of allergic reaction in both smokers and nonsmokers.

"The Health Consequences of Smoking" is the sixth in a series of reports on the subject that have been published by the government since 1964, and the first to discuss the hazards of cigarettes to nonsmokers.

In its section on that topic, the report says that the actual exposure of nonsmokers to tobacco smoke depends not only on such factors as the proximity of the nonsmoker to the smoke, the amount of smoke produced and the adequacy of ventilation, but also on how deeply the smoker is inhaling.

The deeper the smoker inhales, the report says, the more he acts as a protective "filter" for nearby nonsmokers. To put it another way, the more risk he exposes himself to, the less he exposes others to potential harm.

Experiments cited in the text in which cigarettes were smoked in enclosed spaces resulted in carbon monoxide levels that exceeded levels considered hazardous by air pollution standards.

Pipe and cigar smokers, also may be guilty of contaminating the atmosphere, the report says. Indeed, since most seldom inhale, the pollutants they produce may do more harm than those of cigarette smokers. The report cites an experiment in which the smoke from one cigar neutralized the effect of an electrostatic home air filtration device for an hour.

The known harmful byproducts of tobacco smoke are carbon monoxide, nicotine and tar. This year's report adds to these six other substances "judged as probable contributors to the health hazards of smoking."

These are acrolein, cresol, hydrocyanic acid, nitric oxide, nitrogen dioxide and phenol. One problem, according to the report, is that if levels of these apparent poisons are reduced in processing the tobacco, levels of other poisons may increase correspondingly.

Like earlier reports, this 226-page volume discusses health consequences for the smoker, adding to previous data the results of some 1,500 studies published in 1971.

As expected, the evidence continues to point to cigarette smoking as the leading cause of lung cancer in men and an important cause of the disease in women.

In addition, says the report, cigarette smoking is "one of the major risk factors" contributing to primary coronary artery disease which sets the stage for heart attacks. Tobacco also is the major culprit in emphysema and cor pulmonale, diseases of the lung, and the lungs and heart, respectively.

The surgeon general told a press conference today, "I have very strong feelings that we have too long neglected the right of the nonsmoker. We have exposed him to annoyance and in some cases hazard by subjecting him to other people's smoke where he works, where he dines and where he travels. . . .

"Although we cannot say with certainty that exposure to tobacco smoke is causing serious illness in nonsmokers—the long-term research necessary for such a finding has not yet been done—it is clear that such exposures can contribute to the discomfort of the nonsmoking individual, and can produce exacerbation of allergic symptoms in those who are suffering from allergies and other causes.

"There is ample proof that those who complain of discomfort in smoke-filled rooms are not disagreeable malcontents, but can have a legitimate cause for their complaint."

USE OF COMPUTERS IN CURBING CRIME

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, Kansas City's police department, under Chief Clarence M. Kelley, is doing an outstanding job of curbing crime and saving policemen's lives through the use of computers. The following article from Parade of January 16 describes the program and the widespread interest in all parts of the country in its success.

A COP'S BEST FRIEND

(By John G. Rogers)

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—A nagging fear with any law officer these days is that he might walk into an ambush—be shot down without a chance. Some U.S. policemen have been lured into murder traps, some have gone in by accident. Here in Kansas City the odds have been shaved greatly—in the policeman's favor. It's done by computer. "Our superfriend," says one officer. "I don't think I'd ever want to work without it."

Take the recent case of a Kansas City patrolman on duty alone in a squad car. He saw an old blue sedan run through a stop sign. It looked like a routine, minor traffic violation by a negligent motorist.

FRIEND CONSULTED

Ordinarily the patrolman would stop the car and write out a ticket. But in Kansas City it's become automatic to consult "superfriend." The officer, still driving along behind the sedan, radioed its license number to headquarters. In seven seconds, he had a reply from the computer—the car was reportedly stolen by a man known to be armed and dangerous. Thus forewarned, the policeman took extreme caution in arresting the "negligent motorist." He concedes that without that lightning-fast computer warning

he might have made a casual and careless approach to the armed criminal.

Police Chief Clarence M. Kelley, a former FBI agent, recalls that not all of his cops were enthusiastic when Kansas City laid out \$2 million for the computer system.

"But we've all changed our minds," says Sergeant Russell Fisher. "That apparatus can mean the difference between life and death for a policeman. We have a case on record where a patrolman was summoned as an emergency to a certain address. And he was gunned down. He forgot to check with the computer. It would have told him in a few seconds that that address was known to be associated with violent criminals."

It's not just policemen's enthusiasm that has sold Kansas City on the computer. At a time when crime nationally is on the increase, crime here was down 11 percent in 1970 and an additional 9 percent in 1971. Police believe this is due not only to the computer's speedy information service but also to another of its functions. Kelley's men use it to analyze the frequency and location of crime, thus enabling them to deploy forces for greater effect. The importance of having men on the scene where they'll be needed is seen in studies that show 65 percent of crimes can be solved if police respond within two minutes of occurrence. But if response is delayed five minutes or longer, the solution rate drops to 20 percent.

When Chief Kelley decided to investigate how a computer might help his cops on the beat, he assigned Lt. Col. James R. Newman and a civilian expert, Melvin Bockelman, to make inquiries.

"We checked with quite a few police departments," says Newman, "but not one of them was using computers to help the men. So we set up our own system. We bought this standard IBM computer and made a policeman out of it. Every day we feed fresh information into it—names, addresses, people wanted, property stolen, car licenses, anything that might help a cop. Five minutes after a car is reported stolen, its record is in the computer. The important crime information in there would fill 200 large filing cabinets and right now we're expanding capacity."

REQUEST BY RADIO

For the policeman in the field it goes this way: Either from his patrol car or with portable radio, he presents a name, address or license number by voice to a dispatcher at headquarters. The dispatcher types out the inquiry to the computer. In seconds the computer's reply appears on a screen before the dispatcher—the man is or is not wanted, the address is suspicious or has no record, the car is "clean" or is stolen.

"Immediately we relay by voice whatever the computer tells us," says dispatcher Gary S. Gill. "I always feel good when I can tell that cop out there anything that'll help him in a tough situation. I remember one case that really got down to detail—the computer told us the guy was dangerous, that there'd probably be a girl with him and a gun would be in her handbag. It was right, too. Think what an advantage that was for the cop to find out in just a few seconds exactly what problem faced him."

The computer also can help a policeman to avoid "mistakes." In former days, if he saw a car full of teenagers cruising around he might suspect a stolen car, stop them, question them and ultimately find out they were legitimate. Today the computer tells him immediately if the car is or is not stolen and if the situation is clean, the officer is spared the experience of tarnishing the police image by inconveniencing a number of impressionable young folks.

SHARING INFORMATION

Word of the Kansas City computer has spread. In recent months, no less than 561 law enforcement agencies have sent people

here to inquire about it. These represent not only all parts of the U.S. but also many countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America.

Perhaps the computer's star performance came on the day when two armed robbers sped away from a bank with \$2800 in cash. The license number of the getaway car was reported to police. In its usual seven-second performance, the computer produced a street address that went with the license number. As a result, the police were there waiting when the robbers arrived a few minutes later to divide their loot.

No wonder a Kansas City police officer confides, "I just can't imagine operating without that computer. I feel now that before we had it we were just wandering around in the dark."

PRAISE FOR AGENTS OF JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this occasion to compliment the agents of the Justice Department's Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs on the recently announced record seizure of heroin which occurred in Miami.

On January 5, BNDD agents of the Miami office, acting on information received from an informant, seized 238 pounds of heroin and arrested eight suspects believed to be key figures in a large smuggling ring. Three of the suspects were arrested at the Miami International Airport while carrying approximately 100 pounds of heroin in three suitcases.

A few days later, on January 10, agents seized an additional 147 pounds of heroin brought in by the same group and hidden in an apartment on West Flagler Street. BNDD Director John E. Ingersoll said that this total of 385 pounds of heroin exceeds the previous U.S. record seizure by 136 pounds and has an illicit street value of approximately \$76 million.

The previous record of 249 pounds was only established in June 1971, when BNDD agents abroad, assisting the Spanish National Police, seized a 1971 Citroen which had been loaded with heroin for shipment to the United States.

As significant as this large seizure is, it is more important that seven major international heroin traffickers have been eliminated. The amount of drugs seized in any one case is, at best, only an indication of the scope of an illicit trafficker's activity. It is far more important to terminate his activity permanently than to merely deprive him of the illicit drugs of a single transaction. These violators are now being held in lieu of a bond of \$1 million each.

Mr. Speaker, several of my colleagues and I have just returned from an on-site study of the drug problem in South America. It is clear that some of the cities in this region are unwittingly becoming important transshipment centers in the smuggling of drugs from Europe to the United States. It is now well known that Miami and the entire State of Florida has become a favorite point of entry for these drugs. We in the Congress are determined to see that this situation is

corrected and that our enforcement authorities receive the support required to do this job.

In closing, I would like again to express my appreciation for the daring work of the agents of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in effecting this all-time record seizure.

WAR ENDING TOO LATE FOR SIX FROM GARRETT COUNTY TOWN OF 650

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, the town of Friendsville, Md., in the Sixth District has lost six of its sons in the conflict in Vietnam. Friendsville is not a large town; its total population is 650. The loss of six of its young men in Vietnam is, therefore, all the more remarkable and tragic. I share with my colleagues an article that appeared in the national press Christmas week on Friendsville and its losses:

WAR ENDING TOO LATE FOR SIX FROM GARRETT COUNTY TOWN OF 650

FRIENDSVILLE, Md.—The war in Vietnam is ending too late for Air Force Sgt. Tommy Fike, 23, and five of his buddies from this Garrett County community of 650.

The six were casualties of the fighting there, with the first death reported March 16, 1967 and the last—Fike's—Dec. 4, 1971.

The death of the six young men gave the community the distinction of having one of every 100 residents killed in Vietnam, a figure no other Maryland town has reached.

Fike was to be home Monday for Christmas, his four years in the Air Force finished, but he died Dec. 4 while serving as a helicopter gunner—an assignment he volunteered for a year ago.

When the townspeople spoke of Fike, they also spoke of Marine Pfc. Danny Nicklow, 20, killed March 16, 1967; Marine Lance Cpl. Ross Fike, 18, killed May 16, 1967; Army Spec. 4 Wayne Hook, 20, killed June 17, 1967; Army Spec. 4 Roger Garlick, 21, killed March 17, 1969; and Airman 3 Norman E. Thomas, 21, killed Nov. 17, 1969.

All died in combat.

"Maybe Friendsville should be exempt from the draft," suggested Wayne Friend, a 1966 graduate of Garrett's Northern Junior-Senior High School along with Garlick, Ross and Tommy Fike.

Four of the young men were volunteers and two were drafted.

There still are 15 Friendsville boys in the service, five of them in Vietnam, according to townspeople.

"The majority of the people think they're doing more for the country than they're sacrificing," said Karol Rush, former Friendsville mayor, looking out the window of his gas station at the town's only street light.

Danny Nicklow's father, Walt, an 11-year Navy veteran, wanted to re-enlist when he got news of his son's death near Quang Tri.

"Walt, you're too old to go back in," his sister told him.

"You don't give a son for a worthless cause," said Mrs. Bernice Rodeheaver, Danny's mother, now divorced from Nicklow.

"You couldn't get him to kill a rabbit or bird," Ralph Garlick said of his son. "He never shot a rifle in his life until he went in the Army."

"He didn't believe in killing."

"My thoughts are that the war is just a lot

of bloodshed for nothing," said Mrs. Margaret Garlick.

"The parents usually think of them as boys, not as grown men. But that's what they are," she said of her son who died when the cargo plane he served on crashed near Quan Loi Air Base.

Emerson and Virginia Francis Fike thought about their son—Tommy—and talked of his simple tastes.

"There were so many things that it seemed like he wanted us to have," said Mrs. Fike, pointing to a cuckoo clock, stereo, cameras, china and silverware—all gifts from their son.

THE WORSENING SCHOOL CRISIS— RARICK REPORTS TO HIS PEOPLE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I recently reported to the people of my district on the adverse effects of Federal court school decisions on local control of education and on American society. I insert the report at this point in the RECORD:

RARICK REPORTS TO HIS PEOPLE ON THE WORSENING SCHOOL CRISIS

In spite of overwhelming public opposition and the clear prohibitions of the law of the land, forced busing of school children continues to plague our land. I thought we'd review today some political court decisions affecting public education, including the recent Richmond, Virginia, decision. Until the control and operation of domestic institutions, especially the schools, are restored to the local control of the people in the communities, there can be little doubt but that the American people will continue to be forced into non-action while our children are taught to yield to a socialistic dictatorship.

From the beginning of public education in the past century, until the 1954 court decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*, each local school board, elected by and responsive to the desires of people at the local level, set the policies for operating public schools in accordance with certain regulations prescribed by the generally elected State Board of Education. This was the constitutionally intended way of operating public schools. Education was so generally accepted as a power reserved to the States and the people thereof, it is not mentioned in the U.S. Constitution.

In its May 17, 1954 *Brown* decision, the Warren Court abandoned the "separate but equal" state facilities doctrine by violating the law of the land as stated in the Constitution and upheld by various Supreme Court decisions. Nine appointed men undertook the overturning of long established law based on the Constitution and centuries of custom with a new man made law based upon so-called sociological myth and superstition of Gunnar Myrdal, a Marxist from Sweden. Finding no basis in the Constitution and laws for integration, the court stated in its decision that it was turning to psychology and sociology, citing Myrdal as the authority for the decision and accepting his theory of the "fundamental equality of all men" as being written into the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence is in no way a part of the Constitutional contract agreed by the States. At most the Declaration of Independence was a political doctrine prepared as an indictment of the English king and oppression of English colonials by Englishmen. The historical significance of "all men are created equal"

referred to the equality of birth of Englishmen be they born in the United States or in England.

None of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention in 1787 even suggested "all men are equal" as a rule of law or a part of the Constitution. In fact, Alexander Hamilton said to the assembled delegates on June 26, 1787:

"Inequality will exist as long as liberty exists. It unavoidably results from that very liberty itself."

In other words, equal men can not be free and free men will never be equal. Force alone is the leveler of man.

The equality of man is but disarming jargon exploited to enslave free men. Communism cannot survive in a country where men, their ideas and the earnings of their labors are free. That's why the Communists built the Berlin Wall. Even Myrdal subsequently renounced his stand on the equality of men.

The gist of the controversial 1954 decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* was that States—meaning the people through their school boards—could not assign pupils because of their race. Since traditionally segregated schools were illegal overnight, according to the federal judges, many local school boards drew up freedom of choice plans whereby parents could select the schools of their choice. This was the rule of law of the *Brown* case, yet it resulted in only token integration since the vast majority of parents preferred that their children attend schools with members of their own race. Since the parents didn't choose the way the federal judges and the political Washington bureaucrats wanted them to choose, school boards were compelled to draw up and implement federally approved plans for bringing about a racial mixture of students in each school approximately equal to the racial composition of the school district. This percentage mixture was later applied to teachers and school administrators. Although the *Brown* case involved a Kansas school, these plans were imposed almost exclusively on Southern school districts.

Thus a complete cycle in political hypocrisy evolved. A court decision which forbade state assignment of pupils because of race has now been interpreted to authorize federal judges to assign pupils for no other reason than race.

To carry out these racial percentage pupil assignments, local school boards were forced to resort to busing, an experiment which met with uniform opposition from concerned parents.

A large increase in crime in school has resulted from forcing white children to attend predominately black schools and vice versa. Forced busing of children away from their neighborhood school to a distant school in a strange neighborhood has caused many families to move to the suburbs or to put their children in private schools. As an example of busing followed by white flight, an Office of Civil Rights spokesman uses the Nashville, Tennessee Davidson County school district. Total segregation dropped from 21.1 percent in 1970 to none last year. At the same time, total school enrollment decreased by over 7000 while black enrollment increased by 500. Such a trend is the rule and not an exception as is shown in other cities in America.

In April of last year, the Supreme Court issued its "landmark decision" in the *Charlotte-Mecklenburg County, North Carolina* case, ordering the busing of children to achieve a desired racial percentage in the public schools.

By this decision, the High Court again violated the Constitution and the laws of Congress. The average American learned from his TV set and his newspaper that the Supreme Court had "legalized" busing of school children and that the court's order was the law of the land.

At that time, I pointed out that Supreme Court decisions were not the Supreme law of the land and called the federal judges—not the parents of schools children—the law violators. The U.S. Constitution clearly provides in what is called the Supremacy Clause:

"This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the Supreme Law of the Land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby . . ."

Nothing is provided about Supreme Court decisions being the law of the land. On the other hand, judges are bound by acts of Congress.

Congress has enacted laws pursuant to the Constitution which are the law of the land. One of these laws points out clearly the usurpation of power by the Supreme Court's ruling on busing.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 reads:

"Provided that nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue an order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or the school district to another to achieve balance or otherwise enlarge the existing power of the court to insure compliance with Constitutional standards."

Another section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 reads:

"Desegregation means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race . . . but desegregation shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance."

As further evidence of the intent of Congress, the language of the HEW Appropriations Act reads:

"No part of the funds contained in this act may be used to force busing of students, abolishment of any school, or to force any student attending any elementary or secondary school to attend a particular school against the choice of his or her parents or parent in order to overcome racial imbalance."

These laws are the law of the land. The courts have never held them unconstitutional; the courts are in direct violation of the very law which they are sworn to uphold.

On January 11th of this year, a Richmond, Virginia federal judge ruled that by September the predominately black Richmond city public school system must merge with the 90 percent white systems of two adjoining suburban counties. The judge ordered the Virginia State Board of Education to appoint an acting superintendent of the newly-merged three school systems and to submit a plan for its financial operations. The three local boards and state school officials were given 30 days in which to name a school board of from six to nine members for the consolidated district.

Within 90 days the State is required to file its final plan for desegregating the schools, including staff assignments by race and transportation plans for students. This new district is expected to result in a 67 percent white and a 33 percent black school population throughout the district. Each school is to have from 20 to 40 percent blacks. The proper racial mixture can only be achieved by wholesale busing. This latest federal court decision is patently contrary to the U.S. Constitution and to the laws of Congress. Laws of Congress forbid the use of funds for cross county busing to achieve racial balance.

The exclusive right of a State to create political subdivisions within its boundaries has been recognized since the establishment of the American Republic. The action of the federal judge in ordering a merger of school

systems, if upheld, will set a precedent that is certain to have widespread implications.

If a federal court can order a State to merge school districts within its confines and to bus students across county or parish lines, it is only logical to expect free men to flee to more distant counties or to other States in order for their children to attend a school of their choice. When this occurs and there is again racial imbalance caused by whites fleeing to other States, we can expect the federal courts to order busing across State lines. However, with the greater distances involved, it may be necessary to use jet airplanes instead of buses. Sounds absurd? Wouldn't it have sounded absurd several years ago to say that federal judges would order busing across county lines?

The rationale for Judge Merhige's decision in the Richmond school case is his contention that quality education can be achieved only within a racially integrated setting and that a State may not sanction a system "which serves only to reproduce in school facilities the prevalent pattern of housing segregation." In other words, neighborhood schools are illegal unless neighborhood housing is also integrated in the proper race ratio as determined by the federal courts.

Apparently Judge Merhige doesn't want quality education for his son, who reportedly attends a private school in Richmond.

Education is now replaced in priority by racial proportions. Implementation of the Richmond decision will require large scale busing—a costly waste of taxpayers' funds without one iota of proof that education or intelligence will be improved.

The Richmond decision, if upheld, will signal the demise of local sovereignty of education—not by legislation, but by judicial usurpation. The confirmation of massive white exodus is uncontroverted evidence of free people fleeing tyranny.

What is the solution to the public education crisis in which we find a mockery made of education and children used as guinea pigs in social experiments? The answer is for the sovereign States and the people thereof to demand that the federal government get out of the public school business where it has no constitutional right to be and allow the States and local citizenry to again operate and control the schools in accordance with the wishes of the people concerned. A poll conducted by a city official of Richmond, Virginia revealed that 99% of the whites opposed mandatory busing as did 85% of the blacks. Yet one man—an unelected U.S. District Court judge—ordered cross-city transportation of 17,000 high school students, many having to spend two hours a day in transit to fulfill the arbitrary whim of a federal judge, and now intercounty busing has been ordered. This is government of, by, and for the people? This is in the U.S.A.?

Nor should we forget that the Nixon Administration's New American Revolution has not intervened to follow the law of the land nor to stop wholesale forced busing. Busing is being used to educate parents that the federal government has a first ownership claim to their children. Today the child is bused to a distant school in the morning and returned at night. If the planners have their way, tomorrow children will be bused from home and not returned but kept overnight and for longer periods of time as wards of the government.

I have introduced several bills which, if enacted, would limit the appellate jurisdiction of the federal judges and return power to the local people over their schools.

Suffer the little children—not just in Viet Nam, Africa, Middle East, but right here in the USA. Thus far national leaders refuse to retreat from their tyrannical positions.

Integration, racial balance and busing were all implemented for political gain to trade off children in one section of our country for bloc votes in another.

What was caused by politics can only be ended by politics. And now that busing threatens the white sanctuaries in Indiana, Detroit, Denver, and even San Francisco, political leadership can soon be expected to change the national race policies as a matter of political, moral, and cultural expediency.

And the probable result—to let the American people alone—merely reconfirming the law of the land.

AGRICULTURE YEARBOOK, 1971

HON. ROBERT B. (BOB) MATHIAS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to join you and some 30 to 40 Congressmen and Senators from the Housing and Agriculture Committees, together with a large group of newsmen, radio and TV reporters and photographers, at a press premiere and reception in the Rayburn Building on December 7, to introduce the new 1971 Yearbook of Agriculture.

Titled "A Good Life for More People," the new yearbook places principal emphasis on rural development, in general, and rural housing, in particular. There are 416 pages in all, many well illustrated with pictures and charts. The foreword includes a special 16-page photo section in two colors.

Although population forecasts are always uncertain, the 1971 yearbook points out that, if necessary, millions of people could be comfortably added to the American scene by the turn of the century. Currently, 74 percent of our Americans live and work most of their time on 2 percent of our land. Yet the book explains that there is ample room for economic expansion in our rural areas.

The some 80 authors, each a specialist in a particular field, point out that the countryside has the space. And in many rural communities dramatic progress has already been made in providing the same amenities that exist in the city—transportation, community facilities including water and sewer systems, housing, jobs, electrification, and telephones.

In commenting on the book, the Washington Evening Star said that:

This year's book is almost a textbook in rural sociology, concentrating on housing, education, and community services, with feature articles on people who have taken advantage of various programs overseen by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Considerable space in the yearbook is devoted to the Farmers Home Administration's rural housing loan programs which have created a rapidly expanding rural housing market over the past 3 to 5 years.

As we know, the Agriculture Yearbook, as a Senate and House document, has always been rich in information. Issued annually on a different and timely subject, it is in considerable demand by our constituents.

This year, the Agriculture Department took particular pains to give the book extra public exposure by arranging a

special press and Congressional premiere here in the Rayburn Building. The people responsible are to be congratulated for it shows that they and the Department that they represent share a vital concern for people, and providing them with the space, the services, and the production resources necessary for a good life. I heartily commend those responsible in the Secretary's office for their imagination and resourcefulness and understand that already press clippings and photographs publicizing the yearbook have appeared in all or nearly all of our 50 States.

Mr. Speaker, I was particularly impressed with the spontaneous remarks made at the press premiere by our new Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz. Dr. Butz' comments, I believe, point out his dedication and his innermost feelings and telegraph the direction that the Agriculture Department will be traveling in helping our Nation confront the worrisome problem of rural-urban population balance. As you can see Dr. Butz believes that one of the answers lies in a healthy rural economy as bolstered by a strong rural development program. With your permission, I would like to have the excerpts from the statement by Dr. Butz inserted in the RECORD.

The excerpt follows:

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT OF SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EARL L. BUTZ

DECEMBER 7, 1971.

I think that the title of the yearbook, "A Good Life for More People", is a very significant title and that it fits right in with these times in the history of our country and in the history of agriculture and in the history of USDA.

Rural development has been a major trust of the USDA for some time. As you know, in President Nixon's proposed reorganization program there is a proposed Department of Community Development. Whether that comes about or not, I want you to know that in the Department of Agriculture, we propose in the months and years ahead to bring to bear as many facets as possible of our total program on this important area of community development, especially in the rural areas of America.

And that means more than just working with rural people, it means developing entire rural structures. It means highways. It means educational systems, sanitation systems, educational availability, access to liberties, health delivery systems and new rural housing and rural electrification and telephones.

And when that's all done, it's been my observation that capital moves into that kind of a viable community. When capital moves in that means job creation. In the old days we said keep them with down on the farm. Now, we are going to keep them down in the rural areas of America and that's from coast to coast. We're going to make opportunities there for these young men and young women who want to stay so that they don't have to migrate to the ghetto situations of inner cities where we've concentrated population far beyond the proportions that we should for a healthy America.

And I am sure that this new 1971 yearbook will give added emphasis to that thrust we're going to have in the Department of Agriculture, indeed in all government. When we get through, we're going to have a healthier America for more people out where they can enjoy the environment the way nature left it, where they can really enjoy nature's bounties and have educational and economic opportunities for the young men and women.

PRICE MONITORING PROGRAM

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, January 11, Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, delivered an outstanding address here in Washington regarding the price monitoring program initiated by the AFL-CIO. I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to his remarks because they provide a keen analysis of the results of wage-and-price controls in America.

Mr. Kirkland points out that wage control was instantaneous and absolute, because every employer was a willing enforcer, but price controls have been provided in name only. Since November 11, the cost of living has gone up each month. Price increase violations have been reported by the thousands, but to date, the IRS has not responded to the complaints, no overcharges have been refunded to consumers, and the violators have gone unpunished.

And only a few days after Lane Kirkland spoke about the great necessity for a price monitoring program, the Government announced that wholesale prices jumped 0.8 percent in December, the first full month after the President's phase I wage-price freeze was ended. This was the steepest increase recorded in 10 months, and bears witness to the fact that effective enforcement of price controls is nonexistent at this time.

I commend the AFL-CIO for its efforts to protect the consumers of America and to insure effective enforcement of price controls under phase II. The full text of Mr. Kirkland's remarks on the price monitoring program follows:

TEXT OF AN ADDRESS BY AFL-CIO SECRETARY-TREASURER LANE KIRKLAND

The AFL-CIO has initiated this program of price monitoring—not to harass merchants or innocent government functionaries—but because it has become very clear that no one else, either in government or business has any real intention of making price controls, so-called, work. The system is designed rather to conceal price standards from the public and to frustrate enforcement.

We believe we have good credentials for launching this program and for calling this session.

The AFL-CIO is the largest organized group of consumers in America—13½ million people—and most of them have families.

They all want protection against price gougers and they will not settle for Madison Avenue gimmickry.

Workers don't need a degree in economics to understand inflation. They know inflation dilutes the value of their paychecks. They get their lessons at the supermarket, from their landlords—they get it every time they meet up with a cash register.

For most workers, wages are the sole source of family income. That income must be stretched to pay for food, clothing, shelter, medical care, education—all of the needs of a family.

And while the prices of all of these items have been going up, wages have been lagging behind. Despite the gains made at the collective bargaining table, wages continue to fall behind price increases.

The most recent Consumer Price Index reports bear witness to this fact. Prices have continued to increase. And, in contrast, average weekly wages have been going down.

Hold wages down, some editorialists say, and prices will stay down. Well, that's sheer nonsense, of course. Wages are only one of the many factors that go into product cost and prices are set, not on the basis of costs alone, but on what the market will bear. This inflation started with a profit boom and was perpetuated by the century-high interest rates that resulted from the Administration's initial economic game plan.

And once having created the mess, the Administration made it worse by moving to a so-called control program that wasn't planned, wasn't programmed, and wasn't sensible.

Wage-and-price control—that's what the President said he was ordering for America.

We got wage control, all right—instantaneous and absolute because every employer was a willing and happy enforcer.

But when it came to price control all America got was propaganda.

When both Phase One and Phase Two were announced, the trade union movement was virtually alone in pointing out that the Administration had not provided enforcement—not just adequate enforcement, any enforcement whatsoever.

The President, who professed a horror at creating a new bureaucracy, decided to let purveyors of goods and services police themselves, subject only to telephonic surveillance by the Internal Revenue Service.

Of course it didn't work. Anyone who knew the so-called ethics of the market place could have told the President that. Since he knows well the ethics of the one sector in America that has been his regular political supporters, there's every reason to believe he knew it wouldn't work.

Only this past week, the Internal Revenue Service admitted there was widespread non-compliance by business with the price control regulations. Right here, in Washington, D.C., 90 percent of the stores checked were found to be not complying with the regulations.

We've been pointing out this fact for months, and only now the government is admitting it. Of course, the government isn't telling the American people what they are going to do about these violators. To date, they've done nothing and there is no reason to expect much is going to be done in the future.

Let's look at the track record to date:

On November 11, the Price Commission ruled that no retailer could raise any price without first posting the base price information.

Two months have gone by. Each month the cost of living went up. Few stores, if any, posted the required base price information. And none are required to post the information until Monday.

Violations by the tens of thousands were reported—by our volunteer price monitors and by the news media.

To date, the Price Commission and the IRS have not responded to any of these complaints. No overcharges have been refunded to consumers. No penalties have been sought against violators.

It all adds up to a sham—a rotten sham. And the American people are not being fooled; they see the higher bills at the check-out counter.

The chairman of the Price Commission—Mr. Grayson—has been quoted as saying the consumer really has no way of knowing if the prices he is paying are legal or not.

Well, at the very least the consumer has the right to find out if the increases are legal from the government—from the IRS.

It isn't up to the customer to prove the price has gone up. The burden of proof is not on him; it is on the seller.

And the burden of determining the legitimacy of a price increase should be on the IRS and the IRS is just not doing that job.

We don't blame the IRS. They don't have the manpower or the expertise. They aren't getting information they need or instructions they can follow or any sensible guidelines from the Price Commission.

It is our firm belief that the American people want to help the IRS stop price gougers. Certainly we in the AFL-CIO want to help.

We are convinced we can help, and we are going to help.

We are putting monitors in the stores—as many as we possibly can. And we promise to bring every suspected violation of price controls and rent controls to the attention of the IRS.

As American citizens we have the right to expect the government to quickly and efficiently check these complaints and to crack down hard on the violators. And we demand to know the disposition of each and every complaint.

But to date, the Administration has provided price controls in name only. Complaints aren't checked. Consumers are confused. Honest businessmen are confused. Chaos reigns and prices go up and up.

Exceptions are granted; doctors are given special breaks; insurance premiums are allowed to jump; postal rates are decontrolled; regulations are issued, reissued, interpreted and reinterpreted. And still prices go up and up.

Note these facts:

The first 120 price increases of manufacturers approved by the Price Commission averaged 4.05 percent, well above the Commission's own 2.5 percent guideline figure.

The Price Commission wrote into its rent regulations so many loopholes that landlords complacently predict that rents will be permitted to increase 10 percent.

The Price Commission has dropped from its summary reports the number of firms that have applied for price increases. The reason is that nearly all of the 1500 firms required to pre-notify the Commission of planned increases have done just that. Very few increases have been rejected or reduced.

The Price Commission has become increasingly secretive about its operations. Tight clamps have been placed on the information supplied by companies to justify price increases. No one knows what goes on in the secret meetings of the Price Commission.

Of course, there is a reason for this secrecy. On December 20, the Chamber of Commerce threatened to withdraw cooperation with Phase Two if consumers were given enough information to determine for themselves whether or not price increases were justified.

The Pay Board sees nothing wrong in revealing facts about labor-management contracts, and, for that matter, neither do we. But when consumers ask if price increases are justified, the answer is: "Trust Papa Price Commission."

And who are we asked to place our trust in?

A Long Island newspaper, Newsday, revealed that four Price Commission members have extensive corporate connections. The AFL-CIO has revealed that two others—including the chairman—also have extensive corporate connections.

Out of the seven members, only one—Dr. Whitman—can be truly called a "public member."

President Nixon defined "public member" as "not beholden to any special interest group." We agree with his definition, but when it came to appointments to the Price Commission he forgot his own definition.

Sunday the Washington Post reported that the job of enforcement is going to be made tougher—if not impossible—by a new rule that will allow the store management to raise some items more than the guide-

lines, if other products aren't raised as high as the guidelines. In other words, he can play with prices in a manner calculated to confuse the consumer and increase his profit totals.

But because the job is tougher doesn't mean we should quit. We can—and we should—make life as tough as possible for the price gouger, the rent gouger and the Administration that seeks to protect them, instead of protecting the consumer.

Consumers should unite, should check out every store, look over every storeowner's shoulder, watch his every price tag change. Renters should unite and oppose every rent hike that is not legitimate.

Together, we can demand—loud and clearly—that there be enforcement of price controls.

The choice then will be up to the Administration: it can admit controls are a sham, or it can prove its good faith by enforcing price controls—fairly, honestly, openly and completely.

So we are going to report violations—every single one we suspect. And we will report them by the freight car-load if necessary.

We will help tenants fight unjustified rent increases.

We will—if necessary—put picket lines in front of stores that refuse to play fair with their customers.

And we won't give up our fight in the Congress for an economic policy that will:

Put unemployed Americans back to work;
Give consumers the tax justice they deserve;

Provide consumers an adequate voice in their government;

End the stranglehold big business now has on the economic policy making functions of the federal government.

TWO QUARTS OF MILK OR ONE QUART OF BEER?

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, in order to further explain my beliefs on what the farmer's real problems are, I would like to insert the following article taken from a recent edition of the Cornell Courier of Cornell, Wis.:

TWO QUARTS OF MILK OR ONE QUART OF BEER?
(By Gail Hamilton)

There are few things that attract attention and raise the ire of the consumer any quicker than an increase in the price of food. Take milk for example. If the price of milk goes up a penny a quart—and it hasn't for some time—you hear about it on radio, TV and in the newspapers. A few years ago a grocery chain ran a huge ad showing a picture of a crying baby to dramatize the high price of milk.

Just for fun we decided to compare the prices of things that people drink. In September, Hoard's Dairyman had an editorial which proves that milk is one of the lowest priced beverages. Checking with a local supermarket, here is the proof: (Prices are per quart).

Highest priced beer, 56c; Medium priced beer, 49c; Low priced beer, 42c; Coca-Cola, 42c; 7-UP, 38c; Pepsi, 35c; Synthetic orange drink, 25c; **WHOLE MILK**, (homogenized), 24c; 2 percent milk, fortified, 23c.

Maybe most folks don't care for a bargain when it comes to buying beverages, but if they do, it is obvious that milk is the best

bargain of them all—not to mention the nutritional value.

Or perhaps the beer-drinkers want to help finance the state government. The tax on beer brings in about \$6 million a year to the state and the federal takes approximately \$50 million in taxes.

Even though milk is the best beverage bargain, the soft drink sales are closing in on milk, according to Hoard's Dairyman. The five-year period from 1964 saw a 28 percent increase in sales of the fizzy stuff.

But what is really surprising is that our economy-minded consumers spend close to four billion dollars a year for these drinks at a price that is 58 percent higher than milk!

And to think—they complain about the price of food.

NIXON'S FAILURE ON UNEMPLOYMENT

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, the most appalling news to greet Congress and the Nation when we reconvened to begin the second session of the 92d Congress was that the jobless rate had jumped back up to 6.1 percent.

Six months ago, when this Democratic Congress last put together an economic package, the Public Works Acceleration Act subsequently vetoed by the President, the unemployment rate was only 5.6 percent.

Unemployment is the Nation's biggest problem and, in the hands of the present administration, unemployment is growing steadily worse, not better.

Millions of American workers are now out on the streets day after day looking for jobs—jobs which would have been created through Accelerated Public Works projects.

But instead of finding useful work on badly needed public facility construction projects, these Americans are finding the economic and psychological loss of no job, no income, no self-respect.

Instead of being paid for their labor, these workers are paying the price exacted by an administration which has shown time and again that it does not care whether they work or not.

The simple facts are that the Public Works Acceleration Act would have created more than half a million jobs. But the President vetoed this act, and so instead of paying people to work, we are paying them to be idle, through unemployment compensation and welfare. And we are not getting our vitally needed public facilities built either.

The costs of such a policy are enormous. Since the current administration took office, the annual rate of unemployment compensation payments has risen from \$2 billion to almost \$6 billion annually. More than a million people have exhausted their unemployment compensation benefits in the last 6 months, and total public assistance payments—which is where these people turn when unem-

ployment benefits run out—are now at an annual rate of almost \$18 billion, almost 80 percent higher than when the administration took office in 1969.

Clearly, the dollar costs of the administration's failure to act on unemployment are very high. But these dollar costs cannot even begin to reflect the loss of human dignity and the suffering of families caused by the administration's so-called "employment" policy, which in fact really is a policy of "nonemployment."

Just as dollar costs for unemployment compensation and public assistance fail to measure the suffering caused by unemployment, so do national unemployment statistics fail to reflect the seriousness and extent of unemployment in certain areas of the country, or among certain groups.

There are large geographic areas of our Nation, whole counties, where unemployment is running above 30 percent, or more than five times the national average. And among certain groups, for example, among young people in poor urban areas, the rate of unemployment is an unbelievable 36 percent—six times the national average.

Perhaps the only thing more unbelievable than a 36 percent unemployment rate is the lack of real effort by the Nixon administration to solve this problem.

The administration's record on unemployment, in vetoing Accelerated Public Works and on a host of related matters, stands in stark contrast to that of the Democratic majority here in Congress.

Where the administration has added more than 500,000 unemployed, Accelerated Public Works would have created more than 500,000 jobs.

Where the administration has paid out unemployment compensation, Accelerated Public Works would have paid out a more modest amount in wages and salaries for performance of constructive work.

And where the administration has left empty sites and put plans for vitally needed public facilities on the shelf, Accelerated Public Works would have built badly needed hospitals, water and sewage systems, fire stations and schools.

The significance of these contrasts between the administration and the Democratic Congress will not be lost on the American people next November.

The small-scale Accelerated Public Works program—less than 2½ percent of our original \$2 billion program—which we passed subsequent to the President's veto is running smoothly and well under the Economic Development Administration.

The Public Works Committee expects to have substantially complete data on its accomplishments in a few weeks, and we will report to the Congress on its accomplishments at that time.

Meanwhile, it is up to this Democratic Congress to continue working to solve our Nation's greatest single problem, unemployment—a problem which the administration has shown itself to be neither willing to face nor able to solve.

"MONDAY" LOOKS AT THE FACTS**HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, occasionally, I read what the Republican National Committee has to say through its publication "Monday." It is an interesting weekly because it follows the precept: "Never let the facts get in the way of a good story."

Last December, Joe Pilati, a reporter for the Boston Globe, did a column on "Monday." Pilati found that the Republican National Committee was quoting his newspaper when no such quote ever existed. There was another headline attributed to a column in the New York Times by James Reston. Again, Pilati could not find the headline.

Both articles cited by "Monday" were allegedly praising the President for his ability to communicate with the Nation's youth. Judging by discussions with high school and college students in my district, the President has yet to prove that he is the superstar "Monday" says he is.

Pilati did find a Globe article dealing with the President's rapport with the Nation's young, and it was printed on the date "Monday" referred to. It was a front page story called: Nixon Alienates Student Moderates.

When not praising their leader, "Monday" enjoys writing acidly about the leading members of the Democratic Party. I usually find it hard to believe all the accomplishments attributed to the President. And the reports dealing with the Democrats is best categorized as "impossible." Joe Pilati, by following the canons of journalism in checking for facts, found that another publication, "Monday" is careless when it comes to following the same ethic. At this point, I wish to insert Mr. Pilati's article into the RECORD:

IMAGE BUILDING—GOP STYLE

(By Joe Pilati)

The Republican National Committee's sprightly and acerbic publication, Monday, would have us believe young Americans have come to regard President Nixon with nothing less than adulation.

Last month's issue of the magazine (it appears as a newsletter for three weeks each month, then as a magazine once) reported gleefully: "At no time since he entered public life has Richard Nixon tried to co-opt young people or snow them with theatrical charisma."

"Instead, he has addressed them as young adults . . . He refuses to undercut the nation's honor—whether it's bowing to violence in the streets at home, or violent aggression plotted in the war sanctums of Hanoi."

The magazine is loaded with photographs showing youthful audiences going ape over the Administration, at least in Walla Walla, Wash. and at the University of Nebraska. And it quotes such sage observers as Walter Trohan of "The World's Greatest Newspaper," The Chicago Tribune, who wrote in June 1970 that it is "not only the silent majority that is finding a new folk hero in R.M.N., but a considerable number of young people."

Monday also devotes several pages to what purport to be headlines from two dozen leading daily newspapers, such as The Globe ("Nixon Gives Priority to Youth," June 8, 1970) and the New York Times ("President

Shows Admirable Willingness to Adapt to Needs," April 6, 1971).

And there's the rub. We trained our gaze on The Globe library's microfilmed copies of both papers last week and discovered that the headlines and news stories to which Monday alluded never appeared.

We checked the AM and PM Globes for June 8, 1970. Nothing there. We checked June 7, June 9 of that year as well as June 8, 1971, in case Monday got the date wrong. We checked columnists (suspecting that the elusive headline may have appeared over a Joe Alsop piece). Nope.

As for the Times, despite Monday's citation, the April 6, 1971 edition contains nothing even faintly resembling a story about the President's admirable willingness to adapt to needs. It does contain a lead editorial assessing the recent invasion of Laos and concluding, "Gains clearly are few . . . There is little basis for optimism."

We called Lyn Nofziger, the Republican National Committee's deputy chairman for communications and a prime mover at Monday, to report our findings. He was flabbergasted and promised to call back after checking with John Lofton Jr., the editor of Monday who not long ago served simultaneously as an editor of The New Guard, the organ of the right-wing Young Americans for Freedom.

"I've checked with all our research people," Nofziger said when he called back, "and they couldn't find any headlines either. He (presumably Lofton) said the New York Times thing had come out of a Reston column, and on The Globe he thinks he screwed up the dates."

(A subsequent recheck of the Times revealed that James Reston did not write a column on April 6, 1971, nor did he write anything else for that day's editions.)

Nofziger sounded discouraged. "I like to think that as a former working reporter I can talk to people and be credible," he said. "This kind of thing really doesn't help me at all . . . It really p----- me off."

It is only fair to point out that the June 8, 1970 Morning Globe carried a story on page one headed, "Nixon Endorses Ripon Plan for Youth to Probe Policy." What Mr. Nixon did, in effect, was endorse in principle the kind of work his future son-in-law, Edward Finch Cox, was already doing with Ralph Nader: "setting up independent task forces of young people to probe areas of policy within the government."

We called Josiah Auspitz, the former president of the Ripon Society, who said that in the 17 months since Mr. Nixon endorsed the liberal Republican group's plan, "a good start has been made" on setting up a tax-exempt foundation to implement it.

But Auspitz added: "Monday, you know, is kind of like Pravda and Izvestia. It's designed to rally the troops. The trouble is, they act as if all the troops are rightwingers. As the President has said, the Republican Party is not an ideological party—but you wouldn't know it from reading Monday."

Perhaps the most interesting tidbit to emerge from our research is that the Evening Globe of June 8, 1970, far from carrying anything buttressing Monday's claims, ran a front page story by Matthew Storrin, then with the paper's Washington bureau, headed "Nixon Alienates Student Moderates." It said eight young White House aides, just back from a tour of 30 campuses, told Mr. Nixon he was losing the "sons and daughters of the silent majority."

SELLING WHEAT TO THE SOVIETS**HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, on November 3 the Chicago Tribune carried an

intriguing news item explaining that Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans would visit Moscow later that month—at the invitation of the Soviets—to discuss trade and other commercial matters. His trip was viewed as "a continuation of the policy initiative begun last June when the Nixon administration eased some of the export restrictions on American goods being sold to the People's Republic of Red China and to the Soviet Union."

Three days later the New York Times reported that in the interim the administration had casually announced arrangements "for the commercial sale of nearly \$136 million worth of corn and other livestock feed grains to the Soviet Union." Reiterating Mr. Nixon's incredible policy switch of last summer, the Times also mentioned that in addition to lifting the old barriers for trade with Communist nations the President had removed the requirement that 50 percent of all foreign trade would be carried in American ships. That decision, oddly enough, was agreed to by the heads of all the major maritime and longshoremen's unions. The Russians, continued the Times, are expected to use the grains for an expansion of pork and poultry production.

Meanwhile, quoting a much higher figure and trumpeting the President's action as a major "coup," the equally liberal Washington Post ran a story with the bold heading: "United States Sells Russia \$185 Million In Grain," assuring its readers that:

Such a sale would not only exceed the total of all exports to the Soviet Union last year—\$118 million—but would also top the historic and controversial shipment of \$125 million worth of wheat to the U.S.S.R. in 1964.

Controversial, indeed. While the Department of Agriculture raises the rent on all leased land to the cattlemen and in such areas as California cancels many of the grazing leases on national forest land, our Government sells grain to the Soviets at prices far below any available to the American farmer. Intelligence authorities warn that the grain deal will allow the Soviets to expand their aggressive plans in strategic areas of the world now that the United States has helped the Reds solve one of the most serious problems of the Commissars, that of feeding their own people. Needless to say, aid and trade of this magnitude with a Communist enemy which for 10 years has supplied up to 85 percent of the weapons and ammunition used by the Vietcong to kill our sons in Vietnam is anything but logical.

Proceeding under the humanitarian guise of trying to help reduce the "heavy surpluses" from this season's "bumper crop" and to "firm up" prices, the President's latest deal helps ensure the Soviet slavemasters' continued control over millions of hapless victims behind the Iron Curtain. This subsidy by the Nixon administration actually makes 80 million bushels of corn, 30 million bushels of barley, and 24 million bushels of oats available to the Kremlin at well below current U.S. market prices. And as pointed out by syndicated columnist Paul Scott on November 27:

Part of the grain is even being sold to the Russians at a financial loss to the United States government. In other words, American taxpayers are being forced to underwrite Russia's program of increasing its meat supply.

Handling the complicated sales arrangements with the Soviet Government are two large American companies, Continental Grain of New York and Cargill, Inc. of Minneapolis. With the contractual backing of the Nixon administration these companies are buying the 900,000 tons of barley and oats from stocks of the Commodity Credit Corporation—an agency of the Department of Agriculture—and the 2 million tons of corn from the open market. They stand to profit handsomely from this transaction with the Communists.

While Secretary Stans was wrapping up his 11-day mission to Moscow, where he met privately with Premier Kosygin to smooth the way for President Nixon's visit in May, there were also 100 other American representatives there from 70 large U.S. companies to discuss an increase in business dealings with the Reds.

Will the American people continue to sleep while their own leaders sell our Communist enemies the very rope with which the Reds intend to hang us? Speaking at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of the Soviets on December 21, 1920, Lenin counseled his Bolshevik comrades:

It is necessary to bribe capitalism with extra profit. Capitalism will get the basic profit . . . and we will get the basics (food and equipment) with the aid of which we will strengthen ourselves, will finally get up on our feet and then defeat it economically.

And so it has gone for half a century.

A CHRISTMAS DREAM

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, it has been my experience that the most meaningful Christmas gifts are often those created personally by the giver.

Such a gift, is the poem written by Mr. Tom Cox of Louisville, for his daughter and her classmates at St. Leonard's School, which is located in my district.

The poem was sent to me by Mr. Cox's secretary, Mrs. Hazel A. Wilfong. It is entitled, "A Christmas Dream." I include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

A CHRISTMAS DREAM

Many years ago, in a house that wasn't bright, seven children slept . . . awaiting the magic night.

Snugly curled beneath their comforts, they dreamed a private dream

Of things to come on Christmas Eve . . . a dream come true it seems.

Patiently they had waited . . . helping in so many ways, being model children while counting the passing days.

It wasn't dolls they wanted, clothes or shiny guns,

It wasn't candy or baseball gloves, monopoly or other games of fun.

You see, on the birthday of our Saviour, another would arrive

From a far off jungle war . . . news had come to Mom that Dad was still alive.

It was this news that gladdened them . . . filling their hearts with joy, Fulfilling their Christmas dream better than any kind of toy.

So you see, my children, Christmas means many things.

To some it's love of God and family. To others . . . it's only games.

NATIONAL FLOOD INSURANCE

HON. FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, the national flood insurance program, enacted by Congress in 1968, has gone a long way toward protecting citizens from hurricanes and other disasters in flood-prone areas.

I am particularly pleased to note that residents of my own State have been among the first to take full advantage of this program. In fact, Rhode Island property owners have obtained more low-cost Federal flood insurance than residents of any other State in New England, according to a recent article in the Providence Sunday Journal.

This report gives me a special satisfaction, since I was the floor manager of the original legislation and twice introduced emergency amendments to expedite the eligibility requirements. Experience has shown that it is doubtful this program would have had a chance to demonstrate its full potential without these amendments.

Prior to adoption of these amendments, insurance coverage could not take effect until actuarial studies were completed. This complex, time-consuming process often took a year or more. The longer the delay, the greater the chance the insurance would not be in effect when it was needed most.

My amendments, adopted in 1969 and again in December 1971, make coverage available immediately upon application for flood insurance. The most recent amendment extends this provision through December 31, 1973. The only requirement is that a community must have the minimum land use and control measures in effect at the time the individual property owner applies for flood insurance.

I believe this program will have a significant impact on the lives of citizens who have suffered from flood damage in the past. When disaster strikes, it takes a special kind of courage and determination to pick up the pieces and start again. This legislation will make that burden a little easier to bear.

At this point I would like to place in the RECORD the complete Providence Journal report on the impact of Federal flood insurance in New England:

[From the Providence Journal Business Weekly, Jan. 9, 1972]

RHODE ISLAND TOPS NEW ENGLAND IN FLOOD INSURANCE COVERAGE
(By Joseph L. Goodrich)

Rhode Island, which suffered heavily from flood damage in 1938, 1954 and 1955, is leading all the New England states in coverage under the National Flood Insurance Program.

Through Oct. 30, Rhode Island residential and small business property owners in the state's flood plain areas, both coastal and inland, had obtained an aggregate of \$23.9 million in flood insurance coverage under the federal-insurance industry program.

That compares with about \$16 million in coverage for property in all five other New England states, with Massachusetts leading in this group with \$15.9 million total coverage. Connecticut, which has had its flood problems in the past, is third with a surprisingly low \$98,000.

These figures were compiled by the National Flood Insurance Association, a group of 98 property insurance companies which has joined hands with the federal government to put together a workable flood insurance program.

The insurance companies have pledged \$42 million to underwrite the industry's share of the federally-subsidized flood coverage.

UNITED STATES TAKES 90 PERCENT OF RISK

But the big brother is the federal government which, through the Federal Insurance Administration of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), is underwriting 90 per cent of the insurance risk and 90 per cent of the program's operating expenses. Congress authorized \$250 million for financing the initial federal share of the program.

As of Oct. 30, the latest compilation date of the New York City-based flood insurers association, Rhode Island had 1,566 flood insurance policies outstanding, spread over 20 different cities and towns. The number doesn't include Smithfield which joined the program in December.

That compares with 1,146 policies issued in Massachusetts, most all of which are in the Eastern Massachusetts area, and seven policies in Connecticut, four in West Hartford and three in Hartford.

In New Hampshire, Maine and Vermont, no policies had been processed through the end of last year, according to flood insurers association records. New Hampshire came into the program Nov. 12. Maine has been in since Aug. 27 and has qualified only the Auburn area so far. No Vermont community was in the program.

ETCHED IN MEMORY

This would seem to indicate that for Rhode Islanders, more than other New Englanders, the coastal devastations caused by the tidal floods of the 1938 hurricane and the 1954 Hurricane Carol and the disastrous river floodings from rains dumped by Hurricane Diane in 1955 are still deeply etched in memory.

The foundation of the flood insurance program is the National Flood Insurance Act of 1968, but it wasn't until June, 1969, that the first two areas—Matairie, La., and Fairbanks, Alaska—qualified for coverage under the program, and growth of the program was extremely slow because of qualifying requirements.

However, growth spurted after December, 1969, when Congress approved an emergency insurance program that made local communities eligible for flood insurance at federally subsidized rates immediately upon their application for the program, with the proviso that they commit themselves to adopting minimum land use and control measures, based on federal criteria, by Dec. 31 last year.

Originally slated to expire last Dec. 31, the emergency program has been extended to Dec. 31, 1973, with one significant difference— from now on, a community must have the minimum land use and control measures in effect at the time it makes application for the insurance program.

Rhode Island jumped on the bandwagon in June, 1970, when Barrington became the state's first community to join the program.

Today flood insurance coverage under the program amounts to \$1.4 billion nationally. Congress has set a \$2.5 billion ceiling on the

amount of coverage, but insurance industry spokesmen believe Congress would raise that ceiling if the need arises.

CENTERS OF IMPETUS

In Rhode Island, there are two centers of impetus for the flood insurance program. One of these is the State-wide Planning Program, the flood insurance coordinating agency in the state for HUD. The other is the American Universal Insurance Co., the servicing organization for the Rhode Island policy writing operation. American Universal is a participating member in the National Flood Insurers Association pool.

The State-wide Planning Program's flood insurance coordinating function is the responsibility of Bradford E. Southworth, supervising planner. It is his job to coordinate all the state and community efforts in flood insurance and to assist local communities in every way possible to qualify for the flood insurance program.

At American Universal, Carter M. Roberts is the coordinator for the state flood program. As the servicing company for the program, American Universal is the clearing house for all flood insurance policies written under the program in Rhode Island.

Policies can be written by any licensed insurance agent or broker in the state on a commission basis. Mr. Roberts' responsibility includes processing policies and supplying insurance agents with the necessary information and materials to expedite the flood insurance underwriting operation.

The 21 municipalities already in the program comprise most of the area where the major flood damage occurred during the 1938, 1954 and 1955 disasters, but there are Rhode Island communities with flood hazard potential that still remain outside of the program.

NOT IN THE PROGRAM

Mr. Southworth said the coastal or shore towns not yet in the program are Tiverton, Little Compton and New Shoreham. Neither are Cumberland and Lincoln, both of which have a potential flood hazard along the

Blackstone River, and West Warwick through which the Pawtuxet River courses.

North Providence, which has experienced some flooding from the Woonasquatucket River in the past, is in process of applying for the program.

Basically the flood insurance program has two parts which when combined can provide a maximum of \$35,000 in coverage for a single-family dwelling, up to \$60,000 for two to four-family dwellings and small business buildings, and up to a maximum of \$10,000 coverage on contents. Together they make up the regular flood insurance program.

The first part, based on what HUD's Federal Insurance Administration calls "chargeable rates," provides basic, federally-subsidized low-cost coverage on up to \$17,500 for existing single-family houses, up to \$30,000 for existing two to four-family dwellings or existing small business structures, and up to \$5,000 on contents.

Subsidized premium rates for this part of the coverage range from \$4 to \$5 per \$1,000 on dwellings and from \$5 to \$6 per \$1,000 on contents, depending on the estimated value of the dwelling. Rates on small business structures range from \$5 to \$7 per \$1,000 on buildings and \$10 per \$1,000 on contents.

This first layer of insurance is available for dwellings or small business buildings which existed in the flood hazard area at the time the community became eligible for flood insurance. It also is the only coverage available under the emergency program, and it will continue to be available for eligible structures if and when the emergency program ends.

SECOND LAYER COVERAGE

The second part of the regular program provides a second layer of coverage equal to the first, but is somewhat more costly usually because the insurance premiums are based on higher "actuarial rates" computed on the basis of flood hazard probability in each flood zone and the location of a building's first floor level above or below the base flood elevation.

This actuarial rates program not only enables an owner of existing flood plain build-

ings to double the amount of his flood insurance, it also provides coverage for buildings newly constructed or substantially improved after a community's flood insurance eligibility date. This new construction or renovation cannot be insured under the low-cost chargeable rates program.

The minimum policy premium on flood insurance is \$25 annually regardless of how small the amount of the insurance coverage may be, and policies include a mandatory deductible of \$200 or 2 per cent of the amount of insurance in force.

With the emergency program in effect, communities in Rhode Island and elsewhere usually qualify for the regular insurance program in two basic steps.

LAND USE MEASURES

To qualify for the chargeable rates program—the low-cost, federally subsidized first layer of coverage—communities since Jan. 1 have had to adopt federally specified minimum land use and control measures before their application for flood insurance can be accepted by the Federal Insurance Administration.

To add the actuarial rate program or second layer of coverage, a city or town must have a rate study made of its flood hazard areas and actuarial rates computed for each flood plan zone and a detailed insurance rate map drawn delineating the flood zones.

These rate studies and the mapping work are done by a federal agency, usually the Army Engineering Corps or the U.S. Geodetic Survey in Rhode Island, but it can be the U.S. Soil Conservation Service or the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration.

As of the end of last year, nine Rhode Island cities and towns had qualified for the regular program. They are Barrington, Central Falls, Cranston, Middletown, Narragansett, Newport, Pawtucket, Providence and Woonsocket. A number of other communities such as Warwick and East Providence are still waiting for a federal agency to do the rate study and map work.

RHODE ISLAND INSURANCE IN FORCE—NATIONAL INSURANCE PROGRAM, OCT. 31, 1971

	Dwelling	Small business	Contents	Total number policies	Total insurance in force		Dwelling	Small business	Contents	Total number policies	Total insurance in force
EMERGENCY PROGRAM						Warwick.....	\$2,005,000	\$114,000	\$607,000	187	\$2,727,000
Barrington.....	\$1,259,000	\$10,000	\$362,000	90	\$1,631,000	Westerly.....	4,572,000	1,402,000	1,310,000	433	7,284,000
Bristol.....	416,000	160,000	131,000	45	708,000	Woonsocket.....			10,000	2	10,000
Central Falls.....	15,000	60,000	7,000	3	82,000	Total.....	15,147,000	3,123,000	4,479,000	1,520	22,749,000
Charlestown.....	1,327,000		265,000	105	1,592,000	REGULAR PROGRAM					
Cranston.....	154,000	10,000	57,000	15	222,000	Barrington.....	669,000		173,000	31	\$42,000
East Greenwich.....	4,000		10,000	3	14,000	Cranston.....	176,000		29,000	9	205,000
East Providence.....	160,000		46,000	15	206,000	Middletown.....	21,000		1,000	3	22,000
Jamestown.....	129,000	35,000	50,000	16	214,000	Narragansett.....	5,000		1,000	(1)	6,000
Middletown.....		60,000	10,000	2	70,000	Newport.....	40,000		13,000	3	53,000
Narragansett.....	1,745,000	324,000	431,000	179	2,500,000	Providence.....	25,000			(1)	25,000
Newport.....	85,000	359,000	109,000	51	554,000	Woonsocket.....	15,000			(1)	15,000
North Kingstown.....	673,000	93,000	215,000	69	981,000	Total.....	951,000		217,000	46	1,168,000
Pawtucket.....		30,000	10,000	2	40,000	Grand total.....	16,098,000	3,123,000	4,696,000	1,566	23,917,000
Portsmouth.....	1,041,000	29,000	266,000	104	1,337,000						
Providence.....		120,000	135,000	24	255,000						
South Kingstown.....	1,137,000	187,000	297,000	119	1,622,000						
Warren.....	420,000	128,000	148,000	56	696,000						

† Endorsed as part of emergency program insurance policy.

Source: National Flood Insurance Association.

TOO MUCH TALK GETS LITTLE OR NO ACTION IN CONGRESS

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, if the history of this Congress proves anything, it is that those who talk the most accomplish the least.

My speeches have been only when appropriate, short, and to the point. Some of those you already read, like on Vietnam, the farm situation, the aged and the veterans, are examples.

Another typical example of an O'Konski speech was on the Apostle Island National Park bill. Note that the speech is to the point:

Mr. Chairman, it is seldom that I appear in the well of the House. Should I make no further appearance, I want to wish you all a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this measure. First, I want to thank the chairman of the committee, the chairman of the subcommittee, my colleague from Wisconsin (Mr. KASTENMEIER), my colleague from Pennsylvania (Mr. SAYLOR) and all the other members of the committee for being so fair and so considerate and so compromising in arriving at a viable, working bill, after 40 years of dreams about this project.

This project first evolved under similar circumstances, when we had a Republican President, a Republican Cabinet member as Secretary of the Interior, and a Democratic

House and a Democratic Senate. It was similar to the situation we have now. We have gone the full circle 40 years later.

After compromising, I believe that this committee has done the fairest and most admirable job of arriving at a workable and viable bill so that finally we can achieve the dream which was dreamed 40 years ago.

Let me give just a little bit as to the assets of this area. From the standpoint of natural beauty, this area has no equal in our land.

From the standpoint of geology and geological interests, there is no area in our Nation comparable to that which exists in the Apostle Islands area.

From the standpoint of history, it has a value similar to the value of the East. The fact of the matter is that this area was settled by French missionaries and furriers at the time when the Pilgrims were landing on Plymouth Rock.

Mr. Chairman, I just want to say this in closing: that for 40 years this area in northern Wisconsin has been in a state of limbo. Forty years ago it was suggested that this area be set aside for a national park, a national lakeshore park. So for 40 years, we have had no economic development and no private development in that area, because any time anyone wanted to come over there to develop the area privately or economically, the prospective developer always was told that the people of Chicago—and incidentally we no longer can think of land in the United States of America in terms of provincialism. No matter where the land is, it has to be thought of in terms of the national interest. The people of Chicago, the people of Detroit, the people of Milwaukee, the people of Minneapolis-St. Paul, the people of St. Louis, the people of Indianapolis who come over there are all unanimously of the opinion that this area should be set aside as a national park. And because that has been in the making for the past 40 years no private developer would ever come in there and develop the area, and hence we are at an economic standstill. And, as I say, for the past 40 years we have been in that state of limbo, of economic standstill because the idea of a national park is so entrenched among the people within a radius of 500 miles of that area that they can think of that area in no other terms. I urge its passage.

It got results, too. The bill passed by a vote of 197 to 29; almost a 9 to 1 margin.

Then I inserted in the RECORD without wasting the time of the House, the beautiful and historical description of the Apostle Islands.

NEW PROGRAMS FOR THE NEW YORK STATE UNIVERSITY

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 18, 1972

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, the New York State University has recently established two new programs in an effort to improve educational opportunities for those wishing to specialize in individual areas. These programs should provide an excellent chance for those wishing to obtain advanced education through nontraditional degree programs.

The State College of Optometry is the only professional school in the State for training specialists in the scientific examination of the eyes to detect diseases

and prescribe lenses or exercises. The students, upon graduation, will be trained to detect the eye diseases, and then will refer the patient to an eye specialist for treatment.

The second is the Labor College Division of the State University. The central purpose of this college is to provide college degree opportunities for working adults seeking advancement in their occupations and within the labor movement. It will serve persons in the labor force with a high school degree or its equivalent or those who have demonstrated their readiness for college level studies by their on-the-job performance.

When fully operative the bachelor's degree program will include three major elements—technical training offered by unions and industry and on-the-job experiences, professional studies in areas pertinent to students' career plans and aspirations, and liberal arts studies which would lend perspective to a student's work, professional obligations and community responsibilities.

I certainly commend these new endeavors which, I am pleased to announce, are located within my congressional district in Manhattan. I would like, at this time, to insert into the RECORD two newspaper articles which more fully explain the programs:

STATE'S ONLY SCHOOL OF OPTOMETRY STARTS CLASSES HERE TOMORROW

(By Will Lissner)

Classes will begin tomorrow at the only professional school in the state for training specialists in the scientific examination of the eyes to detect diseases and prescribe lenses or exercises.

The school, the State College of Optometry, is the most recent addition to the State University system. It is beginning operations in an eight-story building on 25th Street near Lexington Avenue, opposite the 69th Regiment Armory, which it shares with the Optometric Center of New York.

The opening of the college represents a triumph of the optometrists in a long-running battle with some of the organized ophthalmologists, medical doctors who specialize in the diagnosis and treatment of diseases and defects of the eye as well as eye surgery.

TRAINED TO DETECT DISEASES

The ophthalmologists maintain that adequate eye care can be given only by someone with broad medical training. The optometrists, in reply, point out that they are trained in the detection of disease and when they find it they refer the patient to eye specialists.

New York State has not had a college of optometry since some ophthalmologists—not all oppose the practice of optometry—got Columbia University to close its optometry school in 1956. There are 11 such schools in the country.

The new College of Optometry will open with 23 first-year students, five graduate students and 63 postgraduate students, and a faculty of 22 headed by Dr. Alden N. Haffner, an optometrist with a Ph. D. in public administration, who is acting chief administrative officer.

Dr. Haffner is executive director of the Optometric Center, which was founded in 1956 as an outgrowth of Columbia's Optometric Clinic.

Through the center, the optometric profession in the state with the aid of lay supporters, maintains clinics on the west side, the South Bronx and the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, bringing eye care

to some of the worst poverty areas of the city.

The college has taken over from the center a research program, which includes projects for applying the latest findings of physics and biochemistry in developing new instruments for the scientific examination and study of the eye.

One of the projects, headed by Dr. William M. Ludlam, has produced a slit lamp phakometer, which provides optical measures of the thickness of the cornea; a photographic ophthalmophakometer, which measures the curvature of the lens; a corneal moire pattern analyzer, which defines tissue differences, and an ocular ultrasonic reflectoscope, which probes the eye by means of ultrasound and measures with great precision its components.

"We have to hold incoming first year classes to 25 for the next five years while we develop a curriculum that integrates the latest advances in physics, biochemistry and related sciences into standard optometric training," Dr. Haffner said.

STATE UNIVERSITY TO OPEN A LABOR COLLEGE IN CITY

(By Damon Stetson)

A new Labor College Division of the State University of New York, providing degree opportunities for working adults, is scheduled to open at 25th Street and Lexington Avenue this fall.

The division, the first component of the Manhattan, learning center of the university's new Empire State College, will serve the higher-education needs of labor unions and business, according to Dr. Ernest L. Boyer, chancellor of the State University.

Present plans call for a small staff and the admission of about 200 students this fall. The first courses to be offered, beginning Sept. 27, will be labor economics and collective bargaining. They will be offered by the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University, which is one of the State University's five statutory colleges.

GOVERNOR AMONG GUESTS

Governor Rockefeller; Dr. Boyer; Dr. James W. Hall, acting director of Empire State College; Harry Van Arsdale Jr., president of the New York City Central Labor Council, and Morris Kushewitz, secretary, were among the guests at a reception yesterday marking the formal establishment of the Labor College Division.

The university's announcement said that the Central Labor Council, because of its interest in the Labor College Division, was providing facilities for the learning center in the building of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers at 25th Street and Lexington Avenue. The council will also contribute toward the center's operating expenses, the university said.

Dr. Boyer said that "establishment of the learning center here was 'in response to the many adults and young persons in the area seeking nontraditional degree opportunities.'"

"Hundreds of men and women now employed wish to continue their formal studies, but they cannot return to a college campus," he said. "Empire State College is ideally suited to meet these needs, in that it begins with the individual student's interests, background and aspirations, and adjusts to schedule restrictions and other responsibilities faced by the working adult."

Mr. Kushewitz said that earlier courses given by the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations had "tapped a rich vein" of interest among labor people who were also desirous of getting credits toward degrees for the courses they took.

Empire State College, the university said, will offer courses and programs leading to the Bachelor of Arts and Associate in Arts degrees.

CLEVELAND LOSES A FRIEND

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, Cleveland, Ohio, has suffered the loss of one of its finest citizens and best friends. On January 2, 1972, Mr. John H. White passed away at the age of 88. His death was sorely felt by all who knew him and many who did not.

John H. White was a quiet and gentle man but when he spoke people stopped to listen. He was active in the Cleveland chapter of the NAACP, the Urban League, and the Elks. Upon retirement from his position at the Hollenden Hotel, Mr. White was honored at a testimonial dinner held by his fellow members of the Hollenden Friendship Club.

We will all miss John White. In many ways, Cleveland will not seem the same without him.

Following is an article which appeared in the Cleveland Call and Post on January 8, 1972:

JOHN WHITE EULOGIZED AS A SOFT-SPOKEN, GENTLE MAN

(By Anita L. Polk)

John H. White, a soft-spoken gentle man, whose penchant for helping others attain success matched his own innate capacity for rearing two successful sons, died on New Year's Day, just three days before his eighty-ninth birthday.

Chips from the White block, Attorney Jay Blackburn White and Reginald S. White, businessmen, reflect the sartorially elegant influence that their father impressed upon them from an early age.

Described by the Rev. Donald G. Jacobs, executive director, Greater Cleveland Council of Churches, and Honorable Perry B. Jackson, Judge, Common Pleas Court, as "a great influence upon younger men to excel, and to be 'dapper' in their appearance," the late John H. White probably never imagined how influential he had become to scores of Cleveland political figures.

Mr. White is credited by many old-timers with raising initial funds to foster the political campaign for the first black Councilman, Thomas Fleming, Boyd and the late Harold Gassaway, a dynamic political figure in the late 30's and 40's.

John Henry White was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, son of Charles and Mary White on January 5, 1883. The family moved to Cleveland in 1902, transferring White to Cleveland Public Schools.

In May, 1916, White met and married lovely Vivian Blackburn and the family settled down to the business of raising their children, Jay B.; Elaine, now deceased, and Reginald.

White started working on the railroads with the Pullman Company, in various capacities. An ardent husband and father, he found himself stranded in California, and decided to seek employment in Cleveland.

He was hired at the prestigious Union Club by bon vivant Prince Huntley, primarily for his superb appearance and his great sense of poise and dignity. Several years later when the old Hollenden Hotel was built, Huntley convinced White to move with him.

For more than fifty years, John Henry White served that hotel establishment as Chief Bell Captain. He met many major political, civic, business and entertainment figures who remembered his genteel disposition and courtesy.

During these years, White cultivated the friendships of many younger men inspiring them to seek, and pursue educational excellence. Among these were the late Merle McCurdy, the first black U.S. Attorney General; the late Henry C. Jones; Attorney Clarence Gaines; James Robinson, Parkview Savings and Loan; and, many, many more.

Mr. White was a charter member of the Hollenden Friendship Club, formed of alumni employees who had worked at the famous hotel prior to its demolition. He was the honoree at a Testimonial hosted by this club shortly after his retirement.

An avid sportsman, White frequently joined his two sons on West Virginia State College campus, and for two years followed the Cleveland Browns, Cleveland Indians and East Technical High School basketball teams.

Mr. White is survived by his devoted wife of nearly sixty years, Vivian; two sons, Atty. Jay B. and Reginald White; four grandchildren, Earl, Reginald Jay, Joy Elaine and Jay Brian and one great grandchild, Gina.

White belonged to the Cleveland Branch of NAACP, the Urban League and the Elks.

He was a member of St. James AME Church, where funeral services were conducted on Wednesday, January 5, 1972, officiated by the Rev. A. A. Shaw.

SPINOFF FROM SPACE SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest contributions that this country's space program makes to the people of the world is, unfortunately, one that far too few people even know about. This is in spinoff benefits—benefits to each of us that have resulted from the knowledge and technology gained from the space program. In 1969 a group of individuals in the aerospace industry in Florida prepared for me a report detailing many of these spinoff benefits. I think the reader will be surprised by these benefits, and again, it is still more evidence that we receive an excellent dollar return on our space program. In the fields of medicine, transportation, communications, meteorological, and many others, the spinoff benefits are invaluable.

Following is the report:

ASTRONAUTICS AND AERONAUTICS COMMITTEE,
SPINOFF-FROM-SPACE SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT

OBJECTIVE

The principal objective of the Subcommittee report is to inform Congressman Louis Frey of the spinoff benefits to the American public resulting from NASA space programs. This information is presented in a format that can easily be understood by the general public.

The secondary objective is to provide as much general and related reference material and source of information material as could be found which will provide a listing that can be used by others who wish to pursue the spinoff subject further. These items can be found in Appendix III (Reference) and Appendix IV (Bibliography).

The third objective of this report is to provide recommendations to Congressman Frey as to what future actions he might take and what additional material might be gathered to assist him in meeting his objectives as a

member of the House of Representatives, Science & Aeronautics Committee. These recommendations present a consensus of the Subcommittee and are summarized on the following page, entitled Recommendations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is the unanimous recommendation of this Subcommittee that Congressman Frey encourage NASA to:

Stress the value of space spinoffs through the NASA Office of Public Affairs. These should include not only technological benefits but economic, political and educational benefits accrued by each of the fifty states and the country as a whole.

Make the Aerospace Industry aware of its responsibility to inform the general public of the benefits resulting from NASA programs. Aerospace firms should be asked to provide more spinoff material for the news media; particularly, during launch coverage by major TV and radio networks.

Initiate a full program to enlist the complete support of the American people. Like the NASA spacemobile carries the message to our intellectual communities, a "Spacecopier" could be used to communicate the Space Program to the country at large. With the space spinoffs as a selling tool, these space age vehicles would appear at public gatherings, such as sports stadiums, fair grounds and/or shopping centers to present a show focused on the spectacles of the Space Program and how it is now and will in the future affect the peoples of the world.

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration has contributed significantly to the scientific knowledge, prestige and technological progress of this Nation in many ways. The influence of NASA's Space Programs on the National economy almost staggers the imagination. In terms of direct impact through contracts to industry, more jobs for our Nation's work forces, grants to universities and colleges and technological spinoffs affecting everyone, the space programs must be considered a major force in American life. The Subcommittee recognizes the need to inform the American people of how the space program benefits them.

This report presents examples of NASA space technology transfer best by illustrating NASA spinoffs which were selected from information provided by NASA, Kennedy Space Center, and its contractors. The Subcommittee has organized the examples in categories which should be of interest to the general public. The categories selected include:

Medical
Urban Affairs
Meteorological
Energy and Natural Resources
Communications
Public Affairs
Transportation
Materials

In each of the above categories where more extensive and/or illustrated information is available, the applicable subject title is followed by a reference number (1 through 9) which corresponds with the numbering of the bibliography.

To the colleges and universities of this country, research grants are important in that the grants provide challenging research work which motivates both students and faculty in "state-of-the-art" development. These have been summarized in Appendix 1 and the reference documents identified in the bibliography.

The NASA aerospace programs could not have been accomplished without the many major contractors and subcontractors who supported the various programs. In Appendix II the numbers are broken out by contractors per state, and the reference document contains the names of the companies, cities, and states.

One additional item should be mentioned here and that is the work being done by Denver Research Institute under NASA contract to provide a quarterly report to NASA on the technology transfer process and provide the capability of a central data bank for collection of useful data on actual or potential cases of technology transfer resulting from NASA's Technology Utilization Program.

SECTION 2: MEDICAL

General introduction

Of all the data covering aerospace spin-offs, the medical area provided the greatest amount of readily available material. Many times the same basic spinoff item has been applied to two or more medical uses, such as the spray on electrodes and miniaturized sensing devices. There are also many techniques that were derived from aerospace research that were so technical or still within the medical research programs that they have been purposely omitted from this report. The best example of this case is the research being conducted in the nuclear field for devising a miniaturized nuclear-powered engine to be implanted in the abdomen of a patient to power a heart assist device.

Of general interest, the development of the Biomedical Applications Teams organized by NASA whose primary purpose was to carefully define important biomedical problems relevant to aerospace technology. The Teams systematically screen both computerized aerospace data files and NASA laboratories for potential solutions. The effect of the Team efforts will be:

(1) To shorten the time gap between the development of new technology and its effective utilization.

(2) Aid the movement of new knowledge across the organization, disciplinary, and regional boundaries.

(3) Help develop better methods for communicating and applying Government-generated knowledge to the general economy.

Many of the medical examples that follow were provided by the Biomedical Applications Team.

Breathing sensor (3, 4, 6)

Infants, comatose children, or adult patients sometimes require surgical implantation of a tracheotomy tube in the windpipe to ease breathing. If the tube becomes clogged, breathing will stop and brain damage or death can result within two to four minutes.

Ordinarily a full-time nurse is required, who checks the tube visually and takes immediate corrective action when necessary. Integrated circuitry, designed and fabricated for aerospace use by NASA's Ames Research Center, has been modified to note differences in temperature of air passing through the tube, and actuate an audible or visible alarm within 10 seconds of any change. The signal can be given at a nurse's station, or in another room if the patient is at home. Thus the patient's care is improved and facilitated.

Cardiac catheter (3, 4)

A sensor developed at Ames Research Center is smaller than the head of a pin and can be inserted into a vein or artery to measure blood pressure without interfering with circulation. Less than 0.05 inch in diameter, the probe can be inserted through a standard hypodermic needle. The original version of this sensor was a transducer developed to provide pressure distribution measures over the surfaces of small wind tunnel model.

Cardiovascular pressure transducer (2, 3, 4)

NASA research has produced a miniature transducer capable of transmitting blood pressure variations. About two hundredths of an inch thick and using less than 500 milliwatts of a watt of electrical power the transducer will be used to monitor blood flow changes in cardiac patients with coronary occlusions. Encouraging results have

already been obtained by inserting this tiny device into the heart and arteries of anesthetized dogs and much smaller animals.

Computer enhancement of X-ray photographs (4)

For several years NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory has been using digital computers to enhance the clarity of television pictures of the Moon and Mars transmitted from spacecraft. Although the original pictures were surprisingly sharp considering the circumstance, technical limitations of the camera and electrical distortion encountered in the transmission reduced the clarity desired. By processing the photos in a digital computer, details that were obscured in the original became apparent.

In 1966, this technique was applied to medical and biological X-rays, with promising results. Doctors were able to observe clarity of details that would otherwise be lost or overlooked. Computer enhancement of X-rays, with promising results. Doctors were able to observe clarity of details that would otherwise be lost or overlooked. Computer enhancement of X-ray photos currently continues under development.

Cardiotachometer (4)

The medical division of an eastern optical corporation is developing an instrument to monitor certain functions of bedridden patients. The firm plans to incorporate this instrument into their "bedside monitor." This instrument was made possible from data taken from a NASA Tech Brief developed by the Ames Research Center.

Ear instrument

When it becomes necessary to acquire specimens of tissue from the inner ear for medical examination, the outer bony structure must first be removed. A special air-abrasive device for acquiring inner ear bone specimens was suggested by the Midwest Research Institute Biomedical Applications Team to an investigator at the University of Kansas Medical Center. He found that it was substantially better than previous techniques for removing bone from the ear and saved considerable time.

Evaluating drug safety

In evaluating the safety and efficiency of drugs for human use, the effect of a particular drug on the circulation of blood through the capillaries is of great importance. Present methods for determining capillary circulation are relatively crude and indirect because the capillary vessel may have a diameter less than half that of a human hair. A search of NASA aerospace literature was made by the Midwest Research Institute Biomedical Applications Team, the results of which were helpful to a physiologist in beginning a pilot program for the solution of this problem at the University of Minnesota.

Heart monitor (1, 6)

An investigator working under a NASA grant at the Duke University Medical Center wanted to monitor heart action more precisely by measuring electrical signals simultaneously along 15 points on a small area of the heart wall. For this, he needed a probe that would insure good contact at all 15 points and which would not result in heart wall damage upon insertion. The NASA-sponsored Research Triangle Institute Biomedical Applications Team explained the problem to an instrument engineer. He designed a 15-electrode probe within an ordinary hypodermic needle. It was fabricated, tested, found satisfactory, and is now in use.

Hospital clean rooms (4)

A particle counter was developed for the Marshall Space Flight Center to monitor air purity in clean rooms in which small precise components are assembled and tested. Several hospitals have shown interest in adapting it for monitoring air cleanliness in operating rooms and intensive care wards.

Microthermocouple (2)

Doctors in New York and Boston now use a commercially available microthermocouple probe into cyrosurgery, (Nitrogen-320° F. in liquid state) to specify areas subjected to the cryogenic temperature. The probe, used to detect the body temperature in the local area of cryogenic application was originally developed under contract to the NASA Lewis Research Center, is used in treatment of dystonia, Parkinson's disease and other diseases causing abnormal muscular motion. It is also used for repairing lesions in the eye by "welding" tissues at cryogenic temperatures.

Physiological sensor (2, 4, 9)

Electronic sensors that were used to monitor astronauts during Mercury and Gemini flights have been adapted to continuously measure the pulse and respiration rates, temperature and blood pressure of up to 64 hospital patients and provide continuous observation at a Central Control station.

Respiratory ailment helmet (4, 6)

An adaption of the Gemini astronaut space helmet helps physiologists conduct studies on the proper exercise levels for children with respiratory ailment.

The helmet can also be used for delivery of medication, thereby permitting some mobility for patients formerly confined to tents.

Respirometer (4)

In the care and rehabilitation of the severely burned child, it is desirable that chemical changes in expired gases be monitored as a means of determining the child's over-all condition. This should not involve touching the child's body or connecting air tubes to his throat, because of the pain and airway restriction involved. The Southwest Research Institute Biomedical Applications Team located a respirometer developed at NASA's Ames Research Center which appeared to meet the qualifications of the investigators at the Shrines Institute of the University of Texas. A prototype of this respirometer will be made available for evaluation.

Sight switch (3, 4)

A sight switch, developed to give astronauts an extra pair of arms, has been adapted for use by people suffering from paralysis. With it a patient can manipulate a motordriven wheelchair with only the movement of his eyes. The switch operates on the principle of infrared reflection from the eyeball. An infrared light source bounces light off the white of the eye into a photoelectric cell which carries the message to a control activator. When the eyes are moved sideward, one eye reflects the light while the pupil of the other eye absorbs it. The resulting imbalance of voltage controls the direction of the chair. Other appliances of this switch include the control of machinery and electronic devices.

Space underwear use

Study of the effects of stress on the normal heart helps to understand stroke and cardiovascular disease. Researchers at the University of Washington were evaluating the effects of physical effort and heat on blood oxygen transport. A means of carefully controlling skin blood temperature without interfering with movement was needed. NASA developed "space underwear" with a temperature control system was obtained by the Southwest Research Institute Biomedical Application Team and was used by the investigators in successfully completing the study.

Specialized transducer (1, 4)

A transducer developed for the Manned Spacecraft Center to measure the impact of the Apollo spacecraft Command Module during water landings is being used in the fitting of artificial limbs. The transducer is smaller than a dime and weighs less than an ounce. The sensing diaphragm is stainless steel and the whole unit is waterproof. It will

respond to changes in pressure, and is not affected by temperatures between freezing and 120 F.

Spray-on-electrodes (4)

A new technique for applying electrocardiographic electrodes to the bodies of test pilots was developed by the NASA Flight Research Center. A liquified, conductive mixture is sprayed over the ends of lead wires onto the patient's chest. This mixture dries quickly, is thin and flexible, and is not uncomfortable to the patient. It can be easily removed, but keeps the electrodes in contact with the skin during exercise which causes perspiration.

A plastic-metallic spray for attaching heart electrodes to test pilots is being used in equipment with which electrocardiograms of ambulance patients can be flashed ahead by radio to a hospital receiving room.

Training of the physically handicapped (4)

A sling support device was developed by Langley Research Center for the purpose of acquainting astronauts with gravity conditions on the lunar surface where the force of gravity is one-sixth that found on Earth. A NASA-sponsored Biomedical Application Team at Southwest Research Institute was aware of the need for a device with which to train and rehabilitate physically handicapped persons. The sling support device was thus made known to investigators at the Texas Institute for Rehabilitation and Research (TIIRR) who, with the assistance from Langley personnel, have adapted the lunar gravity simulator to suit TIIRR's needs in training the handicapped. The TIIRR device is in use at their clinic in Houston, Texas.

Electrocardiograms by telephone (1, 4, 6)

A "Telamedic" device, which relays electrocardiogram data by telephone, has been developed. It is designed for immediate electrocardiogram checks for post-coronary patients. The "Telamedic" can be used in the home, hospital or physician's office. The battery-powered system includes a transmitter and receiver, each about the size of a bedside alarm clock. No special equipment is needed for the telephone.

To use the equipment, the patient attaches the transmitter's electrodes to previously marked positions on his chest, telephones his physician and places the telephone on the transmitter. The doctor places his telephone on the desk-top Telamedic receiver and gathers data on a standard EKG writer for immediate reading or permanent recording.

Laser surgery (1, 4)

Laser technology developed originally for defense and space use is being adapted for delicate and precise use in medicine. Aerospace engineers have been working since 1962 with medical research teams to find new ways to use lasers in "knifeless surgery" and as diagnostic tools.

Lasers are being used with outstanding success in eye surgery, and are being evaluated in dermatology, organ repair, amputation and in microbiological studies. Such surgery can be painless and, in many cases, practically bloodless. As a diagnostic tool, the microscopically small point of focus of a laser beam might be used to lift painlessly and instantaneously a minuscule particle of skin from a patient's arm. Or, by passing the beam through a hypodermic needle, the laser can sample tissue inside the body.

Heart-assist pump (1, 6)

A circulatory assist pump for use in emergency treatment of heart attack victims is being produced as a result of aerospace research and development programs.

Hydraulically operated, this pump is quickly and easily connected by minor surgery to the femoral (thigh) arteries, and relieves the heart's workload by augmenting its natural pumping action.

In a more advanced program, engineers are involved in building and evaluating a "co-pulsation" circulatory assist pump designed to relieve a weak heart's workload. Co-pulsation is a new and untried method of circulatory assist that imitates the natural heart's blood-pumping action. The device will pump blood at flows and pressures proportional to those of the natural heart. The pump consisting of two liquid-operated diaphragms mounted in a plastic housing, will be driven by a piston automatically controlled by an electronic computer.

The pump will be connected to the aorta, the heart's great trunk artery that carries blood to the branch arteries.

Rescue stretcher

An orthopedic stretcher has been designed to remove a workman from large, deep rocket fuel tanks having access holes of only 18" diameter. The stretcher holds the subject essentially in traction while raising him through the access hole.

SECTION 3: URBAN AFFAIRS

General introduction

In the area of Urban Affairs spinoffs from space have taken the form of providing a new method of tackling old problems. This new method is known by several titles. Systems Engineering, Systems Analysis and Systems Management. Whatever title you prefer, systems is the key word.

The systems approach utilizes the application of mathematics to stimulate and determine the interaction of complex systems and predict their behavior. Concentration is on the design as a whole, as distinct from the design and production of the parts. It is an approach that insists upon looking at the problem in its entirety, taking into account all the facets, and seeking to understand how they interact with one another and how the best solution will bring these factors into proper relationship.

Former Vice President Hubert Humphrey, when he was chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, stated that the techniques used to put man on the moon were exactly the techniques needed to clear up our cities. He was referring to this systematic approach to problem solving. Since his statement, the systems approach has been applied to many problems inherent to the cities of this country. Included in this section are a few of the more specific examples.

Crime detection techniques (1, 6)

Improved methods of fighting crime through the use of modern scientific developments have been outlined by an aerospace corporation at national and local meetings on crime prevention.

"Nuclear fingerprints" have been advanced as a most useful method of comparing clues found at the scene of a crime with similar samples taken from a suspect. This "neutron activation analysis" can be used, for example, in comparing tire marks, hair samples and marijuana. Matching probabilities are said to be 99,999 percent.

The use of chemistry has been cited as a method for marking and tracking. For example, it could be possible to "sniff" around a house to determine if narcotics are inside without ever entering the house. Special markings on vehicle would allow police officers to follow that car chemically.

Fresno general neighborhood renewal program (6)

Aerospace industry is assisting the Director of the Fresno Redevelopment Agency in the preparation of a management plan for the West Fresno General Neighborhood Renewal Program. This work will require: (1) defining program objectives, scheduling and budgeting the study phase of the program; (2) preparation of control procedures for directing and monitoring the progress; and (3) organization of data handling procedures

to be used with the great quantities of data required in a project of this nature.

This approach to the planning process is comprehensive with stress on planning as a continuing process. By considering each of the major several elements of urban activities concurrently, and taking into account the relationships among the elements, the plans developed will reflect the total impact of proposed actions in the metropolitan area. This contractor plans to provide detailed action programs and implementation plans for community renewal and economic development plus a management and information system for use with the programs.

Justice, welfare studies (1, 6)

California selected an aerospace corporation to apply aerospace systems analysis techniques to the solution of social problems in two important areas.

In 1965, the company performed a systems analysis study of the problems of crime and delinquency in the State. Results of the six-month effort demonstrated the practicality of using aerospace techniques to gain new insight into crime prevention and control procedures. Of particular significance was the stimulation of the criminal justice system on a computer. This mathematical model enabled systems engineers to determine how well the system functioned, and how changes would affect its functioning. This provided information on the operation of a criminal justice system that would require years to achieve in actual practice.

California awarded this firm a contract in 1966 which called for a systems analysis of the State's social welfare system. The study took a new approach to social welfare, differing from the relief concept of the 1930's when most of today's programs were devised. It marked the first application of advanced research techniques of the aerospace industry to problems of combating and preventing dependency, and has resulted in the initiation of a revised welfare program in California.

Law enforcement and crime (6, 9)

One company is applying aerospace industry management techniques to broad social problems such as law enforcement. The techniques could lead, in the next five to ten years, to the era of the "instant cop" through highly sophisticated, well-planned, computerized systems of information use, communication, storage, and retrieval to speed up investigative processes to improve the quality of justice.

The system of information processing currently being analyzed for Redondo Beach, California, will be designed for use by other cities of similar size and population makeup and for quick and easy integration into a computerized system. Correlated statistical information could provide the capability to predict when, where, and what kind of crime is going to occur. The ultimate product will provide quick and efficient use of warrant and fingerprint files and other pertinent records most useful when immediately available.

Low cost housing (3, 6)

One aerospace company has developed a new housing approach whereby communities of attractive and durable dwellings can be built quickly and economically of prefabricated sections manufactured on the site in mobile factories.

The central feature of the concept is a portable plant in which finished sections of floors, walls, ceilings and roofs will be built at the construction site. The mobile factory includes 22 trailers.

School community relations (1, 6)

Attacks on some of the problems posed by urban poverty and cultural gaps—particularly the barriers to education—have been mounted by one aerospace company in support of the State of California.

Under direction of the State Department of Compensatory Education (which, as the

name implies, tries to compensate for cultural and economic drawbacks), a team of systems engineers and analysts assisted in an intensive study of school-community relations in urban poverty areas.

Project SEAR—a Systematic Effort to Analyze Results—employed aerospace scientists to design questions for more than 250 teachers in poverty areas and later to analyze their answers. Findings showed the success or failure of schools to educate youngsters with ethnic cultural or economic handicaps can be a major contributor to either contentment or unrest in the modern city.

In another effort, systems experts are helping educators in San Jose, California, make great gains in motivating junior high school students who previously had "underachieved" because of social and economic factors.

This project, also supported and watched closely by the Department of Compensatory Education, has proved to the students the relevance of their basic classroom skills—reading and mathematics in particular—to job success as adults.

Both Project SEAR and the San Jose program have drawn heavily on a major aerospace company's experience in the analysis of enormously complex problems and the design of workable solutions.

SECTION 4: METEOROLOGICAL

General introduction

Observation of conditions all over the earth are required for accurate weather forecasting. The weather satellites provide this information. The results have a profound impact on agriculture, from the planning of land use to the transportation of crops. Timely warnings of severe storms and other weather hazards save lives and property. Barren areas of land can be made usable and productive today because of better understanding of meteorological factors with regard to plant growth. The safety of air and sea travel benefits greatly from satellite weather data.

The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Glenn Seaborg, estimates that if weather can be accurately predicted for even three days in advance, man could save \$60 billion a year, plus millions of lives and an untold amount of grief. Even if all other scientific, technological, and economic benefits of space research were disregarded or eliminated, the spectacularly successful performances of our weather and communications satellites indicate positively that investment in space has paid off and will continue to pay off in the future.

Today's satellites relay TV pictures of the earth and its cloud cover, radiation, measurements for ocean currents, vertical temperatures and humidity. All of this adds to the store of information available to the meteorologist and increases the value of his forecast. These advanced developments would not be possible without the capabilities provided by weather satellites.

Analysis of hurricane mechanisms (2, 6)

An aerospace contractor performed a research program utilizing information from the National Hurricane Project which compiled all the physical factors of a hurricane and then determined the magnitude and stability of the forces that hold the hurricane together and what causes it to seek the course it takes. The information acquired is being further analyzed and methods of altering the course of a hurricane or even reducing its force are expected to be available in the near future.

Earthquake prediction system (1, 6)

A laser beam system to detect and measure minute movements of the earth's surface as a means of predicting earthquakes has been developed by a West Coast aerospace contractor. By measuring the small but continuous shifts of the earth's surface, scientists say they can pinpoint major areas

of stress, and thus permit advance warning of a major earthquake.

The technique, called Project GLASS (Geodetic Laser Survey System), employs twin laser beams to precisely record movement of terrain along earth faults. Accuracy of the system has been established in tests over a 10-mile span in California's San Bernardino Mountains.

The developer has proposed the system as a solution to a problem posed by the Presidential Committee for Earthquake Prediction, which stressed the need for constantly monitoring and measuring earth strain in fault areas.

Tornado and fire storm analysis (2, 3, 6)

An aerospace contractor analyzed the severe storm and the fire storm phenomenon, investigated fundamental physical principles and derived a system that enables meteorologist to predict, through the use of aerospace technology, anticipated occurrences and methods for preventing, altering or controlling storms.

SECTION 5: ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

General introduction

The purpose of the NASA "Natural Resources Program" is to utilize remote sensors in space for the discovery, inventory, evaluation, development and conservation of natural and cultural resources.

A substantial amount of money is involved in the spaceborne observation system, but the benefits reaped both economically and in terms of usefulness to the people far outweigh the initial costs. The estimated value for doing such things as mapping of world vegetation, agricultural crop surveys, land use studies, worldwide ocean-sea data and forest fire detection data is beyond financial estimate.

Agriculture and forestry photography by satellite (3, 6)

A recently developed single-channel thermal mapping and infrared photography system has several applications. In agriculture and forestry, it will provide:

- Early detection of crop and forest disease.
- Fire detection and mapping.
- Classification of vegetation.
- Water transpiration measurement.
- Insect detection and migration.

Electrical power systems (6)

The development of aerospace control methods presently being used to define power scheduling of the Columbia River hydroelectric system for the Bonneville Power Authority. Control techniques have been developed capable of affecting substantial water savings through proper distribution of the generation load among four plants along the Columbia River during daily operation. In the near future, an effort will be made to extend this scheduling activity to all seven federal dams along the Columbia River.

Space computer technology is able to provide practical, reliable and efficient data management systems that can mean full optimization of all the water resources, maximum efficiency from the generator units at dams, and minimum power loss in transmission lines.

Explosion forming (2)

Explosion-forming, a system of forming metals by blasting them into the required shape, is one of the important new processes to come from the space age. The area of metal working has had a large impact in technological fallout. The space age production methods have changed the whole appearance of the metalworking shops.

Flood control (6)

Stress devices developed for measuring the thrust of rocket engines are being used to monitor internal stresses in dams to provide engineers with hitherto unavailable information about changes in dam structures during

earth tremors. Fifteen of the devices are being installed in the new Castaic Dam in the Tehachapi Mountains of South Central California. This is providing essential information to the flood-prone regions of California where earthfill dams have failed with catastrophic results.

Fresh water from the sea (1, 6, 8)

A major aerospace contractor is building an advanced nuclear plant to produce power and make fresh water from the sea. The plant features a sodium graphite reactor and a multi-stage "flash" distillation plant, each considered to be among the most advanced and reliable of its type available.

Fuel cell (1)

The fuel cell, which had lain dormant for many years, was activated to supply electrical power for spacecraft in orbit. Twenty-eight natural gas companies now have a \$20 million program underway for adaption of the fuel cell for home power units.

Fresh water photography by satellite (3, 6)

Benefits gained in surveying fresh water from space stations have been demonstrated: Lake colors can be evaluated to their biology, chemistry, sediment, and pollutant content.

Infrared photography can be utilized to locate fresh water escaping along our coastlines.

The ability to locate areas of water trapped by faults in earth's crust.

Detection of the growth and decline of glaciers.

Infrared optics (2, 3, 6)

Geologists have discovered in Gemini photographs some promising possibilities of detecting oil and mineral deposits in remote areas of our globe through the use of television camera system designed to visibly detect hydrogen leaks during the testing of the J-2 rocket engine. This system detects infrared radiation and has been adapted for use in many applications of observing and evaluating resources.

Oceanographic photography by satellite (3, 6)

Fisheries. Frequent photographic coverage on a global scale of the ocean areas lead to identification and location of new fishing areas.

Coastal Mapping. Acquisition of data is accelerated for improving and updating charts and maps for such groups as the fishing, shipping and petroleum industries.

Oceanography (2, 3, 6)

Power. Underwater and submersible vehicles and systems currently utilize silver-zinc batteries and fuel cells developed for spacecraft and space vehicle applications. Nuclear-powered electric systems developed for space—placed on the moon by Apollo 12—are being utilized as non-tended long term power sources for underwater use.

Liquid Gases (Cryogenics). Space involved techniques for using liquid oxygen in environmental control systems were used in the PX-15 submersible. This system permitted more room in the PX-15 for other experiments which could not have been on board if cumbersome conventional environmental control systems were used.

Underwater Breathing Apparatus. A two gas breathing technique using gaseous helium originally developed for space use is now being used in underwater activities. This two gas system allows the user to stay down for longer periods of time without being connected to an above surface system.

SECTION 6: COMMUNICATIONS

General introduction

The subject of space spinoffs in communications can be summed up in two words: Satellites and Microminiaturization.

Through our communications satellites network, we are now able to transmit audio,

visual and telemetry information to every corner of the earth and, to date, as far into space as the planet Mars.

Because of the payload limitations inherent to space flight, the art of microminiaturization, as applied to electronics, has flourished under the space program. To realize the spinoff, you need only look into a department store to see television sets, radios, tape recorders and other electronic gear, which are dramatically diminishing in size with each passing year.

Some of the more significant applications in this versatile field are included in this section.

Intelsat communications satellite (3, 6)

Intersat III is the third generation of commercial communications satellites built for the Communications Satellite Corporation (COMSAT), manager of the 62-nation International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium (INTERSAT).

Although underseas cables and short-wave radio provide communications between many areas of the world, each of these methods has inherent limitations in the development of a global system that will enable all countries to communicate directly and instantly. Cables give service only to those areas that are linked together within the cable network and normally do not carry television. Radio communications often are degraded by violent disturbances in the atmosphere and ionosphere.

Satellite communications, however, can cover all areas of the earth, and they are not subject to natural interference because they operate at higher (microwave) frequencies.

Communications satellites serve as "radio towers" in space. They receive communications signals beamed from earth stations, they amplify signals, and they transmit them back to other earth stations. A single satellite can be visible from about one-third the earth's surface; a series of satellites properly placed in orbit around the earth can provide complete global coverage. Countries within sight of a satellite will be able to communicate with each other.

International telecasting and broadcasting (3)

One of the most widely known communications satellite demonstrations was the international TV coverage of the Olympics from Japan in October 1964. TV programs were transmitted to the United States and Europe, marking the first time that two satellites had been employed in tandem for TV broadcasting purposes.

The broadcast of the Town Meeting of the World TV program via Early Bird 1 brought an international discussion program to many people. "The use of a satellite for the transmission of telephone calls and telegrams between North America and Europe has been extremely successful. As of September 30, 1966, its performance at that date was 99 percent reliable and the satellite increased the potential telephone capacity across the Atlantic by over 50 percent.

Miniature TV transmitters (4, 6)

Miniature FM transmitters—tiny radios—developed by NASA for broadcasting biomedical data from space capsules, can transmit test data from industrial equipment to receiving instruments up to 1,000 feet away. A picture in Metalworking News for October 2, 1963, shows the miniature FM transmitters in use at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, for testing a chain in a power transmission drive under operating conditions.

Miniature TV camera (6, 9)

The actual size of this model TV camera is 4" x 3" x 1½". It was developed to observe Saturn stage separation during Apollo flights. It weighs approximately 16 ounces and is battery powered. This camera is currently on the commercial market.

Phototransistor mosaic (6)

A tiny mosaic of light sensitive transistors, developed by NASA's Electronics Research Center will soon replace the small vidicon tube that is presently being used in commercial TV cameras. Research is being performed now to produce a 1" x 1" plate which will employ 100 times more phototransistors and scanning electronics than the present solid state circuit board. An experimental camera using this mosaic is presently operational and is being evaluated for future applications.

Medical training and diagnosis (3, 4)

Medical training, diagnosis and consultation by satellite on a real-time basis are now possible internationally and were demonstrated in the following transmissions:

The Relay I satellite transmitted an electroencephalogram from the Burden Neurological Institute in Bristol, England, to the Mayo Clinic where it was processed by a computer. After diagnosis was made, the analysis was sent via satellite immediately to the doctors in England.

May 28, 1963, a fetal electrocardiogram was transmitted from Mt. Sinai Hospital, in Milwaukee, to obstetricians in Paris; and a two-way consultation took place.

November 6, 1963, a new medical procedure, hyperbaric pressurization, was demonstrated at the Royal College of Surgeons in England and televised via satellite to the American Society of Anesthesiologists in convention at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota. Such a capability may allow large conferences to be held without the necessity for moving people.

A group of Swiss doctors in Geneva has observed open heart surgery performed by Dr. Michael DeBakey in a Houston, Texas, hospital. They were also able to ask questions on technique during the operation.

SECTION 7: PUBLIC AFFAIRS

General introduction

Stimulating new thinking is the major contribution of the Space Program to the field of Public Service. This has taken many forms, from actual cash grants for higher education to innovative methods of approaching some of the problems faced by our cities and the surrounding rural areas. Besides incorporating some of the management techniques described in the Urban Affairs section, the area of Public Affairs illustrates some prime examples of the direct application of scientific techniques, which were derived from the Space Program.

Commercial products from air pollutant (1)

A major air pollutant may be removed from coal-fired power plants and turned into a valuable industrial product as the result of a process being developed. Called the molten salt process, it removes sulphur dioxide from the flue gases formed by burning fossil fuels.

Sulphur dioxide from coal and oil-fired plants is a major pollutant in the U.S. In addition to being a pollutant itself, it combines with air and moisture to become sulphuric acid which causes corrosion, breathing difficulty and plant damage.

Should the molten salt process become practical on a large scale, a new source of sulphur or sulphuric acid worth hundreds of millions of dollars would become available to industry each year. Use of the process could result in a profit through the sale of sulphuric acid and it would permit use of a cheaper grade of coal containing sulphur.

Education and research (1, 6)

NASA has played an especially effective role in improving the quality of education and increasing the number of trained young people in those disciplines relevant to NASA. By FY 1967, NASA had budgeted over \$2 billion for grants to higher education.

NASA, in moving ahead, is trying to increase the number of students obtaining doctors degrees in space-related fields of science and engineering. The goal stated in 1963 was to expand the program of training grants to cover a total of 4,000 students over the next few years and to graduate 1,000 new PhDs per year. A goal of 7,500 PhDs per year by 1970 was suggested by the President's Advisory Committee.

Oculometer

This scientific instrument is an ultrasensitive scanning device that monitors minute eye movements. It was developed under contract through the NASA Electronics Research Center in Boston for the specific purpose of human factors research.

This device could be experimentally used in a learning exercise where the oculometer observes hesitation on the part of the student reading foreign languages on a movie screen. Researchers have found that data on fatigue and emotions can be recorded through the observations made by the oculometer of eye movements.

Portable Planetarium

This novel educational device, now on the market, permits a student virtually at a glance to determine the relative positions of the planets on any given day between the years 1900 and 2000.

Reliability Technique (9)

An analytical technique has been devised that permits a comparison of the reliability of alternate mechanical designs. This technique has been employed by a small manufacturer of mining equipment, conveyor systems and cargo handling gear, such as winches, lifts, cranes. Under contract to a Pascagoula, Mississippi, shipbuilder, the company was able to provide valid data on systems reliability and maintainability.

Teaching Devices (3, 6)

NASA information, searched by a Regional Dissemination Center, led to a teaching tool that may spark the formation of a new business. Available teaching machines were highly complex, requiring elaborate wiring systems.

To make the same sort of units simpler to use, the NASA data bank was searched for information on "frequency synthesizers" and the resulting information enabled an engineer to design new equipment. There are no interconnecting wires in the new system, yet up to 800 students can participate. The teacher can know what each student answered, whether all the class has replied, and the portion of right answers for the class.

Waste Disposal (1)

The design and construction of refuse and reclamation plants which employ a nuisance-free process is underway. The plants, completely enclosed, are designed to prevent contamination.

In another area, aerospace engineers, under contract to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, are making a study to determine if techniques successfully employed in desalting water can be used to purify mine acid drainage, a major source of stream pollution.

Waste Food Conversion (1)

A system that reconditions sewer water for industrial and irrigation uses and simultaneously converts waste food into poultry mash has been developed.

Part of the city's sewage is fed to certain types of algae that devour noxious compounds. After the algae are skimmed from the water and dried for poultry mash, the water is returned to farms and the community for nonpotable uses.

Since cost is a critical factor in water reclamation, the poultry food by-product helps make the system economical.

Waste Management (1)

Employing systems engineering techniques, a waste management study was conducted for California with projections 25 years ahead. In the study, the control and management of solid, liquid and gaseous waste generated by the state's rapidly expanding population was assessed. Major elements of a total waste management study were defined and recommendations were made for a study of a specific problem site.

The study of the Fresno area, typical of many other rapidly growing urban-agricultural complexes throughout the U.S., should provide answers to similar pollution problems throughout the country.

Some nine months before scheduled completion of the study, environmental conditions in the country were measurably improved by adoption of recommendations in the preliminary report. An ordinance prohibiting burning at all open dumps was put into effect; an unsanitary landfill site was closed; septic tank pumpage formerly disposed of on land is now put into the sewage system; substitution of bi-weekly garbage collection for a once-a-week schedule reduced fly propagation by garbage almost 90 percent.

Water Purification (1)

Reclaiming waste water and converting it into pure water through the technique of "reverse osmosis" is being demonstrated in experimental pilot plant tests with sanitation authorities in Los Angeles County and the City of San Diego.

The simple and compact process uses paper-thin films or membranes—resembling the plastic material used for wrapping foods—to filter out salts and other dissolved solids and produce fresh water from waste, brackish or sea water.

Preliminary studies have shown that eventually it may be possible to produce fresh water from waste water using the reverse osmosis technique at costs which would be only a fraction of that involved when sea water is converted to fresh water.

Other experimental plants using reverse osmosis for the conversion of sea, brackish and waste water to fresh water are also in operation.

Preliminary studies indicate that water of reasonably high purity can be produced from waste water by the reverse osmosis technique at a cost of about 30 cents per thousand gallons in large plants. Lower unit costs could result from knowledge gained in the present studies, and also could be realized by lowering product water quality.

SECTION 8: TRANSPORTATION**General introduction**

While satellites are already at work for us today and offer exciting promise for the future, other and more substantial benefits have been derived to transportation from space technology. More and more, the products of solid-state electronics, miniaturization and micro-miniaturization are entering the transportation world. These techniques applied to transportation in the form of control devices, sensors, lasers, wave guides and sophisticated electronic devices are permitting highly reliable communication to aircraft and ships, improve navigation and air-traffic control for present day aviation, assist in the control of high-speed trains and aid in improving highway safety. Aerospace systems management techniques have found their way into the automotive, ship and aircraft building enterprises, and are increasing the effectivity of management as well as reducing the time and cost involved in planning, scheduling, and controlling these industrial giants.

Automated quality control

Newly assembled automotive brake cylinders are being automatically tested under

fluid pressure. The test fixture is an outgrowth of techniques devised for testing the Saturn IB hydraulic components prior to launch.

Communication (6)

Voice and data transmissions between ships, aircraft and business offices throughout the world are facilitated by communication satellites. Passenger telephone service to and from shore from commercial ships and aircraft is provided by these same communications satellites.

Highway safety (3, 6)

Many treacherous sections of highways and airports are safer as the result of a discovery by NASA test pilots in high speed planes that cars and airplanes "hydroplane" when water builds up under their tires. A grooving technique has been developed by NASA allowing water to drain off a wet pavement and runways preventing skidding. The study of "hydroplaning" phenomenon has also led to improved tire tread design.

Navigation (2, 6)

A proposed air traffic control system has been devised from aerospace technology to eliminate aircraft collisions through the use of satellites in conjunction with computers. The satellites would relay special signals from each aircraft-to-ground control stations where computers would plot the aircraft's position within 50 feet in latitude and longitude and 80 feet in altitude which is 60 times more accurate than current systems. The computer would alert ground controllers of impending collision who would, in turn, advise the pilots of the potential danger.

Satellites will provide search and rescue agencies accurate locations of ships in distress, ditched aircraft, lifeboats and exploration parties who may need assistance.

Shipping safety (3, 6)

Satellite photographing techniques enhance determination of location of and increase understanding of currents, waves, sea ice, icebergs and shoals; thus making it possible to minimize hazards to navigation and improve ship routing.

Solar cells (1, 6)

The solar cell is of vital importance to the space effort because the major portion of all satellites and space probes obtain power to operate radio transmitters and to perform scientific experiments by the use of these cells. A prime example of the application of solar cells is the emergency radio-telephone system now in use in California for stranded motorists in remote areas. Studies are being made to put solar cells to other practical uses.

SECTION 9: MATERIALS**General introduction**

One of the most important design criteria for space vehicles is that structural materials should have the lightest weight, the highest strength, be able to operate in a wide range of temperatures, and submit to fabrication processes such as forming, machining and welding. NASA programs have contributed to produce a variety of materials that satisfy these requirements. These include beryllium, titanium, stainless steels, super alloys, refractory metals, aluminum, magnesium, and high-strength steels. All are applicable to innumerable non-space uses in almost every metalworking industry for all sectors of our economy—transportation, mining, farming, refining, chemicals, electrical, communication, construction, and roadbuilding.

Adhesives (9)

Polymer resin adhesives developed for the Apollo Program are now in more mundane service. An adhesive-bonded car that is as strong as conventionally joined autos is the dream of virtually every automobile manufacturer. Elimination of hole machining in body panels and the assembly operations associated with mechanical fasteners rep-

resent substantial savings. Further, water and salt that cause extensive corrosion cannot enter without holes and other openings. One automaker has already used adhesives to eliminate fasteners on body trim on its 1968 models and this usage can be expected to increase as space research continues to produce improved adhesives. The race car body that won the 1964 24-hour LeMans race was bonded entirely by adhesives.

Aluminum foil (6)

An ultra-thin, high-strength aluminum foil, developed for a communications satellite, is used for packaging quick-freeze-dried foods and sensitive pharmaceuticals.

Cryogenic insulation (9)

The requirement for cryogenic (super cold) propellant tanks used in launch vehicles has led to the development of a highly effective, lightweight spray-on foam insulation. The new foam-in-place material is being considered for insulation of cold-cargo shipping containers, tankers, prefabricated dwelling construction, furniture packaging, and other applications where lightweight or rigid insulation materials are required.

Fireproofing (9)

One important Apollo-generated material development has stimulated great interest among designers of fire-resistant structures. The novel material is a glass-fiber-reinforced composite that will not burn in a 100 percent oxygen atmosphere. The new laminate will be ideal for aircraft, automobiles, trucks, and many other vehicles and installations where fire constitutes a major hazard.

Flat conductor cable (9)

Flat conductor cable, with associated hardware, has been found to offer advantages to electrical system designers by saving weight, space, cost and lead time within excellent reliability and uniform electrical characteristics. A fourth symposium currently requested by industry on flat cable conductor technology is scheduled and is over-subscribed.

High-strength plastic pipe (1)

Aerospace production processes have been used to fabricate a new, high-strength pipe.

The pipe, made of plastic mortar, is reinforced with fiberglass, and is suited for carrying water or fluids for such universal uses as sewage, irrigation, flood control, and numerous agricultural applications.

The technology needed for the construction of the pipe was obtained in rocket production and represents a significant advance in fluid conveyance. It offers such advantages as lightweight, comparatively thin walls, built-in resistance to shock and the corrosive elements in fluids and soil.

For every mile of 24-inch diameter pipe installed, for example, use of the thinner reinforced plastic mortar pipe would save a contractor the handling of about 95,000 cubic feet of earth if he were laying pipe at a depth of 25 feet.

The pipe will be produced at Riverside, California. An important factor in the site selection was to provide job opportunities to the Mexican-American population in the area.

High-temperature plastics (1, 9)

A research program on high-temperature plastics has resulted in a new family of copolymers that have outstanding strength at temperatures up to 650 degrees Fahrenheit.

Reinforced with glass cloth and pressed into laminates, the materials at these temperatures are stronger than aircraft aluminum and compare favorably with stainless steel and titanium alloys.

Used as adhesives under the same conditions, the materials bond together sheets of titanium and stainless steel with hot strengths in excess of 1,000 pounds per square inch.

The new class of plastics appears to be applicable for such applications as struc-

tural members of aircraft, heat shields, electric motor windings, printed electronic circuits and similar uses.

Inorganic paints (3,9)

Inorganic paints developed under NASA auspices were adapted to commercial products by companies in Illinois and California. The paint items produced by the Illinois firm are expected to be used by builders, contractors and industry. The California company used NASA information about inorganic paints to produce an extensive line of heat-resistant coatings, which are used in truck exhaust systems, oven liners, fire walls, brake drums, engine manifolds, mufflers, furnaces, boilers, electrical motors, generators, transformers, relays and insulation. The California firm noted that the knowledge received from NASA has kept them competitive.

An Eastern manufacturer of vacuum cleaners has improved his product that is marketed presently, by using an inorganic paint on the interior surfaces of his vacuum cleaner tanks. The company procured the information from a NASA Technical Brief that an inorganic paint had been developed at the Goddard Space Flight Center which would withstand considerable abuse and deterioration.

Special silicate-base inorganic paints have been developed to provide corrosion resistance in a broad temperature environment. The fireproof characteristics of this paint are such that a torch applied to the painted side of a piece of metal leaves the paint unmarked while heating the metal. The paint still adheres to the white-hot metal.

Metals, alloys and substitutes (2,9)

Many of the new metals, alloys, fabrics, and compounds created or developed by space research are being produced commercially. Some particular examples are:

A ceramic insulation material, PSC Durock, withstands the extreme heat of combustion of exotic fuels. It is now being used in high temperature applications in the civilian atomic energy program.

Spaceproof materials are being used to make nearly indestructible refrigerators and other appliances. New materials developed in space research are becoming more and more important in the air conditioning, heating and refrigeration industry.

Fluxless aluminum soldering, an outgrowth of space research, is being marketed and used in preparation of sandwich core of structural panels and mass production of automobile radiators.

Time-saving pots and pans are now coated with a plastics material developed to protect spacecraft from the extreme heat of launch and re-entry.

Sealants developed for the seams of spacecraft are being used in caulking tiles. Car windshields and rear windows are being sealed with a product made from solid rocket fuel.

Railroad tank cars weighing one-half as much as steel cars are now being produced from the lightweight plastics developed for NASA for use in its space systems.

Ocean vessels are able to increase cargo tonnages by using "higher strength structural steels and packaging employing lightweight reinforced plastic (RP) containers."

New class of plastics (2,3,9)

Space technologists working under contract to the NASA Lewis Research Center, have developed HYSTYL resins, a new class of plastics with improved strength, and with thermal and chemical stability. These new plastics, described in NASA Technical Brief 67-10197, have aroused interest from a maker of grinding wheels, an electronics manufacturer, a casket manufacturing company, a firm supplying aircraft and missile components, a chemical manufacturer, and

others. A small company has been formed to produce and market these plastics.

APPENDIX I, NASA UNIVERSITY PROGRAMS, GRANTS AND RESEARCH CONTRACTS, GENERAL INTRODUCTION

NASA's university programs have made major contributions not only to the aeronautics and space program but also to the national educational goal through the development of new scientific disciplines, technologies and educational facilities. NASA programs have provided continuing educational opportunities to thousands at the undergraduate and graduate levels within the Nation's university community.

Between 1965 and 1971, 223 colleges and universities representing all 50 States and the District of Columbia will have shared in grants and research contracts for 1,640 NASA programs. In addition, 15 colleges and universities in 10 foreign countries have also provided assistance through research contracts for 18 programs.

The accompanying table provides a recapitulation by States showing the number of colleges and universities affected by NASA grants and research contracts as well as the number of such programs within each State. It is of interest to note that New York leads all the States with the greatest number of colleges and universities (22) receiving grants and research contracts; followed by California (18), Ohio (14), Texas (14), Pennsylvania (12), Massachusetts (11) and the balance in descending order. California, however, is the leading State for the greatest number of NASA-supported college or university programs (271); followed by Texas (124), New York (122), Pennsylvania (75), Illinois (73), and Ohio (58).

As a direct result of these programs, the Nation's university community has awarded in excess of 500 graduate degrees and has provided trained people, education and service in demonstrating the effectiveness of colleges and universities in helping to meet the space goals of NASA and the Nation.

NASA UNIVERSITY PROGRAMS GRANTS AND RESEARCH CONTRACTS (1965 THROUGH 1971)

State	Number of universities affected	Number of programs
Alabama	3	35
Alaska	1	10
Arizona	3	43
Arkansas	1	1
California	18	271
Colorado	5	41
Connecticut	4	36
Delaware	1	3
District of Columbia	5	25
Florida	6	43
Georgia	3	27
Hawaii	1	14
Idaho	1	1
Illinois	6	73
Indiana	5	46
Iowa	2	18
Kansas	4	18
Kentucky	2	15
Louisiana	4	13
Maine	1	2
Maryland	4	45
Massachusetts	11	55
Michigan	6	64
Minnesota	2	30
Mississippi	3	11
Missouri	5	26
Montana	2	4
Nebraska	2	2
Nevada	1	4
New Hampshire	2	16
New Jersey	6	42
New Mexico	1	18
New York	22	122
North Carolina	4	32
North Dakota	1	2
Ohio	14	58
Oklahoma	5	14
Oregon	2	11
Pennsylvania	12	75

State	Number of universities affected	Number of programs
Rhode Island	3	9
South Carolina	2	6
South Dakota	2	3
Tennessee	3	16
Texas	14	124
Utah	3	16
Vermont	1	2
Virginia	9	52
Washington	2	15
West Virginia	1	5
Wisconsin	2	23
Wyoming	1	3
Total U.S. universities and programs (50 States plus District of Columbia)	223	1,640
Foreign countries (10)	15	18
Total all universities and programs	238	1,658

Note: Total university expenditures by NASA (1959 through 1967), \$2,079,356,567.

APPENDIX II, NASA PRINCIPAL PRIME CONTRACTORS AND SUBCONTRACTORS, GENERAL INTRODUCTION

NASA principal prime contractors and subcontractors shared \$3.07 billions of U.S. dollars during the 1969 fiscal year. These contractual dollars provided direct employment to countless thousands of workers for the production of both space related hardware and services in all 50 states, the District of Columbia and in 41 of the free world's foreign countries who support the global space network.

The accompanying table provides a compilation of the location of all NASA principal contractors and subcontractors who participate in the United States continuing efforts toward achieving the peaceful conquest of space. Figures quoted in the table encompass the time span from 1960 through 1969 and compute only those NASA principal prime contractors and subcontractors who received individual awards (contracts, grants or purchase orders) of the following magnitude:

Research and development prime contracts of \$10,000 and over.

Prime contracts, grants and purchase orders to educational institutions and other non-profit organizations of \$10,000 and over.

All other prime contractors and purchase orders of \$25,000 and over.

First and second-tier subcontractors and purchase orders of \$10,000 and over on NASA prime contractors of \$500,000 and over—14,369 profit and non-profit business organizations in 1,832 cities throughout all 50 states and the District of Columbia received major NASA contracts and sub-contracts. In addition, 165 organizations in 41 free world foreign countries were also affected as participants in NASA's world-wide coverage for the space network. It is of interest to note that California leads all states in the number of cities affected by NASA contracts and subcontracts (235), followed by Pennsylvania (184), New York (182), New Jersey (155), Massachusetts (108), Ohio (90), Illinois (88) and Connecticut (75). In the area of business organizations, California again leads all states with 4,524 organizations affected by NASA contracts and subcontracts. Here, however, the trend changes. Next in order, following California, are business organizations in the states of New York (1083), Florida (774), Massachusetts (716), Ohio (672), Texas (622), Pennsylvania (598), and Virginia (577).

From this sampling, it can be seen that NASA procurement of quality space hardware and services has resulted in the development and expansion of the nation's business organizations for the material benefit of the national work force and for achievement of the nation's space goals.

NASA PRINCIPAL PRIME CONTRACTORS AND SUBCONTRACTORS (JULY 1, 1960 THROUGH MAY 31, 1969)

State	Number of cities affected	Number of business firms
Alabama.....	31	469
Alaska.....	3	31
Arizona.....	13	67
Arkansas.....	4	6
California.....	235	4,524
Colorado.....	13	80
Connecticut.....	75	309
Delaware.....	6	18
District of Columbia.....	1	360
Florida.....	58	774
Georgia.....	17	101
Hawaii.....	6	12
Idaho.....	7	10
Illinois.....	88	371
Indiana.....	44	106
Iowa.....	11	17
Kansas.....	16	50
Kentucky.....	7	25
Louisiana.....	13	440
Maine.....	9	10
Maryland.....	70	571
Massachusetts.....	108	716
Michigan.....	70	249
Minnesota.....	17	111
Mississippi.....	18	122
Missouri.....	20	118
Montana.....	3	5
Nebraska.....	4	12
Nevada.....	7	30
New Hampshire.....	19	39
New Jersey.....	155	501
New Mexico.....	8	75
New York.....	182	1,083
North Carolina.....	28	68
North Dakota.....	2	2
Ohio.....	90	672
Oklahoma.....	11	81
Oregon.....	8	27
Pennsylvania.....	184	598
Rhode Island.....	10	29
South Carolina.....	12	18
South Dakota.....	4	4
Tennessee.....	19	73
Texas.....	61	622
Utah.....	9	23
Vermont.....	10	16
Virginia.....	39	577
Washington.....	15	43
West Virginia.....	11	15
Wisconsin.....	29	83
Wyoming.....	2	6
Total U.S. cities and business firms representing 50 States plus District of Columbia.....	1,882	14,369
Foreign countries and business firms.....	41	165
Grand total cities, foreign countries and business affected by NASA contracts and subcontracts.....	1,923	14,534

Note: NASA principal prime and subcontractors receiving individual awards of the following magnitude:

- (1) Research and development contracts of \$10,000 and over.
- (2) Prime contracts, grants and purchase orders to educational institutions and nonprofit organizations of \$10,000 and over.
- (3) All other prime contracts and purchase orders of \$25,000 and over.
- (4) 1st and 2d tier subcontracts and purchase orders of \$10,000 and over on NASA prime contracts of \$500,000 and over.

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APPENDIX IV: BIOGRAPHY

SECTIONS II—IX

1. *Aerospace Aechnology: Creating Social Progress*, Aerospace Industries Associations of America, Inc., Washington, D.C.
2. *Benefits from Space*, a compilation of the *Stanford Report*, General Electric Company, Washington, D.C.
3. *The Family of Mann—Prospects for Progress* General Electric Company Valley Forge/Space Division
4. *Medical Benefits from Space Research* NASA publication
5. *NASA: Its Present and Future Impact on Our Lives* Speeches by R. L. Leshner, former Assistant Administrator for Technology Utilization; Statement before the Subcommittee on Advanced Research and Technology of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, House of Representatives.
6. *New Dimensions for Space Technology*, *Challenge Magazine*, Winter 1968 General Electric Company Valley Forge/Space Division
7. *Reference Briefs of New Technology Transfers NASA/KSC—Technology Utilization Officer Directorate of Administration*
8. *Skyline*, 1961, 1964 North American Rockwell Publication
9. *Space Program Benefits* North American Rockwell, Space Division Downey, California
10. *Useful New Technology from Aerospace Research and Development* NASA Technology Utilization Program Pamphlet

Appendix I

NASA's University Program

A Study of University Programs

Statement before the Subcommittee on Space Science and Applications by Francis B. Smith, Assistant Administrator for University Affairs (NASA).

Appendix II

NASA Principal Prime Contractors and Subcontractors through 31 May 1969, prepared by NASA Procurement Office, Staff Operations Division, Washington, D.C. 20546.

Apollo 12 Principal Prime Contractors and Subcontractors, NASA Procurement Office, Staff Operations Division, Washington, D.C. 20546.

This report was compiled by the following Contractor/NASA personnel comprising the Spinoff-from-Space Subcommittee and Working Group of the Astronautics and Aeronautics Committee:

Chairman, R. F. Gompertz, Chrysler Corporation.

Members, C. Morley, E. Webb, General Electric Company; W. Ballenback, C. Pearce, Grumman Aerospace Corp; G. Harman, B. Hello, C. McNamara, North American Rockwell; C. Gleason, TRW.

Secretary, P. Mellor, Chrysler Corporation.
Observer, L. DuGoff, NASA.

A NEW BREED OF GOVERNOR

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, during the past year the national news media have often commented on the "new breed" of Governor emerging in many of the Southern States. This new breed of Governor is enlightened, involved, and not afraid to admit that times have changed. To those of my colleagues who may not be familiar with the record of Tennessee's new Governor, Winfield Dunn, I commend the following editorial from the *Copper City Advance*:

WINFIELD DUNN, THE MAN

One morning last week we were watching the Today Show on television, when Governor Winfield Dunn of Tennessee was interviewed by Frank McGee. At long last the TV pundit found himself talking to a Southern governor who was just as poised, smooth and articulate as he.

It occurred to us at the time, and we've been thinking about it since, that our governor is a credit to the South, this state, and the nation. Before we move along into 1972, with the disenchantment with politics which will sweep over us before too long, we want to say a few kind words about Winfield Dunn, who did not have this paper's support when he ran for the job he now holds.

Having kept up with him, via the news media, since his election, we have studied him very carefully. We couldn't have cared less about the man when he assumed office. We have listened to his critics; and he has more than his share, in and out of his party. We have read the critical words of those political experts who think he isn't doing as well as he should. It gradually dawned on us that we disagree with his critics.

If we have any criticism of the governor it's this: he should try hard, in his limited time, to cover one end of this state to the other and let everybody have a chance to meet him face to face.

Television captures his sincerity and warmth, his compassion for unfortunates which, frankly, we once didn't dream he possessed. We have an idea that this compassion may not set too well with some of his critics. It suits us to a T. The Governor should let more Tennesseans, including Polk Countians, get to know him better than they do.

As it is, however, Governor Dunn has changed some minds in Tennessee as he has conducted himself with dignity and commonsense in office. In our own case, we have come to realize that one of his greatest assets is his public performance while speaking formally or informally on the air.

He isn't a ham. He doesn't play to the camera. He doesn't insult the intelligence of listeners or viewers. He doesn't play the bigot. He is forthright, down-to-earth, earnest, compelling.

He was in New York on business for the state, in the interest of attracting more industry. And he did all of us proud on the Today Show. We have had it with Southern governors who make spectacles of themselves on television, national and otherwise. He has impressed us more favorably as a man in the public eye than any of his predecessors in office.

Our favorite governor of our sister state of Georgia was Carl Sanders; and Winfield Dunn also is of the enlightened school of Southern governors, as Mr. Sanders was, with good taste, perception and fluency.

Like Mr. Sanders, Winfield Dunn is fortunate in having an attractive and artistic wife who makes the governor's mansion a home for the family, while beautifying it for all the people of the state. We are convinced that the Dunns are the best, united team ever to occupy the governor's mansion in this state.

Governor Dunn, the man? Great.

SKYLAB

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the announcement today of Astronauts Charles Conrad, Jr., Alan L. Bean, and

Gerald P. Carr as the command pilots of the three planned visits to Skylab A is a major milestone in the U.S. space program. Skylab A is the forerunner of permanent space stations which will some day provide to the people of this country and the world a manned, near-space capability to survey the earth's resources, help direct its air and sea traffic, and assure adequate communications and weather predictions for our Nation and all the nations of the world. Astronauts Conrad, Bean, and Carr are leaders of the first long duration missions in deep space. Their efforts and the efforts of their crews not only will demonstrate the capabilities expected of Skylab but will also undoubtedly contribute unforeseen information and opportunities for the utilization of space. I am including in the RECORD the biographies of these three outstanding men and their crews for the information of my colleagues and the general public.

SKYLAB PRIME AND BACKUP CREWS

PRIME CREWS

Charles Conrad, Philadelphia, Pa.
Joseph Kerwin, Oak Park, Ill.
Paul Weitz, Erie, Pa.
Alan Bean, Ft. Worth, Tex.
Owen Garriott, Enid, Okla.
Jack Lousma, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Gerald Carr, Santa Ana, Calif.
Edward Gibson, Kenmore, N.Y.
William Pogue, Sand Springs, Okla.

BACKUP CREWS

Russell Schweickert, Neptune, N.J.
Story Musgrave, Lexington, Ky.
Bruce McCandless, El Lago, Tex.
Vance Brand, Longmont, Colo.
William Lenoir, Miami, Fla.
Donn Lind, Midvale, Utah.

BIOGRAPHIES

Charles Conrad, Jr. (Captain, USN), NASA Astronaut

Birthplace and date: Born on June 2, 1930, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Physical description: Blond hair; blue eyes; height: 5 feet 6½ inches; weight: 138 pounds.

Education: Attended primary and secondary schools in Haverford, Pennsylvania, and New Lebanon, New York; received a Bachelor of Science degree in Aeronautical Engineering from Princeton University in 1953, an Honorary Master of Arts degree from Princeton in 1966, an Honorary Doctorate of Laws degree from Lincoln-Wesleyan University in 1970, and an Honorary Doctorate of Science from Kings College, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, in 1971.

Marital status: Married to the former Jane DuBose of Uvalde, Texas; her parents, Mr. and Mrs. W. O. DuBose, reside in Uvalde.

Children: Peter, December 24, 1954; Thomas, May 3, 1957; Andrew, April 30, 1959; Christopher, November 26, 1960.

Recreational interests: His hobbies include golf, swimming, and water skiing.

Organizations: Fellow of the American Astronautical Society, and Associate Fellow of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics and the Society of Experimental Test Pilots.

Special honors: Awarded the NASA Distinguished Service Medal, two NASA Exceptional Service Medals, the Navy Astronaut Wings, the Navy Distinguished Service Medal, and two Distinguished Flying Crosses; recipient of Princeton's Distinguished Alumnus Award for 1965, the U.S. Jaycee's 10 Outstanding Young Men Award in 1965, the American Astronautical Society Flight Achievement Award for 1966, Pennsylvania's Award for Excellence in Science and Technology in 1967 and 1969, the Rear Admiral William S. Parsons Award for Scientific and

Technical Progress in 1970, the Godfrey L. Cabot Award in 1970, the Silver Medal of the Union League of Philadelphia in 1970, the FAI Yuri Gagarin Gold Space Medal and the De La Vaulx Medal in 1970, and the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Special Trustees Award in 1970.

Experience: Conrad entered the Navy following graduation from Princeton University and became a naval aviator. He attended the Navy Test Pilot School at Patuxent River, Maryland, and upon completing that course of instruction was assigned as a project test pilot in the armaments test division there. He also served at Patuxent as a flight instructor and performance engineer at the Test Pilot School.

He has logged more than 5,500 hours flight time, with more than 4,300 hours in jet aircraft.

Current assignment: Captain Conrad was selected as an astronaut by NASA in September 1962. In August 1965, he served as pilot on the 8-day Gemini 5 flight. He and command pilot Gordon Cooper were launched into earth orbit on August 21, and proceeded to establish a space endurance record of 190 hours and 56 minutes. The flight, which lasted 120 revolutions and covered a total distance of 3,312,993 statute miles, was terminated on August 29, 1965. It was also on this flight that the United States took over the lead in manhours in space.

On September 12, 1966, Conrad occupied the command pilot seat for the 3-day Gemini 11 mission. He executed orbital maneuvers to rendezvous and dock in less than one orbit with a previously launched Agena and piloted Gemini 11 through two periods of extravehicular activity performed by pilot Richard Gordon. Other highlights of the flight included the retrieval of a nuclear emulsion experiment package during the first EVA; the establishment of a new world space altitude record of 850 statute miles; the completion of the first tethered station-keeping exercise, in which artificial gravity was produced; and the completion of the first fully automatic controlled reentry. Gemini 11 was concluded on September 15, 1966, with the spacecraft landing in the Atlantic—2½ miles from the prime recovery ship USS *Guam*.

He was subsequently assigned as the backup spacecraft commander for the Apollo IX flight.

Conrad was spacecraft commander of Apollo XII, November 14–24, 1969. With him on man's second lunar landing mission were Richard F. Gordon (command module pilot) and Alan L. Bean (lunar module pilot). In accomplishing all of the mission's objectives, the Apollo XII crew executed the first precision lunar landing, bringing their lunar module, "Intrepid," to a safe touchdown in the moon's Ocean of Storms; and performed the first lunar traverse deploying the Apollo Lunar Surface Experiment Package (ALSEP), installing a nuclear power generator station which would provide the power source for long-term scientific experiments, gathering geologic samples of the lunar surface for return to earth, and completing a close-up inspection of the Surveyor III spacecraft. Throughout the 31-hour lunar surface stay by Conrad and Bean, Richard Gordon remained in lunar orbit aboard the command module, "Yankee Clipper," photographing landing sites for future missions. Apollo XII lasted 244 hours and 36 minutes and was concluded with a Pacific splashdown and subsequent recovery operations by the USS *Hornet*.

Captain Conrad has completed three space flights, logging a total of 506 hours and 48 minutes in space—of which 7 hours and 45 minutes were spent in EVA on the lunar surface.

Current duties involve training for future manned space flights and, as Chief of Skylab Operations for the Astronaut Office, responsibility for monitoring astronaut activities in support of the Skylab program.

Alan L. Bean (Captain, USN) NASA Astronaut

Birthplace and date: Born in Wheeler, Texas, on March 5, 1932. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Arnold H. Bean, reside in his hometown Fort Worth, Texas.

Physical description: Brown hair hazel eyes; height: 5 feet 9½ inches; weight: 155 pounds.

Education: Graduated from Paschal High School in Fort Worth, Texas; received a Bachelor of Science degree in Aeronautical Engineering from the University of Texas in 1955.

Marital status: Married to the former Sue Ragsdale of Dallas, Texas; her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Edward B. Ragsdale, are residents of that city.

Children: Clay A., December 18, 1955; Amy Sue, January 21, 1963.

Recreational interests: He enjoys being with his two children, and his hobbies include surfing, painting, and handball. He also enjoys swimming, diving, and gymnastics.

Organizations: Fellow of the American Astronautical Society; member of the Society of Experimental Test Pilots, and the Delta Kappa Epsilon.

Special honors: Awarded the NASA Distinguished Service Medal, the Navy Astronaut Wings and Navy Distinguished Service Medal; recipient of the Texas Press Association's Man of the Year Award (1969), the Rear Admiral William S. Parsons Award for Scientific and Technical Progress (1970) the University of Texas Distinguished Graduate Award (1970) and Distinguished Alumnus Award (1970), the Godfrey L. Cabot Award (1970), and the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Special Trustees Award (1970).

Experience: Bean, a Navy ROTC student at Texas, was commissioned upon graduation in 1955. Upon completing his flight training, he was assigned to Attack Squadron 44 at the Naval Air Station in Jacksonville, Florida, for four years. He then attended the Navy Test Pilot School at Patuxent River, Maryland. Upon graduation he was assigned as a test pilot at the Naval Air Test Center, Patuxent River, where he flew all types of naval aircraft (jet, propeller, and helicopter models) to evaluate them for Navy fleet use. Bean participated in the initial Navy evaluation of both the A5A and A4E jet attack airplanes. He attended the School of Aviation Safety at the University of Southern California and was next assigned to Attack Squadron 172 at Cecil Field, Florida, as an A-4 light jet attack pilot.

During his career, he has flown 27 types of military aircraft as well as many civilian airplanes. He has logged more than 4,410 hours flying time—including 3,674 hours in jet aircraft.

Current assignment: Captain Bean was one of the third group of astronauts named by NASA in October 1963. He served as backup command pilot for the Gemini 10 mission and as backup lunar module pilot for the Apollo IX mission and was lunar module pilot for the flight of Apollo XII, November 14–24, 1969.

With him on man's second lunar landing mission were Charles Conrad (spacecraft commander) and Richard F. Gordon (command module pilot). The Apollo XII crew accomplished all mission objectives. Captain Conrad and Captain Bean executed a precision lunar landing, bringing their lunar module, "Intrepid," to a safe touchdown in the moon's Ocean of Storms—within 300 feet of their targeted landing point. On the surface, they performed a lunar geology traverse of one mile and deployed the Apollo Lunar Surface Experiment Package (ALSEP) installing the first nuclear power generator station on the moon to provide the power source for these long-term scientific experiments which continue in operation today. Conrad and Bean then com-

pleted a close-up inspection of the Surveyor III spacecraft, returning several parts of the Surveyor to earth. Throughout the lunar surface stay by Conrad and Bean, Captain Richard Gordon remained in lunar orbit aboard the command module, "Yankee Clipper," photographing landing sites for future missions and areas of scientific import.

Captain Bean has logged a total of 244 hours and 36 minutes of space flight, 31 hours and 31 minutes on the moon—of which 7 hours and 45 minutes were spent outside the spacecraft on the lunar surface.

Gerald Paul Carr (Lieutenant colonel, USMC), NASA Astronaut

Birthplace and date: Born in Denver, Colorado, on August 22, 1932, but raised in Santa Ana, California, which he calls his home town. His mother, Mrs. Freda L. Carr, resides in Santa Ana.

Physical description: Brown hair; blue eyes; height: 5 feet 9 inches; weight: 155 pounds.

Education: Graduated from Santa Ana High School, Santa Ana, California; received a Bachelor of Science degree in Mechanical Engineering from the University of Southern California, a Bachelor of Science degree in Aeronautical Engineering from the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School in 1961, and a Master of Science degree in Aeronautical Engineering from Princeton University in 1962.

Marital status: Married to the former Jo Ann Ruth Petrie of Santa Ana, California.

Children: Jennifer Anne, July 1, 1955; Jamee Adele and Jeffrey Ernest, July 3, 1958; John Christian, April 4, 1962; Jessica Louise and Joshua Lee, March 12, 1964.

Recreational interests: He enjoys sailing and playing golf, tennis, badminton, and handball. His hobbies include woodworking and restoration of an old automobile.

Organizations: Member of the Marine Corps Association, the University of Southern California Alumni Association, and Tau Kappa Epsilon. President of the Houston Trojan Alumni Club, and Texas Chairman of the American Cancer Society's I.Q. Society.

Special Honors: Awarded the National Defense Service Medal, the Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal and the Marine Corps Expeditionary Medal, and a Letter of Commendation from the Commander of Carrier Division II.

Experience: When informed by NASA of his selection for astronaut training, he was assigned to the Test Directors Section, Marine Air Control Squadron Three, a unit responsible for carrying out testing and evaluation of Marine Tactical Data Systems.

Carr began his military career in 1949 with the Navy, and in 1950 he was appointed a midshipman (NROTC) and enrolled in the University of Southern California. Upon graduation in 1954, he received his commission and subsequently reported to the U.S. Marine Corps Officers' Basic School at Quantico, Virginia. He received his flight training at Pensacola, Florida, and Kingsville, Texas, and was then assigned to Marine All-Weather-Fighter Squadron 114 where he gained experience in the F-9 and the F-6A Skyray. After postgraduate training, he served with Marine All-Weather-Fighter Squadron 122 from 1962 to 1965 piloting the F-8 Crusader in the United States and Far East. Other aircraft he has flown include the F-4, T-1, T-33, T-28, T-38, H-13, and ground effect machines.

He has logged more than 3,100 flying hours, 2,440 hours of which is jet time.

Current assignment: Lt. Colonel Carr is one of the 19 astronauts selected by NASA in April 1966. He served as a member of the astronaut support crews for the Apollo VIII and XII flights, and was involved in the development and testing of the lunar roving vehicle which is being used on the lunar surface by Apollo flight crews. His present duties involve crew training for Project Skylab.

**Joseph P. Kerwin (Commander, MC, USN)
NASA Astronaut**

Birthplace and date: Born February 19, 1932, in Oak Park, Illinois. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Edward M. Kerwin, are residents of Chicago, Illinois.

Physical description: Brown hair; blue eyes; height: 6 feet; weight: 170 pounds.

Education: Graduated from Fenwick High School, Oak Park, Illinois, in 1949; received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Philosophy from College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1953; a Doctor of Medicine degree from Northwestern University Medical School, Chicago, Illinois, in 1957; completed internship at the District of Columbia General Hospital in Washington, D.C.; and attended the U.S. Navy School of Aviation Medicine, Pensacola, Florida.

Marital status: Married to the former Shirley Ann Good of Danville, Pennsylvania. Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. George D. Good, reside in Danville.

Children: Sharon, September 14, 1963; Joanna, January 5, 1966; Kristina, May 4, 1968.

Recreational interests: His hobbies are reading and classical music.

Organizations: Fellow the Aerospace Medical Association; and member of the Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association, and Phi Beta Pi.

Special honors: Awarded the MSC Certificate of Commendation (1970).

Experience: Kerwin, a Commander, has been in the Navy Medical Corps since July 1958. Prior to becoming a naval aviator, he served two years as flight surgeon with Marine Air Group 14 at Cherry Point, North Carolina. He earned his pilot's wings at Beeville, Texas, in 1962.

He then became flight surgeon for Fighter Squadron 101 at Oceana Naval Air Station, Virginia Beach, Virginia, and was subsequently assigned as staff flight surgeon for Air Wing Four at the Naval Air Station, Cecil Field, Florida.

He has logged 2,000 hours flying time—1,800 hours in jet aircraft.

Current assignment: Commander Kerwin was selected as a scientist-astronaut by NASA in June 1965. He is currently involved in training for future manned space flights.

**Paul Joseph Weitz (Commander, USN),
NASA Astronaut**

Birthplace and date: Born in Erie, Pennsylvania, on July 25, 1932. His mother, Mrs. Violet Martin, now resides in Norfolk, Virginia.

Physical description: Blond hair; blue eyes; height: 5 feet 10 inches; weight: 180 pounds.

Education: Attended McKinley Elementary School in Erie, Pennsylvania, and Harborside High School in Harborside, Pennsylvania; received a Bachelor of Science degree in Aeronautical Engineering from Pennsylvania State University in 1954 and a Master's degree in Aeronautical Engineering from the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California, in 1964.

Marital status: Married to the former Suzanne M. Berry of Harborside, Pennsylvania; her father is Mr. John H. Berry.

Children: Mathew J., September 23, 1958; Cynthia A., September 25, 1961.

Recreational interests: Hunting and fishing are among his hobbies.

Special honors: Recipient of the Air Medal (5 awards) and the Navy Commendation Medal for combat flights in the Viet Nam area; presented the Secretary of Navy Commendation for Achievement as a result of leading a flak-damaged airplane to a safe landing; and for his performance during the period June through November 1965 as a member of CVW-7 embarked in USS Independence (CVA-62), he received the Navy Unit Commendation.

Experience: Weitz received his commission as an Ensign through the NROTC program

at Pennsylvania State University and, upon graduation in 1954, was assigned to USS John A. Bole (DD-755) as CIC Officer. After having served in this capacity for one year, he completed his flight training at Corpus Christi, Texas, in September 1956.

He was an A-4 Tactics Instructor with VA-44 at the Naval Air Station in Jacksonville, Florida, from 1956 to 1960 and a project officer for various air-to-ground delivery tactics projects while on duty with VX-5 at China Lake, California, from September 1960 to June 1962. He completed the next two years at the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School and was then assigned to VAH-4 at the Naval Air Station in Whidbey, Washington, in June 1964. It was during this tour of duty, while serving as a detachment officer-in-charge, that announcement was made in April 1966 of his selection to the astronaut training program.

He has logged more than 3,700 hours flying time—3,200 hours in jet aircraft.

Current assignment: Commander Weitz is one of the 19 astronauts selected by NASA in April 1966. He served as a member of the astronaut support crew for Apollo XII, and his present duties involve training for future manned space flights.

Owen K. Garriott (Ph. D.), NASA Astronaut

Birthplace and date: Born November 22, 1930, in Enid, Oklahoma. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Owen Garriott, reside in Enid.

Physical description: Brown hair; blue eyes; height: 5 feet 9 inches; weight: 140 pounds.

Education: Graduated from Enid High School; received a Bachelor of Science degree in Electrical Engineering from the University of Oklahoma in 1953, a Master of Science degree and a Doctorate in Electrical Engineering from Stanford University in 1957 and 1960, respectively.

Marital status: Married to the former Helen Mary Walker of Enid, Oklahoma. Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Glenn A. Walker, reside in Enid.

Children: Randall O., March 29, 1955; Robert K., December 7, 1956; Richard A., July 4, 1961; Linda S., September 7, 1966.

Recreational interests: His hobbies include amateur radio, sailing and scuba diving.

Organizations: Member of the American Geophysical Union, the Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers, Tau Beta Pi, Sigma Xi, the International Scientific Radio Union (URSI), and the American Astronomical Society.

Special honors: National Science Foundation Fellowship at Cambridge University and at the Radio Research Station at Slough, England, 1960-1961.

Experience: From 1961 until 1965, he taught electronics, electromagnetic theory, and ionospheric physics in the Department of Electrical Engineering at Stanford University. He has performed research in ionospheric physics since obtaining his doctorate, and he has authored or co-authored over 25 scientific papers and one book in this area.

Garriott has logged over 1,600 hours flying time—including over 1,200 in jet aircraft and the remainder in light aircraft and helicopters. In addition to NASA ratings, he maintains FAA commercial pilot and flight instructor certification.

Current assignment: Dr. Garriott was selected as a scientist-astronaut by NASA in June 1965. He has since completed a 53-week course in flight training at Williams Air Force Base, Arizona. He is presently involved in training for future manned space flights.

William Reid Pogue (Lieutenant Colonel, USAF), NASA Astronaut

Birthplace and date: Born January 23, 1930, in Okemah, Oklahoma, and is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Alex W. Pogue, who live in Sand Springs, Oklahoma.

Physical description: Brown hair; blue

eyes; height: 5 feet 9 inches; weight: 163 pounds.

Education: Attended primary and secondary schools in Oklahoma; received a Bachelor of Science degree in Education from Oklahoma Baptist University in 1951 and a Master of Science degree in Mathematics from Oklahoma State University in 1960.

Marital status: Married to the former Helen J. Dittmar of Shawnee, Oklahoma, whose parents, Mr. and Mrs. Franklin L. Dittmar, reside in Hugo, Oklahoma.

Children: William R., September 5, 1953; Layna S., June 9, 1955; Thomas R., September 12, 1957.

Recreational interests: He enjoys playing squash and handball, and his hobbies are handcrafts and stereo systems.

Organizations: Member of the Air Force Association; the Research Society of America; the Society of Experimental Test Pilots; and Sigma Xi.

Special honors: Presented the MSC Superior Achievement Award (1970); winner of the Air Medal, the Air Force Commendation Medal, and the National Defense Service Medal; and, as a member of the USAF Thunderbirds, is the recipient of an Outstanding Unit Citation.

Experience: Pogue, an Air Force Lt. Colonel, came to the Manned Spacecraft Center from an assignment at Edwards Air Force Base, California, where he had been an instructor at the Air Force Aerospace Research Pilot School since October 1965.

He enlisted in the Air Force in 1951 and received his commission in 1952. While serving with the Fifth Air Force during the Korean conflict, from 1953 to 1954, he flew 43 combat missions; and from 1955 to 1957, he was a member of the USAF Thunderbirds.

He has gained proficiency in more than 50 types and models of American and British aircraft and is qualified as a civilian flight instructor. Pogue served as a mathematics instructor at the USAF Academy in Colorado Springs, Colorado, from 1960 to 1963. In September 1965, he completed a two year tour as test pilot with the British Ministry of Aviation under the USAF/RAF Exchange Program, after graduating from the Empire Test Pilots' School in Farnborough, England.

He has logged 4,400 hours flight time—3,400 hours in jet aircraft.

Current assignment: Lt. Colonel Pogue is one of the 19 astronauts selected by NASA in April 1966. He served as a member of the astronaut support crews for the Apollo VII, XI, and XIV missions.

Edward G. Gibson (Ph. D.), NASA Astronaut

Birthplace and date: Born November 8, 1936, in Buffalo, New York. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Calder A. Gibson, reside in Kenmore, New York.

Physical description: Brown hair; brown eyes; height: 5 feet 9 inches; weight: 160 pounds.

Education: Graduated from Kenmore Senior High School, Kenmore, New York; received a Bachelor of Science degree in Engineering from the University of Rochester, New York, in June 1959; a Master of Science degree in Engineering (Jet Propulsion Option) from the California Institute of Technology in June 1960; and a Doctorate in Engineering with a minor in Physics from the California Institute of Technology in June 1964.

Marital status: Married to the former Julia Ann Volk of Township of Tonawanda, New York. Her father, Mr. John E. Volk, resides in Township of Tonawanda, New York.

Children: Jannet, November 9, 1960; John E., May 2, 1964; Julie, October 12, 1968.

Recreational interests: His hobbies include athletics, scuba diving, and solar observations.

Organizations: Member of the American

Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, Tau Beta Pi, and Sigma Xi. He was an R. C. Baker Fellow and a Fellow of the National Science Foundation at the California Institute of Technology.

Experience: While studying at Caltech, Gibson was a research assistant studying in the fields of jet propulsion and classical physics. His technical publications were in the field of plasma physics. He was senior research scientist with the Applied Research Laboratories of Philco Corporation at Newport Beach, California, from June 1964 until coming to NASA. While at Philco, he did research on lasers and the optical breakdown of gases.

He has logged 1,500 hours flying time—1,400 hours in jet aircraft.

Current assignment: Dr. Gibson was selected as a scientist-astronaut by NASA in June 1965. He completed a 53-week course in flight training at Williams Air Force Base, Arizona, and earned his Air Force wings. He served as a member of the astronaut support crew for the Apollo XII flight.

Jack Robert Lousma (Major, USMC), NASA Astronaut

Birthplace and date: Born February 29, 1936, in Grand Rapids, Michigan. His father, Mr. Jacob Lousma, resides in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Physical description: Blond hair; blue eyes; height: 6 feet; weight: 185 pounds.

Education: Attended Tappan Junior High School and Ann Arbor High School in Ann Arbor, Michigan; received a Bachelor of Science degree in Aeronautical Engineering from the University of Michigan in 1959 and the degree of Aeronautical Engineer from the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School in 1965.

Marital status: Married to the former Gratia Kay Smeltzer of Ann Arbor, Michigan. Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Chester Smeltzer, reside in Ann Arbor.

Children: Timothy J., December 23, 1963; Matthew O., July 14, 1966; Mary T., September 22, 1968.

Recreational interests: He is an avid golfing enthusiast and enjoys hunting and fishing.

Organizations: Member of the Society of the Sigma Xi, the University of Michigan "M" Club, and the Officers' Christian Union.

Special honors: Awarded the MSC Certificate of Commendation (1970).

Experience: Lousma was assigned as a reconnaissance pilot with VMCFJ-2, 2nd MAF, at Cherry Point, North Carolina, before coming to Houston and the Manned Spacecraft Center.

He has been a Marine Corps officer since 1959 and received his wings in 1960 after completing his training at the U.S. Naval Air Training Command. He was then assigned to VMA-224, 2nd MAF, as an attack pilot and later served with VMA-224, 1st MAF, at Iwakuni, Japan.

He has logged 2,600 hours of flight time—2,400 hours in jet aircraft and 200 hours in helicopters.

Current assignment: Major Lousma is one of the 19 astronauts selected by NASA in April 1966. He served as a member of the astronaut support crews for the Apollo IX, X, and XIII missions.

Russell L. Schweickart (Mr.), NASA Astronaut

Birthplace and date: Born October 25, 1935, in Neptune, New Jersey. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. George Schweickart, reside in Sea Girt, New Jersey.

Physical description: Red hair; blue eyes; height: 6 feet; weight: 161 pounds.

Education: Graduated from Manasquan High School, New Jersey; received a Bachelor of Science degree in Aeronautical Engineering and a Master of Science degree in Aeronautics and Astronautics from Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Marital status: Married to the former Clare G. Whitfield of Atlanta, Georgia. Her parents are the Randolph Whitfields of Atlanta.

Children: Vicki, September 12, 1959; Randolph and Russell, September 8, 1960; Elin, October 19, 1961; Diana, July 26, 1964.

Recreational interests: His hobbies are amateur astronomy, photography, and electronics.

Organizations: Fellow of the American Astronautical Society; and member of the Society of Experimental Test Pilots, the Explorers Club, the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, and Sigma Xi.

Special honors: Awarded the NASA Distinguished Service Medal, the FAI De La Vaulx Medal in 1970, and the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Special Trustees Award for 1969.

Experience: Schweickart served as a pilot in the United States Air Force and Air National Guard from 1956 to 1963.

He was a research scientist at the Experimental Astronomy Laboratory at MIT, and his work there involved research in upper atmospheric physics, star tracking, and stabilization of stellar images. His thesis for a Master's degree at MIT concerned stratospheric radiance.

He has logged 3,250 hours flight time—2,850 hours in jet aircraft.

Current assignment: Mr. Schweickart was one of the third group of astronauts named by NASA in October 1963.

He served as lunar module pilot the Apollo IX, March 3-13, 1969. This was the third manned flight in the Apollo series, the second to be launched by a Saturn V, and the first manned flight of the lunar module.

Following a Saturn V launch into a near circular 102.3 x 103.9 nautical mile orbit, Apollo IX successfully accomplished command/service module separation, transposition, and docking maneuvers with the lunar module. The crew then separated their docked spacecraft from the S-IVB third stage and commenced an intensive five days of checkout operations with the lunar module. Highlight of this evaluation was completion of a critical lunar-orbit rendezvous simulation and subsequent docking, initiated by James McDivitt and Russell Schweickart from within the lunar module at a separation distance which exceeded 100 miles from the command/service module piloted by Dave Scott.

Russell Schweickart and James McDivitt also demonstrated and confirmed the operational feasibility of crew transfer and extravehicular activity techniques and equipment. During a 46-minute EVA, Schweickart evaluated external transfer capability, made photographs, and retrieved thermal samples from the lunar module exterior. This EVA marked the first space test of the Apollo portable life support system backpack which provided breathing oxygen and suit pressurization and cooling independent of the spacecraft life support system.

Apollo IX splashed down less than four miles from the helicopter carrier USS GUADALCANAL. Completing his first flight, Schweickart has logged 241 hours in space.

Mr. Schweickart continues training for future manned space flights and is assigned additional responsibility within the Astronaut Office for coordinating the ATM (Apollo Telescope Mount) and EVA (extravehicular activities) to be used in Project Skylab.

Story Musgrave (M.D.), NASA Astronaut

Birthplace and date: Born August 19, 1935, in Boston, Massachusetts, but considers Lexington, Kentucky, to be his hometown. His mother, Mrs. Marguerite Swann Musgrave, resides in Upper Saddle River, New Jersey.

Physical description: Blond hair; blue eyes; height: 5 feet 10 inches; weight: 155 pounds.

Education: Graduated from St. Mark's High School in Southborough, Massachusetts; received a Bachelor of Science degree in

Statistics from Syracuse University in 1958, a Master of Business Administration degree in Operations Analysis and Computer Programming from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1959, a Bachelor of Arts degree in Chemistry from Marietta College in 1960, a Doctorate in Medicine from Columbia University in 1964, and a Master of Science in Biophysics from the University of Kentucky in 1966; and expects to receive a Doctorate in Physiology from the University of Kentucky in 1972.

Marital status: Married to the former Patricia Marguerite Van Kirk of Patterson, New Jersey. Her mother, Mrs. Neil Van Kirk, resides in Wayne, New Jersey.

Children: Lorelei Lisa, March 27, 1961; Bradley Scott, July 3, 1962; Holly Kay, December 13, 1963; Christopher Todd, May 12, 1965; Jeffrey Paul, June 19, 1967.

Recreational interests: His hobbies are playing chess, bicycling, parachuting, photography, flying, water skiing, running, scuba diving, handball, gardening, and motorcycling.

Organizations: Member of the Aerospace Medical Association, the Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association, the Air Force Association, Alpha Kappa Psi, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, the American Medical Association, the Civil Aviation Medical Association, the Flying Physicians Association, the National Aeronautics Association, the National Aerospace Education Council, the National Geographic Society, the New York Academy of Sciences, Phi Delta Theta, the Soaring Society of America, and the United States Parachute Association.

Special honors: Awarded the National Defense Service Medal and an Outstanding Unit Citation as a member of United States Marine Corps squadron VMA-212; recipient of a United States Air Force Post-doctoral Fellowship (1965-1966) and a National Heart Institute Post-doctoral Fellowship (1966-1967).

Experience: Following graduation from high school in 1953, Musgrave entered the United States Marine Corps and completed basic training at Parris Island, South Carolina. He then reported to the Naval Air Station in Jacksonville, Florida, where he attended classes at the U.S. Naval Airman Preparatory School and the U.S. Naval Aviation Electrician and Instrument Technician School. He served as an electrician and instrument technician and as an aircraft crew chief while completing duty assignments in Korea, Japan, and Hawaii and aboard the carrier USS Wasp in the far east.

He has flown 40 different types of single- and multi-engine civilian and military aircraft, logging over 4,400 hours flying time, and he holds instructor, instrument instructor, and airline transport ratings. An accomplished parachutist, he has made more than 200 free falls—including 70 experimental free fall descents involved with human aerodynamics. He holds an International Jumpmaster Class C License and was President and Jumpmaster of the Bluegrass Sport Parachuting Association in Lexington, Kentucky, from 1964 to 1967.

Dr. Musgrave served a surgical internship from 1964 to 1965 at the University of Kentucky Medical Center in Lexington. He remained there until the summer of 1967 as a U.S. Air Force post-doctoral fellow in Aerospace Physiology and Medicine and as a National Heart Institute post-doctoral fellow.

Musgrave is presently a part-time resident in general surgery at the Denver General Hospital and a part-time instructor in the Department of Physiology and Biophysics at the University of Kentucky Medical Center.

Current assignment: Dr. Musgrave was selected as a scientist-astronaut by NASA in

August 1967. He has since completed the initial academic and flight training and is currently involved in further training for future manned space flights.

Bruce McCandless II (Lieutenant Commander, USN) NASA Astronaut

Birthplace and date: Born June 8, 1937, in Boston, Massachusetts.

Physical description: Brown hair; blue eyes; height: 5 feet 10 inches; weight: 150 pounds.

Education: Graduate of Woodrow Wilson Senior High School, Long Beach, California; received a Bachelor of Science degree in Naval Sciences from the United States Naval Academy in 1958, a Master of Science degree in Electrical Engineering from Stanford University in 1965, and is working towards a Ph. D. in Electrical Engineering at Stanford University.

Marital status: Married to the former Bernice Doyle of Rahway, New Jersey. Her mother, Mrs. Charles Doyle, resides in Yuma, Arizona.

Children: Bruce III, August 15, 1961; Tracy, July 13, 1963.

Recreational interests: His hobbies are electronics, photography, sailing, and scuba diving; and he also enjoys swimming and playing volleyball.

Organizations: Member of the U.S. Naval Academy Alumni Association (Class of 1958); the National Geographic Society; the U.S. Naval Institute; the Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers; and the National Audubon Society.

Special honors: Awarded the Expert Rifle and Pistol Shot Medals and holder of the National Defense Service Medal and the American Expeditionary Service Medal.

Experience: McCandless was graduated second in a class of 899 from Annapolis and subsequently received flight training from the Naval Aviation Training Command at bases in Pensacola, Florida, and Kingsville, Texas. He was designated a Naval Aviator in March of 1960 and proceeded to Key West, Florida, for weapons system and carrier landing training in the F-6A Skyray. He was assigned to Fighter Squadron One Hundred Two (VF-102) from December 1960 to February 1964, flying the Skyray and the F-4B Phantom II, and saw duty aboard the USS *Forrestal* (CVA-59) and the USS *Enterprise* (CVA(N)-65), including the latter's participation in the Cuban Blockade. For three months in early 1964, he was an Instrument Flight Instructor in Attack Squadron Forty-Three (VA-43) at the Naval Air Station Apollo Soucek Field, Oceana, Virginia, and then reported to the Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps Unit at Stanford University for graduate studies in electrical engineering.

He has gained flying proficiency in the TV33B Shootingstar, T-38A Talon, F-4B Phantom II, F-6A Skyray, F-11 Tiger, TF-9J Cougar, T-1 Seastar, and T-34B Mentor aircraft, and the Bell 47G helicopter. He has logged more than 2,500 hours of flying time—2,250 in jet aircraft.

Current assignment: Lt. Commander McCandless is one of the 19 astronauts selected by NASA in April 1966. He served as a member of the astronaut support crew for the Apollo XIV mission and is a co-investigator on the M-509 astronaut maneuvering unit experiment in the Skylab Program.

Vance DeVoe Brand (Mr.), NASA astronaut

Birthplace and date: Born in Longmont, Colorado, May 9, 1931. His parents, Dr. and Mrs. Rudolph W. Brand, reside in Longmont.

Physical description: Blond hair; gray eyes; height: 5 feet 11 inches; weight: 175 pounds.

Education: Graduated from Longmont High School, Longmont, Colorado; received a Bachelor of Science degree in Business from the University of Colorado in 1953, a Bachelor of Science degree in Aeronautical Engineering from the University of Colorado in 1960, and a Master's degree in Business Administration from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1964.

Marital status: Married to the former Joan Virginia Weninger of Chicago, Illinois. Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph D. Weninger, reside in Chicago.

Children: Susan N., April 30, 1954; Stephanie, August 6, 1955; Patrick R., March 22, 1958; Kevin S., December 1, 1963.

Recreational interests: Skin diving, skiing, handball, and jogging.

Organizations: Member of the Society of Experimental Test Pilots, the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, Sigma Nu, and Beta Gamma Sigma.

Special honors: Presented the MSC Certificate of Commendation (1970).

Experience: Brand served as a commissioned officer and naval aviator with the U.S. Marine Corps from 1953 to 1957. His Marine Corps assignments included a 15-month tour in Japan as a jet fighter pilot. Following his release from active duty, he continued flying fighter aircraft in the Marine Corps Reserve and the Air National Guard until 1964, and he still retains a commission in the Air Force Reserve.

From 1960 to 1966, Brand was employed as a civilian by the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. He first worked as a flight test engineer on the P3A "Orion" aircraft and later transferred to the experimental test pilot ranks. In 1963, he graduated from the U.S. Naval Test Pilot School and was assigned to Palmdale, California, as an experimental test pilot on Canadian and German F-104 development programs. Immediately prior to his selection to the astronaut program, Brand was assigned to the West German F-104G Flight Test Center at Istres, France, as an experimental test pilot and leader of a Lockheed flight test advisory group.

He has logged 4,030 hours of flying time, which include 3,260 in jets and 330 hours in helicopters.

Current assignment: Mr. Brand is one of the 19 astronauts selected by NASA in April 1966. He served as a crew member for the thermal vacuum test of 2TV-1, the prototype command module; and he was a member of the astronaut support crews for the Apollo VIII and XIII missions. Brand served as backup command module pilot for Apollo XV.

William B. Lenoir (Ph. D.), NASA Astronaut

Birthplace and date: Born on March 14, 1939, in Miami, Florida. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel S. Lenoir, reside in Miami.

Physical description: Brown hair; brown eyes; height: 5 feet 10 inches; weight: 165 pounds.

Education: Attended primary and secondary schools in Coral Gables, Florida; is a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where he received a Bachelor of Science degree in Electrical Engineering in 1961, a Master of Science degree in 1962, and a Doctorate in 1965.

Marital status: Married to the former Elizabeth May Frost, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas F. Frost who reside in Brookline, Massachusetts.

Children: William B., Jr., April 6, 1965; Samantha E., March 20, 1968.

Recreational interests: His hobbies include sailing and woodworking, and he also enjoys ice hockey.

Organizations: Member of the American Geophysical Union; the American Association for the Advancement of Science; the American Astronomical Society; the American Institute of Physics; Eta Kappa Nu; and the Society of Sigma Xi.

Special honors: Sloan Scholar at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and winner of the Carleton E. Tucker Award for Teaching Excellence at MIT.

Experience: From 1964 to 1965, Lenoir was an instructor at MIT; and in 1965, he was named Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering. His work at MIT included teaching electromagnetic theory and systems theory and performing research in the remote sensing of planetary atmospheres and surfaces

and the theory of radiative transfer in anisotropic media.

He is participating as an investor in several satellite experiments and continues his research in this area while completing astronaut training.

He has logged 900 hours flying time in jet aircraft.

Current assignment: Dr. Lenoir was selected as a scientist-astronaut by NASA in August 1967. He completed the initial academic training and a 53-week course in flight training at Laughlin Air Force Base, Texas. He is currently involved in training for future manned space flights.

Don (not "Donald") Leslie Lind (Ph. D.), NASA Astronaut

Birthplace and date: Born in Midvale, Utah, on May 18, 1930. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Leslie A. Lind, reside in Midvale, Utah.

Physical description: Brown hair; hazel eyes; height: 5 feet 11½ inches; weight: 170 pounds.

Education: Attended Midvale Elementary School and is a graduate of Jordan High School, Sandy, Utah; received a Bachelor of Science degree with high honors in Physics from the University of Utah in 1953 and a Doctor of Philosophy degree in High Energy Nuclear Physics in 1964 from the University of California, Berkeley.

Marital status: Married to the former Kathleen Maughan of Logan, Utah; her parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. Howard Maughan, reside in Logan.

Children: Carol Ann, January 24, 1956; David M., November 29, 1956; Dawna, September 1, 1958; Douglas M., October 26, 1960; Kimberly, April 30, 1963; Lisa Christine, March 26, 1970.

Recreational interests: Hobbies are amateur theatricals, play writing, and sculpturing; and he is an avid swimmer and skier.

Organizations: Member of the American Geophysical Union, the American Association for Advancement of Science, the Society of Sigma Xi, and Phi Kappa Phi.

Experience: Before his selection as an astronaut, he worked at the NASA Goddard Space Flight Center as a space physicist. He had been with Goddard since 1964 and was involved in experiments to determine the nature and properties of low energy particles within the earth's magnetosphere and interplanetary space. Previous to this, he worked at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory Berkeley, California, doing research in pion-nucleon scattering, a type of basic high energy particles interaction.

Lind holds the rank of a Commander in the U.S. Naval Reserve and has held his Reserve status since September 1957. He served four years on active duty with the Navy and began his military career in January 1954 at the U.S. Navy Officer Candidate School in Newport, Rhode Island. He received his wings in September 1955 after completing training with the Flight Training Command and was subsequently assigned to VF-143 then deployed at San Diego and later aboard the carrier USS *Hancock*.

He has logged more than 2,900 hours flying time—2,300 hours in jet aircraft.

Current assignment: Dr. Lind is one of the 19 astronauts selected by NASA in April 1966. He is currently involved in training for future manned space flights.

LETTERS AND COMMENTS FROM THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN WISCONSIN INVITED

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, the excerpts and reprints from the CONGRES-

SIONAL RECORD I have inserted in the Extensions of Remarks today are a partial summary of my accomplishments in my almost 30 years in Congress. I am proud of my record and of these accomplishments.

It is my hope that after reading through my remarks and assessing my actions in Congress, that the folks of the present Seventh and Tenth Districts feel free to write me and let me know their views. I welcome these views today as I have for the past almost 30 years and I look forward to the viewpoints of the folks to whom I am ultimately responsible. I would like especially to hear from the counties which will comprise the new Seventh District after January 3, 1973.

Please address your letters to Congressman ALVIN E. O'KONSKI, 2406 Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C. 20515, or phone area code (202) 225-3361.

ANOTHER SIDE OF THE HERBERT AFFAIR

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I have had several letters, as have other Members of Congress, from constituents concerned over former Lt. Col. Anthony B. Herbert's well publicized attacks on the Army in connection with its handling of Vietnam atrocity reports.

Through the newspapers and on television we have heard Colonel Herbert's allegations. We have not heard the Army's side of this matter and the news media generally has taken Colonel Herbert's statements at face value.

Now, however, the distinguished military affairs analyst, Gen. S. L. A. Marshall, retired, has quoted excerpts from a letter which casts Colonel Herbert in a somewhat different light. The letter was written by a former Army captain, James C. McCann of Milwaukee, Wis., who served for 58 days under Herbert's command in Vietnam. General Marshall's article appeared in the January 13, 1972, issue of the Champaign, Ill., News-Gazette. I include it here so that my colleagues may have a better understanding of the other side of this issue:

HERBERT AFFAIR MAY NOT HAVE BEEN ARMY BLUNDER

(By Gen. S. L. A. Marshall, Retired)

When former Lt. Col. Anthony B. Herbert publicly protested that he was about to be done wrong by the U.S. Army because of his concern for humanity and the failure of his superiors to back him when he reported atrocities in Vietnam, he got a big press, was starred on the Dick Cavett TV show and was invited by one presidential hopeful to join his camp.

Herbert said that his reason for making his case a national concern is that "The American people have a right to know."

In that commendable sentiment, if in nothing else, he has become joined by one of his former rifle company commanders, ex-Capt. James C. McCann, now of Milwaukee. An OCS graduate with four years in the Army, McCann did his time in Vietnam with the 173rd Airborne Brigade and through the 58 days in which Herbert commanded a battalion, McCann was directly under him.

Believing that the American people have a right to know, McCann several weeks ago composed a carefully worded, typed letter, copies of which went to high-up servants of government in Washington, including members of the armed services committees. None of the addressees are in the military. McCann's object, as stated in the letter, was to inform that number of individuals what field service was like under Herbert during his 58 days, that they might judge where truth lies.

The essence of McCann's indictment of Herbert is to be found in three paragraphs describing incidents that engaged him personally and are best repeated verbatim:

"(1) On the day he (Herbert) assumed command of the battalion he assembled the officers for a customary introductory briefing. At this initial meeting LTC Herbert openly boasted of his supers ability to fabricate any story whatsoever for personal gain, and further praised himself for being 'court-martialed twice,' commenting that the Army was unable to prove anything because he 'could always get six or seven NCO's to swear to anything he wanted.'"

"(2) At least twice to my personal knowledge, LTC Herbert while counseling enlisted men in my company for disciplinary reasons, physically mistreated them by striking them. Unfortunately he permitted this nefarious method of 'counseling' to become a standard, personal practice and to become common for him to boast of his ability to 'handle' discipline problems in this manner."

"(3) During a combat operation at Phu Thu, Vietnam, in March 27, 1969, while my element was engaged with a hostile force, LTC Herbert asked me how many enemy KIA's (killed in action) we had. We told him that we had seen four. He replied, 'well, there's sixteen right there,' gesturing toward a point, five yards away, on an open beach. I told him that all I saw was 'sand and water.' He responded, 'Well, they are right there,' again pointing to the same location. Following the action LTC Herbert multiplied that number of actual enemy reported killed (by McCann) by five. Then KIA's had been verified (by the committed elements of the battalion) but he reported 50."

McCann's letter went on to say that whereas it is generally believed in the United States that all body counts in the Vietnam fighting are either faked or grossly exaggerated, that had not been true within the battalion. Prior to the coming of Herbert, the battalion had been scrupulous in this matter, and officers were instructed to confirm "beyond reasonable doubt" any reported enemy KIA. During Herbert's time the policy was flouted and repeatedly violated.

All the way through McCann sounds like a man deeply troubled by what he feels compelled to say.

Two other sentences call for direct quotation. "It is with sincere regret that I disclose these adverse matters about a high ranking officer in the U.S. Army, matters which I can truthfully say were the only unfortunate experiences I had with my superiors while performing my duty in my four years of service . . . LTC Herbert's open pride in his ability to manufacture untruth . . . left an indelible scar on my memory of what was otherwise a proud experience with men ordered to perform in battle."

Here is quite a testament to the officer corps from an apparently highly sensitive man. On the other hand, it must seem to every other ex-combat hand who has served honorably and holds his head high that McCann is entitled to some better answer than he has yet received, lest the scar hurt more than it should.

Herbert has presented himself to the American people as the outstanding hero of the Korean War, an incorruptible who was unjustly relieved in Vietnam due to the vice in his superiors. The media took that self-portrait at face value and passed it along. Television enlarged and animated it. The general public has enough faith in the figure

that high authority is loath to do anything about Herbert other than afford him an honorable separation.

McCann has more nerve than that. He has gone the full mile at some risk. Either he has integrity or he is ill met with that silence that signifies contempt. For if he is telling the truth, Herbert is guilty of conduct unbecoming and worse. Any officer who habitually strikes enlisted men is no petty offender though he may be mentally ill. The American people do have a right to know the truth of this affair and to cover it up is worse than a crime; it is a blunder.

POSTAL SERVICE FORUM TURNS INTO ONE-WAY DISCUSSION

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 18, 1972

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the new U.S. Postal Service called a public forum on short notice the other day to discuss mail classification.

In view of the short notice, attendance was slim. There were more listeners from the Postal Service and the mailer organizations than there were observers and potential speakers from the public sector.

But I am disturbed to read of the casual, indeed cavalier, treatment accorded the one citizen who sought to raise appropriate questions.

There was no response to any of the questions, even to such civil questions as to whether there would be any further meetings and earlier notice.

Maybe there was not a ready answer for every question. The subject is controversial and complex. But, it seems to me that postal officials should have been more than mute statues at the head table.

The new Postal Service is pleading for public cooperation and understanding. It makes the same plea to Members of Congress. Fine, but how long must we tolerate the one-way street?

I recognize, perhaps better than anyone, that the new Postal Service has its work cut out and the job is not an easy one. I am convinced, however, that it could be easier for all concerned if there was a little more cooperation in return and a restoration of the two-way street of communication that existed under the former and much-criticized Post Office Department.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I include the text of a January 18 story about the forum in the Wall Street Journal:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 18, 1972]

LONE PRIVATE CITIZEN QUESTIONS, STORMS FROM POSTAL HEARING

WASHINGTON.—Only one member of the public showed up to speak at the Postal Service's public forum on mail classification yesterday, and she stormed out of the session when assembled postal officials refused to answer her questions.

Mrs. Doris Behre, a housewife and mother of five who heads the Virginia Citizens Consumer Council, was the only person who addressed the panel of seven top postal officials, meeting to allow private citizens a chance to offer suggestions on changes in the familiar first, second, third and fourth classes of mail. Reclassification of postal services,

required under law by next January, is one of the toughest problems facing the Postal Service.

Although about 50 persons attended the forum, almost all were postal employees or representatives of large mailer groups who attended merely to hear the citizen comments.

"HURRIEDLY CALLED MEETING"?

The soft-spoken, articulate Mrs. Behre said she wasn't surprised at the poor turnout because the meeting wasn't announced until last Thursday. "Certainly one hurriedly called meeting here in Washington provides little opportunity to determine how consumers across the country feel about proposed or pending changes," she asserted. And, she added, few private citizens have the means or time to make a trip to Washington for such a meeting.

Then, conceding she knew little about the question of mail classification, she asked a series of questions: Would consumers be given information "as to just what the department is thinking about" on mail classification? What will be the program's scope? Has an outline already been formulated that will be a pattern for mail classification?

Postal officials were silent.

"How much time will we have to prepare the material and suggestions as to the new mail classification program?" Mrs. Behre wondered. Ron Lee, Assistant Postmaster General, customer development, who chaired the meeting, didn't respond.

Mrs. Behre continued her questions: How many other meetings have been held and how many are planned? Are all the meetings for the public to be held in Washington?

Mr. Lee quietly stood behind the podium in the huge Postal Service auditorium and didn't reply. The audience, including Mrs. Behre, fidgeted.

"DISILLUSION" CITED

She told the postal officials that consumers are "already disillusioned with things that have happened" since the Postal Reorganization Act, creating the semi-independent Postal Service, was approved in August 1970. She cited the substantial postal rate increases that went into effect on a temporary basis last year and she asserted that mail service continues to deteriorate. "There does not seem to be anybody in authority who can review unsubstantiated and unnecessary costs incurred in the new Postal Service," she said.

When no postal official responded after several minutes, Mrs. Behre marched from the auditorium.

Mr. Lee said the meeting wasn't to be a "give-and-take session, a discussion, between Postal Service and private citizens." Rather, he said, the Postal Service only wanted to gather suggestions.

After the 15-minute meeting, Mr. Lee said he would respond to Mrs. Behre's questions by mail. He indicated, however, that he didn't think further public meetings would be necessary. "We've received many calls and letters from the public on this classification issue," he said. He also defended the four-day notice of the meeting, saying it was adequate.

WEEKLY REPORTS TO NINTH DISTRICT RESIDENTS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the texts of my three

weekly reports to Ninth District residents from December 13, 20, and 27 on the United Nations:

UNITED NATIONS—I

The United Nations today probably enjoys less confidence, both on the part of its members and the American public, than at any time in its 26-year history. People doubt its ability to deal with the great questions of war and peace in the world, and they are increasingly critical of the UN's financial and organizational inadequacies.

The admittance of mainland China and the expulsion of Nationalist China brought demands that the U.S. contribution to the UN be curtailed and that the United States pull out of the UN. In recent days the UN's apparent failure to prevent a conflict between India and Pakistan also has further eroded confidence in the world organization.

A Gallup poll, taken last month after the admission of mainland China, showed that the prestige of the United Nations dropped to an all-time low in the U.S. Only 35 percent of those polled said the UN was doing a good job in solving the problems it has faced. The UN had a 44 percent "good" rating in 1970, and a 49 percent "good" rating in 1967.

Although world leaders always pay their respects to the UN, even they acknowledge a crisis of confidence in the UN and acknowledge that it is increasingly bypassed or ignored by its members as they deal with the central problems of the day.

There are many reasons for the decline in confidence in the UN. It has been oversold, and misunderstood. Many forget that the UN was built on the assumption that the leading powers would remain unified and would use the UN to impose stability and peace.

The most important reason for the decline in confidence is that all of us are disappointed in the UN's performance. Our aspirations for it have far outstripped its performance. The UN has failed to stop conflict when the big powers disagree, as was made clear again last week when the Soviet Union vetoed the cease fire resolution to halt the India-Pakistan War.

The failures of the UN are easy to spot. It has failed to bring peace to Vietnam, to prevent Soviet intervention in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, or the end of colonialism and racism in Africa, or slow down the arms race. Much of the debate in the General Assembly seems unhitched from reality. Its financial status is approaching bankruptcy and its procedures are antiquated.

The strange thing, then, is that although few people are happy with the United Nations, almost all member nations want it to go on. It has assumed the recognition of a permanent world institution, and that, in itself, is no small accomplishment. Its predecessor, the League of Nations, lasted 26 years—the current age of the UN—but the last eight years of the League's existence accomplished nothing of consequence because of indifference, antiquated procedures and ineffectiveness.

When founded, the UN had 51 member nations, most of them white, old, industrialized, and well off. Today it has 131 members, most of them non-white, young, underdeveloped and poor. The polarization today is less between East and West, than North and South, rich and poor, white and non-white. Secretary General U Thant has observed that half of the world's population was born after the UN was founded.

From its inception, the United States has consistently supported the United Nations. On the 25th anniversary of the founding of the UN last year, President Nixon echoed the commitments of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson when he said: "... the United States will go the extra mile in doing our part toward making the UN succeed."

This consistent record of support for the UN may appear puzzling in light of its fail-

ures and imperfections, but there are good reasons for it as I will discuss in next week's newsletter.

UNITED NATIONS—II

In light of the United Nations' spotty record in maintaining peace in the world in the last 26 years, more and more Americans are asking why we consistently support the organization. There are several reasons for the support.

1. Peace: The UN has helped to prevent, or contain, violence in Cyprus, the Middle East, the Congo, Kashmir (on two occasions before the most recent outbreak), and in other areas.

Disarmament: The UN's Geneva Disarmament Committee has sponsored treaties for the peaceful use of the seabed and outer space, and was the instrument for the ratification of the limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963 and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968, which are significant steps in arms control.

Food: UN-promoted growing techniques and new seed strains helped create the "green revolution," increasing world food production by 50 percent since the end of World War II.

Health: The UN's world-wide disease eradication programs have made giant steps in the control of malaria and other diseases.

The list of achievements also includes progress in education, international law, land reform, decolonization and nation-building.

2. The UN has become an important, but not an exclusive, instrument of American foreign policy. UN action generally coincides with U.S. policy because it seeks the same kind of world we do. Of the hundreds of important votes cast in the UN General Assembly and Security Council, the U.S. has lost only a handful. The UN is not a substitute for foreign policy, but one instrument among many we use to carry out American foreign policy. Other instruments of policy include our military power, the Peace Corps, foreign assistance, the diplomatic corps, alliances with other nations, informational programs, and other international organizations.

3. The UN is a center for debate and negotiation: The UN also is a unique forum for debate, publicity and persuasion where both weak and strong nations can make their case. It is a standing diplomatic conference where peaceful settlement of disputes can be sought through quiet diplomacy. Where else in the world could the American Secretary of State see the representatives of 92 nations in two weeks as he did this fall and discuss with them a vast number of problems?

4. The UN is a place for action, too. It serves as an alternative to unilateral intervention in disputes (as in the Congo and Cyprus), allaying fears that the intervening power is trying to expand its control. Such a role reduces the risk of big power confrontation or involvement, lightens the load on the U.S. for peacekeeping, and enhances third party factfinding and observation. The UN and its specialized agencies are the center of action in areas like international law (aircraft hijacking, law of the sea), economic development (UN development fund and World Bank), social problems (international narcotic control), and disaster relief (East Pakistani cyclone, Peruvian earthquake).

5. The UN is essential to deal with the problems arising from technology. Advancing technology has created international problems, which require an international monitoring and decision-making body such as the UN. The measurement of environmental dangers, and their eradication, cannot be handled by nations acting alone. Such problems as ocean oil dumping, waste disposal, weather modification and fishing rights must be resolved internationally and the UN is the obvious adjudicator.

6. The UN is a bargain. The total U.S. contribution to the operation of the UN in 1970

was \$318 million, about \$1.57 cents for each U.S. resident, as compared to Sweden's contribution of \$9.40-per-person.

The total annual budget of the UN is about \$900 million—about one-tenth the annual budget of the city of New York—to operate all its programs. About 80% of the UN budget is spent for widely applauded health, education and developing programs.

As the host country, the U.S. derives a number of economic benefits from the UN, including more than \$120 million annually from rentals, services and purchases by the UN personnel in this country.

Having looked at the imperfections and the achievements of the UN, next week I will discuss the steps that should be taken to improve the UN.

UNITED NATIONS—III

With the UN under fire and in a state of crisis, several proposals should be considered to strengthen it. Among them:

FINANCIAL REFORMS

Secretary General U Thant stated in his last report that the UN is on the brink of bankruptcy. To avert the financial collapse of the UN, reforms are imperative.

This year the U.S. contributed \$335 million, or 37.2 percent, of the \$901 million budget for the U.N. and all of its activities. The U.S. paid about 30 percent of the total assessed contributions for the U.N. regular budget, and 40 percent of the voluntary contributions for the special programs such as the funds for children and refugees, and peacekeeping operations. Assessments to the U.N. are based on the ability of a country to pay; with a strict application of that formula, the U.S. would pay about 40 percent of the total U.N. budget, since the U.S. economy is roughly 40 percent of the world's wealth. The U.S. share of the assessed contributions has been negotiated downward over the years, and another reduction is expected in 1973. The aim of U.S. officials is to reduce the U.S. share to about 25 percent over the next few years.

Proposals to ease the UN's financial plight need much discussion. They include: (1) voluntary contributions for the educational and humanitarian activities of the UN, (2) the admission of new members, especially developed countries like West Germany, (3) more effective means of obtaining payments which are overdue, (4) a share of the revenues from exploitation of the seabeds and commercial space communications systems, and (5) the power to grant charters and impose tax levies on large, international corporations. The most important need, however, is the overhaul of the UN's inefficient planning, programming and budgetary system.

ORGANIZATION

Studies to determine how the UN can handle more effectively present day problems focus on:

The Security Council. This 15-member, peace-keeping body now meets only to respond to crises. The Council should be strengthened by: Regular meetings to enable members to deal with international problems before they develop into a crisis, and (2) an expanded membership which reflects the real power relationships in the world. West Germany and Japan, the 3rd and 4th largest economic powers should be represented, as well as India and several other strong, but non-nuclear nations.

The General Assembly. This 132 member forum still has not achieved universality of membership. The admission of such divided countries as East and West Germany, North and South Korea, North and South Vietnam, and both Nationalist and Mainland China might open the channels of communication between these divided nations. Very small nations should be associate members with more limited rights and obligations, to avoid the anomaly of a country like the Maldives

Islands with a population of 110,000 having the same voting strength as the U.S. A system of weighted voting in which the member country's population, economic strength and UN contribution should be considered (Today, nations making less than 5 percent of the contributions could control 2/3 of the Assembly votes). Finally, the General Assembly's inefficient practice of conducting its business en masse could be changed to allow working groups or committees to develop resolutions for the Assembly as a whole to consider.

PEACEKEEPING

The creation of a UN peace force, equipped to be dispatched immediately to trouble spots, financed by a peace fund, would strengthen the peacekeeping capabilities of the UN. If a peace force is not acceptable member nations could make their own forces more readily available for a wider range of peacekeeping missions. Also, new methods, like the use of small committees or prestigious individuals to mediate differences and help adversaries reach agreement before violence begins, are needed.

OTHER ROLES

The UN's efforts for delivering aid should be improved. This can be achieved with a highly professional staff, better coordination and administration of developmental efforts in a country, longer range assistance programs and a strengthened capacity to respond to natural disaster like the recent Peruvian earthquake and the cyclones in East Pakistan. New organizational capacity is needed, too, to organize to deal with international environmental problems.

THE INDOCHINA WAR

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, despite administration attempts to convince us that the Indochina war is "winding down," the war goes on as devastatingly as ever. Only the nature of American involvement has changed. Instead of sending American troops charging up Hamburger Hills, President Nixon has seated them in aircraft and sent them out to ravage the villages and countryside of Southeast Asia. The fact that Americans are in combat in the air rather than on the ground does not lessen our involvement in this tragic war. Nor does it lessen our moral culpability.

It may be soothing to public opinion at home to have American combat deaths reduced to fewer than a dozen per week. For the Laotian refugee driven from the Plain of Jars by the ferocity of American air attacks, for the North Vietnamese peasant whose family is killed by a stray American bomb, for the South Vietnamese farmer whose land is rendered lifeless and sterile in order to "save" it, there is no winding down of this war. For the families of American men missing or held as prisoners of war, there is no winding down of pain and uncertainty. Indeed, the President's recent indiscriminate bombing campaign against the North only served to generate more prisoners and postpone the day when the others will be released.

The administration tries to lull the American people into believing that the

American presence in Southeast Asia is nearing an end. The facts, however, point to a different conclusion. A recent report prepared by Cornell's Center for International Studies confirmed the fact that more bombs would have been dropped during Mr. Nixon's first 3 years in office than were dropped during the last 3 years of the Johnson administration. This clearly shows that the President has escalated the war while trying to assure us that he is ending it.

The folly of believing that air power can win a guerrilla war was never better spotlighted than by the statistics compiled by that Cornell study. The bomb tonnage dropped by the United States in Southeast Asia at the end of 1971 was estimated to be double that which was dropped by this Nation in both World War II and the Korean war. The implications of that statistic are staggering. The small nations of Southeast Asia, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, have been the targets of double the tons of American bombs which fell on the Japanese home islands, the Pacific Archipelago, the China theater, the industrial heart of Germany, the Western Front, Italy, Sicily, North Africa, and numerous other areas during the Second World War. Add to this double the number of tons of bombs dropped on Korea in the early 1950's and you have some concept of the destruction wreaked on the very limited area of Indochina. And yet the Vietcong, the North Vietnamese regulars, the Pathet Lao, and the Cambodian NLF forces continue to wage a vigorous guerrilla war with a new Tet offensive expected imminently.

It must be clear by now, even to the bomber generals and admirals in the Pentagon, that airpower will not win this war. What purpose does it serve then? In short, it keeps the lid on. It is aimed at keeping the Communist forces sufficiently off balance to prevent them from achieving any victory before the elections of November 1972.

Without American aircraft destroying every living thing that moves in the battle zones of Indochina the pitiful military clique in Saigon would soon be swept off to Switzerland to live in comfortable retirement with their secret bank accounts. We are literally wiping Indochina off the map to prop up Thieu and his cohorts and to prevent any pre-election embarrassment to Mr. Nixon. To what level of impotence has the Congress sunk that we allow the administration to continue its mindless policy of utterly destroying a region and its inhabitants for such transient and shallow reasons?

The carnage which our benighted policies in Southeast Asia over the past decade has caused is almost as staggering to the imagination as the statistics concerning the bombing. This war has resulted in more than 55,000 American deaths, more than 300,000 American casualties, more than 450 American POW's, and more than 1,000 American servicemen missing in action. There have been almost 2 million South Vietnamese military and civilian casualties

and deaths out of a total population of 17.5 million. Of the civilian deaths, it is estimated that 30 percent of those killed were under 13 years old. And some 800,000 Vietcong and North Vietnamese soldiers have been killed. The figures on refugees are equally appalling. It is estimated that fully one-third of South Vietnam's population, or over 6 million persons, are refugees. The estimate for Cambodia is 1.5 million and for Laos over 1 million. With a Tet offensive expected, we should be prepared to see even these incredible figures skyrocket.

The mounting toll of deaths, destruction, and suffering in Indochina cannot be camouflaged by the administration's rhetoric and false assertions. And the United States cannot escape moral responsibility for the greater part of this carnage. Had we not intervened with our massive power in a conflict that was no business of ours, the bloodshed would have come to an end years ago. The peoples of Southeast Asia would merely have seen one set of dictators substituted for another and would now be living in peace. Instead, the only peace to be found is the peace of the grave. To paraphrase Krushchev's famous remark about nuclear war, the situation in Indochina is fast approaching the point where the living will envy the dead.

However flimsy our past justifications for involvement in this region, none exist today. The administration's only remaining pretexts for fighting this war were buried last year. The containment of China myth dissolved with the announcement of the President's trip to Peking. Henceforth, we shall negotiate with, rather than encircle, the erstwhile bandit Government of China. And our recent collaboration with China during the India-Pakistan war indicates a curious convergence of American and Chinese foreign policy aims in Asia.

Another much-touted myth held that we were fighting in Indochina to preserve the peoples' right to choose their own form of government. Thieu's one-man race for the presidency makes a mockery of that claim. We must frankly face the fact that he is no better, and in some respects worse, than the dictators in Hanoi. Thieu and the Saigon military elite deserve no further American support whatsoever.

In sum, there is no rational reason for continuing American military involvement in Southeast Asia another day. There are many compelling moral and political reasons for ending it immediately. I look forward in the second session of the 92d Congress to renew and stronger efforts to end promptly our participation in this disastrous war and to free American men being held prisoners in Indochina.

A REMARKABLE WOMAN

HON. STEWART B. MCKINNEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, Ella Fleck is a remarkable woman. Ninety-six years young, she is a member of Thomas Edison's Society of the Precious Few

and can look back with pride—and the gratitude of her fellow human beings—on 77 years of community service.

In our youth oriented society of today, much is made of the concept of volunteerism. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Fleck helped to invent the word.

Recently, Gladys Walker painted a marvelous picture in words of this amazing woman for a new magazine in my State, appropriately entitled "Connecticut." I share that article with my colleagues now:

ELLA FLECK, AT 96, HAS HAD A PHENOMENAL CAREER IN PUBLIC SERVICE—THE HISTORY OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT IN THIS CENTURY IS LACED WITH HER NAME

When Thomas Edison asked a few prominent friends to list 10 people they could depend on if they suddenly lost their wealth and reputations, the name of Ella Gray Fleck appeared on one of the lists and she was enrolled in Edison's famous Society of the Precious Few.

Ella was astonished but she shouldn't have been. Now, 58 years later, and with an incredible 77-year history of service to her community, she has proved not only to Walter W. Phillips of the United Press, who nominated her, but to the State of Connecticut that she is indeed among the Precious Few.

Today, at 96, and confined to bed, by a series of heart attacks, Ella occupies the mammoth bedroom of the late P. T. Barnum. A handsome woman, with soft white curls piled high on her head, Ella continues to radiate the charisma that has charmed presidents, kings, diplomats, politicians; and the legions of men, women, and children whose lives she has touched. Her home, part of Barnum's Waldemere, was literally cut off from the rest of the house and floated by barge from Seaside Park in Bridgeport, to its present location at 1 Pauline Street in Lordship.

Ella came to Bridgeport from Camden, New Jersey in 1894, as the 18-year-old bride of a brilliant young physician, Dr. Harry Willard Fleck. At the outset she realized that, though outstanding in the field of medicine, her husband was naive about money. Ella had been raised under the gentle but practical influence of her father, owner of a finance and loan company.

His favorite admonitions were "Put away for your old age," and "Invest in water, heat and light. They never go out of style." Armed with this advice, each night Ella crept down to her husband's office and took a small amount of money from the bottom drawer, where he had carelessly stuffed the day's fees. When she had enough, she began to buy stock regularly, on margin.

"At the very beginning," Ella recounts, "I made a promise to the Lord that I would always read my Bible before the *Wall Street Journal*." And she does to this day. The promise must have counted for something, for by the time the doctor discovered what she had been doing, they were already on their way to what was to them a small fortune. Over the years, Ella's investments would supply them with the wherewithal to make 22 trips abroad for medical research, and for travel which would make her a famous lecturer. They would also make it possible for her to devote her life to public service.

Soon after the X-ray was discovered, Dr. Fleck with S. D. Lock, a prominent businessman and one of their boarders, purchased the city's first machine. The two of them and Ella pioneered in its technique, always with Ella as the model. Not only did she pose for uncounted exposures, but developed the film as well. Patients began to benefit immediately. But the harmful effects of radiation were unknown in those days and, as a result of overexposure, Ella would never be able to have children.

The doctor, realizing that his somewhat shy though inventive wife needed something to fill the void, encouraged her to take an even greater part in community affairs. What he didn't know was that within the next few years Ella would be listed among the founders of some of the city's most distinguished organizations, including the Red Cross, the Visiting Nurse Association, the Girl Scouts, the Bridgeport Art League, and the National League of American Pen Women, to name a few. And that before long her talent for raising money would be legendary.

The history of the State of Connecticut throughout this century is laced with her name. Paradoxically, Ella never joined the suffragettes because she didn't want to become part of the band of marching, militant women who so often represented the movement. Still she was sympathetic to their cause.

Upon the suggestion of Teddy Roosevelt, his niece, Corinne Alsop, urged Ella to help educate women for the federal franchise which would be coming soon. Dr. Fleck persuaded her to organize Fairfield County. The Fairfield County Republican Women's Association evolved from this group, and Ella was plunged into politics as an Independent Republican. Though she was tapped many times to run even for Congress, she never sought an elective office.

Her influence, however, was felt in every quarter of local government. It was she who insisted that a woman be named Secretary of State, a tradition which carries through to today.

In the politically turbulent '30s she made headlines by shaking up party machines, thwarting "sure" deals, and generally serving as super monitor for her loyal political following of men as well as women. By 1932 she was appointed the first woman delegate to the Republican National Convention.

Her colorful life is punctuated with the biennial trips she made abroad with her husband. The highlight of these was a two-year trip around the world starting in 1929. Decades before most Americans had ever heard of Vietnam, the Flecks, fitted out in jungle attire, traveled to Saigon. They floated down the Mekong River in a lumber boat, and observed at first hand the mysterious tree dweller rarely seen by outsiders. They traveled alone to Angkor Wat, through torturous terrain, picking up whatever transportation was available, sometimes in temperatures of 135 degrees. Once there, they lived for weeks with French archeologists, making daily trips into the jungles with them.

As a member of the Merritt Parkway Commission in the mid-30's, she bucked a strong "no frills" policy. "The parkway," she argued, "will be a gateway to New England. Surely beauty counts for something." At her insistence each of the 28 bridges has a different design, gasoline stations are complimentary in style, and the entire route is handsomely landscaped.

How much money she has raised for charity or personally contributed no one can guess, least of all Ella. But it would be a mistake to think that her energies were spent only on charities or projects of great magnitude. What she has given of herself is even harder to estimate. She will never divulge, and could probably never remember, the number of cases of suffering and need in which she has intervened.

After Dr. Fleck died in 1952, she buried herself deeper in her work, until the first of a series of heart attacks. Her friends thought she would retire at last, but instead she carried on business as usual from the bed to which she was ordered.

When she read about the late Senator Dirksen's fight to return prayer to the schools, she began, at age 94, a marathon telephone campaign to assist him. She was urged to let others carry on and save her strength, but she was adamant.

"The Lord has let me live this long for a reason. I know that reason is my work," she

will tell them. Then she reaches for her phone, her link to the outside world, and proceeds with her work.

NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY— PART XII

HON. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, once again, in the interest of encouraging the establishment of a national energy policy, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, for the benefit of both my colleagues and those charged with establishing such a policy, additional sources of information which may be of interest to them on the subject.

This is the fifth bibliographical list I have inserted in the RECORD. Previous lists can be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS, volume 117, part XVIII, page 23424; volume 117, part XIX, page 24838; volume 117, part XXIII, page 31107; volume 117, part XXV, page 32961. I make no claim that these lists are either complete or free of repetition, but I do say that the sheer volume of material available argues strongly in favor of setting a national energy policy rather than spending more money for research.

I hope this bibliography will be of some use.

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THE STATE'S ROLE UNDER OSHA

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise to alert my colleagues to a speech made about implementation of the Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1970 by Barry Brown, director of the Michigan Department of Labor, before the National Safety Congress Exposition in Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Brown, who is also the president of the International Association of Government and Labor Officials, makes a very clear and cogent argument for allowing States, as provided in the law, to develop their own safety administration plans. In fact, he contends many of the 15 or so States expected to develop plans will provide better coverage than OSHA provides.

Because of the importance of the State role and the controversy surrounding this part of OSHA, I believe Mr. Brown's statement is worth serious consideration.

Mr. Brown's speech follows:

THE STATE'S ROLE UNDER OSHA

(By Barry Brown, Director, Michigan Department of Labor, The National Safety Congress and Exposition, Chicago, Illinois, October 27, 1971)

Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to be here today. I can see many of my friends in the labor movement present. Addressing the Labor Section of the National Safety Congress gives me an opportunity to respond directly to the many critical statements that I have read recently that have been made by Washington-based labor leaders regarding the state's role under the new Occupational Safety and Health Act. I believe that the best way that I can set forth my position in this matter is to list the charges that have been made regarding state safety programs and to respond to them in detail one at a time. Though the list that I am going to submit to you immediately is not exhaustive or lengthy, I believe it does present the main thrust of the criticism leveled at state safety programs and the federal labor department's encouragement of state plans under OSHA.

First, the states have never done a job in safety. Their standards are inadequate; their inspectors are not qualified and there are too few of them; and state safety programs are dominated by management. Secondly, the states have been granted too much leeway under the recently promulgated guidelines and indices of effectiveness under OSHA. These loose guidelines will provide a basis under which labor's hard-won gains in the U.S. Congress will be lost under weak state programs. Third, the states are being encouraged to submit "developmental plans."

This approach would allow states to receive federal funds and they would have continued authority to enforce state standards prior to their reaching actual equivalent effectiveness under OSHA. State plans should not be approved in this way because the states would be tendering only "paper promises" for needed legislation, staffing and standards. Fourth, state plans should not be encouraged because at any time a state legislature can refuse to appropriate money. They could also earmark money or "line

item" appropriations in a way that would frustrate the goals and objectives of OSHA.

Usually, these charges are leveled against the present U.S. Department of Labor administration's policies because of what is alleged to be "a common knowledge that all states have dismally failed to enforce sound safety and health laws." Before I comment on each of the factors I have presented, I would like to protest the grouping of all states together as if each one is identical to the other. It must be apparent to the men making these statements and to the audience in this room that the quality of safety laws and regulations and the level of enforcement differ remarkably from Mississippi to Michigan. It seems to me that only pure ignorance or deception could account for the presentation of New York's safety program with that of South Dakota as if they were the same. It must be plain to these critics that only a few of the 50 states will ultimately have the ability to mount an acceptable program. Even though all but three states have negotiated temporary agreements, when the deadlines come to submit permanent state plans, most of them will not get state legislative support for new tough legislation and additional appropriations. My own personal estimate is that there will be approximately 15 states which will end up with comprehensive state plans.

Because of my presidency of the state labor commissioners' organization (IAGLO) and because of my frequent participation in safety seminars or meetings like this one, I have had an opportunity to talk with labor commissioners from many states that I believe will have final state plans. It is interesting to note that every one of these state commissioners plans to incorporate the employee participation aspects of OSHA in his state plan. Some of them plan to grant some rights to organized labor that exceed those in OSHA. They all seem to be fully intending to meet the standards thus far suggested by the national leaders of organized labor for state safety programs.

In the face of this knowledge, it is even more remarkable to me as I continue to read the criticism of state plans from Washington union officials. Also I have heard that the state labor councils in the 15 states that I have mentioned and the leaders of individual unions in these states—such as the Teamsters, the Auto Workers, the Steel Workers, and AFSCME—have supported their state labor departments toward the submission of a state plan under OSHA. It certainly causes me to speculate as to how much of the criticism is sincere and how much is designed solely to embarrass the present administration on all of their labor involvements. It seems a shame, however, to play political games when the safety of the working people of this nation is at stake.

Let me go back to the charges and my responses. Charge one—the states have never done a job in safety. My reply is a simple one, "guilty." But let me add that the federal government hasn't done as good a job as many of the states. How can anyone advocate the federal government as the sole cure-all in the field of job safety when the best the feds have done for years is to tie the 15 leading states in poor performance.

Does anyone here need to be reminded about how little the Congress or the executive branch of government provided the U.S. Department of Labor in dollars and people to enforce the safety provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act? Everyone here knows that the federal government has had the responsibility for safety in longshoring for more than a dozen years. Though there has been steady, slow improvement of the safety record in this industry, it continues to be one of the highest hazard occupations in our country. I think you also are aware that the federal government has a number of its own departments with employee accident records that are worse than those found in their counter-

parts in private industry. What is it, then, that the federal government has to offer as the only answer to the huge problems of safety administration under OSHA?

And on the political side of this question, gentlemen, I might add that this federal track record in safety has been created and perpetuated under both Democratic and Republican administrations. In summary, my role here today is not to be a critic of federal performance in safety because, as I said in my opening sentences, the states have not done well. The idea I would like to leave with you is that both federal and state governments have to improve; that no governmental unit has shown thus far that it has found all the answers to creating true work safety; and that no political party and no administration can thus far be free of criticism in safety achievement.

OSHA makes it a new ballgame, but the law is a two-part law. It provides for both the state and federal government's improved involvement in job safety. I think that the workers on the job little care whether the compliance official who appears on his plant floor wears a cap that says "federal government" or one that says "state government." It seems to me that this myopia of some of the national labor leaders on the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal administrators has done nothing more than impede the orderly progress of good state plans. I feel that now we ought to get on with it. If a state plan measures up, it ought to be encouraged by the labor movement. If the state does not have the will or the ability to provide a competent job safety program, it ought to accede to federal preemption.

There is one part of the charge made against state safety programs to which I would have to say "not guilty." That has to do with the fact that state inspectors are incompetent and uniformly management oriented. It simply "ain't so." The fact is that labor departments in large industrial states are filled with highly qualified personnel who are friends of the labor movement under both Republican and Democratic administrations. In my own state of Michigan, the director of my bureau of safety and regulation was two years ago an officer in the largest steel workers union in the state. My one administrative aide was an organizer for AFSCME, and my other administrative aide was a research specialist in the state council of the AFL-CIO. The supervisor of my construction safety division in Detroit was an officer in the lathers' union, and the supervisor of my occupational safety division in Detroit was an organizer for the UAW. A good percentage of the employees engaged in all aspects of safety enforcement and education come from the ranks of organized labor in Michigan.

I feel that one of the real advantages that a state can offer in its plan to the labor movements within its boundaries is the opportunity that its members will have to participate in a program meaningful to its membership. In Michigan, for example, I promise you that our qualifications for an entrance job in safety inspection will place primary emphasis on actual job experience. We will hope to encourage qualified representatives who have been active in the safety movement with organized labor. I believe that the U.S. Department of Labor has placed unnecessary emphasis upon the academic achievement of those who gain jobs as compliance officers.

Let me move on now to the second charge which has recently been leveled at state plans by national union leaders. It has been said that the federal guidelines allow the states too much leeway and thus the hard-won gains of organized labor under OSHA will be lost. Gentlemen, the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 has many facets. In such a strongly debated piece of legislation, it is hard to say that any part of it would have passed without the rest of it. It

was clearly a compromise bill that many congressmen would not have voted for but for the part that encourages and strengthens state participation in safety programs. To many state labor commissioners it now looks as though the national labor leaders are winking on an agreement. It seems that they are trying to achieve administratively what they could not achieve in the legislature. If Congress had wanted every state that participated under OSHA to duplicate the words of OSHA, it could have said so in a simple sentence in the law. Instead of doing that, it listed eight major points that must be met by a state in order for it to gain approval and thus to continue in operation. I have already indicated that I feel that every state that has a significant change of participating in an OSHA state program will incorporate the employee rights set forth in OSHA. These items were the main goals of labor in its appearances before the Congress. However, in a number of other areas individual states will have a chance to vary somewhat from the federal language and procedures. These variations will allow some experimenting by geographical areas and will allow us to have a better view of what actually is the best way to create a safe work place.

I submit to you that what is a necessary and proper standard for Florida may be an inappropriate and weak standard for Michigan. I have said to the labor movement in Michigan and I say to you that national standards often represent a floor or common denominator that is less than what we should settle for in our industrial and highly organized state. Even though OSHA calls for only an equivalency in effectiveness for a state plan, I feel that my duty as a state labor director requires that the citizens in Michigan should expect something more in many safety issues. There hasn't been enough experience yet for any intelligent person to advocate that OSHA provides the only or even the best way of achieving a safe job environment.

A reasonable question for you is what do I have to sell under a state plan that would represent a variation from OSHA that would still be acceptable to the labor movement? How can this plan at the same time receive, or at least a lack of opposition, from the employers of the state? I have already explained to you that the fact that I believe that some of our state standards will reach higher effectiveness than federal standards and thus we certainly will accept the federal standards as a floor. Secondly, our state reporting and statistical program will be identical to the federal program. In the areas of inspectors, I believe our state has a strong attraction in that our men will be local residents with local job knowledge, and many of them will have roots in the local labor movement.

Under the state plan that I am considering, labor will have a much greater participation in the rule-making and policy-making aspects of the administration of safety regulations that they do federally under OSHA, both legally and practically. We go well beyond the federal plan in this regard. To the local labor leaders and to the state labor movement, we present the opportunity for better communications and more local control.

Finally, we believe that under a state labor department we can provide penalties and sanctions that go beyond the federal schedule—such things as workmen's compensation penalties or the prohibition against the employment of minors when an employer is shown to have unsafe operations. We plan to increase inspections in relation to an employer's higher accident rate as a further sanction. These approaches can all provide a more effective means of achieving safety than OSHA has yet provided. Because of the greater emphasis on safety education and training in the state program in Michigan, we also believe that the local officers will be attracted by the greater availability of state personnel for training programs, seminars, and other

communication meetings. Such programs will make their members more conscious of their responsibilities and rights under the law. A knowledgeable membership will also make it easier for labor leaders to take responsible stands in negotiated safety matters.

It must be clear to anyone that these program policies will be attractive to a local labor movement. At the same time, my state's management-oriented sector should be attracted by the aspects of their participation in rulemaking and policy-making. They, too, would be attracted by aspects of local control. Finally, they always have advocated a greater emphasis on education and training. This, coupled with their philosophical orientation to state programs and their desires for appeals in state courts, would certainly gain their support even if I adopted many aspects of the Williams-Steiger Act that they opposed in the Congress.

I would like to move on now to the third point regarding the fact that states shouldn't be allowed to engage in state developmental plans because they are filled with "paper promises." Any government plan in its inception is a "paper promise." The federal government now has given many "paper promises" about how they would implement the act under their area of responsibility. They have promised more and better rules. They have promised that there will be more dollars allocated to enforcement and education. Further, they have promised that there will be nearly two thousand compliance officers in the field soon. I, for one, think that their promises are real, that their time table is realistic and that they have proven thus far that they do what they say they will do. All the same, all we have from them so far in several of these areas are "paper promises." I think the states ought to be entitled to the same sort of treatment.

If a state were not allowed to be approved under an 18(b) provision of the act until it had legislation, standards, procedures and personnel, all up to the acceptable level under OSHA, then we would have no states under OSHA. The deadline for temporary participation by states under the act is December 29, 1972. The national labor leaders know that no state will be able to meet all the federal standards by that time. Thus, if states were not allowed a developmental plan, no state would be allowed to participate. If all states were to drop out of state occupational safety and health programs in 1972, the results for organized labor in this nation would be horrendous. It is irresponsible and self-defeating for the national leaders to advocate a complete state drop-out of the safety field.

At this time it is estimated that more than 1,500 state safety compliance officers are in the field. These are experienced men and women who are doing an effective job in those states that have adequate safety rules. The great majority of these people are employed by states like California, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Illinois and Michigan, to name a few. The federal standards that were recently promulgated in many cases are duplicated by the regulations of these states. In almost every case the inspectors of these states are under civil service rules and regulations and they meet the current federal regulations for qualifications for such work. It is estimated that the states at this time are spending more than two hundred million dollars for state safety programs. All of this would be lost if the states were not allowed to phase in gradually to achieve federal goals. I submit to you that once the state programs are closed down and the state employees are laid off, they will never come back again. I might point out to you that many of these state employees are loyal dues-paying members of AFSCME.

I must further point out that OSHA excludes all public employees. In my state and many other states, public employees from the states, cities, counties, townships and school districts are covered by state rules.

If the states are forced to drop out of safety enforcement under OSHA, all of these people will be without protection. If a state presents a plan under OSHA, they must provide a competent program for public employees to the extent that their law allows.

The fourth point regards funding because the federal critics have pointed out that state legislatures could refuse to appropriate money for state safety programs. Once again, I would have to agree and say that this is absolutely true—just exactly the same way the U.S. Congress can refuse to appropriate money for federal safety programs. Congress has in very recent years demonstrated its unwillingness to appropriate adequate funds for safety programs. Even when the labor movement was able to secure ten million dollars more from the U.S. Senate for the U.S. Department of Labor's OSHA program, the U.S. House of Representatives greatly reduced that appropriation. We are all aware of the difficulty there has been thus far in securing 50 million dollars for the administration of OSHA. Who will secure the nearly 400 million dollars that will be needed for the administration of the OSHA program without the participation of the states? My arithmetic is not that difficult. If we take the approximately 200 million dollars now expended by the states and simply enlarge it to anticipate the higher outlays necessary under OSHA and then we add the amounts of money that will always be necessary for federal administration in those states that will not have a program and the continuing federal monitoring responsibility when a state does retain safety responsibility, then my figure is not unreasonable. However, if the 15 states that I have mentioned previously are encouraged to continue their participation, then the federal obligation in these areas is reduced by 50%. We would also retain the compliance officers, the training staff and area administrators and standards that are all now present in the states. We thus eliminate the required two or three or four years for the feds to gear up to existing levels of present state performance in these areas.

Most of you know that one of the prime national spokesmen who have expressed concern over the state's role under OSHA has been President I. W. Abel of the AFL-CIO industrial union department. He recently set forth those aspects of a state plan which he feels ought to be present before organized labor could give its encouragement to a state plan. He stated that he feels that proposals should provide for worker participation in a body comparable to the national advisory committee; that the plan should provide for employee observation of monitoring exposure to toxic materials; that it should also provide protection for complainants whose names would be withheld from employers upon request. He states that state plans should provide for a prohibition against advance notice of the inspection; that it should provide for the right of employees or their representatives to accompany inspectors during their "walk around"; that it should provide for written inspection reports following the compliance officer's tour; that it should provide for placing these health and safety responsibilities in a state agency whose other functions do not conflict with the protection of workers.

I can say, as the Director of the Michigan Department of Labor, that our state plan will meet these tests. We plan to work with organized labor within our state in the development of a state plan and in the carrying out of its purposes and policies. It is my information that the same sort of statement that I have just made to you could be made by the labor commissioners in the other states that will probably have state plans. If that is the case, then what is the fuss all about? No one from Mr. Abel's office or from the Washington offices of any national union has checked with the commissioners to find out what they intend to do. I have a feeling

that the whole matter revolves around embarrassing the administration and no matter what was planned that there would continue to be negative statements from Washington.

In summary, gentlemen, let me tell you what I am planning to do to further strengthen the role of the states in OSHA. First, as president of the state labor commissioner's organization, I will continue to meet with the U.S. Department of Labor. I will do all that I can to encourage the continuation of what has been a sound working relationship between the federal government and the states in implementing the act. I hope that many states will be able to submit plans for approval in the spring of 1972. Further, I hope that by July 1, 1972, federal monies will be available for 50-50 sharing of occupational safety and health administration expenses under state programs. I will encourage the states to have meetings and hearings and communications with their local labor leaders prior to the submission of their plan for 18(b) approval. Frankly, gentlemen, I don't see how the national labor leaders can oppose a plan that has been approved by a state's local labor movement.

Secondly, I plan to meet with congressional and administration leaders to counteract some of the bad publicity that has been created regarding state safety programs. Commissioner Kautzer of Wisconsin has arranged a meeting with me and others soon with Congressman Steiger and Senator Williams who are the co-authors of this legislation. I will inform Senator Williams that if he plans overview hearings we would like to testify. There will be many states that will have stronger statements to make to him than I have made here today. I might add that those state labor commissioners have very strong ties with their state labor movement.

In this same regard, Commissioner Levine of New York has arranged a meeting soon between Senator Javits, Secretary Hodgson, myself and other labor commissioners to discuss precisely that same matter. In that meeting, we will look for assurance that the U.S. Department of Labor will do all it can to provide full 50% funding for state plans in the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1972.

Finally, we will encourage every state labor director to communicate with his congressman, his senator, his state legislator, his governor and the U.S. Department of Labor to indicate their willingness and their preparedness to meet their obligations under OSHA.

In those states which do not plan to implement a state program under OSHA or those which cannot mount the legislative support or the appropriations necessary for a state plan, there will be a close monitoring and observation of the federal enforcement under OSHA. The state labor commissioners in these areas have told me it is their intention to use their own staff's observations as watchdogs. They plan to keep closely posted on whether or not the federal government is maintaining an effective program in those states where the state activity has been pre-empted.

Let me conclude today by saying to you that men and women who work with you—the members that you represent—care not at all whether their building is inspected by a federal inspector or a state inspector. They care very little which bureaucracy is strengthened and which one withers as a result of OSHA. The people who have paid your way to the meeting this day want a safe work place. They want an environment that is as free from hazards as possible so that they might work without fear or discomfort. My plea today for the states, then, cannot be that we have done a good job in the past or that we can do it any better in the future just because we are states. I think, instead, I have presented to you today a number of sound reasons why your people will be hurt if the states are barred from safety admin-

istration and how they will be helped if the states are encouraged to improve their safety programs. I look for your assistance in communicating my views and my concerns to your leaders in Washington.

PREScription DRUG COVERAGE FOR THE ELDERLY

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, among the amendments to the medicare program that appear to be truly needed is a catastrophic coverage drug program for the elderly. Under such a program no elderly person would be bled white moneywise for necessary prescriptive drugs.

What the deductible amount should be is arguable, but certainly a catastrophic drug program with a \$200 annual deduction and a co-insurance feature would prevent hundreds of cases of extreme personal hardship for elderly persons. I believe a substantial majority of the Congress will support such a provision.

In this connection, I include in the RECORD an excellent article on medicare and drugs appearing in a recent issue of the Wall Street Journal, written by Prof. Robert J. Myers, a professor of actuarial science at Temple University, who for more than 20 years served as chief actuary for the Social Security Administration:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 4, 1972]

MEDICARE AND DRUGS: WHO SHOULD PAY?

(By Robert J. Myers)

The most important health-care cost not covered by Medicare is out-of-hospital prescription drugs. Such coverage was not initially in the program, because of the large number of small claims involved (with significant administrative problems) and because many foreign programs have great difficulties with over-utilization of drug benefits.

Sen. Joseph M. Montoya (D., N.M.), has been in the forefront of those who urge inclusion of drug benefits under Medicare. He and 23 other Senators have proposed an amendment to the Social Security legislation now pending before the Senate Finance Committee.

Under this proposal, the Hospital Insurance portion of Medicare would pay the cost of prescription drugs, subject to a flat \$1 cost-sharing payment for each prescription. Such payment would vary in the future according to changes in the average per capita cost for qualified drugs under the program. Surprisingly, the proposal contains no additional payroll tax financing to support this significant cost.

Several studies on the coverage of drugs under Medicare have been made in the Executive Branch. One was undertaken by the Johnson administration and issued shortly after it left office; the Nixon administration has made two, the Dunlop Study, which reviewed the previous study, and a new study by a commission headed by Arthur Flemming, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

The latter two recommended the approach in the Montoya bill, while the earlier one recommended several alternative approaches. The favored alternative was to cover so-called maintenance drugs (those essential in treating serious long-term illness) on the same basis as the Montoya bill. The next-favored approach was to cover all prescription drugs, but to have a high annual deductible.

I believe insufficient consideration has been given to approaches other than that in the Montoya bill. This is largely because of the strong belief of the Social Security Administration staff in covering all prescriptions and in setting up "straw men" approaches for other alternatives.

Just as for hospitalization and utilization of physician services, persons aged 65 and over use about three times as much prescription drugs, on the average, as do younger persons. Also, older persons have much lower incomes available to meet high costs for drugs. Further, relatively little private insurance in this field is available.

THE DISTRIBUTION SPREAD

The cost burdens for drugs generally run much lower than for hospitalization or physician services. There is, however, a considerable spread of distribution for different people.

In 1969, the estimated average per capita cost for prescription drugs for persons aged 65 or over was about \$50. Almost half had drug costs of less than \$20—amounts that could readily be borne from current budgets. At the other extreme, 4% had drug costs of \$200 or more (averaging about \$300). With this wide spread, some type of insurance coverage would be desirable.

Under Medicare, the claims approximate 6 million annually for in-patient hospital benefits and 33 million for physician services. These sizable administrative work loads can be contrasted with the estimated 250 million prescriptions in 1969 for Medicare beneficiaries. This figure would probably be 300 million if a drug benefit were introduced (because of increased utilization, whether or not necessary).

The Montoya proposal involves the back-breaking approach of covering all prescription drugs. Not only does this involve covering the small costs for many who could readily bear them from current budgets, but also the high administrative costs in handling so many claims.

Such approach violates a basic principle of insurance by covering many cases of low losses, where administrative expenses are a very high proportion of the benefits payable. Insurance should instead be confined to cases with relatively large losses not easily borne by those who suffer them.

The proponents of covering all drugs assert they can do this economically by dealing directly with pharmacists through a nationwide network of electronic data-processing equipment, with a machine in each of the 55,000 pharmacies. Not only will there be tremendous administrative problems in dealing with the large number of bills, but also pharmacists will be regimented by governmental procedures for a large proportion of their business, perhaps 25%. The economic impact on the retail, wholesaling and manufacturing drug industry once the government becomes such a major customer will be significant.

Any drug benefit program with limits on either the types of illness or drugs covered would be most difficult to administer. As to coverage of only maintenance drugs, many physicians would resist such limitation because of the necessarily arbitrary decisions in classifying diseases.

Selecting drugs for benefit reimbursement on the basis of their use in chronic illness is hazardous, since medical opinion frequently varies as to which is the drug of choice. A chaotic situation would undoubtedly develop when sick persons not eligible for benefits for certain drugs would petition Congress, seeking to qualify for coverage either their particular affliction or a particular drug.

Following the time-accepted principle of insurance that coverage should be provided only for risks with significant potential losses to the insureds, coverage of drugs under Medicare should be on a catastrophic basis. The limit of "catastrophic" should be a relatively high level initially, to alleviate the most financially burdensome cases, while as-

sure efficient administration. Specifically, drug benefits should be provided on the basis of a large annual deductible, such as \$200, with 20% coinsurance thereafter.

The proponents of covering all drugs set up straw men in attacking the catastrophic concept. They assert that proper specifications for such coverage involve governmental recording of all prescriptions, even though most would not meet the deductible, a costly administrative procedure. But they choose to ignore that, logically, this approach should be administered by considering only the prescriptions of the few who meet the deductible.

The "expansionist" proponents then set up another straw man. They assert that older persons cannot be expected to save drug receipts and send them in at the proper time.

DEVELOPING ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES

A simple, understandable administrative procedure can be developed for the catastrophic approach. Pharmacists would issue a uniform receipt. The beneficiaries would save these for a period of one year, in special envelopes provided by the program. Under no circumstances would drug bills be accepted in any other form or at any other time.

To argue that older persons cannot manage their affairs to carry out this procedure is to denigrate their capabilities or those of others taking care of their financial affairs. After all, Social Security beneficiaries handle at least one check each month and do so without difficulty.

The financing of a catastrophic drug benefit should be part of the Supplementary Medical Insurance program (Part B), so that enrollees are aware of the costs, by paying premiums. Financing the entire Medicare program through payroll taxes and government subsidies, as some propose, is undesirable for this reason as well as others—such as lessening cost controls and public awareness of costs.

If all beneficiaries under the Supplementary Medical Insurance program have drug-benefits coverage on a complete basis with a flat \$1 cost-sharing payment per prescription, the benefit cost would be about \$900 million a year (after allowing for the increased utilization of about 20% likely to accompany such a plan). This translates into a per capita cost of \$3.75 a month. Administrative expenses would be about \$120 million a year. Total program costs would be \$1.02 billion a year, or monthly per capita costs of \$4.25.

A catastrophic-coverage drug program with a \$200 annual deductible and 20% coinsurance thereafter would have a benefit cost of only about \$75 million a year, after allowing for some increase in utilization (but not as much proportionately as for the complete-coverage approach). Administrative costs would be about \$10 million a year, so that total annual costs would be \$85 million, or a monthly per capita cost of \$3.35.

A more liberal catastrophic-coverage drug program—which should not be adopted initially because it involves four times as many claimants as the proposed approach—includes a \$100 annual deductible and 10% coinsurance. This would have a benefit cost of about \$270 million a year after adjustment for increased utilization. Administrative expenses would be about \$35 million a year, or a monthly per capita cost of \$1.25.

FAIRNESS DOCTRINE AND BROADCASTING

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-

ORD, I include the following: This last year, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has been deeply interested as to whether or not the fairness doctrine and the equal time provision so clearly stated in the Communications Act is being enforced by the Federal Communications Commission.

In the Public Broadcasting Corporation Act one section encompasses all broadcasting of a controversial nature and makes it mandatory that the Public Broadcasting Corp. treat all matters of a controversial nature "in perspective and in balance."

Edith Efron has written a book, "The News Twisters," which has been the subject of a long debate in the past few months. I attach herewith two articles from the Evening Star. One by William F. Buckley, Jr., of December 27, 1971, "Should We Really Try To Eliminate TV Bias?" and another by James J. Kilpatrick of December 28, 1971, "This Is News, and This Is Not—Tonight." This matter of the fairness doctrine is going to receive a great deal of editorial and commentary treatment in the next few months. I think it would be well for every Member of the House and the other body to read Edith Efron's book, "The News Twisters." This is a new measurement but certainly an independent one of exactly how many words are devoted to two sides of a controversial issue.

The articles follow:

"THIS IS NEWS, AND THIS IS NOT"—TONIGHT
(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Edith Efron's book, "The News Twisters," came forth from the Nash Publishing Co. on Oct. 11. Since then, the shells have been flying. Her thesis is that the three television networks were guilty of gross bias during the presidential campaign of 1968.

The thesis, of course, is valid. Any English-speaking adult, possessed of eyes, ears and access to a television set, must know the thesis is valid. To a considerable extent—though not as blatantly as before—the situation documented by Miss Efron continues to this day.

The value of Miss Efron's book lies not so much in its elaborate documentation, though this was indispensable to her work. Her greater contribution lies in a pathological dissection of the body of "news" as such. She compels us to think upon these things, and these things are immensely important to the whole process of opinion formation in our country.

What is "news"? God alone knows. At some point in his life, every editor, reporter and professor of journalism struggles to compose a satisfactory definition. None has wholly succeeded. David Brinkley came closest, perhaps, in his laconic remark that "news is what I say it is." But the trouble with epigrams is that they yield something of truth to the virtue of brevity. It is not quite so brutally simple.

Even so, Brinkley has it just about right. The essence of news lies in the process of selection. A happening, in itself, is not news; it is not news until it is reported. And who decides whether a happening should be reported? Who selects this happening in preference to some other happening? An editor's honest answer, just as Brinkley says, is "I do."

When it comes to putting together a prime-time network news program, this process of selection is what the game is all about, and the process is unbelievably complex. There are dull days and big days. A happen-

ing that might be used on Monday is thus not used on Tuesday.

Some happenings lend themselves to visual presentation; others don't. TV is partly show biz: There has to be something light. Producers, writers and anchor men are prisoners of the clock. But when the red light signals air time in the studio, someone has to have made the decisions. This is news tonight; and this is not.

Such decisions have to be personal; no computer can make them. They are the products of professional judgments—or opinions—resulted in a lopsidedly liberal bias in the network news.

Her documentation provides a thousand telling examples. One issue in the fall of 1968 was U.S. policy toward the war in Vietnam. During the seven-week period of her study, CBS carried one item only in support of that policy. This was a 287-word excerpt from a speech by Lyndon Johnson on Oct. 9. But CBS carried 20 items in this period, totaling 651 words on 13 different evenings, in which the policy was opposed.

Look at the record more closely. It was "news" in the judgment of CBS that the war was opposed by John Gilligan of Ohio, George Ball, Sen. Wayne Morse and Eldridge Cleaver.

This was not news at ABC. At ABC, which carried 413 words in support of the war, it was news—1,476 words of news—that Sen. J. William Fulbright, Paul O'Dwyer, Sen. Eugene McCarthy, Sen. Jacob Javits, Dick Gregory and Vanessa Redgrave opposed the war.

None of this, in turn, was news at NBC. Oddly, NBC reported no news whatever—not a single word in seven weeks—in defense of the war policy; but it was news at NBC, to the tune of 1,017 words, that this was opposed by, among others, Tom Hayden of the SDS, the president of Yale and a Connecticut matron.

This is not a pattern of news; it is a pattern of bias—and for this pattern the network news executives have to be held accountable. As we move into the 1972 campaign, viewers of the evening news will want to keep the pattern of 1968 in mind, and be wary.

SHOULD WE REALLY TRY TO ELIMINATE TV BIAS?

(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

Edith Efron's book, "The News Twisters," wherein the industrious lady reports the results of endless hours of tape recording the television news during the final weeks before the presidential election of 1968, makes the point that television is simply not observing the Fairness Doctrine as that doctrine is generally understood. The treatment of the news was overwhelmingly pro-Democratic, pro-Humphrey, she proved, notwithstanding any demonstration that, in an excess of zeal, she might have made out the situation to be slightly worse than it is.

The question inevitably arises: How is the Fairness Doctrine, and the larger social doctrines of which it is a part, to be applied to situations in general? Or to situations in particular? There are only three network news programs. Does that mean that if one of them chooses to be pretty generally liberal, that should be permitted, provided there is another which is pretty generally conservative?

At the ridiculous extreme, surely, is the protest that now goes out against the relicensing of Station KTTV in Los Angeles, which is the object of a petition by an organization called the National Association for Better Broadcasting, and one or two other citizens' groups. The NABB wants the FCC to deny the station a fresh license on the grounds, primarily, that it sponsors a newscaster, George Putnam, who gives "biased accounts" of the news (you've guessed it,

Putnam's bias is conservative, rather than liberal).

A professor from the University of California writes, "George Putnam is a sort of articulate hard-hat, laureate of the Archie Bunker constituency. His appeal is precisely to gut feelings and he has, one gathers, a large audience attracted by that appeal."

"All of which would be deplorable if Channel 11 were the only channel in town, and lamentably polarizing if it were one of two. But every TV set in Los Angeles has available to it excellent reception from the following lineup: 2—CBS, 4—NBC, 5—Independent, 11—Independent (the bone of contention), 13—Independent, 28—PBS—plus a couple of others, one of them Spanish language."

"This," the professor remarks, "must be the largest viewer's choice in the country, and it is a real choice, substantially unimpeded by the tall buildings that make reception spotty in New York City . . . Dammit, anyone who wishes his sensibilities massaged by liberal newscasting has Walter Cronkite available to him every evening on Channel 2 at 7 p.m. . . We are left with an effort to invoke the ultimate sanction against what may be the only TV station in the country that can make a case for employing a Yahoo newscaster, i.e., that there is a public demand for same and that the rest of the public has ample options."

While not endorsing the mild animadversions on Putnam's style (the professor is a scholar of highly refined sensibilities), I think the professor makes a point which enthusiasts for the Fairness Doctrine, whether of the right or the left, should consider. Are we going to move against every radio station, in every situation, which is insufficiently balanced in its opinion? If we were to do so, the right wing would be the tactical winner, no doubt about it. But what about the strategic situation?

And while we are at it, are we going to insist that every station has exactly as many minority technicians, broadcasters, researchers, whatever, as reflect the demographic situation? Does that mean that if next year we bring 30,000 Urdu-speaking refugees into Los Angeles, one of them has to be hired by television station KTTV?

Finally, the sanctions that are recommended against the broadcasting industry are altogether too severe. Nobody suggests that if Sears, Roebuck is guilty of an act of discrimination, therefore Sears, Roebuck should be burned to the ground and salt sprinkled on its ashes. Why television? Isn't the potential bullying of television by the government a logical concern for the not wholly logical American Civil Liberties Union?

THE BEAR IN THE BURNOOSE

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the military situation in the Middle East today is fast approaching the critical stage. Both sides are poised for a renewal of the conflict; the Soviet Union continues to become more deeply involved in that area of the world; the Arab States refuse to negotiate and continue to shout threats of annihilating Israel; and the United States is losing its naval dominance of the Mediterranean.

I recently read a fascinating and quite informative article outlining the Soviet Union's new Arab bases. The magazine

Seapower, should be commended for outlining this obvious threat to our Nation's security. The author, Mr. Lawrence Griswold, is a former Marine Corps officer and journalist whose interest has been naval history, especially as it relates to the Far and Middle East. From Morocco to the Indian Ocean, the Soviet Union has begun to penetrate strategic areas in the Mediterranean basin. For centuries the Russians have desired to break out of their confinement in the Black Sea area. Due to treaty agreements, the Soviet presence has now reached such ports as Alexandria, Egypt; Oran, Algeria and Aden, South Arabia. The security of the free world demands that America become aware of this growing Soviet threat in the Middle East. The article which I insert in the RECORD is both timely and informative:

THE BEAR IN THE BURNOOSE—A FIRSTHAND REPORT ON RUSSIA'S ARAB BASES

(By Lawrence Griswold)

"First the nose of the camel, then its neck, and at length the whole body so that there remains no room for a man in his tent. And when the camel moves the tent moves with it."—Bedawi proverb

Persistence and patience, allied with a keen and alert opportunism, characterize Russian strategy now as they have for over two centuries. Since 1945 the theater of the Mediterranean, with its Aegean arm, have exhibited those characteristics with vivid clarity. Hardly had the French and British governments relinquished their colonies in Africa when Russian warships dropped their anchors at Egyptian ports and on Mediterranean banks and shoals—international waters called "holding grounds" by the late naval strategist Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan—and showed their intention of remaining by the periodic arrival of relief ships, merchant vessel or warship, to take over the watch from units returning to the Black or Baltic seas.

With the restoration of full independence to its Tunisian and Moroccan protectorates and the liberation of Algeria, the French fleet returned to home ports. The British Mediterranean Fleet had already left Alexandria; Malta was given its freedom and only an obsolete and practically demilitarized Gibraltar remains to fly the Union Jack. Nowadays Gibraltar is the only Mediterranean dependency still under the protection of a major European state. To a practitioner of the art of *machtspolitik*, (power politics) this leaves the entire southern littoral a political vacuum—an invitation to Moscow.

The Kremlin, however, failed to await the end of the war in Europe before pressing Turkey for an outlet on the Aegean. After denouncing the 1925 Treaty of Friendship between the two countries in March 1945, Moscow demanded naval bases at the northeast of the Bosphorus Strait and along the vines, as well as a radical revision of the Montreux Convention, a multilateral pact signed by nine nations in 1936, which would effectually remove the straits from international control in favor of Russia.

Warships based in the Black Sea would thenceforward enjoy unlimited access to the Aegean and so to the Mediterranean. This play got nowhere; but subsequent Russian pressures on Turkey managed to keep that country in political and social turmoil until it achieved membership in NATO. Russia and its Bulgarian ally are still uncomfortable neighbors, and Turkey is again under Soviet pressure.

After 1945, using technical information gleaned during the war years, the Russian

Navy built a fleet designed to perform the duties of a naval arm not only as an instrument in extension of its country's policies but one offering protection over the world's ocean routes and sea lanes to a rapidly growing merchant marine. Since the Soviet Union does not possess naval bases scattered about the globe as the British Navy once did, it had to reach slowly and cautiously and from advance bases under its control in order to grasp new ones in more distant seas and oceans. The Mediterranean was its second goal.

FIRST EGRESS

The first secure egress from the Baltic was obtained by acquisitions opened to Russia by the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of August 1939. When Poland fell to Hitler's Wehrmacht, Stalin gathered in Estonian Tallinn, Latvian Riga, Lithuanian Memel (now Klaipeda) and the eastern third of the Bay of Danzig. A few months later, but only after a disturbing setback, Russia also annexed the Finnish fortifications at Vyborg, across the Baltic from Leningrad and Kronstadt. After 1945, with an obedient Poland and East Germany to westward and a neutral Sweden at the north, the Kremlin could afford to look to the southern seas. Only the opportunity was then lacking.

Nevertheless Soviet maneuvering in the Middle East was under way before the echoes of the Potsdam Conference faded. Turkey was threatened outright; Greece was invaded repeatedly from sanctuaries in Albania and Yugoslavia by Communist revolutionaries, and during the Palestinian War of 1948-49 airlifts of Russian-sponsored arms, illegal during the "standstill" agreements of 1948 made a critical contribution toward the Israeli victory. The arms were flown from Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia but many of them had been made in the United States and lend-leased to Russia. To Arabs, the American manufacturer's plate was all they knew of the origin of the arms used by the Israeli army and it was grist to Russian propaganda mills when Moscow switched sides a few years later.

Russia's great opportunity came with the Israeli-Anglo-French attack on Egypt in October-November 1956. Smarting from the humiliation of the Hungarian revolt only a few days earlier, Moscow forsook Israel for Egypt, condemning Israel, France and England and thereafter ranged itself by the side of such strategically-located Islamic states as Egypt and Syria. Unspecific offers of arms and economic aid streamed from the Kremlin to Cairo and, but to a lesser extent, to Damascus and Baghdad.

Cairo's hesitation was brief. Nasser had, in fact, little choice. Convinced that Israel and its partners aimed at the Suez Canal and the destruction of Egypt's industries, there was simply no one to turn to but Russia. London and Paris were still hostile and Washington was willing to supply only foodstuffs and medicines—no arms. Talks were begun and in the summer of 1958, Marshal Hakim Amr, Egypt's Vice President and Minister of Defense, accepted an invitation to Moscow and at a farewell dinner in October, Egypt was offered a credit of 400 million rubles wherewith to start the construction of the Aswan High Dam, Russian goods in exchange for Egyptian cotton and, apparently, an unlimited amount of military equipment. Technicians and specialists, he was told, would also be furnished.

RUSSIAN TACTICAL BASE

By late 1961, Port Said was developing into a tactical base for the Russian Navy and Alexandria into a strategic base of operations, a Mediterranean extension of Kronstadt and Sevastopol. Five air bases at unrevealed locations were reported completed by Russian technicians, one of them not far from Aswan, where work was then in progress, and another in the vicinity of Alexandria.

Meanwhile, another great opportunity beckoned, this time from Cuba. Major Raul Castro and Nunez-Jimenez, Castro's Minister of Agrarian Reform, made their pilgrimage to Moscow to return the visit to Cuba by Anastas Mikoyan. Cuba's emissaries were assured of Russian military and economic aid as well as moral support. Khrushchev went on the radio to warn Washington. He said that any American attack against Cuba would be met by "rockets from Soviet artillery." Economic aid was to include a supply of Russian petroleum to feed the expropriated American refineries in Cuba. Later, a procession of Russian tankers and merchant shipping shuttling between Cuba and Black Sea ports flowed past Gibraltar. Moreover, it was noted that the Alboran Bank's "holding ground" was seldom free of shipping.

The years 1961-2 were rich in opportunity for the Kremlin. In April 1961, the bungled Bay of Pigs invasion and the month of haggling over Castro's price for the release of the prisoners captured during the invasion was sheer gain for the Kremlin. Perhaps Khrushchev saw in the construction and furnishing of IRBM sites in central and western Cuba a chance to even the score for the American missile sites in Turkey. During those years, the stream of ocean traffic between Cuba and the Black Sea increased noticeably. Naval oilers and auxiliaries were spotted at anchor over the Karpathos shoals and even in the gulfs of Hamamet and Sirte, off Tunisia and Libya respectively.

REVOLT OF THE GENERALS

Then the revolt in Algeria against France was coming to an end. In April 1961, the "Revolt of the Generals" proved to be the death struggle of French Algeria and by March 1962 the Treaty of Evian was signed and a Communist-oriented Algeria was free. The ports of Bone (now Annaba), Philippeville (Skikda), Algiers, Oran and the large and modern naval base at Mers el Kebir would soon be made available to the Russian Southern Fleet. Mers el Kebir, the largest French overseas naval-air base, remained under nominal French control until 1964 when it was duly turned over to Algiers. Less than a full day from the Atlantic and within easy IRBM range of Gibraltar and the important Spanish fortifications behind it, Mers el Kebir is capable of accommodating the entire Russian Southern Fleet, including auxiliaries.

While the French were completing their evacuation of Mers el Kebir a few Russian-made patrol craft arrived at Algiers, and others followed after Ben Bella's far left government was overthrown by Colonel Houari Boumedienne, Ben Bella's Minister of Defense. Altogether, the Algerian Navy now possesses at least ten *Komar* class missile-carrying fast patrol craft and ten P-6 class MTBs. About half of them are based at Mers el Kebir and the balance distributed among other Algerian ports. After the departure of the French, the field and its facilities were extended, with new shops and warehouses added. The airbase is now solidly wired off along the Oran-Tlemcen road and searchlights directed against the wire and its sentry towers illuminate them at night.

Reportedly, both airbase and naval base are heavily guarded by SAM sites built into the surrounding hills. Unlike Mersa Matruh which, when completed, will still be industrially isolated, Mers el Kebir's naval and air base have easy access to such industries as Algeria now possesses. Oran is only ten kilometers away and, with its railroads, airport and small industries, to say nothing of its harbor and port facilities, it can draw upon the products of every factory in Algeria. Besides, the naval base has its own industrial complex along with that of Monte Cristi, an adjacent town, which has long supplied its workmen and shop products to the needs of the base.

Mers el Kebir is the westernmost naval-airbase available for Russian use. There is no

longer a floating drydock inside the outer seawall but set well below the curving road that runs from the old Moorish fortress at the western tip of the bay to Oran, the concrete floor of the base seems to support enough shops and warehouses to service normal needs. When I visited the base last year, a RIGA class ship was tied alongside the western end and welders were at work on its deck. Another missile carrier of the *Komar* class was moored to a float against the southern wall, just east of the broad concrete jetty holding fuel tanks, pumps and loading machinery. Four or five P-6s were tied to a concrete revetment and, at that time completed the naval population of the base.

At Annaba (Bone) in eastern Algeria, a secondary ex-French naval base is a fuel depot for naval and merchant shipping and also has the capability of effecting minor repairs. Few Russian naval vessels but many merchant ships carrying the Soviet flag have been reported during the first half of 1970.

East of Algeria, Libya's political status is still ambiguous at this writing but, as a federative member of a Moslem bloc comprising Egypt, the Sudan and Syria, Libya has little to contribute but its petroleum. Libya's population totals about 2 million and its military forces are minuscule and will remain so even when the 100 Mirage aircraft recently sold them by France become operational. Even more recently the Libyan army received 100 T-54/55 tanks, complete with schnorkels, delivered by Russia. Libya's need for schnorkeled tanks remains a mystery.

A TEMPTATION NOT OVERLOOKED

However, the Libyan coastline along the Mediterranean is lengthy and contains the ports of Tripoli (now Tarabulus), Benghazi and Tobruk, the last port not far from Mersa Matruh and with a slightly better harbor. But of all of Libya's assets to a military alliance Wheelus Airforce Base ranks foremost. This modern and extensively equipped air base was formally abandoned by the United States only after several years of pressure by the Libyan monarchical government and, finally, the military regime which succeeded it. The former United States Wheelus base installations presented an opportunity and a temptation the Russians have not overlooked. Indeed, its existence in the sparsely-populated country may have been a compelling reason behind Libya's acceptance of a federation with Egypt, Syria and the Sudan. Now, accepting the Federation as a fait accompli, only Tunisia and Morocco remain along the southern Mediterranean littoral as free nations, while, between Somalia and the Sudan, only Abyssinia is independent of Soviet controls, and it faces the insurgence of an armed Communist minority.

Otherwise, with Port Sudan, Yemen, South Yemen with Socotra, as well as Somalia contributing their ports and facilities to the Russian Navy and its air arm, most of the Red Sea littoral and its approaches lie under the control of the Kremlin.

Abyssinia, historically, experience two early attempts at infiltration by Russia, both seriocomic, which began in the year of the Suez Canal Convention (1888) under the leadership of Russian Army officers disguised as Orthodox priests. That expedition wound up in a fracas with the French—the "Sagallo Affair"—and nearly wrecked the formative Franco-Russian Alliance. The second, in 1896, began as a private operation by a Russian adventurer named N. S. Leontiev but succeeded so well in bringing together Tsar Nicholas II and the Emperor Menelik that the latter received gifts of Russian machine-guns and small arms just in time to defeat the Italian army at Adowa. If Leontiev had not stolen the large diamond ring presented to Menelik by the Tsar and the Japanese had not diverted St. Petersburg's attention to the Orient, Russia might have had foothold in the Red Sea long ago.

What restrained post-war Moscow from forthright adventurism in the Mediterranean Sea and its Aegean and Adriatic arms was not only its unreadiness for a nuclear showdown with the United States but also that Russia, too, lacked a modern fleet. So, while Washington and London cut their navies to the bone, Russia was earnestly engaged in building one, utilizing the most modern concepts of the west in surface craft construction and from the most advanced German submarines appropriated after the Nazi surrender. While western shipyards languished for lack of work, scores of Eastern Bloc shipyards in the Baltic and Black Seas worked at full capacity to complete their orders. Work was expedited by other methods introduced from the west. Hull sections of light craft and submarines were prefabricated inland and dispatched by rail and canal to coastal shipyards for assembly. By the end of the decade the new Soviet Navy far more powerful and efficient than its prewar "defensive" fleets, was commencing to take shape. And the eastern Mediterranean, with the last British units gone from Alexandria, was more inviting than ever.

STATIC DEFENSE OF THE STATUS QUO

Russian naval construction still continues and Russian expansionist policies still persist in contrast to the west's static defense of the status quo in the Mediterranean. And in this Russia has the advantage. It is far easier to upset an unstable status quo than to uphold it. At the present time, however, Soviet tactics in the eastern Mediterranean are cautious and low-keyed although, in other areas, they range from the furtive to the frankly acquisitive.

In respect to Turkey and the Montreux Convention governing the use of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits, Russia appears in no haste to provoke trouble. Having failed to alter the provisions of the Convention in its favor, the Russians merely evade restrictive provisions when they think it necessary. Most of the warships of the Southern Fleet are based in the Black Sea; the remainder comes from the Baltic, such as the larger vessels and submarines displacing too much tonnage for safe passage through the Bosphorus.

The number and composition of the Russian Southern Fleet is much less static than those of the American 6th Fleet. Ship movements are frequent, especially during the summer. During the brief winter season, about half the fleet returns to its bases. The normal total of Russian warships and auxiliaries on duty during the summer is in the fifties. This figure excludes the 20-30 landing craft (LCVs and LCVPs) regularly tied up at Port Said not far from the barracks housing their 2,500-3,000 crewmen and marines. This is the Southern Fleet's tactical landing force and while it is engaged in exercises almost constantly at some point or other within the eastern Mediterranean, its force is fairly constant. Its movements, however, are closely watched.

Since the Black Sea, with its Sevastopol base and supplementary supply center at nearby Balaklava, as well as the facilities available at the Nikolaev shipyards about 70 miles northeast of Odessa, is the natural reservoir of the Southern Fleet, a primary consideration is the unimpeded passage of the straits. Article 11 of the Montreux Convention governing the use of the straits is regarded by Russia as restrictive. As one of the original signatories Russian violations of the Convention are generally discreet. Submarines passing through the Bosphorus do not always complete their transits by daylight or on the surface, nor do warships debouching from the Black Sea always give their true destination, but on the whole, they maintain the appearance of compliance. Even the helicopter carriers of the *Moskva* Class, built at Marti Shipyard No. 2 at Nikolaev on the Bug River northeast of Odessa, are registered at

the uppermost limit of the Convention although their displacement is rated somewhat higher than the 15,000 tons stipulated.

During its month of duty the Soviet Southern Fleet, in contrast to the relatively passive 6th Fleet, is quite active in its performance of maneuvers and exercises either on its own or in conjunction with units of the Syrian or Egyptian navies. Mock attacks by fast patrol craft or practice landings by small forces using LCVs and LCVPs are part of the routine. Shadowing the movements of the 6th Fleet and snooping on the annual maneuvers of NATO is another. But this is common practice on both sides and evokes little more than irritation and the dispatch of a destroyer to warn off the intruder. Officially, the two opposing fleets coldly ignore the existence of each other.

With the exception of the two helicopter carriers, the modern Soviet Navy depends on smaller warships with much bigger punch than those flourished by the obsolete 6-inch gun cruisers of the *Dzerzhinski* and *Sverdlov* classes (15,450 tons). Two or three of the latter class have been reported on station in the Mediterranean but it is likely that their principal value lies in the effect produced among impressionable populations by their size. The real heavyweights of the Southern Fleet are the DDGs of the *Kresta* (6,000 tons) and *Kynda* (4,300 tons) classes, equipped with long range (200 miles) cruise missiles of the *Shaddock* type as well as ASW and AA missiles. Small, fast ships with high maneuverability, they are the backbone of the Soviet surface fleets. Close behind them in deadliness are the fast patrol boats of the *Osa* and *Komar* classes of 200 and 75 tons respectively—gas turbine ships rated at 35-40 knots and sporting short-range (about 12 miles) cruise missiles of the *Styx* type. Speed, maneuverability and relatively shallow draft especially qualify the Southern Fleet for Mediterranean operations where their low visibility and powerful punch from the shelter of the hundreds of islands and inlets of the area endow them with a guerrilla-like menace to less agile and much larger warships.

If, as seems likely, Russia intends to so fill the Mediterranean with Russian naval-air bases and, eventually with merchant shipping, to such an extent that non-Russian flag commerce and communications are strangled, Moscow is now proceeding along the correct path to that objective. In the light of the present situation, Russia is in firm control of the southern and eastern littorals of the Mediterranean and most of the Red Sea. East of Suez, with the solitary exception of the Saudi Arabian coast, Russian controls not only the Red Sea but its southern gate.

Yemeni Hodeida, the ex-British base at Aden, and Somalia's Berbera are now hosts to the Russian Navy and, last year, the arid but highly strategic island of Socotra, completing the Aden-Berbera-Socotra triangle astride the Red Sea gate to the Indian Ocean, was turned over to the Russian fleet as a combined communications station and air base built by a hard-working Russian construction battalion.

RUSSIA HOLDS ALL THE ACES

West of Suez, Russia holds all the aces. It has Port Said and Alexandria at the extreme east of the Mediterranean and Mers el Kebir at the extreme west. In between are ancillary bases at Mersa Matruh, Annaba and Algiers. Later, Libya may contribute Tarabulus (Tripoli) and the highly valuable Wheelus Air Force Base. Airports operated by Russia or open to their aircraft range from Alexandria and Cairo through Algeria's Dar el Beyda to Mers el Kebir.

In addition to its continental bases, the Russian Navy has also explored and employed the convenience stations of several "holding grounds" in the international waters of the Mediterranean. These are:

1. The Karpathos Banks between Crete and Rhodes and including the island of Kasos (Greek territory) where landing parties of Russian marines have held exercises. Shoal waters may be as shallow as 4-7 fathoms.

2. The Mammet and Hurd shoals straddle the Sicilian Strait (the "Bomb Alley" of World War II) from Ras et Tib, on Tunisia's northernmost peninsula, to Malta. Hama-met offers a good anchorage at 20-45 fathoms.

3. The Alboran Bank, just east of Gibraltar, contains an extensive elevation from the sea floor averaging about 30 fathoms. Despite the eccentric currents, the Alboran shoals proved a valuable Russian anchorage during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

Russia guards its continental bases carefully but it pays the nationals of the country to do the work. Egyptian police and soldiers guard Alexandria; Algerians are stationed at the barricade before Mers el Kebir. Counter espionage duties, supervised by Russians, are in the main performed by national police. Workmen at the bases are meticulously screened and live under the scrutiny of security police. Russian technicians generally live in enclaves of their own; in Algeria, their barbed wire enclave is known as La Ville Chinoise. While the reason is unknown, the Russians are not well liked in Egypt or Algeria.

Alexandria's Inner Harbor, lying to the east of the main harbor and partially closed off from it by a mole, is the home base of the Russian Southern Fleet. The British equipped it well and the Russians have improved on it, adapting it to their special needs. It has heavy duty cranes capable of handling better than 20 tons, three graving docks (one large; two small) modernized machine shops and fitting yards. It ranks next to the Sevastopol-Balaklava complex as a base and depot for stores. Included in its eastern perimeter is the Ras at Tin Palace, once a popular shop place but now closed to the public. It is reported to be the headquarters of the Southern Fleet. A high wooden fence with barred gates and sentry boxes just inside the gates close off the dock area to all but authorized personnel. The broad space between the fence and the city streets surrounding the dock area has been cleared of buildings and trees and signs proclaim it a "children's playground." Few children may be found there.

Every street intersection in view of the dock area has a parked car on one corner containing one alert driver, a young man in his shirt sleeves. Every building on the city side of the street with a roof high enough to overlook the dock area has its complement of security police, casually dressed in European clothes. Signs inconspicuously posted on utility poles warn that photography is forbidden and that the penalty will include summary confiscation of the offending camera. A total of 17 amateur photographers suffering incarceration in Egyptian jails in the spring of 1970 prove the sincerity of the warning.

GIVE IT A WIDE BERTH

With the exception of vessels flying the Russian, or Egyptian flags, no shipping is permitted within the Inner Harbor now to pass within photographic range. Egyptian fishing boats and alien merchant ships give it a wide berth. Nevertheless, it is easy to see that the yard is well stocked, being jammed from the concrete apron to the fence with carefully tarpaulined crates. Lanes for motor trucks are cut between the high walls of crates and some of them are large enough to hold motor cars or gun mounts, diesel engines or launch rails for *Styx* missiles. The tall radio mast towers over the dun pile of what was once a resplendent palace for Egyptian kings.

Alexandria is undoubtedly well fortified. Its airport is now turned over to the Egyptian and Russian air forces and a new

airport in the delta nearby includes new double launching pads for SAM-3 missiles. Along the eastern seawall of the East Harbor and just seaward of the corniche highway where the old Naval Museum used to show its ancient cannon to tourists for two pias-tres, a 60-foot tower supports the rotating antenna of a horizon search radar and inside the seawall beneath the mast are two SAM-3 missile launchers, their turret-like structures plainly visible to anyone walking along the corniche and sufficiently interested to hoist himself up on the 2 meter-high wall to look at them. Like the Ras et Tin Palace, the whole seawall is now closed to the public. Work was started on the present site in December 1969 and completed in April 1970.

A NEWLY EXPANDED AIRPORT

Mersa Matruh, along the highway toward the western desert and about two-thirds of the way to the Libyan frontier, is currently absorbing most of the Russian navy's efforts to build an auxiliary base toward the west. With a newly expanded military airport to its south the picturesque little harbour and port is no longer a resort for bored Cairene businessmen anxious to find a refugee in the sun. The Russians have it.

As 1971 becomes history, the balance of power in the Mediterranean remains precarious. A defensive NATO, spearheaded by the American 6th Fleet, observes rather than opposes the steady westward progression of the Soviet Union through its naval and air arms. Technically, Russian expansion through the Middle East and North Africa has not been the product of conquest or even of aggression. In each case the country falling into Moscow's embrace has been a willing victim. It may also be true that in some cases a military coup d'etat has been a necessary preliminary, as in Syria and Algeria and Libya. But in most Islamic nations Russia was believed to be the lesser of two evils. The alternative, they believe, is extinction at the hands of Israel.

Thus, though not without consideration of American assistance, the Kremlin has managed to maneuver the United States into the position of a de facto ally of Israel and so an enemy of at least five Moslem nations with an aggregate population of 62 million and with memories that will guarantee hostile shores for many decades.

Russia, on the other hand, has won the domination of the eastern and southern Mediterranean littorals at very little expense. Moscow also has unrestricted access to the resources of the five nations, three of which are heavy producers of petroleum, and a position enabling the Kremlin to cut off Middle Eastern oil at its Mediterranean outlets almost at will. Moreover, the positions at home of the three Arab States still friendly to Washington, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Jordan, have become seriously compromised by that friendship. If their governments should succumb to pressures exerted by fellow religionists in their own and neighboring nations, NATO nations would have to buy their oil from Russia.

GOALS ALREADY WON

Fundamentally, Moscow's two Mediterranean goals have already been won. They now possess their Middle Eastern base and access to Middle Eastern petroleum. But, as opportunists, other and even more attractive and prestigious targets have appeared as the great empires of the west declined and, as a "superstate," Russian ambitions have soared. But then, so have its requirements, even necessities, in order to maintain its supremacy within its own bloc of satellites. There have been too many national defections; too many rebellions among satellites; too many evidences of discontent even within Russia to encourage the Kremlin's confidence in the permanence of Soviet power. Russia has experienced too many failures as well. The breakaway of Red China destroyed the illu-

sion of a monolithic Communist state in Eurasia; isolated West Berlin stands out like a derisive thumb in the middle of East Germany. Independent Yugoslavia has gained a convert in Romania and truculent little Albania still perfers Peking to Moscow. Russia was evicted from Ghana and then repulsed by Nigeria. And, to cut a long list short, Russia came out a poor second in the race to the moon.

But in one respect besides its monumental achievement of its two original goals Russian long-term planning has been eminently successful. Its merchant marine now bids fair to rival the great shipping nations of the world. And for this reason, if no other, the Russian Navy must continue to expand in order to safeguard a potentially great commerce. And if "Trade Follows the Flag," as the British used to assert, the Soviet Union would have a new—and pragmatic—reason for the production of consumer goods.

If the Soviet Union were now secure in its domestic problems, its relations with satellites and dependencies, and enjoyed normal competitive relations with the non-Communist countries of the East and West, it could well afford to await the outcome of a peaceful rivalry. But the Soviet Union is self-exiled, a wilful pariah at war with the fundamental philosophy of the West, and it cannot wait. It believes it must seize and possess and, when its power becomes unchallengeable, it may dispose as it wishes.

Meanwhile, as opportunity offers, it snaps up any and all unguarded properties and rights wherever the once-great Powers have left them. To the extent of their capacity, Turkey and Greece are the NATO powers of the eastern Mediterranean; Italy and Spain, with the potential assistance of France, shield southern Europe. And the 6th Fleet represents the interests of the United States and Western Europe.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF A MAN NOT AS IMPORTANT AS HIS HUMANITY

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, it is a rare reporter or political writer in Washington who is not fond of attaching to one or another Member of Congress the label "conservative," or "liberal," or, as the current phrase goes, "moderate."

These labels, of course, provide a handy general guide to a Representative's or Senator's voting predispositions. But there is considerable danger, Mr. Speaker, in blindly assuming that the "liberal" approach—or the "conservative" approach—to all problems is the correct one.

This important fact, which tends to become obfuscated in the ideological fog that sometimes shrouds Washington, was highlighted recently by Dr. Madison V. Scott, senior minister at the Wilson Congressional Church in Wilton, Conn. In a "Sermon to Conservatives and Liberals," Dr. Scott observes that:

He is the best conservative or liberal who is sometimes not sure which he is—conservative or liberal. Such a man is a human being first and a conservative or liberal second!

Mr. Speaker, as we begin this final session of the 92d Congress, I believe Dr.

Scott's words have immediate relevance to us all, and I am including at this point the text of his sermon:

A SERMON TO CONSERVATIVES AND LIBERALS

(A Sermon by Dr. Madison V. Scott, Senior Minister, The Wilton Congregational Church, Wilton, Conn.)

"Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord. . . ."—Isaiah 1:18.

Have you ever pondered that old question, "Does the chance to steal make a thief, or does a thief make the chance?" One modern writer said, "The liberal is inclined to believe that it is the occasion that makes the thief, while the conservative usually holds that the thief is likely to create the occasion. The liberal believes that the individual and society can be improved through education and social reform, while the conservative thinks that it is 'human nature' and not environment that makes individuals and society what they are." The argument between heredity and environment is an old one. "Eugenics" is defined as "a science that deals with developing human well-being and efficient functioning through the improvement of environmental conditions," and "eugenics" is defined as "a science that deals with the improvement of hereditary qualities . . . by . . . control of . . . mating and reproduction." The debate between the two is ancient and is not likely to end soon. Using this contrast as a criterion, you may evaluate yourself as a conservative or as a liberal. I confess that I find a bit of both attitudes in myself. I think there are occasions that make thieves, and I think some thieves do make their own occasions.

I further think that neither eugenics nor eugenics, neither conservatives nor liberals, have the whole truth on their side. I see grave faults in both.

There is in conservatism the danger of an overprotected good. In wanting to preserve a good way of life, conservatism often overprotects against change. It worships the status quo, anathematizes nonconformists, deifies the past, and sometimes becomes hysterical about change and innovation. Conservatism not only overprotects the good against change, it also overprotects the good for the fortunate. Conservatism's good is often an aristocratic good, a good overprotected for the aristocracy of the lucky, the strong, the successful. Little is done to protect the unlucky, the elderly, the less talented against the cruelties of life in a society geared to overprotecting the good life for those lucky in business and health.

There is in liberalism the danger of an overzealous good. In trying to do man too much good, liberalism can do man much harm. In trying to guarantee man happiness, we can rob man of his freedom. We can turn him into an over-tranquilized, comfort-loving lotus-eater. In trying to provide man halcyon days all his life, we may pervert him into a domesticated lapdog, a sybarite with no love beyond that of the pleasures of bed and board.

The danger of either philosophy, conservative or liberal, can lead to tragic results. James Kilpatrick, writing in defense of conservatism, declared, "The Conservative expects some men to succeed, and proposes to see that they are rewarded for it; and he equally expects some men to fail, and does not comprehend why they should be absolved by the State from their failures." That sounds simple and fair—but it is too simple. It overlooks such things as failures caused by sheer bad luck or catastrophe. It overlooks the injustice of inflation that can leave a retired couple penniless in their old age, even though they were hard working and decent and carefully saved all through the years for their last days. It overlooks the days of ruthless, unscrupulous business competition, the days of the railroad overlords, one

of whom, William Vanderbilt, said, "The public be damned." It overlooks the words of Theodore Roosevelt describing such days, "A riot of individualistic materialism, under which complete freedom for the individual . . . turned out in practice to mean perfect freedom for the strong to wrong the weak. . . ."

Mr. Kilpatrick also said, "The Conservative . . . agrees with that brilliant Virginian John Randolph in denouncing the myth that men are created equal. 'I do not believe it,' said Randolph more than a century ago, 'for the best of all reasons, that it is not so.'" But the same John Randolph summed up his beliefs by saying, "I am an aristocrat. I love liberty; I hate equality." Such a man and such an attitude belong somewhere back in the middle ages, for they made a thousand years of feudalism possible, a thousand years with the nobility superior by birth and the peasants cruelly inferior by accident of birth. There are particulars in which we are not equal, of course, but this democracy and all civilized life hangs on the belief that we are equal in rights before the law, equal in the right to be free from hunger and fear, equal in the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Henry David Thoreau once said, "If I knew for a certainty that a man was coming to my house with the conscious design of doing me good, I should run for my life. . . ." There is a certain kind of good we all should run from. It is the kind of good that is going to do me good whether I want to have good done to me or not. William H. Whyte, Jr., in his book, *The Organization Man*, speaks of "social engineering," and says that the social engineers have this as their goal, "They'll make . . . people happy whether they want to be or not." God spare me the kind of happiness that will make me happy whether I want to be happy or not! Liberalism always faces the danger of violating man with an excessive good, an overzealous good. In its zeal for man's happiness, liberalism can violate the freedom and dignity of man by trying to adjust him into happiness. Liberalism must recognize the right to be unhappy! Aldous Huxley, in *Brave New World*, spoke of "the welfare-tyranny of Utopia." There could be such a thing. Liberalism, with its overzealous good, could produce it. The right to be unhappy protects us against the "welfare-tyranny" of an utopia liberalism might arrange. No man should be manipulated into peace of mind. The right to be unhappy preserves man's autonomy, man's freedom. The right to be unhappy means that, although the state must remove from society as many causes of unhappiness as possible, the state has no right whatsoever to make me happy. The state is to make it possible for me to be happy—I alone am to make me happy. There are one thousand things that can make you unhappy. There is only one thing that can make you happy—you!

Conservatism, through its caution, must not jeopardize man's right to be happy. Liberalism, through its zeal, must not forget man's right to be unhappy. Both are basic rights of every man.

Conservatism, with its aristocratic good, protected for the strong and the successful, customarily stresses rugged individualism. Liberalism, with its zeal for arranging the environment to promote happiness, customarily stresses community, man in relation to other men and to society. I strongly suggest that liberalism and conservatism need each other, because mature, healthy human existence is made of both things, individualism and community. If we are mature, each of us must have his solitude moments and his social moments. These are the two polar values between which our healthy existence moves. That person who can't be alone, that person who can live only in crowds or with company, is not a real person. That person

who is a recluse, a hermit, who never wants relations, is not a full person. And conservatism and liberalism both have something basic to say to us.

There is such a thing as a conservative syndrome and a liberal syndrome. He has one of these syndromes who always and everywhere automatically reacts to questions and to issues just as a conservative or a liberal is supposed to react.

To have one of these syndromes means to have your emotions and opinions programmed by your liberal or conservative mind-set. Do you know who the worst liberal or the worst conservative is? It is the person who is a conservative or a liberal *before he is a human being!* The worst liberal is he who is blindly, compulsively, fanatically liberal. The worst conservative is he who automatically, mechanically reacts as a good conservative is supposed to react, without ever asking what he himself, as a free human being, thinks about the particular matter. I say he is the worst of conservatives or liberals who cannot think about truth or justice or simple humanity before he thinks of his conservatism or his liberalism.

I say that he is the best conservative or liberal who is sometimes not sure which he is—conservative or liberal. Such a man is a human being first and a conservative or a liberal second! I somewhat fear the man who always knows exactly what he is, conservative or liberal. I had rather be sure of my humanity and be confused about my conservatism or liberalism than to be sure of my conservatism or liberalism and be confused about my humanity.

I should be interested in knowing whether you are for one candidate or another, but most of all I should like to know whether you are for humanity. This country, this world, will not be saved by conservatives or liberals. It will be saved by human beings who happen to be somewhat conservative or somewhat liberal. No person has the right in today's world to be more of a conservative or a liberal than he is a human being.

LT. WALLACE "WALLY" BERARD

HON. FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, Lt. Wallace "Wally" Berard, Woonsocket's unofficial "ambassador of good will," has retired after 40 years with the city's police department.

From the day he joined the force in 1931, Wally has been a most unusual policeman. He was always exceptionally polite and pleasant to everybody. He would routinely go out of his way to help tourists and residents find their way. His reassuring "Follow me" and his courtesy salute as he left citizens at their destination inspired hundreds of people, from Woonsocket and across the Nation, to write letters of thanks to the mayor, police chief, and editor of the Woonsocket Call.

His superiors also recognized his unique talents for helping people. And as a result Wally never served as a sergeant. Instead he was promoted directly to lieutenant.

I have known Wally since I was a boy growing up in Woonsocket. He was a pal to every youngster, a patient listener, and a man with a lot of heart. Wally

thoroughly enjoyed his work. He often told friends that he tried to do at least one good deed every day. He usually exceeded that goal.

Wally started his present assignment in 1946 when Woonsocket installed its first parking meters. Wally and his white three-wheeled motorcycle he called his "iron steed" were a familiar sight to Woonsocket residents. Wally's career spanned five police chiefs and a lot of history. He watched Woonsocket develop over the years into a thriving community, as he rode through its streets checking parking meters. Wally often said he did not like to give out parking tickets because they "made a lot of people unhappy." Today the tickets are long forgotten. But a lot of people remember how Wally helped them find their way over the last 40 years.

At this point I would like to insert in the RECORD an article about Lieutenant Berard's career which appeared on the front page of the Woonsocket Call of January 5, 1972:

"WALLY" BERARD HITCHES UP HIS IRON STEED FOR LAST TIME

(By Bill Burlingame)

A Woonsocket policeman who probably has logged more motorcycle miles than any other law officer in the state answered the daily police headquarters roll call today for the last time.

Lt. Wallace H. Berard—oldest member of the department both in age and years of service—went into retirement after completing today's assignments.

A familiar figure on his three-wheel "bike" for many years, "Wally," as he was known to almost everyone, was Woonsocket's unofficial "ambassador of goodwill."

Time and again, strangers coming into Woonsocket and needing directions were escorted to their destinations by the ever-smiling cop on his white steed: Five police chiefs and many mayors received hundreds of letters of appreciation—usually with the policeman involved identified only by his badge number. Many of those letters still are in Chief Matthew E. Lynch's files.

Berard thoroughly enjoyed his every-day role, even though it wasn't always a matter of pleasantries. He said today that he tried to do at least one good deed every day. And he seldom missed.

"I've made a lot of people happy," he recalled, "and I've made a lot unhappy while dishing out those tickets." But tagging cars, for parking and other infractions, was Berard's job, and the tickets he attached to door handles and windshield wipers couldn't be helped.

With his retirement this afternoon, Lieutenant Berard completed 40 years and seven months as a policeman. He will receive slightly more than 65 percent of his pay as his retirement salary.

As he reminisced, "Wally" estimated that he averaged about 40 miles a day checking parking meters throughout the city. A bit of quick arithmetic indicates that he therefore drove a succession of two- and then three-wheel motorcycles about 384,000 miles during his colorful career.

And, as one department official put it, "those were hard miles, because Woonsocket is such a small community in area."

In rain, snow, sleet—no matter what—Berard always was on the road. "I never was really grounded," he laughingly recalled. "But if my iron steed started coughing—perhaps in a major blizzard—then I knew it was time to go into the police garage."

Lieutenant Berard served under five police chiefs, starting with the late Frederick E.

Coe, and at least eight captains. With his departure, Patrolman Armand Brissette, currently on sick leave, succeeds to the title as oldest department member.

Lieutenant Berard, whose father was a downtown druggist, graduated from La Salle Academy, Providence, where he captained the football team in 1926.

He received an athletic scholarship from Dean Academy—now Dean Junior College—in Franklin, where he played under the well-known Dan Sullivan until his senior year. As a senior, "Wally" suffered a serious injury to his left knee, however, and was advised to give up football.

His first job, after leaving school, was in the lines department of the Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric Co. Then he worked as a receiver and shipper for Fairmount Dye Works Inc. and later was a tree surgeon in the employ of Woonsocket's George Egan.

"Then I received that all-important letter," Berard recalled, "and I started as a police patrolman on May 12, 1931."

His first assignment was on a two-wheel motorcycle. Soon after, he said, Woonsocket police received one-way radio sets for cycles and cars—the first department in New England to become radio-equipped. That occurred under Chief Coe, whose son, Arthur, served as radioman. Arthur since has retired.

"Wally" worked for a time in cruiser cars and later served in the detective division. He started his motorcycle assignment about 26 years ago, with the advent of parking meters.

The late Capt. John C. Seaver was Berard's first "boss." "Wally" probably worked for the longest period of time under Capt. Leo F. Greene, also retired.

"Wally" never served as a sergeant. He was promoted to lieutenant, from a patrolman's rank, on Aug. 20, 1952. The popular policeman will mark his 65th birthday next Tuesday.

Lieutenant Berard was married to the former Florence L. Guerin of Bellingham, who died Oct. 24, 1963. There are four children and nine grandchildren.

The newly retired lieutenant will be honored at a testimonial a week from tomorrow night in Felici's Restaurant, Rathbun Street. Arrangements are under the direction of Asst. Chief Joseph G. Ballargeon, Chief Inspector Raymond D. Tempest and Sgt. Edward R. Phaneuf.

Nonpolice friends of the veteran officer are invited to attend, according to the chairman, who may be contacted for tickets

FRANCE—MOTHER LODE FOR AMERICAN HEROIN

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, America writhes agonizedly in the ever-tightening grip of the heroin addiction problem. Our streets have become addict infested jungles. Entire neighborhoods of every American city have become uninhabitable because of the narcotics traffic and its fallout. America is becoming a Nation of fearful people largely because of this ugly traffic. It has reached such a point that we must attack it as a society or be poisoned unto death by its spread.

What is all so amazing about this situation is that we know where the heroin is coming from, who is sending it, how it is being sent, and almost all the facts surrounding the drug trade. Most of the

narcotics come from Turkey in the form of raw opium, smuggled out of the Middle East with the complicity of Syria and Lebanon. These smugglers sell the raw opium, in bulk, to criminals, who operate in cartels.

Raw opium in large quantities is forthwith shipped to Marseilles in southern France, where it is then turned into what we know as morphine in secret laboratories maintained by these cartels. It is to be especially noted that such laboratories have long been known to exist in the Paris and Marseilles area. In fact, bulk opium shipments and their conversion to morphine and then heroin have been a longstanding monopoly of these French operations.

A series of relatively complicated chemical processes, often dangerous and requiring large amounts of electricity, are required to bring about the transformation from opium to morphine to heroin. Such a sophisticated enterprise as a drug conversion laboratory cannot long escape the notice of official authorities. When upwards of half a dozen of them are operating simultaneously, it is relatively simple for authorities to ascertain what is going on.

The overwhelming majority of these laboratories are located in the Marseilles area. Quantities of opium flow into this area, are converted and then flow onward as heroin, almost always into the United States. Mr. Speaker, it is my belief, and that of many other observers, on both sides of the ocean, that all this is being done with the full knowledge, and perhaps even the connivance, of highly placed French authorities.

Every Member in this Chamber is aware of the circumstances of which I speak. Every Member of this House is even more aware of the consequences for our constituents and our Nation of this nefarious traffic.

Dead teenagers. Overdoses. Shoplifting. Muggings. Housebreaking to gain something to pawn. Degradation. Prostitution for young girls. Murder. The destruction of an entire generation of our young. Let every parent in the Nation whose children have been affected by this sit up and take notice. Let every person whose life has been affected by hard drugs pay attention. It is time to rip away the mask of friendship from the face of France and expose the deceit, hatred, and duplicity which underlies it.

Our constituents are all too often impaled on the needle of addiction. Our friends and neighbors live under the shadow of heroin addiction. Investigations have borne the following fruits:

Claude Gravagna, spokesman for the French Confederation of Labor, has stated that the number of customs agents at Marseilles has dropped from 940 in 1950 to 670 in 1971. Meanwhile, the traffic passing through this major port has been constantly escalating.

He has exposed France in another area as well. While she boasts of her share in the international war upon narcotics, the U.N. Division of Narcotics Drugs reports she has not paid her promised contribution to the U.N. Fund for Drug Abuse Control as of the end of last

month. Finally, under the intense heat of publicity, she announced a \$100,000 contribution for 1972. John Cusak, a courageous American public servant, is, or has been, desk chief for Europe for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. In spite of efforts to shut him up, he has courageously spoken his mind about this intolerable situation. He estimates that between eight and 12 clandestine labs are operating currently in the Marseilles area alone. And as for shutting them down, only 13 such facilities have been shut down by the French since the early 1950's.

A flood of white death pours from France into the needles of American drug addicts. The interceptions we have made here are indications of what these people are doing to us.

April 5, 1971, 96 pounds of pure heroin, worth \$12 million, is found in a car shipped from Le Havre by an American customs agent. In May of 1971, 201 pounds of heroin, worth an estimated \$30 million at street prices, is found in San Juan hidden in a Citroen being shipped here by two French citizens. One was an employee of a French city.

On July 23, 1971, 100 kilos of heroin was seized in San Juan, hidden in a car shipped from Marseilles. One hundred thirteen kilos were seized at Valencia, Spain, and a French couple en route from Marseilles was arrested.

Here is what is murdering our youth. Here is the American supply of hard drugs for the addicts pouring home from Vietnam. And it is also plain that the situation has gotten so far out of hand that from within the French Government there are charges of corruption in narcotics control. On this past September 1, regional leaders of the French national union of customs officials charged that there is official Government protection at high levels for the Marseilles underworld figures trafficking in heroin for the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the United States must take vigorous, uncompromising action to cripple this unholy trade. If we do not act in this manner, this cancer will continue to eat at the vitals of the Nation until it destroys us as a viable national entity. Nor is this concept out of the question. We must act out of a simple sense of self protection.

France has never been anything but a nation dedicated to self-gain, preferably at the expense of the United States. The instances of such behavior on her part are as harmful and severe as they are numerous and well documented. In every international endeavor the United States has been involved in, since the end of the Second World War, France has lingered near the fringes of that enterprise, seeking her opportunity. When it has presented itself, she has seized the chance to do us some harm, be it by encouraging Quebec separatism, selling arms, betraying diplomatic positions, or voting against us on international questions.

It is painfully obvious that the main conduit and source of supply for our burgeoning heroin addict population is France. Such traffic could never survive, much less grow, without the connivance of high French Government officials. In

turn, this must be known at the highest levels of all. Our repeated requests have been met with bland denials. Our own State Department, ready as ever to subliminate American interests to false foreign friends, merely makes excuses for our French enemies. Nor can we expect anything from them but more of the same. It is up to the Congress to act.

We could commence by a nationwide boycott of French goods. In any event, Mr. Speaker, we must hold France's feet to the fire in regard to the heroin traffic presently going on so blithely and undisturbed. It has become purely and simply a matter of self-preservation.

SUMMARY OF RENT INCREASE GUIDELINES

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the 90-day freeze was lifted in mid-November, the Price Commission has issued three different sets of guidelines to govern rent increases. This fact and the complex nature of the final regulations issued last December 29 have created much confusion. However, in a news release of December 30, the Commission provided a concise summary of the regulations which should help most citizens understand precisely how the guidelines affect their rents. Under unanimous consent I include that summary at this point in the RECORD as well as the sections from the regulations themselves pertaining to notification procedures and harassment of tenants:

SUMMARY OF GUIDELINES TO GOVERN RENT INCREASES

Price Commission Chairman C. Jackson Grayson today reminded landlords and tenants that the Price Commission's new regulations on rent went into effect yesterday.

Grayson pointed out that under these regulations a tenant who has a month-to-month (or less) lease and who did not pay his January rent before December 29, 1971, will pay the same rent for January as he did for December. This situation exists because a transaction had not occurred prior to that date.

The Price Commission statement covering this aspect of the rent regulations follows:

Any person who rents his residence on a month-to-month lease (or less) and who receives notice from his landlord before January 1, 1972, that his rent is to be raised January 1, 1972, but who did not pay his January rent on or before Tuesday, December 28, 1971, does not have to pay the increase. He has to pay only the same rent for January, 1972, that he paid for December, 1971. This is so because, on a month-to-month lease, a transaction does not occur until the rent is actually paid or the person continues to live in the residence on or after January 1, 1972. Therefore, if the rent was not paid on or before December 28, 1971, any increase for the January rent is covered by the provisions of the regulations that became effective December 29, 1971, because a transaction had not occurred prior to this date. These regulations preclude any increase in the rent of that residence until the base rent of that residence has been determined according to the new regulations and until proper notice of the increase has been given.

A brief summary of the new Rent Regulations is attached.

RENT

Supplemental guidance

A. Introduction.—The Price Commission's rent regulations are designed to reduce the average rate of rent increases while allowing the landlord to maintain a reasonable rate of profit. The regulations provide for the determination of base rentals. To this base rental, the landlord may add a 2½ percent annual rent increment to cover operating costs, such as labor, electricity, gas, fuel, interest, etc. Increases in state or local property taxes, Government fees and levies and increases in charges for municipal services (exclusive of gas and electricity) may also be added to the base rent plus 2½ percent increment.

BASE RENT

B. 1) Leases of one month or less.—The basic rent for a unit on a month-to-month (or less) lease is the rent permitted for that particular unit during the freeze period beginning August 15 and ending November 13, 1971. If the rents for such units have been increased above the freeze rent in accordance with previous regulations, they must now be adjusted downward. For example, if a tenant on a month-to-month lease paid \$100/month rental during the base period and is now paying \$110/month, his base rent is \$100/month, and his current rent (as of December 29, 1971) will be rolled back to that level. The landlord is not required to reimburse the tenant for payments made at the higher rate up to December 29. With 30 days notice, the landlord may increase the base rent to the level permitted by the rent adjustments of 2½ percent plus cost pass through.

B. 2) Leases of more than one month.—The base rent for a unit with a lease of more than one month, is the average rent (figured on a percentage increase basis) charged for units in the same building or complex in transactions executed between July 16, 1971, and August 15, 1971. If there were no transactions in this period, the nearest 30-day period in which there was a transaction will be used up to within 90 days preceding August 15, 1971. The base rent of units for which leases were signed during the 90 days prior to August 15, 1971, is the rent specified in that lease.

For example, a tenant under such a lease now pays \$100/month rental for his apartment and his lease expires on January 1. During the period from July 16, 1971, and August 15, 1971, there were two lease transactions in his building. The rent of one apartment was increased from \$100 to \$110 and the rent of a second apartment was increased from \$200 to \$220. The landlord calculates the average percentage increase by adding the rentals paid for each unit after the rent increase and dividing their sum by the sum of total rent paid for each unit before the increase.

$$\begin{array}{r} 110 + 220 \\ \hline 100 \quad 200 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 330 \\ \hline 300 \end{array} = 1.10$$

The base rent for the tenant whose lease expires on January 1 is calculated by multiplying his present rental by 1.10. His base rent then becomes \$110.

If there were no transactions during the 90-day period preceding the freeze the base rent is a 5 percent increase over the rental prevailing for the unit as of May 25, 1970, or the rent specified in his current lease, whichever is greater.

If leases have been signed since the freeze which comply with the "highest transaction" rule but not with the new definition, these leases may remain in effect.

C. Rent adjustment.—The following may be added to all base rentals if leases or terms of rental agreement permit increases:

1. An annual rent increment of 2.5 percent. This increment is automatic and may be added even if there is not an identifiable increase in operating costs.

2. Increases in state or local property taxes, increases in government fees and levies, and charges for municipal services (exclusive of gas and electricity). These charges may be added onto the base rent (dollar per dollar) in addition to the 2.5 percent increment increase. Pass through of these costs must be made, after the 2.5 percent increment, by allocation to such costs in individual units based on the relationship of a unit's rent to the sum of the rents of all units to which the cost applies.

3. An increase for capital improvements made after August 15, 1971. The amount of the increase in monthly rent for a unit may not exceed 1.5 percent of the cost of the capital improvement applicable to the rental unit. If this amount is less than \$1.00 per month, the landlord may not add it to the base rent unless the substantial capital improvement directly benefits all residences in a building or complex as a whole, for example, the addition of an air conditioning system. However, a rent increase for a capital improvement may not exceed ten percent of the monthly rental without IRS approval.

Example: The base rent for unit A is \$100 and the lease expires on January 1, 1971. Property taxes on the unit have increased by \$2.00/month. In addition, the landlord panelled the unit at a cost of \$500. What rent may he charge on January 1, 1971?

He may add the 2.5 percent increment (\$2.50), the \$2.00 tax increase and 1.5 percent of the \$500 substantial capital improvement (\$7.50) to the base rent of \$100.

\$100.
2.50 (increment)
2.00 (taxes)
7.50 (capital improvement)
<hr/>
112.00

Thus, he may increase the monthly rental to \$112.00.

D. Notification of rent increases.—Tenants must receive written notice at least 30 days before a rent increase goes into effect. The burden of proof for proper notification is on the landlord, who may obtain proof in either of two ways: 1. Send notices by regular mail and sign a notarized affidavit that a specific number of notices were sent to specified tenants at specified addresses on specified dates; or, 2. hand-delivered notices may be served, and receipts obtained from tenants or their agents.

The notifications must contain the citation of the regulation under which the increase is allowed, accompanied by an explanation in laymen's language. Further explanation of the regulation's application to the tenant's increase should contain: the rent before the increase; the rent after the increase; the percentage of the increase; amount of the increase; the date the increase is effective; the example of the computation of the increase; other information necessary for checking the computation of the increase such as identification of the units involved in the computation, and the dates and amounts of transactions, taxes and municipal charges and how they are prorated, and full descriptions of capital improvement charges and how they are prorated.

The tenant may question an increase and has the right to see the landlord's documentation supporting the rent increase.

E. Rental units exempt from Price Commission regulations.—The following types of rental units are exempt from these pricing regulations:

1. Industrial, farm and non-residential commercial property.

2. Rental units on which construction is completed and a Certificate of Occupancy or

other similar document is issued for the first time after August 15, 1971.

3. Rehabilitated dwellings for which the cost of rehabilitation exceeds one-third of the total value of the rehabilitated property (including the cost of rehabilitation) and for which a Certificate of Occupancy or similar document is issued for the newly rehabilitated dwelling for the first time after August 15, 1971.

F. Violation.—If a tenant does not understand the basis for a rent increase, he should meet with the landlord to discuss the justification for the increase. If the landlord refuses to meet with him or if, after meeting with the landlord, he believes that the increase is in violation of the regulations, the tenant should provide the Internal Revenue Service with a copy of the notification of the proposed rent increase and a detailed statement in writing as to why he believes there has been a violation.

G. Exceptions.—Requests for exception from rent regulations shall be considered by the Price Commission only in cases of extreme hardship under criteria to be specified by the Commission. A lessor seeking an exception shall, at the time the exception is requested, notify his tenants on a unit-by-unit basis as to the dollar and percentage amount of any adjustment or increase being sought.

SUBPARTS D-E [RESERVED]

SUBPART F—RENTAL INCREASE PROCEDURE

§ 301.501 General rule.

No person may increase a rent, with respect to any transaction after December 28, 1971, involving a lease or implied contract of occupancy of a residence or other real property, unless he has complied with this subpart, regardless of whether the increase is otherwise allowable under this part.

§ 301.502 Notification.

In the case of a proposed rent increase to which the present lessee of the residence or other real property would be subject—

(a) **Requirement of 30-days' notice.** The lessor must notify the lessee of the proposed rent increase at least 30 days before the date it is to become effective;

(b) **Contents of notice.** The notice shall be in writing and shall set forth—

(1) The amount of the monthly rent before and after the proposed increase;

(2) The percentage increase and dollar amount of the proposed increase;

(3) The effective date of the proposed increase;

(4) The amount of the proposed increase which is attributable to capital improvements, State and local real estate taxes, and State and local fees, levies and charges for municipal services, and any increase allowed under § 301.102(a)(1);

(5) The base rent and an explanation of the manner in which the base rent was determined, including identification of units involved and dates and amounts of transactions where applicable;

(6) The method of computation of the proposed increase; and

(7) The following statements:

(A) You have the right to examine the documentation which supports this proposed rent increase in order to satisfy yourself that the proposed rent increase is in accordance with the rent regulations prescribed by the Price Commission. This documentation is located at _____ and may be inspected upon request between the hours of _____ through _____ on _____ (specify days of the week).

(B) If you do not understand the basis for this increase or believe that the increase is not allowable under the rent regulations of the Price Commission, advise us and we will arrange a suitable meeting time with

you at a location convenient to your residence to discuss the proposed increase and explain its justification.

(C) It is hereby declared under the penalties of perjury that the foregoing statements and facts are true to the best of my (our) knowledge and belief; and that the increase in your rent is not in violation of the Economic Stabilization Regulations.

(c) *Manner of notification.* The notice may be mailed to the lessee at the address of the unit, or delivered to the lessee by any other method, except that where the notice is delivered by another method a receipt therefor must be obtained from the lessee or his representative.

(d) *Records.* In the case of a proposed rent increase which prospective lessees may be subject to, the lessor shall make available, upon request, the records otherwise required by § 301.601.

(e) *Reports of alleged violations.* Whenever any person has reason to believe that a violation of these regulations has taken place, he may contact the nearest office of the Internal Revenue Service. However, he must first meet with the lessor as provided by statement (B) in paragraph (b) (7) of this section and shall provide the Internal Revenue Service with a copy of the notification of the proposed rent increase and a detailed statement in writing as to why he believes there has been a violation. Notwithstanding the foregoing provision, any proposed increase of which the lessee is notified pursuant to this section shall become effective as of the date specified in the notification pending final action with respect to the alleged violation.

(f) *Retaliatory action.* No lessor shall take retaliatory action against any lessee who exercises any rights conferred upon him by this part. For purposes of this paragraph, retaliatory action shall mean any action taken by the lessor including undue or unusual inconvenience, violation of privacy, harassment, reduction in quality or quantity of services, or any form of threat or coercion.

EXCLUSION OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN FROM THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS OF THE UNITED STATES

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, education and vocational training is the great aid to employment opportunity. It provides the individual with the most basic tools of any trade or vocation. It is unconscionable to deny instruction to a large group of children on the basis of a handicap. In excluding handicapped children from these educational opportunities, we are denying them the basic rights to an education and to a productive life within our society.

Yet millions of American children are excluded from our public schools, schools which receive Federal assistance from all taxpayers—including the parents of children excluded from these schools.

I am including in the RECORD at this point estimates compiled from the various State departments of education and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare documenting the number of unserved or excluded children.

On December 9, 1971, I introduced legislation, H.R. 12154, which would pro-

vide increased guarantees of the rights of handicapped children and their parents to participate in federally assisted programs.

Following is the data:

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES

	(C) Handi- capped children ages 0 to 19	(D) Handi- capped children served	(E) Children still unserved
Speech impaired.....	2,440,500	1,360,203	1,080,297
Emotionally disturbed.....	1,388,000	156,486	1,231,514
Mentally retarded.....	1,697,500	872,213	825,287
Learning disabled.....	697,300	166,534	530,766
Hard of hearing.....	348,600	43,915	304,685
Deaf.....	52,300	35,624	16,676
Crippled and other health impaired.....	348,600	182,635	165,964
Visually impaired.....	69,800	30,630	39,170
Multihandicapped.....	40,900	9,310	31,590
Total.....	7,083,500	2,857,551	4,225,949

PROBLEMS OF SENIOR CITIZENS

HON. CHARLES W. SANDMAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. SANDMAN. Mr. Speaker, today there are nearly 20 million Americans who are age 65 and over.

As a group, senior citizens are faced with serious and continuing problems including housing, medical care, employment, education, pensions and meaningful use of their retirement years.

These matters are of such vital national concern that I strongly feel a full congressional-level committee must be established to provide the kind of attention problems of aging deserve.

For several years, I have supported efforts to help make Congress more responsive to the real needs of senior citizens.

Last year, I joined with many of my distinguished colleagues to sponsor two proposed pieces of legislation to create a Committee on Aging.

The first bill (H. Res. 124), was introduced January 22, 1971 and is designed to create a nonlegislative Select Committee on Aging in the House of Representatives.

The other measure I am sponsoring was introduced December 8, 1971. It would establish a Joint Committee on Aging, to be composed of 11 Senators and 11 Congressmen. This bill has been designated as House Joint Resolution (H.J. Res.) 1001.

Mr. Speaker, I urge that either of these proposals be taken up for full consideration as promptly as possible. Let us show the senior citizens of our Nation that all of us in Congress care enough about them to create a forum specifically designated to deal with their specific and unique problems.

Currently, there is a Special Committee on Aging in the U.S. Senate to deal with matters affecting senior citizens. But in the House of Representatives, such matters are scattered around to various committees.

In the Government Operations Committee of the House, there is a special studies subcommittee that is currently investigating many of the problems on aging. With all due respect to the distinguished Members serving on that panel and though I am certain they have done and will do a superb job, these efforts are virtually unknown to the public.

The American Association of Retired Persons—AARP—has made creation of a Committee on Aging in the House one of its major goals in 1972 and I support that effort.

In the Second Congressional District of New Jersey which I represent, the percentage of senior citizens in the population is far above the national average. Two of the four counties in my District are seashore resort counties on the Atlantic Ocean with numerous retirement communities.

These constituents of mine, like senior citizens throughout America, deserve and need to be listened to. Their insight and experience in life is one of our most valuable national assets.

To take advantage of their insight and to help meet their needs and solve their problems, I have appointed a member of my staff in New Jersey to concentrate his attention on serving senior citizens.

He works in close cooperation with the various county Councils on Aging, with all civic and social groups of senior citizens, and with the various service agencies such as the Social Security Administration, welfare and health boards and so on.

I am in daily touch with this special assistant and I am very pleased with the prompt, thorough and very personal way in which the needs and requests of senior citizens in South Jersey are getting action in my district.

Mr. Speaker, in order that full public consideration can be given these two legislative proposals, which I understand now have the support of nearly 200 Members of the House, I ask that the full texts of House Resolution 124 and House Joint Resolution 1001 be printed in the RECORD.

The material follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 124

Whereas there are now more than nineteen million persons in the United States age sixty-five and over—a group representing more than 9 per centum of our total population and more than 16 per centum of our adult population; and

Whereas this group of senior American citizens is expected to exceed twenty-five million by 1985—thus continuing it as the most rapidly growing segment of our entire adult population; and

Whereas this group is faced with serious and continuing problems, including employment, housing, medical care, education, pensions, and meaningful use of retirement years; and

Whereas these problems have produced and will continue to produce serious strains on the fabric of our national life making it incumbent upon us to discover what social and economic conditions will enable our senior citizens both to contribute to our national productivity and to lead satisfying, independent and productive lives; and

Whereas the problems of our senior citizens, while calling for action by various legis-

lative committees, are themselves highly interrelated, requiring coordinated review and recommendations based on studies in depth of the total field—studies which of necessity must range beyond the jurisdictional boundaries of any existing committee; and

Whereas the problems confronting our senior citizens are of such vital national concern as to require the full-time attention of a select committee of the House of Representatives: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That there is hereby created a non-legislative select committee to be composed of fifteen Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

The committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of any and all matters pertaining to problems of older people, including, but not limited to, problems of maintaining health, of assuring adequate income, of finding employment, of engaging in productive and rewarding retirement activity, of securing proper housing, and, when necessary, of assuring adequate care or assistance.

No proposed legislation shall be referred to the committee, and the committee shall not have power to report by bill, or otherwise have legislative jurisdiction.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution, the committee, or any subcommittee thereof authorized by the committee to hold hearings, is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, including any Commonwealth or possession thereof, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents as it deems necessary; except that neither the committee nor any subcommittee thereof may sit while the House is meeting unless special leave to sit shall have been obtained from the House. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and they may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

The committee shall report to the House as soon as practicable during the present Congress the results of its investigation and study, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable. Any such report which is made when the House is not in session shall be filed with the Clerk of the House.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 1001

To establish a Joint Committee on Aging

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) there is established a joint congressional committee which shall be known as the Joint Committee on Aging (hereafter in this joint resolution referred to as the "committee") consisting of eleven Members of the Senate to be appointed by the President of the Senate and eleven Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Of the eleven Members of the Senate appointed under this subsection, six Members shall be from the majority party, and five Members shall be from the minority party. Of the eleven Members of the House of Representatives appointed under this subsection, six Members shall be from the majority party, and five Members shall be from the minority party. In the appointment of members of the committee under this subsection, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall give due considera-

tion to providing representation on the committee from the various committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives having jurisdiction over matters relating to the problems of older Americans.

(b) The committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members at the beginning of each Congress. The vice chairman shall act in the place and stead of the chairman in the absence of the chairman. The chairmanship shall alternate between the Senate and House of Representatives with each Congress, and the chairman shall be selected by Members from that House entitled to the chairmanship. The vice chairman shall be chosen from the House other than that of the chairman by the Members of that House. The committee may establish such subcommittees as it deems necessary and appropriate to carry out the purposes of this joint resolution.

(c) Vacancies in the membership of the committee shall not affect the authority of the remaining members to execute the functions of the committee. Vacancies shall be filled in the same manner as original appointments are made.

(d) A majority of the members of the committee shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, except that the committee may fix a lesser number as a quorum for the purpose of taking testimony.

(e) The committee shall keep a complete record of all committee actions, including a record of the votes on any question on which a record vote is demanded. All committee records, data, charts, and files shall be the property of the committee and shall be kept in the offices of the committee or such other places as the committee may direct.

(f) No legislative measure shall be referred to the committee, and it shall have no authority to report any such measure to the Senate or to the House of Representatives.

SEC. 2. (a) It shall be the duty of the committee—

(1) to conduct a continuing comprehensive study and review of the problems of the older Americans, including, but not limited to, income maintenance, housing, health (including medical research), welfare, employment, education, recreation, and participation in family and community life as self-respecting citizens;

(2) to study methods of using all practicable means and methods of encouraging the development of public and private programs and policies which will assist the older American in taking a full part in national life and which will encourage the utilization of the knowledge, skills, and special aptitudes and abilities of older Americans to contribute to a better quality of life for all Americans;

(3) to develop policies that would encourage the coordination of both governmental and private programs designed to deal with problems of aging; and

(4) to review any recommendations made by the President or by the White House Conference on Aging relating to programs or policies affecting older Americans.

(b) On or before the last day of December of each year, the committee shall submit to the Senate and to the House of Representatives for reference to the appropriate standing committees an annual report on the studies, reviews, and other projects undertaken by it, together with its recommendations. The committee may take such interim reports to the appropriate standing committees of the Congress prior to such annual report as it deems advisable.

(c) In carrying out its functions and duties the committee shall avoid unnecessary duplication with any investigation undertaken by any other joint committee, or by any standing committee of the Senate or of the House of Representatives.

SEC. 3. (a) For the purposes of this joint resolution, the committee is authorized, as it deems advisable (1) to make such expend-

itures; (2) to hold such hearings; (3) to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjournment periods of the Senate and of the House of Representatives; and (4) to employ and fix the compensation of technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants. Persons employed under authority of this subsection shall be employed without regard to political affiliations and solely on the basis of fitness to perform the duties for which employed.

(b) The committee may (1) utilize the services, information, and facilities of the General Accounting Office or any department or agency in the executive branch of the Government, and (2) employ on a reimbursable basis or otherwise the services of such personnel of any such department or agency as it deems advisable. With the consent of any other committee of the Congress, or any subcommittee thereof, the committee may utilize the facilities and the services of the staff of such other committee or subcommittee whenever the chairman of the committee determines that such action is necessary and appropriate.

SEC. 4. To enable the committee to exercise its powers, functions, and duties under this joint resolution, there are authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary to be disbursed by the Clerk of the House of Representatives on vouchers signed by the chairman or vice chairman of the committee.

THE SPECTER OF ADDITIONAL CUTS IN PERSONNEL AT MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 18, 1972

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the specter of cuts at military establishments in both military and civilian personnel is again upon us. This is a continuing part of the Nixon scaledown in the Nation's military strength. I have consistently protested these cuts as false economy and I do so again. Adding to the rolls of the unemployed, and weakening the defense establishment at a time of growing Russian military strength and surging Communist confidence worldwide is a serious mistake. The continuing problem of extraditing ourselves from Southeast Asia has brought about disenchantment in many quarters toward the military. This despite the fact that they are not to blame for the problems of Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, the result is to make military cuts generally popular.

On the other side of the world, Soviet policies have been singularly successful in recent months. The Russians dominate the Arab States with their tremendous oil reserves and the Russian presence in the Mediterranean is growing. In Southern Asia, Russia has enormously enhanced its posture in the Indian Ocean with base privileges in the Red Sea and in many African ports. Now, Russia has access to ports in India, which is drifting more and more into the Moscow orbit. The new Russian posture is a combination of military and diplomatic gains.

In the face of this revelation it makes little sense to further weaken our own military strength. Lack of an adequate defense is an open invitation for aggres-

sion. Efforts to bring about any realistic agreement on disarmament have been fruitless despite long and drawn-out months of endeavors in the SALT talks. The President's personal efforts to bring about better understanding with the heads of world nations are commendable, but these cannot take the place of trained personnel and strong defenses when the chips are down.

All of this does not add up to a picture which bodes well for the United States or for the free nations of the world in the years ahead. It is not a time for further cuts in defense.

KOREAN RICE GROWERS AIDED BY BUFFALO MISSIONARY

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, Christmas 1971, on a South Korean island northwest of Inchon was occasion for special joy, thanks to a self-help project initiated by a former Buffalo, N.Y., priest, Rev. John J. Dunnigan.

Father Dunnigan has been doing missionary work in Korea for several years. The role of a missionary is never easy, particularly in under-developed regions where the people lack so many of the bare necessities of life.

Through his leadership and the co-operation of the U.S. Embassy and the Agency for International Development, Father Dunnigan has brought prospect of economic survival to a brave populace.

He arranged for the personal lease of an LCM—landing craft mechanized—which the islanders could use to transport their goods—mostly rice—to market. He also helped in forming a local co-operative which can take over his lease next June.

The story of Father Dunnigan's latest civic project has been told in an excellent article written for the Buffalo Courier-Express by Army Sp4C. James B. Plateau of North Tonawanda, suburb of Buffalo. Specialist Plateau is on duty at a U.S. Army hospital near Seoul.

Mr. Speaker, I have had the pleasure of working with Father Dunnigan on another of his personal projects which came to final realization earlier in December with the Presidential signing of Private Law 92-41.

About 3 years ago, Father Dunnigan befriended three Korean orphans whose parents had died of starvation. He took them into his own home and then found an adoptive home for them with a childless couple residing near Coudersport, Pa.

Before adoption could be completed, the oldest child became of age under adoption law and required private legislation if she was to be allowed to accompany her two younger brothers to their new home. The three had made a family pact that they would stay together no matter what.

Father Dunnigan presented a persuasive case and we were able to obtain passage by Congress of enabling legislation

to allow the children to be escorted personally by Father Dunnigan to join their adoptive parents.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I include the text of the very interesting story by Army Specialist Plateau about Father Dunnigan's latest project:

KOREAN RICE GROWERS AIDED BY FATHER DUNNIGAN; MISSIONARY PRIEST LIGHTS PATH TO BETTER LIFE

(By Army Sp4C. James B. Plateau)

(NOTE.—Army Sp. 4 James B. Plateau, a North Tonawanda man, assigned to the operating room of the U.S. Army Hospital in Yongsan, a city near Seoul, Korea, wrote the following account in a letter to The Buffalo Courier-Express of a self-help project initiated a year ago by a former Buffalo priest, the Rev. John J. (Jack) Dunnigan who is a missionary in Korea. The project reached fruition on Christmas Eve.

(Father Dunnigan is the son of former Hamburg residents, Mr. and Mrs. James Dunnigan, who now live in Scottsdale, Ariz.)

(Specialist Plateau, who has been in Korea since Dec. 8, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Christian L. Plateau of Pioneer Drive, North Tonawanda. He is 21, and has a wife, Susan, and 1½-year-old son, James, who live in Walton, N.Y. He is a journalism graduate of Morrisville College. He first met Father Dunnigan when the priest was assigned to Ascension Church in North Tonawanda.)

The "star in the east" over South Korea on Christmas Eve guided a ray of economic hope for a better life for 13,000 impoverished island rice growers and their families—the gift of a few islanders themselves and the Rev. John J. Dunnigan, a former Buffalo diocesan priest.

The "gift" was a Dec. 24 decision by their island mayor to underwrite the cost of pier improvements that will enable the struggling islanders to transport their rice at one-third the present shipping cost.

The rice growers live on Kyo Dong, an island northwest of the port-city of Inchon on the Demilitarized Zone, whose annual crop of 100,000 hundred pound sacks surpasses the production of one of the nation's larger provinces. Today, the high cost of transporting the rice from Kyo Dong's coast, across Kang Wha Island to mainland markets has prevented these farmers from doing much more than break even.

As a result noted Father Dunnigan, "their diet lacks meat, their children cannot go beyond public school (sixth grade) and saving money is impossible."

This dilemma—passed from generation to generation—could be remedied in 1972 by the Landing Craft Mechanized (LCM) leased to Father Dunnigan by the U.S. Embassy and the United States Agency of International Development.

It is being operated by trained islanders, members of the Kyo Dong islanders co-op, to transport rice, feed and pigs for marketing. The co-op has been given the greenlight to renew the LCM lease in June, 1972 when Father Dunnigan's lease expires.

NOW ARE SEVEN HANDLINGS

Growers are presently bringing their sacks to a Kyo Dong pier where they are loaded by dock workers onto a privately leased—and expensive—passenger boat that shuttles between Kyo Dong and Kang Wha Islands. There, dock workers unload the rice, truck workers load up the rice and retail workers will unload the truck at the market place. From the filling of a sack of rice to its sale, seven handlings take place at a cost of \$1.85.

Using the LCM, growers load a truck themselves on Kyo Dong, drive it onto the LCM, drive off at Kang Wha and go directly to the Seoul or Inchon markets and unload their own cargo. With co-op workers doing the loading, driving and unloading, the marketing cost drops to 60 cents per sack.

With an average five people to a Korean family, the 100,000 sacks turned out annually by the 13,000 islanders means a per capita savings of \$95 annually with amphibious vehicle.

While this increase in profits will not make anyone rich—even in this land of a \$210 per capita annual income—it will put meat on the table and children can expect at least a ninth grade education.

The lease did not solve all the islanders' problems since the available piers are too low and too narrow. The Korean tides fluctuate by as much as 35 feet between low and high points, completely submerging the piers at all but low tide. Even without the tide, the piers are too narrow to hold the LCM on a level plane.

PIERS INADEQUATE

So while the co-op has had the LCM for a month, the project seemed headed for collapse for lack of pier improvements. Even today, the co-op loses money daily because the amphibious vehicle can be used only a few hours daily.

The mayor's Christmas Eve decision means the growers can expect cheaper, faster and more organized merchandising due to proper pier facilities and an expanded shuttle service of their own.

Today's picture of grower, laborer, co-op and governmental brotherhood could present a rosy picture of what in reality was a difficult course fought with setbacks, disillusionment, and discouragement, explained Father Dunnigan.

He added: "This is a \$40,000 boat (the LCM) and it took repeated trips to the U.S. embassy and the Korean Social Welfare Department" to obtain the lease and permission to operate between the two islands.

The major obstacle being that the boat's route is a mere half mile from Communist North Korean waters. Officials earlier believed the current in the estuary strong enough to carry the craft above the DMZ if the engine stalled temporarily. But both American and Korean investigators found the situation safe enough to allow this vessel to operate in waters previously "off limits" to all but military patrol boats.

ISLANDERS COOPERATE

Father Dunnigan became involved with Kyo Dong since his parish includes several islands in the area. The church, parish house and medical clinic are on Kang Wha.

"Our real witness is to the two-thirds of Koreans without church affiliation who are poor and have no hope for the future," he explained, emphasizing the "real need for, and mission of, the traditional parish and church structure."

Last summer, after much persuasion by Father Dunnigan, a few islanders begrudgingly attended schools to learn about the "co-op method" of raising pigs and growing rice. The former North Tonawanda clergyman describes the co-op as "a system of education, mutual trust and pooled resources" that allow members to deal as a type of union seeking the highest fair prices for their products.

Though skeptical at first, the trained villagers soon became the best salesmen for the co-op, which was already thinking in terms of obtaining a shuttle vessel of its own.

The embassy, however, would not consider the LCM's use in the estuary or anywhere else without first seeing a trained crew.

The co-op faced a major decision: whether or not to lay out the money to train operators, make up their lost salaries while in training and then hire them full time—while hoping the LCM lease could be obtained, hoping the piers could be financed and hoping the actual pier construction would begin soon.

The stakes so high with much to gain, the co-op sent a few members to school. Before Christmas Eve the different factions

were unable to come together and decide who would pay for the materials needed for construction and where the labor would come from.

PRIEST IS MEDIATOR

The problems were increased by the Korean tradition of waiting until the other man showed his good faith before moving to compromise.

Finally Father Dunnigan was asked to mediate the deadlock, since his spiritual guidance and advice had been respected increasingly as the project progressed.

"On Christmas Eve," Father Dunnigan said, "I spoke to the different people involved. Without much coaxing, they were all willing to carry their load and agree to terms they would never have reached among themselves."

The "terms" being that the local government would provide the funds for pier improvement, the island would provide the labor and the LCM operators would underwrite their own losses until the work is completed.

A public ceremony took place the same afternoon near the Kyo Dong pier, during which the mayor, co-op representatives and the police chief honored Father Dunnigan for his "tireless efforts to rejuvenate the island economy."

But watching these islanders that day, it was evident that something else was happening. The observer could see in the many enlivened faces the hope that they are on the threshold of a project that will break the bonds of the poor economy that has enslaved the island for generations and forced the residents to live from hand to mouth.

"Du Shinbunim"—"the priest"—later led a Christmas Eve candlelight procession through the village of Kang Wha. This is a rare site in Korea, because the act of following a foreigner or humbling one's self by letting him lead is a situation frowned upon by these fiercely independent and proud people.

But several hundred Koreans came from Kyo Dong, Kang Wha and other outlying islands, many on foot, to follow this foreigner through the village streets in front of anyone who might be there. They sang hymns of joy, praise, love and thanks—to the Christ child.

For it was truly Christmas Eve.

PARAPROFESSIONALS

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most innovative methods for supplying trained manpower for the human service sectors of our economy is the New Careers program, the Federal Government's first involvement with the training of paraprofessionals.

This highly successful program uses on-the-job and release-time training, job restructuring, career ladder development, and a wide array of supporting services to provide new jobs for the disadvantaged and unemployed which have real functions and futures.

These paraprofessionals free professional workers to work at the top of their skills, perform useful and fulfilling work, and significantly improve and sensitize the delivery of human services. As the original sponsor of the New Careers program in the Congress, I am continually

pleased to see many of the program's elements gaining ever wider respect and recognition.

The summer 1971 issue of City magazine, published by the National Urban Coalition, contains an article by Natalie Davis Spingarn reviewing the most recent developments in the New Careers field. Miss Spingarn, the former Assistant Director of the Center of Community Planning of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, has carefully and concisely reviewed the progress of the paraprofessional movement, and I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

THE MULTIPLE PAYOFFS OF PARAPROFESSIONALISM

The poor are there, desperate for decent jobs. The jobs are there, desperate to be done—in our hospitals, our schools, any place where human beings are served. The professionals—doctors, teachers, social workers—are overburdened, harassed, desperately in need of help. Why not capitalize constructively on all this despair? Why not meld the needs and so help fill them, restructure old jobs and create new ones, and in the process free the professional for more creative tasks and improve the very way human services are rendered, and the institutions rendering them? Thus New Careers, or modern paraprofessionalism, was born.

The prefix *para* means *beside*; the concept of paraprofessionalism, or working alongside professionals is, of course not new. The nursing aide (who might someday train to be a registered nurse) and the dental hygienist (who almost never aspires to be a dentist) were around long before the antipoverty wars of the '60s. What is new is the emphasis on taking a hard look at what is going on in a school clinic human service agency, then carefully analyzing and redesigning jobs for the poor that will lead up career "ladders" to supposedly guaranteed jobs and rarefied professional status. In-service training and job-based community college courses are the means; paid jobs first, diplomas later, and improvement in the delivery of services are the ends.

Pediatric aides, community mental health specialists, counselor benefit specialists (for veterans), genetic assistants, addiction aides, urban technicians, even parajudges—a whole new vocabulary has been added to human service job jargonese. Where once the teacher, the social worker, the doctor and nurse, the lawyer did their things in solitary, if limited, splendor, a whole new array of sub or para or preprofessionals stands ready to help.

Manpower, normally a statistics-prone field, yields little information pinpointing the overall number of paraprofessionals in the U.S. today. Probably this is because officialdom has not defined the term precisely. Though we know the number of long-accepted groups such as nursing aides (33,945 men, 269,334 women in 1969), we have only scattered information about such new breeds as physicians' assistants or urban technicians. The original New Careers, or Scheuer, program (Rep. James Scheuer of New York fathered government support of paraprofessionalism with his New Careers amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1966), has been absorbed—some say downgraded—by a larger Public Service Careers (PSC) program, an umbrella with many bureaucratic holes now held tenuously by the Department of Labor. As of February, 1971, the department listed 21,951 persons in the whole PSC program, with 4,140 in Plan C, the New Careers segment. To complicate matters, there are several thousand more listed under another manpower program, the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP). Fewer

than 20,000 men and women have been trained with Scheuer funds, which have fallen from about \$35 million a year in fiscal 1967 and 1968 to about \$18 million.

But when it comes to the mushrooming paraprofessionalism beyond the original demonstration program—what New Careers pioneer Frank Reissman calls "Big New Careers"—the numbers rise. Estimates range all the way from 200,000 to well over a million paraprofessionals, depending on whom you include among the established allied health professions and graduates of the burgeoning community colleges with their new Associate of Arts (A.A.) degrees. According to Alan Gartner of the New Careers Development Center at New York University, there are over half a million paraprofessionals.

Certainly the new subprofessional or preprofessional or paraprofessional concept has snowballed. It appeals to legislators, anxious for practical solutions to the terrible problems of deprivation. It appeals to bureaucrats, floundering in the often unproductive seas of "innovation." It has come to be included in many kinds of major social legislation dealing with vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, health manpower, juvenile delinquency—even in the Intergovernmental Personnel Act of 1970. Paraprofessionalism is a key component of the National Urban Coalition's \$2-million health manpower program funded by OEO. The Coalition, aiming to further the practice of community medicine out in the ghetto, sees the paraprofessional as an indispensable part of the therapy team.

Nor is enthusiasm confined to the national scene. The New York State Assembly recently approved a program to establish and regulate a new kind of health profession, the physician's assistant. These medical aides, usually former Vietnam medical corpsmen or nurses, serve under doctors in routine tasks that do not require an M.D. training.

Professional associations, at first understandably wary about maintaining standards, are beginning to explore the potential of paraprofessionals. The more conservative are still highly skeptical, but others, usually anxious about a bridge to poor and minority clients, are beginning to come around. Unions too are starting to get in on the act. In New York at least, the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees are organizing paraprofessionals.

The new paraprofessional route is the career ladder which, say its proponents, they can climb before they are ready for the geriatrics clinic. At any rate they can get on it. If they weary of one field, they can abandon the ladder for a lattice, and change fields. Their experience still counts toward their continued climb.

Many proceed in a less formal way. The typical paraprofessional in the Institute for Educational Development's "In-Depth Study of Paraprofessionals" in the New York City schools is a 35-year-old black woman with two children who is not taking any formal courses and does not take part in the Career Ladder program offered by the Board of Education. Watch her as she goes about her job: talking quietly to a child who is upset or disturbing the class; stopping arguments and fights among students; helping them learn drills in reading or mathematics; going over a paper with a child to point out his errors; listening to boys and girls tell stories, pronounce or spell new words, read or give reports; explaining school rules; correcting homework papers. She's in her first or second year on the job, working as an educational assistant, helping a third-grade teacher. She spends most of her time in the classroom, teaching and tutoring children in the language arts (and to a lesser extent mathematics). She knows no language besides English. Though she has had no advanced train-

ing for her job, she has received more than five weeks of part-time training as a paraprofessional, and this is continuing. The things she does that are most popular with teachers and principals are the most complex: calming an emotional child, preparing visual aids, keeping records.

This is not to say that paraprofessionals, who are a part of a world of work beset with problems, escape their share. Stresses and strains abound—a fact to be expected in an endeavor so new and so challenging to established ways.

The first set of problems has to do with the very acceptance of the idea. "What am I doing if she's doing it too?" asks the teacher or nurse or social worker who has been struggling to get ahead for a quarter of a century, looking warily at the comparatively uneducated, freshly accepted minority-group paraprofessional. Her anxiety ranges all the way from fear for her next pay raise to concern for the status of her agency: "Are you saying that aides are going to treat patients? That's a doctor's job!" Or a social worker's. Or a teacher's. Or a lawyer's.

No one has suggested, of course, that paraprofessionals do expert work for which they are not qualified or trained. No one has suggested, either, that by their very presence they can solve all of an agency's community relations problems. And on the other end of the scale, no one has suggested that they are only fit to tie the shoelaces or empty bedpans or fetch coffee.

The rumors will probably persist until paraprofessionals in large numbers prove their worth to professionals and demonstrate their impact on human services and the flesh-and-blood people getting them. This long process has only begun. The recently published "In-Depth Study," for example, showed strong professional support for the paraprofessional program. About half of the teachers interviewed reported a better relationship with children in their classes, and almost half said they had gained a better understanding of the surrounding community and of minority groups. Most felt that, thanks to the paraprofessionals, they themselves were accomplishing more, and that their work had changed. They could now assume new jobs and use new skills; their roles were "maximized." Principals agreed with teachers that the schools were doing a better job because of the paraprofessionals.

All this might be less important in the long run than the impact on the pupils. Interviewing teams found higher achievement in almost half the schools after the advent of the paraprofessionals. As for the students themselves, 90 percent of the elementary pupils said they enjoyed coming to school more and about 75 percent of the junior high students felt that the school was doing a better job. Well over three-fourths of all principals, teachers, paraprofessionals, and parents interviewed said that pupils were taking more pride and showing more self-confidence in their work.

Another set of issues revolves around the way a subprofessional job is set up and structured. Who, first, is recruited and chosen to be a paraprofessional? Is it the cream of the crop, or the severely disadvantaged? The original programs focused on the unemployed, the undereducated, the hard core. But program administrators, anxious to succeed, to produce "good" statistics, to be refunded, to show that their staffs can do a job, often tend toward what the manpower people call "creaming," a practice common to antipoverty programs. This means they take the top off the population, selecting people who are indeed poor but who would qualify for careers regardless of the program—people who have high school educations and may even have been to college. Indeed, the typical paraprofessional in the "In-Depth Study" had a high school diploma and a \$6,500 family income, to which her wages contributed less than half.

Once the paraprofessional is aboard, what does he do? Is his job designed constructively, from his own and from his agency's point of view? Or is he just doing the professional's dirty work? An original ideal of paraprofessionalism was that an employing agency would systematically analyze its mission and the jobs that were required to fulfill it. In the process, it would restructure jobs so that both professional and paraprofessional time would be used more effectively. This did not mean simply chopping off unpleasant pieces of the professionals' work and handing it to paraprofessionals, but designing new career-oriented jobs creatively so that workers could grow and develop at all levels, and clients could be better served.

Sidney Fine and Wretha Wiley of the Upjohn Institute have developed a systems approach to new careers. Mrs. Wiley spends a good deal of her time giving a course to staffs around the country. It is fascinating to hear her take a job apart. You arrive at new ways of looking at your work, no matter what it is, as she travels up a "data functions scale" (from "comparing" on level 1 and "copying" on level 2 to "coordinating" on level 5 and "synthesizing" on level 6), a "people functions scale" (from "taking instructions" to "mentoring"), and a "things functions scale" ("handling" to "precision working" and "setting up").

Unfortunately, most agencies hiring paraprofessionals have a less careful, constructive approach to job development. Nor do they always give their staffs and the new workers proper orientation in the art of working together.

How do you sharpen the new workers' skills in dealing with the ghetto community and still not lose their spontaneity? How can currently employed staff come to accept their new colleagues as members of their team, doing a vital job, instead of as a new kind of subordinate? Is the paraprofessional a true aide, or a maid? Do you train first and employ later; do you give them in-service training; do they have released time for combined education and training? What is the substance of the career ladder, simply small pay increases with no real leaps, as some paraprofessionals say, or a route to a real career?

As several paraprofessionals in a mental health center wrote: "We entered the program enthusiastic, but when the newness of the job placement and the educational aspect of the program wore off, we were able to see the fallacies and contradictions with which we had to deal. Some of the things that caused us stress were lack of a career ladder, no salary range, and lack of understanding of what was expected of us on the job. It became apparent we had a fight on our hands if we were to succeed." "Down the Up Staircase," a study of 105 persons who left a Minneapolis program in its first year, recommends broad recruitment followed by an intensive orientation where people may select themselves in or out of the program after two weeks. It reports that dropouts were more likely to be men than women, younger than older, separated or divorced than married or single, nonwhite than white.

You cannot, of course, isolate the paraprofessional from the realities of his personal life, which, as in so many other poverty manpower programs, often overwhelm him and propel him in other directions. Most important, you cannot isolate him from the realities of the job market. No program, however well conceived, can protect him from an economic recession. When the job market tightens, his situation tightens too: he has less opportunity; there is less money available for promotions and raises, let alone ladders or ladders, and there is a spiraling greed for credentials—any credentials.

Here arises a major irony: Could paraprofessionalism, which began as a work opportunity or career ladder program, as a novel system in which the poor could apply their

best talents to human problems without university credentials, be acquiring a credentialism of its own? The evidence points to such an about-face, say the critics; it points to a sort of lowered credentialism. Indeed, a newsletter published by the NYU New Careers group headlined last fall, "Get the Degree, Skip the Ladder." A career ladder, or lattice, the article explained, should not be an end in itself. "The message, we think, is that where training, education, and ladders can be articulated, fine, do it. But where that is not possible, paraprofessionals may be able to enroll in a college program and move toward a career without a ladder."

Thus, a bow to credentials. A bow to the new power of the bustling community colleges, with their A.A. degree, a degree of dubious value since it is not universally accepted. A bow to the established power of the B.A. or M.A. Or perhaps a bow to the reality of competition in the open market. "Where Do We Go From Here?" an intensive study of National Committee on Employment of Youth paraprofessional graduates and the different agencies employing them, bears this out. Author Carolyn R. Gould and her associates are enthusiastic about the "unquestionable achievement" of the group, its "extraordinary stability" and general performance in entry-level jobs. But, they conclude dismally, "Their very ability makes the most basic finding of the study all the more disappointing: *Within all but one of the agencies under study . . . opportunities for career mobility are either severely limited or completely nonexistent.*" Baccalaureate degrees were the key to advancement. Though a few had triumphed over the lack of linkage between paraprofessional and professional jobs, no one had spelled out the qualifications for these professional jobs. No one had set standards for merit promotions. There were no programs for internal staff development to help people move up. Paraprofessionalism had not been worked into the system.

Still, the paraprofessionals were content to stay on. After all, their job status had improved, they derived some satisfaction from their work, their earnings had risen—and where else could they go? There were rumblings of discontent about restrictions on advancement. Paraprofessionals felt foreclosed by a double opportunities standard, one for those with academic credentials, one for those without—foreclosed from jobs they felt they could do satisfactorily. Though such rumblings have been heard in other places with paraprofessionals, no significant organization has succeeded in articulating their demands, whether they be bread-and-butter issues about wages, hours, working conditions, and realistic job opportunities, or issues about training, ladders, credentials, or better service for their clients.

A National Association of New Careerists, formed with fanfare in 1968, has foundered. A small group, the National New Professional Health Workers, has gained its own section, for whatever that is worth, in the American Public Health Association. Scattered activists range from the psychiatric aides and other nonprofessionals who conducted a "Hospital Improvement Action" at Topeka State Hospital, to the social work aides at Washington's Family and Child Services agency who, finding themselves trained but jobless, demanded board action. They have interested and excited advocates, but have accomplished no broad reforms. Paraprofessionals may have to look either to the public service labor unions, at first lukewarm but now at least not blocking their interests, and sometimes furthering them, or toward some kind of new, across-the-board group. The possibility of forming such a group was discussed at a June conference on public service employment called by Rep. Scheuer.

In the end, it all depends on what you expected. If you expected paraprofessionalism

to accomplish the millennium, to serve as a potent instrument of social policy, to solve core poverty problems, then you are bound to be disappointed. You can say individual men and women have improved client service, broken down credentials barriers, vastly improved their own job status, but you cannot document any in-depth, institutional urban change. After all, how could low-income people, however talented, alone accomplish fundamental reforms that would cost the nation billions of dollars and the sort of comprehensive effort it has been unwilling to make?

On the other hand, if you expected less, then Big New Careers should pass your tests with flying colors. Thousands of people have gone to work in satisfying jobs; some have moved off welfare; all have brought home paychecks and a new sense of pride. They have contributed to, even begun to make recognizable ripples in, their respective professions. In a period of general economic retrenchment, the paraprofessionals held steady.

The concept of paraprofessionalism has been established. They are on their way.

DEVALUATION OF THE DOLLAR

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, on January 17 an Associated Press story, dated London, gave an unmistakable warning that the recent actions of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury in attempting to deal with the international monetary crisis, and their proposed devaluation of the dollar, are far from having halted the steady, relentless decline in the value of our money. The causes of this decline are far too deep-rooted to be affected by the confused and superficial tinkering in which they are engaged.

The Associated Press story—taken from the Washington Post of January 18—follows:

U.S. DOLLAR REACHES NEW EUROPEAN LOW

LONDON, Jan. 17.—The dollar slumped to new lows in Europe today amid signs that devaluation a month ago had failed to restore confidence in U.S. currency.

The dollar hit its lowest levels since devaluation in Britain, West Germany and Switzerland during the day. It was below parity in Germany, but still above the danger level that could threaten another devaluation.

Dealers here and on the Continent said the dollar decline was evidence that the Washington agreement on Dec. 18, which included devaluation, had been only partly successful in resolving the international monetary crisis.

"There is just not enough confidence in the dollar to keep it from falling," a German source said. Last month's agreement in Washington, he predicted, "may just turn out to have been a reprieve before the next crisis."

The Washington package "was not the final answer to the dollar's problems," a Swiss banking source said.

In London, where dollar selling was particularly heavy, foreign exchange dealers predicted the dollar would remain weak until the U.S. Congress passes the necessary bill to devalue the dollar against gold. They said doubts about the bill's prospects had added to the dollar's weakness.

In Frankfurt, the dollar closed at 3.2060 marks, down from 3.2150 marks Friday and from the official parity of 3.2225 marks. Trading was active in the afternoon.

In Zurich, the dollar plunged to a post-devaluation low of 3.8520-3.8550 Swiss francs, although still above the parity of 3.84 Swiss francs.

In London, the dollar sank to 38.5 British pence in heavy early trading, down from 38.8 British pence Friday but still above parity of 38.3 pence.

Before the close, the dollar strengthened fractionally to close at 38.6 British pence.

The U.S. Congress reassembles Tuesday. It had been expected to receive by next month the bill that would ratify the Dec. 18 devaluation announcement. But delays in related trade talks could hold up submission of the bill to Congress by the Nixon Administration.

Treasury Secretary John B. Connally has said the devaluation measure will not go to Congress until there is evidence of trade concessions from America's major commercial partners—the Canadians, Europeans and Japanese.

So far, only the talks with the Canadians and the Japanese appear to be making progress. Similar discussions with the European Common Market nations are stalled.

Uncertainty about the devaluation bill is only one sign that the Dec. 18 Washington agreement has not worked as well as originally hoped.

It was supposed to restore confidence in the dollar and reverse the flow of American funds overseas. An Associated Press survey of major European capitals showed today that this has not happened.

In view of what is happening, the words of economist Dr. Walter E. Spahr in Monetary Notes of June 2, 1969—published by the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy—deserve our most careful attention:

When our national government confiscated our people's gold in 1933-1934, and forced them to accept irredeemable bills of credit in exchange, the purpose was to provide the governments with liberty to do as it pleased with other men, and the product of other men's labor, while depriving the people of the liberty to convert the products of their labor into gold if they so desired. This revolutionary act by our government opened wide the door to government tyranny which has shown itself in wild government spending, heavy taxation, a radically depreciated currency, a huge national debt, much socialization, and a high degree of government management of our economy.

The Treasury and Reserve officials who have embraced this state of affairs—this management of the people through the use of irredeemable currency, heavy taxation, and otherwise—have seemed not to understand that their freedom to manage had limits which they could not control even under the great freedom temporarily given them by the use of irredeemable bills of credit as money. The ultimate boss tends to be, and should be expected to be, gold—that objective instrument which has universal acceptability because men cannot be trusted and which tends to flee to those places where it is least abused and where greatest value is attached to it.

It may not be long now until an important day of reckoning is at hand. Its arrival is being invited; and an ominous consideration is whether, when it arrives, we shall have officials who can be counted upon to understand why it arrived and where the proper solution lies.

The economic policies which Dr. Spahr condemns have been justified over and over again in the name of English economist John Maynard Keynes, and certainly he must bear a heavy personal re-

sponsibility for their adoption throughout so much of the world. But very few people know that toward the end of his life Keynes himself realized the enormity of his error, the fundamental falsehood in the premises on which his thinking for most of his life had been based. As Dr. Melchior Palyi points out in "Managed Money at the Crossroads: the European Experience," University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Ind., 1958, pp. 86-87:

Great economic upheavals have often provided the climate for money cranks who claim to solve the problems of unemployment and poverty by ingenious manipulations of the currency—money printing. But never before this era did the lunatic fringe acquire intellectual leadership and academic status. The success was due, in part, to the abandonment of the gold standard and the official glorification of that measure. Its implication was, first, that political power is capable of overcoming the limitations on wealth creation (and distribution) set by the laws of the market; second, that the basic rules of the capitalistic process, such as the inviolability of contract, can and should be set aside if expediency so requires.

Toward the end of his life, a disillusioned Keynes confessed in his posthumously published *Memoirs* the bankruptcy of what he called his unsurpassable individualism. We entirely repudiated a personal liability on us to obey general rules. . . . We repudiated entirely customary morals, conventions, and traditional wisdom. . . . We recognized no moral obligation on us, no inner sanction, to conform or to obey. . . . [This immoralism] was firmly based, as I now think, on an *a priori* view of what human nature is like, both other people's and our own, which was disastrously mistaken. . . . The rationality which we attributed to it led to a superficiality, not only of judgment but of feeling. . . . This pseudo-rational view of human nature led to an orgy of pseudo-rational policies, the basic tenet of which is, using Keynes' own words, no respect for traditional wisdom or the restraints of customs. He thought of himself as the last Utopian in reality, he had unleashed a chain-reaction of equalitarian Utopias which were tailor-made for the collectivist trend of Europe.

The practical consequences of the European abandonment of the gold standard during the period between the two world wars are impressively summarized by Prince Michael Sturdza, former Foreign Minister of Rumania, in his book "The Suicide of Europe," Western Islands, Belmont, Mass., 1968, pp. 27-28:

The source of the economic damage and social disorganization of the Continent was the appearance on its Eastern borders of a menace [Russia as a Communist nation] the equivalent of which it had never known before.

Among those damages one of the most destructive was the deterioration, sometimes to almost nothingness, of the worth of so many European currencies. If gold was fleeing from Europe, it was for fear of contagious and conquering Communism. For the countries involved the disappearance of the metal coverings meant inflation, paralysis of the economic exchanges, insolvency of governments, reduction of the salaries of state employees to an unbearable minimum, rampant speculation and profiteering, unavoidable corruption of moral standards, fateful devaluation of social and patriotic values. But for Rumania it meant also something else: the disappearance of the Conservative Party, an historical element of wisdom and morality. This fact radically influenced her political and social life.

And Dr. Albert Schweitzer, in "The Philosophy of Civilization," the Macmillan Co., New York, 1955, agrees (p. 270):

The bankruptcy of the optimistic ethical philosophy was announced beforehand as little as was the financial bankruptcy of the ruined states of Europe. But just as the latter was gradually revealed, by the constantly diminishing value of the paper-money that was issued, as having actually come about, so is the former being gradually revealed by the constantly diminishing power among us of the true and profound ideals of civilization.

Looking further back in history, we can see exactly the same process operating at the time of the French Revolution, with amazingly close parallels to the commonly accepted attitudes toward money in our own day. In "Fiat Money Inflation in France," D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1933, Andrew D. White tells the story:

P. 3: . . . Typical in the debate on the whole subject . . . were the declaration of M. Matrineau. He . . . declared that business was stagnant, and that the sole cause was a want of more of the circulating medium; that paper money ought to be made a legal tender; that the Assembly should rise above prejudices which the failures of John Law's paper money had caused, several decades before. Like every supporter of irredeemable paper money then or since, he seemed to think that the laws of Nature had changed since previous disastrous issues. . . . He insisted that John Law's notes at first restored prosperity, but that the wretchedness and ruin they caused resulted from their over-issue. . . .

Pp. 5-6: It would be a great mistake to suppose that the statesmen of France . . . were ignorant of the dangers in issuing irredeemable paper money. . . . They knew too well, from that ruinous experience, seventy years before, in John Law's time, the difficulties and dangers of a currency not well based and controlled. They had then learned how easy it is to issue it; how difficult it is to check its overissue; how seductively it leads to the absorption of the means of the workmen and men of small fortunes; how heavily it falls on all those living on fixed incomes, salaries or wages; how securely it creates on the ruins of the prosperity of all men of meager means a class of debauched speculators, the most injurious class that a nation can harbor—more injurious, indeed, than professional criminals whom the law recognizes and can throttle, how it stimulates overproduction at first and leaves every industry flaccid afterward; how it breaks down thrift and develops political and social immorality. . . . Many then living had felt the result of such an experiment—the issues of paper money under John Law. . . .

It was no mere attempt at theatrical display, but a natural impulse, which led a thoughtful statesman, during the debate, to hold up a piece of that old paper money and to declare that it was stained with the blood and tears of their fathers.

P. 7: Oratory prevailed over science and experience. In April, 1790, came the final decree to issue four hundred millions of *livres* in paper money, based upon confiscated property of the Church for its security.

P. 8: To crown its work the National Assembly, to explain the advantages of this new currency, issued an address to the French people. . . .

Some of the arguments in this address are worth recalling, and, among them, the following:—"Paper money is without inherent value unless it represents some special property. Without representing some special

property it is inadmissible in trade to compete with a metallic currency which has a value real and independent of the public action; therefore it is that the paper money which has only the public authority as its basis has always caused ruin where it has been established; that is the reason why the bank notes of 1720, issued by John Law, after having caused terrible evils, have left only frightful memories."

Pp. 13-14: Into this debate was brought a report by Necker. . . . He did not recognize the fact that the nation was entering a great revolution, but he could and did see that, come what might, there were simple principles of finance which must be adhered to. Most earnestly, therefore, he endeavored to dissuade the Assembly from the proposed issue. . . . But the current was running too fast. The only result was that Necker was spurned as a man of the past; he sent in his resignation and left France forever. The paper-money demagogues shouted for joy at his departure; their chorus rang through the journalism of the time. No words could express their contempt for a man who was unable to see the advantages of filling the treasury with the issues of a printing press.

P. 25: Thus came a collapse in manufacturing and commerce, . . . just as it came at various periods in Austria, Russia, America, and in all countries where men have tried to build up prosperity on irredeemable paper.

P. 29: Even worse than this was the breaking down of the morals of the country at large. . . .

P. 31: . . . The most curious thing evolved out of all this chaos was a new system of political economy. In speeches, newspapers and pamphlets about this time, we begin to find it declared that, after all, a depreciated currency is a blessing; that gold and silver form an unsatisfactory standard for measuring values . . . that the laws of political economy however applicable in other times, are not applicable to this particular period, and, however operative in other nations, are not so in France. . . .

Quoting Mr. White's book, Dr. Walter Spahr makes the comparison with present attitudes toward money—Monetary Notes, Feb. 2, 1970:

The statements in the press and other news and popular opinion media of this country are strikingly similar to those in France during the last decade of the 18th century—anti-gold standard and pro-irredeemable currency. For example, an editor of one of New York City's widely-recognized and oft-quoted newspapers stated in a column in 1967: "The first man I can recollect who cut through the stultifying superstition [regarding the importance of gold] was John Law. . . . A man ahead of his time, he noted that the banknotes could be made not merely claim-checks on a limited supply of gold but could themselves become money once people got their minds clear of the metal fetish. . . .

Law's bubble burst, to be sure, to the ruin of France. But then the mechanics of bank management, of course, hadn't caught up with the theory, as in modern day Britain and the United States.

In our generation things are different. . . . Said this same editor in one of his later columns: ". . . There's no more reason to measure a dollar by gold than by iron, copper, beaver skins or the supply of goats. . . .

The fact of the case—the incontrovertible fact of the case—is that the dollar has already been devalued.

Thus did that editor-author demonstrate that he even confused currency depreciation and devaluation.

Even in the academic field, which should be controlled by principles of science, a text-

book on *The Elements of Economics* (1947) contained these sentences:

P. 331: . . . Any one of the three commodities [raisins, silver, or pigs] might just as well have been chosen for the role we have given to gold.

P. 335: The use of gold in the present-day economy is somewhat absurd.

Pp. 635-636: . . . Even the adoption of the limberger cheese standard, absurd as it is, would be much better than the policy the world followed between 1929 and 1939. . . .

A sound monetary bloodstream for a nation is dependent upon the understanding and use of science—the method by which truth is obtained and presented accurately.

Is there anything we can do now to begin moving back toward the gold standard, at this late date in history and with the decline of the dollar already so far advanced? Most emphatically there is. Writing in the *Freeman* of August 1971, distinguished economist Henry Hazlitt says:

There appears to be no alternative now to our government doing frankly and *de jure* what for the last three years it has been doing without acknowledgment but *de facto*: it should openly announce that it can no longer undertake to convert dollars into gold at \$35 an ounce. It owns only about \$1 in gold for every \$45 paper dollars outstanding. Its dollar obligations to foreign central banks alone are now more than twice its holdings of gold. If it really allowed free conversion it would be bailed out of its remaining gold holdings within a week.

The government should also announce that until further notice it will neither buy nor sell gold.

Simultaneously, however, the United States should repeal all prohibitions against its citizens owning, buying, selling, or making contracts in gold. This would mean the restoration of a really free gold market here. Incidentally, because of distrust of floating paper currencies, it would mean that international trade and investment would soon be increasingly conducted in terms of gold, with a weight of gold as the unit of amount. Gold, even if not 'monetized' by any government, would become an international money, if not the international money. On the foreign-exchange markets national paper currencies would be quoted in terms of gold. Even if there were no formal international agreement, this would prepare the way for the return of national currencies, country by country, to a gold standard.

When the legislation providing for devaluation of the dollar in terms of gold comes before the House, I intend to offer an amendment for the purposes outlined by Mr. Hazlitt, along the lines of my H.R. 6790 introduced last year, which reads as follows:

H.R. 6790

A bill to permit American citizens to hold gold, and to accept gold as compensation under the terms of a contract

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That sections 3 and 4 of the Gold Reserve Act of 1934 (31 U.S.C. 442 and 443) are repealed.

SEC. 2. No provisions of any law in effect on the date of enactment of this Act, and no rule, regulation, or order under authority of any such law, may be construed to prohibit any person from purchasing, holding, selling, or otherwise dealing in gold.

SEC. 3. Parties to a contract may agree to accept a specified quantity or dollar value of gold as compensation.

TRIBUTE TO J. Z. HOWARD

HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, last month the associate editor of the Memphis Press-Scimitar, Mr. J. Z. Howard, retired after a long and distinguished career.

The December 16, 1971, issue of the Press-Scimitar included a story by Charles A. Brown announcing Mr. Howard's retirement and recounting some of the highlights of his career. In the same issue, there appeared a column by Edwin Howard, amusements editor and son of the retiring associate editor. This column is one of the most moving tributes I have ever read.

I insert these two items at this point in the RECORD.

The articles follow:

J. Z. HOWARD TO RETIRE; THIS IS HIS
LAST WEEK

(By Charles A. Brown)

J. Z. Howard, associate editor and editor of the editorial page for The Press-Scimitar, will retire this week after a long and distinguished journalistic career which brought him many honors and the satisfaction that he has accomplished much for his beloved Tennessee.

Formally named John Zollicoffer Howard, but known to friends and associates as "Zollie," he served as managing editor of The Press-Scimitar for 24 years before stepping up to his present post in 1964. As associate editor, he has had a direct role in determination of policy for this newspaper.

Few men have as thorough a knowledge of Tennessee, including its history and government, as Howard. He was born near Gainesboro, a small town in Middle Tennessee, and was graduated from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville in 1924. He taught there, and worked 15 years for The Knoxville News-Sentinel, another Scripps-Howard newspaper, before moving to The Press-Scimitar in 1940.

Howard sees his retirement as "another episode in my life opening up." He said he plans to travel and write, but will continue to live in Memphis. He and his wife, Jessie, live at 896 Robin Hood Lane.

That unusual middle name resulted from the great admiration one of his grandfathers had for Confederate Gen. Felix K. Zollicoffer. The grandfather (both served in the Confederate army) named one of his sons for the general, and the name was then handed down to Howard.

During his career, Howard has played a role in many important news events, but he is proudest of his part in the repeal of the old antievolution law which had brought ridicule on the state during the famous "Monkey Trial" at Dayton, Tenn. in 1925.

As a young U-T journalism instructor, Howard was visiting in the office of the managing editor of the old Knoxville Sentinel when the first wire story about the arrest of a teacher, John T. Scopes Jr., came over the AP wire. Howard wrote an eight-column headline for the story, not realizing that he would be the moving force behind a drive which succeeded in revoking the law 42 years later.

Howard's review of a book by Scopes on the editorial page of The Press-Scimitar in 1967 included a call to the Legislature to re-

peal the law. Editorials followed, and the Legislature finally did what Howard and The Press-Scimitar recommended. "The law and its sequel resulted in Tennessee being branded in the minds of millions of people as a place of ignorance and prejudice," Howard wrote in his book review. "It put a cumbersome shackle on our state and its schools."

Members of the 85th General Assembly, including senators who had opposed the repeal bill, signed a picture of then-Gov. Buford Ellington signing the historic bill and sent it to Howard.

Some time later, Howard proudly sat in on a class at White Station High School and heard a teacher discuss Darwin's theory of evolution—legally.

Another accomplishment which Howard remembers with pride was his work with the Knoxville Bar Association while he was city editor there to devise and get through the Legislature a bill creating General Sessions courts for Knox County. He had written many stories describing the evils of the old J. P. court system. The change set the pattern for General Sessions courts throughout Tennessee.

Shortly after Howard arrived in Memphis, the World War II manpower shortage began to hit. In addition to serving as managing editor, he worked as news editor, copy editor and make-up editor, taking on additional jobs as men went to war.

A prolific writer as well as an editor, Howard has turned out many outstanding articles. One series written after Howard served on jury duty earned The Press-Scimitar an award for "Courage in Journalism" from Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalism fraternity.

While in the jury box, Howard had noticed that jurors never asked questions of witnesses. He stood and asked the judge if this could be done. He knew it could, because prior to going on the jury, he had read up in Tennessee law the rights and duties of jurors. The surprised judge said jurors could relay questions through the judge, and the practice caught on.

Howard also stood and questioned Criminal Court's "rubber stamp" method of having jurors approve guilty pleas. Howard said jurors should know facts of cases so they could determine if punishment agreed upon between the lawyers was just. This resulted in an order that facts of such cases be given in court.

In 1957, Howard wrote a series on segregation problems in the South which brought requests for 24,000 reprints. The last article in the series earned him a George Washington Medal from the Freedom Foundation.

Howard has been active in the Tennessee Press Association for many years. He received the TPA President's Plaque for his work as chairman of a state-wide Traffic safety campaign in 1963. He also served as president of both the UPI Tennessee Association of Newspapers and the Tennessee Association of Associated Press. He was a member of the executive committee of the Shelby County T-B Association, Protestant co-chairman of the Memphis Roundtable, National Conference of Christians and Jews, and a director and president of the Memphis Public Affairs Forum. He is treasurer of the Goodfellows of Memphis, the city's oldest Christmas charity organization.

Discussing his career, Howard said:

"I am proud of having had a part in helping Memphis throw off the political apathy that had held it down for years, and helping the citizenry get in the habit of taking an active part in the handling of their affairs."

"One of the things I am proudest of is being instrumental in getting some fine per-

sonnel into The Press-Scimitar's news and editorial staffs, and working with them to help bring out their talents. That is the sort of thing that will go on long after I am gone."

"In my association with five Scripps-Howard editors as reporter and city, Sunday, managing and associate editor, I found all of them to be fair, truly interested in the welfare of their employees—and, in the conduct of their newspapers, concerned solely with serving the public to the best of their ability."

"My associations in Memphis, with the late editor Edward J. Meeman, and the present editor Charles H. Schneider, marked the high point of my newspaper career in personal satisfaction and, I think, effectiveness of effort."

"I have known personally many other top men in the Scripps-Howard family of newspapers, and have found them to be wholly conscientious and dedicated to the welfare of the people of this country."

"A big percentage of the finest people I have ever known are members of The Press-Scimitar staff and other workers at the Memphis Publishing Co. I am lucky to have had so many warm friendships among these fellow-workers."

Howard also has some advice for young reporters:

"They should keep their enthusiasm and loyalty to the profession and to the papers which provide them the opportunity to serve the public. They should never forget that the first and most important duty of a newspaper is to give the public the facts it needs to make good decisions. I would advise them to avoid like the plague any tendency toward cynicism. I think cynicism is a most dangerous trait for a newspaperman or anyone else."

A SON'S REVIEW OF DAD'S CAREER

(By Edwin Howard)

In 25 years as amusements editor of The Press-Scimitar, I have reviewed 5,000 movies, 700 plays and 300 books. I have had the temerity to appraise Shakespeare and Shaw, Ford and Fellini, Olivier and Bergman, Faulkner and Nabokov.

I have inwardly quailed at, but never shrunk from, criticizing my betters. And because so many of them have been my betters, I have appreciated more than I have found fault; I have learned more from them than I brought to them, and I cherish what I have learned.

So it is today as I approach the toughest assignment. I've ever been handed—to review the career of Zollie Howard, retiring Press-Scimitar associate editor, from my Front Row vantage point as fellow worker, and son.

My first review was done, at the age of 9, on assignment from him. In those days, besides being star reporter, city editor, and Sunshine & Moonshine and Verse or Worse columnist for The Knoxville News-Sentinel, he also edited its Sunday book page. He brought home a new book called "Pierre Pons," read it to me, and wrote down my response.

I've been trying to please him with my own writings ever since. When I have managed it, a few words of praise or approval from him have meant more than awards or prizes, because I know HE KNOWS.

He knows because he has done it all himself, and done it better than most of us who try can hope to do.

He was born in a cabin in the Cumberland Mountains of Tennessee. He learned the three Rs from his own mother in a one-room schoolhouse in Jackson County. He got his first transfusion of ink as a 10-year-old printer's devil in the rough-floored shop of Gainesboro's weekly Jackson County Sentinel.

To earn money to attend Maryville (Tenn.) College preparatory department, he trudged the dusty roads of Western Kentucky, selling Bibles, and the streets of Middle Tennessee towns selling aluminum ware. When the U.S. entered World War I, he volunteered, was shipwrecked off the English coast and spent the rest of the war in a Liverpool hospital.

On the WWI equivalent of the GI Bill, he entered the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, contributed heavily to the Volunteer and edited a literary magazine called The Mugwump (for which he also cartooned), and was graduated with 44 As and two Bs, one in physical education. As a U-T instructor of English and Journalism, he came in contact with Ed Meeman, dynamic young newspaperman from Evansville, Ind., who had just come to town to found and edit The Knoxville News for Scripps-MacRae, afterwards the Scripps-Howard Newspapers.

After one year of teaching, he took "temporary" leave and joined The News staff, as he put it, "to learn something about what I've been teaching."

That was 46 years ago. He is retiring this week. Monday will be his 74th birthday. And he still works a 10-hour day—by choice.

In the early days in Knoxville, he worked 12-hour days, but only five days a week; on the sixth day, he worked 18 hours. On the seventh day he rested—and took my brother and me hiking over Sharp's Ridge near home or in the Smokies we all loved.

In The News-Sentinel's fights against political corruption, for city manager government, and for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, he was editor Meeman's investigative left hook; in The Press-Scimitar's fights against the Crump dictatorship and for efficient, clean, citizen government, he was Meeman's encyclopedic editorial right cross.

In the offices of both papers, he has been both artist and craftsman—artist in observing, writing, evaluating, and editorializing on the news; craftsman in editing and displaying it readably and attractively.

In reviewing movies, plays and books, I have always been guided by Goethe's three questions: What is the artist trying to do? How well has he done it? Is it worth the doing?

For 46 years, Zollie Howard has been trying to give light so that people can find their own way through the dark corridors of the life they must traverse together. He has done it with more courage, candor, artistry, craftsmanship and dedication than any newspaperman I have ever known.

As for its being worthwhile—Prometheus stole fire from Heaven for man's sake, and I believe that to discover and print the truth is of that same noble order of endeavor.

Zollie Howard has been printer's devil, reporters' god, editors' right hand, and the people's spokesman. I think they're all going to miss him around here as much as I am.

A BILL TO ASSIST CITIZENS WHO DRAW SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, during the opening days of the second session of the 92d Congress, I feel that it is once again appropriate to direct our attention to the pressing need of our citizens who draw social security benefits. Congress should take immediate ac-

tion to alleviate the desperate financial straits of the older and disabled people in North Carolina and the Nation.

Therefore, yesterday I introduced a bill to assist citizens who draw social security benefits. My proposal will increase from \$1,680 to \$3,000 per year the amount social security recipients can earn at outside employment.

In doing so, I would like to point out that there are those who could earn more at outside employment, but who do not do so because it would simply reduce their social security payments. In view of the rapidly rising cost of living, those who could benefit from outside employment should be able to do so in conjunction with the social security payments.

If enacted, this bill would most importantly increase total annual earnings of many social security recipients without an added burden to the American taxpayer. It will serve to retain the services of many still productive citizens in our economy, many who are possessed of valuable skills.

Mr. Speaker, I invite my colleagues to join me in support of this measure as the most sensible avenue of approach to provide effective assistance to the social security recipients who are, under the present system, our lost and forgotten Americans.

EXCESSIVE PUNISHMENT FOR DRAFT CARD DESTRUCTION

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, the St. Louis Bar Journal and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch carried the following comment on a congressional excess in establishing punishment for draft card destruction:

[From the St. Louis Bar Journal]

THE LETTER OF THE LAW

(By Charles B. Blackmar)

In 1968 an eighteen year old man tore his draft card in two and handed it to a police officer. As a result he was required to spend ninety days in a penal institution. This was so even though he requested a new card two days later and received it.

The incident demonstrates an excessive application of the legislative, executive and judicial power which is without precedent in our history. It will be ridiculed abroad and by future generations. It will not produce respect for law, though it may result in some fear of the law's power. In some the reaction will be skepticism bordering on contempt.

The fault began with Congress. For many years draft registrants have been required to carry classification cards, with nominal penalties for failure to do so. At a time when dissent about the Vietnam war was less popular than it now is, some began to express their disapproval by burning draft cards. Congress responded by shouting through a bill making the mutilation of a card punishable by a fine of up to \$10,000 and a penitentiary sentence of up to five years. This was done even though possession of a draft card is not a necessary ticket of admission to an induction center. The committee report shows that the congressmen were disturbed by expression of dissent, and that this is why such an excessive sentence was authorized.

President Johnson obediently signed the bill and the Supreme Court, in an opinion by Chief Justice Warren, held that there was a proper legislative purpose in requiring the possession of a draft card, so that Congress could provide whatever sanction it saw fit for mutilation. In so holding the Court reversed a Court of Appeals decision. The issue was a close one. There was an obvious effect of restricting a particular means of expression, but the Court found that the valid legislative purpose was sufficient to sustain the act.

The Department of Justice showed incredibly poor judgment in prosecuting the case here described. Prosecution is a discretionary matter. Many offenders are not prosecuted. Those guilty of filing false income tax returns, or of filing no return at all, will often be allowed to rehabilitate themselves by making a voluntary disclosure and paying the tax. A draftee who fails to report for induction will usually be given a second chance to report. Prosecutors frequently exercise their discretion to omit prosecution of those who have committed no prior offense, even though guilt is evident. Why was this case selected for prosecution?

The trial judge's finding of guilt was within the law. He was affirmed by the court of appeals and the Supreme Court (6-3) declined review of the case.

In the federal system, however, the trial judge has the sole responsibility for sentencing. There is no judicial authority above him. It is perhaps unusual to find criticism of a sitting judge in a publication of this kind, but public comment is entirely in order about a matter which is completely within the judge's discretion.

And the sentence which the defendant was required to serve is unjustifiable! There was no need to imprison this defendant for a single day. The sentence was perhaps designed to scare other potential offenders, but it took no account of the individual, of the nature of the offense, or of the possibility of further criminal conduct by the defendant. The offense does not involve moral turpitude, and the defendant sought no personal gain. He simply chose the wrong method of protest against American involvement in a conflict which more and more people are coming to regard as a monstrous crime against humanity. There were close constitutional and statutory questions. The prompt request for another card undid the damage.

Even though Congress had authorized a substantial prison sentence, the court had no obligation to order incarceration. (We disregard the initial pronouncement of a five year sentence, which was done because of the technicalities of the law.) It is not at all unusual for a defendant subject to a sentence of this magnitude to receive probation without serving any time. In this case, in particular, leniency at the end of the proceedings was in order.

The sentences in the federal court in this district seem quite severe. This seems especially so in cases involving dissent to federal military policy. Yet there is no convincing evidence that the severity of sentences is a substantial factor in deterring others. And severity has bad effects, especially in cases in which it is not needed. A first offender should be incarcerated only for a very good reason.

This entire incident represents an impulsive act by Congress, with presidential acquiescence, compounded by a bad exercise of discretion by the prosecutor and by the court. Let us hope that similar incidents do not occur.

I think it is well for us to reflect on the wisdom and courage shown by one of our colleagues on this occasion when Henry P. Smith III, of New York, cast the lone no vote against this bill, Public Law 89-152. The vote on final passage being 393 to 1.

MONTHLY CALENDAR OF THE
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to place in the RECORD the January Calendar of Events of the Smithsonian Institution, as follows:

JANUARY AT THE SMITHSONIAN

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 5

Free Film Theatre: *Search for National Unity: 1800-1927; Civil War and Invasion: 1927-1941*. Two of a three-part series "China: Century of Revolution," written and narrated by Theodore H. White. 12:10 and 1:10 p.m., Natural History Building auditorium. (The final film in the series will be shown January 12 and 13.)

THURSDAY, JANUARY 6

Creative Screen: *Art—A funny and hypnotic bombardment as 2,100 works of art flash by in quick succession; Why Man Creates—*an Academy Award winner by Saul Bass depicts the creative process. Continuous half-hour showings begin at 11 a.m.; last showing at 2:30 p.m. National Collection of Fine Arts, Lecture Hall.

Free Film Theatre: *China: Century of Revolution*. Repeat. See January 5 for details.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 7

Exhibition: *Karl Schrag*. Sixty-five prints by this German-born New York artist, now 59, whose stated life work is the interpretation in art of the simple but elusive truths of nature. National Collection of Fine Arts, through February 21.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8

Concert: Songs related to the times and subjects of the concurrent exhibition *John Stuart Curry: Themes and Variations*, and presented by the Folklore Society of Greater Washington. 3 p.m., National Collection of Fine Arts, Granite Gallery.

Creative Screen: *Art: Why Man Creates*. Repeat. See January 6 for details.

MONDAY, JANUARY 10

Audubon Film: *The American Eagle*. Jackson Abbot, Director of the Audubon Naturalist Society and the Bald Eagle Survey, will present this film and comment on the problems of survival of the eagle. 8 p.m. only, Natural History Building auditorium.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 11

Lecture: *Listening to Brain Waves*. Lecture-demonstration on brain-wave music by Dr. Reginald G. Bickford, Professor of Neurosciences, University of California at San Diego. Sponsored by the Resident Smithsonian Associates. 8:30 p.m., Natural History Building auditorium. Public is welcome.

Lecture: *Court Designs and the Mass Production of Fine Arts in the Ottoman Empire*, by Professor Walter B. Denny, University of Massachusetts. Prof. Denny's presentation will focus on the large-scale production of tiles for wall decorations in mosques and secular buildings, and the significance of these decorations in understanding the economic and artistic developments of the time. 8:30 p.m., Freer Gallery of Art.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12

Free Film Theatre: *Rise of Communist Power: 1941-1967—Final film in the "China: Century of Revolution" series, tells of the struggle between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, and describes the two decades in China under communist rule. Odyssey in Asia—The adventures of two young men traveling from the Bosphorus in Turkey to Fujiyama in Japan. 12:10 to 1:10 p.m., Natural History Building auditorium.*

Lunchbox Forum: *Natural Flight and Imaginative Flight*. Informal discussion by Paul E. Garber, Historian Emeritus, National Air and Space Museum. 12 Noon, Room 449, Smithsonian Institution "Castle" Building.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 13

Free Film Theatre: *Rise of Communist Power: 1941-1967; Odyssey in Asia*. Repeat. See January 12 for details.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 14

Folk Concert: *Pam Ostergren*. Old-time music accompanied by Bobi Thomas. Sponsored by the Division of Performing Arts and the Folklore Society of Greater Washington. Admission: FSGW members, free; non-members, \$1. 8:30 p.m., History and Technology Building Auditorium.

Classical Guitar: *Michael Lorimer*, one of the outstanding young artists in the United States, and student of Andres Segovia. 8:30 p.m. Natural History Building auditorium. For ticket information call 393-4433.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 16

Exhibition: *Greenland: Arctic Denmark*. A special exhibition prepared for the Smithsonian by the government of Denmark, presents a total view of Greenland, its culture, history, natural resources and contemporary life. Foyer, National Museum of Natural History, through March 12.

Exhibition: *Art from D.C. High Schools*. Drawings, paintings and ceramics from District senior high schools. Education Gallery, National Collection of Fine Arts. Opening 3-5 p.m. Exhibition continues through February 28.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 19

Free Film Theatre: *Race to Extinction*. Explores the Mayan civilization of Mexico and the Lacandon Indians who still live near ancient Mayan ruins. 12:10 and 1:10 p.m., Natural History Building auditorium.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 20

Creative Screen: *Generation—A study in patterns, designs and colors from kaleidoscopic images; Paint—The romance of paint in a panorama from the Stone Age to the present. Continuous half-hour showings from 11 a.m.; last showing at 2:30 p.m. National Collection of Fine Arts.*

Free Film Theatre: *Race to Extinction*. Repeat. See January 19 for details.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22

Creative Screen: *Generation; Paint*. Repeat. See January 20 for details.

MONDAY, JANUARY 24

Music at the Smithsonian: *Malcolm Bilson* in a concert for the Forteplano, featuring the works of Haydn, Mozart, and C.P.E. Bach and using a Philip Belt copy of the Smithsonian's 1773 instrument by Johann Andreas Stein. Sponsored by the Division of Musical Instruments and the Resident Smithsonian Associates. 8:30 p.m., Hall of Musical Instruments, History and Technology Building. Tickets, \$4. For reservations call 381-5395.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 26

Free Film Theatre: *Horseman, Pass By*. Film on W. B. Yeats, poet-philosopher and founder of the world famed Abbey Theatre, narrated by Frank O'Connor. 12:10 and 1:10 p.m., Natural History Building auditorium.

Lunchbox Forum: *The Consumer and the Airlines*. Informal discussion by Jack Yohe, Director of Civil Aeronautics Board Office of Consumer Affairs. 12 Noon, Room 449, Smithsonian Institution "Castle" Building.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 27

Free Film Theatre: *Horseman Pass By*. Repeat. See January 26 for details.

National Capital Shell Club: *Study group* conducted by staff members of the Smithsonian's Division of Mollusks, 7:30 p.m. *Monthly meeting and slide program*, 8:15 p.m. Room 43, Natural History Building. Public is invited.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 28

The Renwick Gallery. Museum opens to the public. The Smithsonian adds another art museum to its complex when the jewel-like Renwick Gallery opens January 28. The Museum, built in 1861, is located at 17th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue N.W. and will be open from 10 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. every day of the week.

Besides permanent installations, the Renwick, named for its architect James Renwick, will have a changing series of exhibitions devoted to American design, crafts, and decorative arts. For the opening, there will be eight concurrent temporary shows; *Woodenworks*, furniture by five contemporary craftsmen; *Design Is . . .*, an exploration of the nature of design; *James Renwick in Washington*, a study of the architect's career in this city; *Selections from the Index of American Design*, rendering of articles of daily use and adornment from Colonial times to 1900; *The Glass of Frederick Carder*, creations by the founding director of the Steuben Glass Works; *Pueblo Pottery: Zuni and Acoma Designs from Smithsonian Collections*, the first of a series of exhibitions honoring the American Indian as this land's first designers; *The Four Continents*, costly 19th century European ceramics, textiles, glasswork; and *American Architecture: Photographs by the late Frank Roos*, a dramatic portrayal of architecture as design through the medium of the camera.

Continuing exhibitions

Freer Gallery of Art, 12th and Jefferson Drive, S.W.

Early Christian Manuscripts. Illuminated leaves and ancient Biblical manuscripts from the Freer Gallery's outstanding collection of early Christian works.

The Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer Memorial Exhibition. Chinese and Japanese objects including bronzes, archaic jades, stone sculptures, paintings and ceramics. On display indefinitely.

Museum of History and Technology, 14th and Constitution Ave., N.W.

A Children's World: Sears, Roebuck & Co. Collection of American Toys, 1880-1960. Over 500 cast iron and tinplate toys recently given to the Smithsonian by Sears. Through January 31.

Music Machines—American Style. From barrel organs and player pianos to the most up-to-date high fidelity equipment, with tapes of the sounds of the machines and musical films shown continuously as follows:

Dec. 31-Jan. 6—Highlights from MGM Musicals: 1930-1950.

Jan. 7-13—Musicals of the Thirties.

Jan. 14-20—Songs of Disney.

Jan. 21-27—Highlights from MGM Musicals: 1930-1950.

Jan. 28-Feb. 3—Songs of Disney.

National Collection of Fine Arts, 8th and F Streets, N.W.

John Stuart Curry: Themes and Variations. Four oils and 33 watercolors and drawings by this Midwestern regionalist. Part of the series of exhibitions on 20th century American artists. Through February 29.

Art of the 1930's. Paintings and prints from the 1930's by American artists. On view indefinitely.

William H. Johnson (1901-1970). Paintings, watercolors, drawings and prints by this little known but highly talented black American Artist. Through January 30.

The Art of John Held Jr. Drawings, prints and watercolors by the creator of the Roaring Twenties cartoon flapper.

National Portrait Gallery, 8th and G Streets, N.W.

Washington from Banneker to Douglass: 1791-1870. The history of the Nation's Capital portrayed through the use of portraits, photographs and documents, from the perspective of Washington's black community. Through January 28.

Hours

Smithsonian museums: 10 a.m.-5:30 p.m., 7 days a week.
 Cafeteria: 11 a.m.-5 p.m., daily, MHT.
 Snack Bar: 10 a.m.-2 p.m., daily, MHT.
 National Zoo buildings: 9 a.m.-4:30 p.m., 7 days a week.
 Anacostia Neighborhood Museum: 10 a.m.-6 p.m., weekdays; 1-6 p.m., weekends.

Foreign study tours

For members of the National and Resident Associates. For further details on tours, listed below, write to Miss Schumann, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. 20560.

Australia and New Zealand: Late March-April.

Mexico and Guatemala: April 3-22.

No-Tour Tour: Dulles-Paris-Dulles. May 29.

Eastern Turkey: May 30 (three weeks).

Greece and Yugoslavia: June 12-July 10.

No-Tour Tour: New York-Frankfurt-New York.

King Arthur's England: July 12-Aug. 2.

The Pilgrimage Road: Sept. 11-Oct. 9.

No-Tour Tour: Dulles-London-Dulles. Sept. 11.

Russia: Oct. 9-Nov. 1.

Smithsonian puppet theatre

Eureka!—The story of a small boy, Murphy, his unusual friend Worm and their travels through time and ideas. A new fantasy performed by Allan Stevens and Company and presented by the Division of Performing Arts. Wednesday through Friday, 10:30 and 11:30 a.m.; Saturday and Sunday, 10:30 a.m., 12:30 and 2:30 p.m., in the History and Technology Building auditorium. Admission: \$1 children; \$1.25 adults; group rates available for 20 or more. Tickets are on sale at the box office, or call 381-5395.

Demonstrations

Museum of History and Technology
Musical Instruments, from the Smithsonian's collection. Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 3 p.m. Hall of Musical Instruments, 3rd floor.

Musical Machines—American Style. Mechanical and electronic music machines. Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday, 1:30 p.m., 2nd floor.

Spinning and Weaving. Tuesday, 10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.; Wednesday through Friday, 10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. and 1:30-3:30 p.m.

Museum Tours

Highlight Tours, conducted by Smithsonian volunteers, begin at the Info Desks by the Mall entrances, on the following schedule:

Museum of History and Technology: Monday through Friday, 10:30, 11:30 a.m.; and Saturday and Sunday, 10:30, Noon, 1:30, 3 p.m.

Museum of Natural History: Saturday, 11 a.m. and 1 p.m.; and Sunday, 1:30, 3 p.m.

Arts & Industries Building (Air & Space Museum): Saturday, 10:30, 11, 11:30 a.m., 1, 2, 3 p.m.; and Sunday, 1, 2, 3 p.m.

National Collection of Fine Arts: Saturday and Sunday, 2:30 p.m. (Tour begins at 9th Street entrance.)

Domestic Study Tours

The Smithsonian Association sponsor tours dealing with natural sciences, history and notable areas of wildlife habitat in the United States. For further details, write Mrs. Kilkenny, Smithsonian Associates, Washington, D.C. 20560.

Yankee Winter Weekend: Jan. 21-23. Nostalgic weekend in the re-created 18th century atmosphere of Sturbridge Village, Mass.

New Orleans: Feb. 4-7. Exciting tour of the art, history and architecture of this Creole city.

Death Valley National Monument: April 14-20. In-depth study of this fascinating desert region.

Navajoland: May 21-28. An opportunity to see and experience the immense and magnif-

icent area of the Navajo and Hopi, their past and present.

Windjammer Cruise: June 25-July 1. Schooner sailing off the coast of Maine with interesting shore excursions.

Dial-A-Museum—737-8811 for daily announcements on new exhibits and special events.

Dial-A-Phenomenon—737-8855 for weekly announcements on stars, planets and worldwide occurrences of short-lived natural phenomena.

Radio Smithsonian

Radio Smithsonian, a program of music and conversation growing out of the Institution's many activities, is broadcast every Sunday on WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5) from 9-9:30 p.m. The program scheduled for January:

2nd—*Concert: The Concentus Musicus, Vienna*, under the direction of Nikolaus Harnoncourt, in a program of Italian baroque music.

9th—*The Middle East: What's Really Happening?*, a discussion with Dr. Amos Perlmutter, fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and Dr. Abdul Said, professor at the American University School of International Service.

16th—*Folk Concert*, featuring Grant Rogers, folksinger, fiddler and guitarist.

23rd—*The Renwick: A Showcase for American Design.* Interview with Lloyd Herman, Director of the Renwick Gallery, the newest of the Smithsonian's branches. *Perception and Society*, with Dr. Robert Livingstone, Visting Professor at Brain Research Institute of the University of Zurich.

30th—*Life Among the Chimps.* Dr. Jane van Lawick-Goodall talks about some of the striking discoveries she has made about chimpanzees over the past decade.

Classes workshops, tours

Sponsored by the Smithsonian Associates, by subscription only—call 381-5157.

Classes begin in January in the following subjects:

Young people (8 weekly sessions): Mammal Laboratory; Model Rocketry; Special Project Art; Archaeology; Architecture; Country Living—U.S.A.; Creative Expression; Evolution of Mammals; Our Mineral Kingdom; Oceanography; Rocketry and Space Flight.

Adults and Teenagers (10 weekly sessions): Classical Pottery and Its Creators; Design; Basic Photography; Sensing Art; Stitchery I, II and III; America in the 20th Century; Minerals as Resources; Stained Glass; Intermediate Photography; Oceanography; Washington, D.C.—Old and New; Design in Enamel I and II; Basic Film Making; Basic Dark-room Workshop; Cinema: More or Less.

WORKSHOPS—Natural Dyes (for adults and teenagers)—January 21 or 22.

Plastic Sculpture (ages 7-12)—January 16.
 TOUR—Federal Triangle. First detailed tour ever offered in Washington of the art work of the Federal Triangle Buildings covers the neo-classical sculpture on the building exteriors, 50 New Deal murals and noteworthy Art Deco sculpture in the interiors.

The Smithsonian Monthly Calendar of Events is prepared by the Office of Public Affairs. Editor: Lilas Wiltshire. *Deadline for entries in the February Calendar: January 5.*

Use of funds for printing this publication approved by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, June 3, 1971.

STATEMENT ON WITHHOLDING TAX BILL

HON. WILLIAM J. KEATING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, as a former finance committee chairman of the

Cincinnati City Council, I believe that the council took the correct action in passing a resolution calling for congressional action on the passage of legislation that would allow the Federal Government to withhold local income taxes from the wages of Federal Government employees.

Pursuant to this resolution, I have today introduced a bill in the House that will amend the law to allow this withholding.

In Cincinnati, we have approximately 14,000 Federal employees and if this legislation is enacted the city government will see a savings of around \$100,000.

This is a commonsense bill that will not only help the city but will be of great benefit to the employees. When sitting on the municipal bench, I often came into cases where Federal employees were running into difficulty because their taxes had not been withheld. This bill alleviates that problem.

It is my hope that the Committee on Ways and Means will look into this problem and act on my legislation.

ISSUES FOR THE NEW YEAR

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, election years are traditionally long on talk and image, short on action and genuine issues. Election year 1972 seems more likely than ever to follow this pattern.

This being the era of the mass media—especially television—and of highly sophisticated public relations, there is all too much voting on appearances instead of realities. The issues people talk about during a campaign are often not the real issues which concern the hard decisions which must be made if our Republic is to survive and remain free. The times are much too critical to indulge the temptation to avoid these issues in 1972.

What are these real issues and the hard decisions they involve? I would list them as follows:

First. Strengthening our national defense. Eager to reorder priorities so as to get more free Federal money for their favorite domestic projects, far too many people are still trying to pretend that this issue is not there or will go away. Many others are still genuinely unaware of, or unwilling to believe the extent of our present military weakness, which I have amply documented in past newsletters. If we are too weak to deter a Soviet attack, then all the other activities of our Government become utterly pointless. Protecting our country from enemies foreign and domestic is, after all, the primary duty of our Federal Government.

Second. Knowing our enemy and dealing with him as an enemy. Woolly-headed optimists and secret or open sympathizers can say all they want about the "mellowing" of aggressive international communism, but the fact remains that there is no hard evidence whatever indicating any change in the Communists' fixed purpose of conquering the world,

nor justifying any greater trust in their pledged word, in treaties, and the like. Under these circumstances it is the height of folly to regard Communist governments as anything but our sworn enemies and to deal with them on any basis other than that. As everyone knows, our policy toward them has been shifting steadily in their favor, especially during the past year. This must stop.

Third. Restoring freedom to our economy. The gigantic, superlatively productive trillion dollar American economy today lies shackled in the grip of the tightest system of mandatory Federal controls ever imposed in the absence of declared war. Whether or not such controls may seem to work at first, all history shows that in the long run they cannot stop inflation, but can and will cut production and dislocate trade. This is at least implicitly recognized by apologists for the present controls, who keep insisting they will not last. They should be asked: When will the controls be removed? What will you do to help remove them?

Fourth. Reducing Federal spending and the Federal deficit. Present projections indicate a deficit for the current fiscal year of \$27 billion and more to come next year, with huge spending increases for many Federal programs and departments—but only a very small increase for defense. National bankruptcy lies at the end of this road which we are now traveling with express train speed.

There are other vital issues as well—curbing the power of the courts, especially with regard to the forced busing of schoolchildren to achieve racial balance; saving the lives of babies from the abortionists; trying to restore sanity to our welfare programs and many of our school systems, for example. But the four I have discussed in some detail are those for which Congress and the President are directly responsible, and on which they should be held to account.

GENERAL CUSHMAN 25TH
COMMANDANT

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, Gen. Robert E. Cushman, Jr., a distinguished marine officer, on January 1 assumed the high office of Commandant of the Marine Corps.

As 25th Commandant of the Corps, General Cushman brings an outstanding military and civilian record of heroic and meritorious service to his country. From the beaches of Bougainville, Guam, and Iwo Jima in World War II to the jungles of Vietnam he has displayed exceptional qualities of leadership and courage. In his later military tours as a ranking staff officer and his most recent assignment as Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, General Cushman has exercised his dynamic managerial abilities. He combines the qualities of physical toughness and intellectual excellence. I

am confident he will be another in the long line of illustrious Commandants who have served their Corps and their Nation so well during the 196 years of history of the Marines.

Recently I had the pleasure of visiting with General Cushman and he assured me that the Marine Corps will continue its time-tested tradition of serving as the country's true force-in-readiness.

We pledge our support to General Cushman and his marines, and we wish them well in the days ahead.

CHILE AND THE WORLD BANK: U.S.
TAXPAYERS CONTINUE TO SUB-
SIDIZE MARXISM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, recent news articles over the brief span of little more than a month reveal a peculiar relationship between the American Government and the Marxist government of Allende in Chile.

A news article of December 12, 1971, carried the lead "Chile's economic deterioration and its chaotic debt status appear to have ended any hope of the Marxist-led regime of President Salvador Allende of obtaining loans from the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank, or the Export-Import Bank."

Almost a month later to the day, January 13, 1972, the newspapers carried a story headlined "World Bank Gives McNamara New Term." The papers of January 17, 1972, contained a brief announcement "World Bank To Lend \$5 Million to Chile," to aid in grape, plum, and apricot exports to the United States and Western Europe. This is aiding Marxist Chile at the expense of U.S. fruitgrowers already weakened by Chavez-led labor racketeering.

Nothing indicates that the economic situation in Chile has changed. This brings the total of money loaned to this bankrupt Marxist nation to \$42.5 million in less than 45 days. The earlier article of December 12, 1971, had indicated that Chile would obtain a loan of \$39.5 million from the International Monetary Fund to supplant the cash loss resulting from the drop in price of Chilean copper, which dropped following Chilean nationalization of American interests.

The close proximity of these dates is a strange coincidence. Certainly Mr. McNamara and the Directors of the IMF must be aware of the bankrupt economic situation in Chile as described in the article of December 12, 1971.

There is little wonder that there is an economic crisis in world currency, which results from the weakening of the U.S. dollar. Clearly those people charged with directing these international funds supported by U.S. dollars are either ignorant of the facts, in which case it is doubtful that they deserve their position, or they blatantly ignore evident facts in an attempt to create world crises, in which

case they are actively aiding and abetting the world Communist control mechanism.

I insert the related news articles:

[From the Evening Star, Jan. 17, 1972]

WORLD BANK TO LEND \$5 MILLION TO
CHILE

SANTIAGO.—The World Bank is planning to lend Chile about \$5 million so it can diversify and expand its fruit growing.

Table grapes, plums and apricots will be included, with much of the increased production intended for export to the United States and Western Europe.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 13, 1972]

WORLD BANK GIVES McNAMARA NEW TERM
(By Hobart Rowen)

Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, was reappointed yesterday for a new five-year term as president of the World Bank beginning April 1, 1973.

The reappointment was by unanimous resolution of the Executive Directors representing the power structure within the 117-member-nation bank. It laid to rest the rumor that the Nixon administration might attempt to substitute the name of a prominent Republican political figure.

It also demonstrated that McNamara—a controversial personality as Bank president, as he had been as Defense Secretary, had overcome a blow to his personal prestige as a consequence of the publication last year of the Pentagon papers.

The World Bank, technically the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, as set up along with the International Monetary Fund at Bretton Woods in 1944. The understanding has been that the Bank president would be an American, while the managing director of the IMF traditionally has been a European.

McNamara, who succeeded George Woods as president in 1968, has refocused the attention of the lending agency toward narrowing the gap between the rich and poor countries. He proposed a goal of doubling the bank's loans in the five year period 1969-73, and has concentrated on birth control, worldwide unemployment and poverty, and social problems in general.

This brought McNamara into conflict with those who preferred to see the Bank's role more narrowly defined in terms of traditional and safe banking practice. In some quarters, he was roundly criticized for his sometimes impassioned speeches on behalf of the world's poor.

Just a month ago, a French official observed privately, "The Bank is not really a bank any more; it is lending money at less than normal rates to countries that will never pay back."

The negative view of McNamara as a banker had little real support where it really counted, in the world's markets, which readily provided the money the bank sought to borrow. But the McNamara opposition got a temporary boost from the June publication of the Pentagon papers, which suggested that McNamara, while Secretary of Defense, had not always told the truth.

McNamara himself felt that the Pentagon papers had compromised his position with the Bank's Executive Directors, who, according to one insider, "found this sort of thing shocking; they're not used to this game."

The London Times published an authoritative-sounding story saying that McNamara might lose reappointment as a result of the publication of the Pentagon papers.

But McNamara won the Executive Directors to his side with what is described as an extraordinarily frank and personal account of his role and problems as Secretary of De-

fense, and the Pentagon papers probably created a new sympathy.

McNamara also received word reportedly from Henry A. Kissinger, that President Nixon was not opposed to his reappointment, although some Republican politicians would have liked the Bank presidency as a plum. The name of David Kennedy, former Treasury Secretary, has been prominently mentioned as a possibility.

With the Nixon approval known to be on track, the Executive Directors sounded out their governments during the summer. There was no opposition, and as might be expected, enthusiastic endorsement from the less developed countries McNamara had championed.

The Executive Directors' announcement noted that the McNamara reappointment assures continuity of the bank's management. A second five year plan (1974-78) is being prepared. Sources say it will stress even more the need to solve the problems of world-wide poverty and unemployment, as well as some way of easing the enormous pile-up of debt repayment for the poor countries.

"Now we can get these things out of the way," said a European official of the Bank, "without getting them snagged in your political campaign this year."

[From the Sunday Star, Dec. 12, 1971]

CHILE'S PROSPECTS FOR LOANS HURT BY ECONOMIC TROUBLES

(By Jeremiah O'Leary)

Chile's economic deterioration and its chaotic debt status appear to have ended any hope of the Marxist-led regime of President Salvador Allende of obtaining loans from the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank or the Export-Import Bank, a survey by The Star has disclosed.

Exclusion of Chile from access to such funds, diplomatic sources say, has been brought about by the Santiago regime's unwillingness or inability to meet the normal banking criteria required by the three international development agencies.

The Export-Import Bank and Chile reached a standoff several months ago on a request for a loan of about \$20 million to buy Boeing aircraft for the national airline, LAN Chile. Ex-Im asked the Chileans for information about compensation of U.S. copper companies and other questions and the Chileans refused to reply. The bank takes the position that it has not denied Chile a loan, but rather that Chile refuses to meet the conditions for one.

MEAT IS SCARCE

The World Bank had two development loan applications from Chile, including one for improvement of cattle ranching operations. But land appropriations by the government and illegal seizures of land by peasants have eliminated any large-scale cattle operations in Chile. As a result, meat is available only one week each month and the nation already has experienced a food demonstration by thousands of women.

Chile this year had seven applications before the International Development Bank, but word from officials there is that the loans are stalled indefinitely. The impasse brought a stormy confrontation between Chilean officials and the bank directors a few months ago, but Chile's refusal to comply with banking requirements and terms was cited as the reason for freezing the applications.

The projects under study are: a petrochemical plant in Concepcion, \$30 million; an iron ore mine, \$60 million; a methane gas plant, \$60 million; expansion of the port of San Vicente, \$30 million; a hydroelectric plant at Colbun, over \$200 million; a global line of credit to Corfo, the Chilean development organization, for small business lending, \$40 million, and an irrigation system, \$75 million. The proposed IDB loans would have

accounted for about half of the costs of the projects cited.

FAILS TO MEASURE UP

All the loans except the irrigation project would have come from the so-called "hard loan window" where the U.S. vote is not needed for passage. Under the IDB's weighted voting system, the United States has a veto at the "soft window". But in practice, the fact that Chile did not meet the bank's requirements was the reason cited for inaction.

Like commercial banks, IDB asks information on the level of foreign reserves, budget figures, external debt, earnings, inflation, and revenues. Officials say that Chile refuses to respond and that the loans fail to win approval for banking rather than political considerations.

IDB has given Chile two university loans that were placed in the previous administration of President Eduardo Frei. What appears to be a new loan of about \$15 million for social development projects, a source said, is really made up of unused balances from several previous loans.

Beyond the confrontation with the IDB directors, Chile is no longer pressing for the loans. This is attributed to the fact that the Allende government has put itself in an untenable position for seeking new money by its declaration on Nov. 9 that it was asking foreign creditors for renegotiation of debts totalling about \$3.8 billion. Officials say Chile can hardly push for new loans while asking for new delayed terms on existing debts.

Sources in Washington say that Chile has ceased paying anything on its debts to the multi-national lending organizations. However, Chile on Friday borrows \$39.5 million for the International Monetary Fund based on the drop in prices for its principal cash earner, copper. Both Chile and Zambia evidently are qualified for primary product loans because of the fall in copper prices.

Chile's financial condition approaches disastrous proportions by any measurement. Allende is being forced to spend about \$30 million a month from his foreign currency reserves for food and necessity imports. If the estimate is correct that Chile's foreign reserves have shrunk to about \$175 million, at the present rate the nation will be bankrupt by April or May.

There is no evident source of funds to shore up the exchequer, barring the possibility that the Russians might come through with massive credits. Moreover, the Chilean escudo has been so inflated that it has had value only in Chile.

The critical financial situation forced Allende's government to overhaul its foreign exchange system on Friday establishing four different rates for import purchases.

Beginning tomorrow, the escudo will remain pegged at 12.21 escudos to the U.S. dollar—its previous rate—only for vital imports such as basic foodstuffs and petroleum.

For most imports, the rate will climb to 15.80 escudos to the dollar. Imports such as spare parts, electronic components and raw materials for automotive and light industries will be raised to 19 escudos to the dollar. And imported luxury goods such as tobacco, liquor and jewelry will be bought at a rate of 25 escudos to the dollar.

The broker's rate—used on the tightly controlled tourist market—will be kept at 28 escudos to the dollar.

Allende has instituted strict currency laws, including escudos a foreign visitor can bring into the country, but he goes on printing paper money that has decreasing value even in Chile.

Most of Chile's monumental debt is owed to agencies like IDB, Ex-Im and the World Bank and to foreign finance agencies in Europe. About \$300 million of the total is owed to private U.S. banks and Allende inherited an additional \$736 million in debts when he seized the three U.S. copper companies without compensation.

TOM M. CORDELL NAMED MAN OF THE YEAR IN GEORGIA

HON. DAWSON MATHIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. MATHIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, in the January 1972 edition of the Progressive Farmer magazine a high tribute was paid to one of my beloved constituents. The Progressive Farmer named Tom M. Cordell, who is dean and coordinator of continuing education at Abraham Baldwin College in Tifton, Ga., the 1971 man of the year in service to Georgia agriculture. Dean Cordell is a man of great devotion, a man of great ability, and a man of great integrity. It is altogether fitting that he should have been honored in such a manner. I join with all other Georgians in this salute to Dean Tom Cordell and thank him for the job he has done for agriculture and wish him the best in the future. Following is a news story that appeared in Dean Cordell's hometown newspaper, the Daily Tifton Gazette, and an editorial from the same paper:

MAN OF THE YEAR IN GEORGIA: CORDELL
HONORED FOR AGRICULTURAL SERVICE

(NOTE.—Tom M. Cordell, dean and coordinator of continuing education at Abraham Baldwin College here, has been named as the 1971 Man of the Year in Georgia Service to Agriculture by "The Progressive Farmer." Cordell has been associated with ABAC for the past 31 years and is married to the former Ruth Pollock. The couple has two children, Tom Jr. and John. They attend First Baptist Church. Three other Tift Countians have been so honored through the years. They are Dr. George P. Donaldson, Dr. Glenn Burton and Byron L. Southwell. The following story is from the January 1972 issue of "The Progressive Farmer," edited by Vernon Miller.)

In the past 31 years Tom Cordell has touched the lives of thousands of Georgians. And few of them ever really realized it.

Throughout these three decades Cordell has been the heart, hands, and feet of more than 1,000 short courses, seminars, workshops, and non-credit courses held at Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College, Tifton. Some 120,000 people have attended these sessions.

Cordell came to ABAC in 1940 as a 27-year-old high school principal and vocational teacher. He was hired by then-president Dr. George King to be Director of Adult Education. (He now holds the title of Dean of College and Coordinator of Continuing Education.) He didn't waste any time in getting the short courses off and running.

In his first two years, 28 such courses were held with a total attendance of 1,399 people. And many of these courses were one-week sessions.

After a World War II tour of duty as a Navy Lieutenant, Cordell rejoined ABAC with the added title of Academic Dean. He started right where he left off and has been expanding ABAC's influence over Georgia ever since.

"In the beginning we had one purpose in mind—help improve the economy of Georgia," says Cordell. "And this has remained our goal."

In recent years Cordell has also led in the addition of courses of interest to businessmen, law officials, and homemakers. "We're a state-supported school, so we're trying to be of as much service as we can to all the people of Georgia," says Cordell.

Other type courses are now being offered in addition to the traditional short courses. One is the noncredit course that is conducted one night per week for eight weeks. Included are such subjects as bookkeeping, welding, computer programming, sewing, and mechanics.

Workshop sessions that include a full week or more of instruction are also being offered.

Not one to ever become self-satisfied, Cordell is constantly evaluating and re-evaluating this entire continuing education program. He works hard at keeping in contact with the people he is trying to serve. And he makes full use of an advisory council that meets each year to offer suggestions—and criticisms.

"Probably the real reason that Tom has done such a great job is that he's human oriented—not necessarily job oriented," says one of his associates. "He makes an honest effort to give people what they want and need."

This same person goes on to describe Cordell as "foundation stock." "He's not flashy, but he sure does get the job done."

Cordell's ideas and philosophies reach outside Georgia through his efforts as a consultant with the American Association of Junior College Program for Developing Institutions. He is also a member and former president of the Georgia Association of Junior Colleges, an active Kiwanian, and Baptist.

RICHLY DESERVED

Georgia's "Mr. Short Course," Dean Tom M. Cordell of Abraham Baldwin College, richly deserves being named the Man of the Year in Service to Georgia Agriculture.

That award was bestowed upon Dean Cordell this week by the "Progressive Farmer" magazine, which annually makes such selections.

For the past 31 years, Dean Cordell has touched the lives of thousands of citizens, farmers and urban dwellers alike, throughout the Southeast with his famed short courses at Abraham Baldwin.

More than a thousand courses have been held during those years and over 100,000 individuals have attended the various seminars, workshops, non-credit courses and the like which Dean Cordell has guided with a knowledgeable hand.

During the time Dean Cordell has been at ABAC, the short course program has expanded greatly and has grown from purely agricultural aspects into such fields as taxes, law enforcement, homemaking and even more specialized classes to meet the educational needs of Georgians.

Dean Cordell is the fourth Tift Countian to be so honored. Previous selectees include Dr. Glenn Burton, grass geneticist; Dr. George P. Donaldson, former ABAC president and executive secretary of the Georgia Peanut Commission, and Byron L. Southwell, former head of animal husbandry at the Coastal Plain Experiment Station.

Each of these men has made contributions which have spread far beyond Georgia and far beyond America, touching the lives of people around the world.

Dean Cordell joins this circle now. We congratulate him on his achievements and thank him for all that he has done for so many through the years.

SPECIAL TAX RATES FOR THE ELDERLY

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, almost 2 months ago the White House Conference on Aging brought long overdue

national attention to the serious problems facing the elderly. It is my hope that many of the recommendations of the conference will be enacted as soon as possible. Clearly there are a multitude of tasks facing us if the elderly are to receive the decent life they have a right to receive. Perhaps paramount among the tasks we face is the pressing need for better tax rates for the elderly. Sylvia Porter commented on this in the December 22, 1971, Boston Herald Traveler in an article entitled "Special Tax Breaks for the Elderly." I urge my colleagues to read her column which follows:

SPECIAL TAX PRICE "BREAKS" FOR ELDERLY

(By Sylvia Porter)

Item: President Nixon scored a great hit when he appeared before the recent White House Conference on Aging and pledged to try to "ease the crushing burden of property taxes"—but the fact is that, at last count, 21 states already offer some kind of break on property taxes to older homeowners.

To illustrate, in New York City older, lower-income homeowners are eligible for a reduction of 50 per cent in the assessed valuation of their homes. In Colorado, a credit of up to \$200 is allowed for low-income homeowners aged 65 and older. In Connecticut the 65-and-over homeowner's property taxes are not permitted to rise if he or she meets certain low-income tests and has occupied the home in that state for at least five years.

Item: Many states also have liberal tax roles covering medical deductions and retirement income.

In North Dakota, all medical expenses are deductible from state income taxes. In New Jersey, all drug costs are deductible. In Wisconsin, teachers' retirement benefits and the retirement benefits of Milwaukee's police and firemen are non-taxable.

A trend is developing in many areas of life toward financial concessions from both non-public and public sources to help older people add a little more dignity, variety—and financial security—to their lives. Among the most important is the tax break offered by state and local governments. Where, then, might you find out what breaks are available to you?

Check your state department of aging and/or department of taxes for rules applying to you.

If you are a member of the American Assn. of Retired Persons, send for this organization's unique pamphlet "71 Tax Facts for Older Americans" (the AARP's address is 1225 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036). The pamphlet contains a concise rundown on all major state tax regulations of interest to older Americans.

Consult the local Internal Revenue Service—which may be among those that have set up special tax counseling services for older citizens. By the IRS's own estimate, ONE-HALF of all older Americans may be OVERPAYING their Federal income taxes because they do not understand the rules covering them!

Other concessions also are being offered to older Americans—for instance, discounts.

In St. Petersburg, Fla., Long Beach, Calif., Kansas City, Mo., and other cities, members of the AARP can order by mail prescription drugs, sickroom supplies and certain health aids at savings which may amount to 50 per cent or even more. The association also offers its 2,750,000 members cut-rate life insurance, health insurance and automobile insurance.

In Philadelphia, a chain of 21 movie theaters now offers 50 cent discount on each movie to moviegoers over the age of 60 who join the chain's special movie club.

In New York, the Hunter College Concert Bureau recently posted a price of \$1 per ticket for certain concerts for those aged 65 or over.

In a growing number of cities, reports Harvest Years magazine, Senior Citizens' councils are bargaining with pharmacies to offer cut rates on prescription drugs to older customers.

Across the country, mounting numbers of banks are offering free checking accounts for older Americans and auto insurance companies are offering over-65 drivers good-driver discounts of 5 per cent or more. In one plan, older drivers participating in a "Driver Improvement Program," sponsored by the National Safety Council, qualify for a 10 per cent discount.

And restaurant chains are offering discount meals—especially in neighborhoods in which large numbers of elderly citizens live. Typical discounts: 10 to 15 per cent. Other restaurants are offering low-cost take-out meals for shut-ins. Typical cost: \$1 per meal or \$2 for three meals. Meanwhile, there is a powerful movement among airlines—domestic and international—to give big fare discounts to older Americans, some proposals involving fare cuts of up to 50 per cent and more.

To pursue this, ask about special discounts that might apply to you at any senior citizens center, local welfare and social service organization, the Model Cities office, the local United Fund's Information and Referral Service. Ask your bank if you qualify for a no service charge checking account.

"AIN'T SUPPOSE TO DIE A NATURAL DEATH"

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Melvin Van Peebles, the noted black dramatist, has taken his talent to Broadway and Broadway is the beneficiary. The Ambassador Theater in New York is currently resounding with the musical sounds of "Ain't Suppose to Die a Natural Death."

In recent years, Broadway has come under criticism for its repeated insistence on feeding pabulum to the public. Now we are offered something truly different—a musical with a message. In its concept, execution, and musical form, "Ain't Suppose to Die a Natural Death" shatters traditions and explodes myths. It is a poem, written on the underside of American life. It is a compassionate and unsentimental representation of the lives of millions of black Americans whom society has banished to a never-never land characterized by humiliation, misery, self-hatred, poverty, and ignorance. Mr. Van Peebles, with the skill of a master surgeon exposes, layer by layer, the inner soul of hustlers, pimps, lesbians, homosexuals, junkies, and winos. He shows us their shortcomings, but he also gives us their dreams.

Mr. Van Peebles tells us quite a bit, dramatically, about an America which has created and permits to exist the ugly conditions in which many millions of Americans are forced to carve out their lives.

The audience laughs, it sits in wonder and amazement, and some people even weep a little. But all who see the play are enlightened and entertained.

Mr. Speaker, "Ain't Suppose to Die a Natural Death" is a monumental piece of theater which no one can afford the luxury of missing.

ALSOP ON PAKISTAN

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I attach herewith two articles from the Washington Post by Joseph Alsop, one titled "Indian Aims on Pakistan" of December 29, 1971, and the other "The New Misinformation" of Wednesday, January 19, 1972, which I think will be of some interest to my colleagues and a full understanding of the major problems involved between Pakistan and India insofar as the United States was concerned. In the article in today's Washington Post, Mr. Alsop outlines in detail the major points of history and the background of what the United States did to keep India from completely crushing Pakistan. From my separate investigation of the facts, I find that Mr. Alsop's articles are true—in background as well as in facts.

The articles follow:

INDIAN AIMS ON PAKISTAN

(By Joseph Alsop)

On the eve of the final cease-fire, the United States government had unchallengeable information of the Indian government's determination to cause the dismemberment of the surviving western half of Pakistan. Indian forces, strongly superior in arms, were already moving up to engage the large part of the West Pakistani Army on the Kashmir front.

Dismemberment of West Pakistan would have been the automatic consequence of the destruction of the army, which was the Indian aim. While in Washington, the sainted Indira Gandhi had rather openly hinted at dismemberment in her talks with President Nixon, for she bitterly complained that Pakistan's northwest and northeast frontier areas, Pushtunistan and Beluchistan, had been "unjustly" allotted to the wicked Pakistanis.

While the Indian forces were moving up, moreover, Mrs. Gandhi's great protectors and sponsors, the masters of the Kremlin, were far from inactive. Moslem states as far away as Turkey got stern Soviet diplomatic warnings not to react in any way to the fate of their fellow Moslems in Pakistan. The government of Afghanistan was under severe Soviet pressure to move troops toward the frontier as another threat to the Pakistanis.

Besides satisfying Indian vengeance, there was a practical object. The desired dismemberment of Pakistan was to deprive the Pakistani remnant-state of any common frontier with Tibet, and thus with Communist China.

Such was the situation President Nixon faced, when he ordered elements of the Pacific fleet to steam towards the Indian Ocean. And he further allowed it to be hinted that he might not be able to go to Moscow, after all.

Concurrently, the President made the most powerful, even risky, personal representations to the Soviet leaders. Thus the Indian plan to continue the war against West Pakistan was called off at the last moment—and by Soviet command!

These are the plain, unpalatable facts, as documented history will one day show them. The facts are worth relating at this late date, because they have been concealed by liberal sentimentality and democratic partisanship.

The background facts are also worth relating. In the early '60's to begin with, when President Kennedy signed his treaty with Pakistan, an approximate military balance

existed between Pakistan and India. But that balance was then progressively upset, by the combined action of American liberal sentimentality and hard-headed Soviet planning.

Although U.S. military aid officially continued, Pakistan was left with an army and air force that grew more and more obsolete with every year that passed. The Soviets, seeing their chance, then stepped in to provide India with modern arms on the most lavish scale. Thus Pakistan was already hopelessly outgunned, when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's separatist Awami League won the East Pakistan election a year ago.

With the superior military power, Mrs. Ghandi soon saw the chance that the East Pakistan election gave her. The simplest proof is the fact that Indian divisions began to move up to the East Pakistan frontier last winter.

This was considerably before Sheikh Mujibur Rahman gave the signal for insurrection last March. No one but a fool can doubt that he gave that signal with full assurance of the Indian aid that the East Pakistani rebels promptly received.

The West Pakistani government can be criticized for its handling of Sheikh Mujibur, beyond doubt. The U.S. government can also be criticized for failing to respond with greater promptitude and firmness to the new situation the Indians and the Soviets had created.

For the Soviet role, please remember, was decisive from start to finish. The sainted Indira would not have dared to send a soldier across the Pakistani frontier, if she had not had the crucial Soviet guarantee against Pakistan's Chinese Communist allies.

The resulting strong possibility that India will therefore become a vast new Soviet strategic base-area, is what should mainly matter to this country. It is what fully justifies the comparison of these events, attributed to Dr. Henry Kissinger, to Adolf Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland.

Read what the virtuous European and American left said about the Rhineland, really Hitler's first step forward on the road to war. Then the present American liberal blather about India will not surprise you.

THE NEW MISINFORMATION

(By Joseph Alsop)

The extent to which the country is being currently misinformed about vital matters, is splendidly illustrated by the fashionable handling of the most recent installment of the Anderson papers. Jack Anderson himself, who ably secured these secret documents, presented his original excerpts for what they were worth, so to say.

The same cannot be said for the sequels by others. To begin with, the new documents offer the clearest proof the U.S. government had (or believed it had) conclusive proof of the Indian government's desire to destroy West Pakistan.

Here, in fact, is CIA Director Richard Helms, speaking on December 8, 1971, on this crucial point of Indira Gandhi's intentions. "Before heeding a U.N. call for a ceasefire, she intends to straighten out the southern border of Azad Kashmir. It is (further) reported that prior to terminating present hostilities, Mrs. Gandhi intends to eliminate Pakistan's armor and air force capabilities."

Eliminating Pakistan's armor and air force capabilities would have amounted, of course, to smashing all the remaining armed forces in West Pakistan. With the armed forces smashed, in turn, West Pakistan would unquestionably disintegrated, as Dr. Henry A. Kissinger rightly pointed out at the same meeting of the Washington special action group. Dismembering West Pakistan was in truth Mrs. Gandhi's real aim—until her Soviet protectors told her she must stop on December 12, 1971, four days after the date of the new Anderson document.

With the state department's incorrigible fondness for looking on the good side, As-

sistant Secretary Joseph Sisco plaintively replied to Helms that the Indian foreign minister had denied any ambition for "West Pakistan's territory." Yet he did not dispute Helms's assessment of the Indian intention to smash the Pakistani armed forces, for good and all.

The truth is, Sisco could not dispute the Helms assessment, for he was well aware of the "conclusive proof" in the U.S. government's hands. Furthermore, Sisco freely admitted the correctness of Dr. Kissinger's assessment of the results, assuming the Pakistani armed forces were going to be smashed.

No one else at the meeting cast any other real doubt on the Helms report and the Kissinger assessment. In the circumstances, it is therefore a mite odd that the great newspaper publishing the new Anderson document went out of its way to pooh-pooh the whole idea of any such "conclusive proof," as first revealed by this reporter.

The New York Times front page headline on the new document further announced that "Packard opposed Kissinger on India." In reality, Under Secretary of Defense David Packard broadly and rather strongly supported the policy of the President—which Dr. Kissinger was merely expounding.

What Packard "opposed" (as inquiry would have revealed) was, instead, the State Department policy on a specific point. This was attempting to channel new arms for Pakistan through Jordan and other Islamic states. The under secretary of defense sensibly thought it was more wise to "tell the truth and shame the devil," by giving the new arms directly to West Pakistan if the need arose—although it does not appear clearly in the present document.

Here, then, was a perfectly genuine documentary fragment of the record, which led to the grossest possible misrepresentation of the true record. In passing, the fragmentary character of the document needs emphasis. The special action group, from which the Anderson documents originated, was solely concerned with day-to-day implementation of policy.

The policy itself had been pre-decided and subsequently reexamined under the President's leadership, at several meetings of the National Security Council. In addition, lesser reexaminations were made by another body, the special Review Group. Thus there was no reason even to discuss "the conclusive proof" at meetings of the special action group.

It can be argued that President Nixon was right or wrong in wishing to prevent West Pakistan's dismemberment by India, under the aegis of the Soviet Union. The fact remains that this was what President Nixon did prevent. Furthermore, he prevented it by sheer, cold courage.

He had to warn the Soviet leaders of the worst possible kind of Soviet-American showdown, short of actual war, to get the Kremlin to order Mrs. Ghandi to agree to a cease fire without delay. It took Mrs. Ghandi four days to yield, too, for she only gave to Soviet pressure on December 16, 1971. Surely these facts are a bit more interesting than the current deluge of misinformation.

COURT OPINION CBS AGAINST FCC

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, in this year of the presidential election, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia took a step toward solving what could have been a vexing problem.

The case, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc. against Federal Communications Commission, and United States, respondents Democratic National Committee and Republican National Committee overturned the FCC decision granting the Republican National Committee time to respond to the Democratic National Committee which was, in turn, responding to the President.

When the President makes a speech on national television or conducts a press conference, no one could argue that it is not newsworthy. When the President's aides speak for him, that is also newsworthy. As the incumbent, any President has great access to the media, access which is denied other politicians. The President makes policy, yet he is also a politician. And as the highest elected official of his party, he reflects a partisan stance.

The opposite party, whichever it happens to be, has a right to respond to Presidential statements. But if the President's party then decides it should respond to the rebuttal, we are opening the airwaves to a merry-go-round of rhetoric. In the court's opinion, the FCC "waffled" under pressure when it was put to the test.

The opinion by Circuit Judge J. Skelly Wright thoughtfully examines the problem while ruling for CBS. At this time, I insert the opinion into the RECORD. The opinion follows:

[U.S. Court of Appeals, for the District of Columbia Circuit, No. 24,655]

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC., PETITIONER v. FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION AND UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, RESPONDENTS, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, INTERVENORS

[No. 24,659]

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE, PETITIONER v. FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION AND UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, RESPONDENTS, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, INTERVENOR

Petitions for Review of Orders of the Federal Communications Commission.

Decided November 15, 1971.

Mr. Timothy B. Dyk for petitioners. Messrs. J. Roger Wollenberg, Ezekiel G. Stoddard, Daniel Marcus and Frank W. Lloyd, III were on the brief for petitioners in No. 24,655.

Mr. Daniel R. Ohlbaum, Deputy General Counsel, Federal Communications Commission, for respondents.

Messrs. Richard E. Wiley, General Counsel, Federal Communications Commission, John H. Conlin, Associate General Counsel, Federal Communications Commission, and Stuart F. Feldstein, Counsel, Federal Communications Commission, were on the brief for respondents.

Mr. W. Theodore Pierson, with whom Mr. James J. Freeman was on the brief, for intervenor Republican National Committee.

Messrs. Joseph A. Califano, Jr., David H. Lloyd and Irvin Nathan were on the brief for petitioner in No. 24,659 and intervenor Democratic National Committee in No. 24,655.

Before WRIGHT, TAMM and ROBINSON, Circuit Judges.

Opinion filed by WRIGHT, Circuit Judge.

Concurring opinion filed by TAMM, Circuit Judge.

WRIGHT, Circuit Judge: The question on these appeals is whether the Federal Communications Commission abused its discretion in holding that a 25-minute program

broadcast by the Democratic National Committee, setting forth views on public issues in response to views previously presented by the President and presidential spokesmen in a number of broadcast appearances, gave rise to an obligation on the part of the Columbia Broadcasting System to provide comparable reply time to partisan Republican spokesmen. For reasons that follow, we reverse the Commission's order.

I

Television has become, in recent years, a principal vehicle by which the President presents to the public his views on important issues of the day. Indeed, no single fact of our changing political life overrides the significance of the expansion of the President's ability to obtain immediate and direct access to the people through the communications media. For the words of the President, speaking as he does both in his constitutional roles of chief executive and commander-in-chief and in his extra-constitutional role as head of his party, carry an authority, a prestige and a visibility that have a counterpart in no other institution.

Moreover, there is an inherent newsworthiness in anything the President says. In addition to his huge direct audiences, in most cases over all nationwide commercial television and radio networks simultaneously, all of what he says is later reported somewhere and something of what he says is reported almost everywhere. In the case of the incumbent administration, these built-in advantages of the presidency in forging public opinion have been used to an unprecedented degree. In his first 18 months in office, President Nixon appeared on network prime time (7:00 to 11:00 P.M.) television as often as Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson combined in a comparable period during their administrations.¹

The President's extensive use of the media cannot, of course, be faulted, for there can be no doubt that in the distillation of an informed public opinion such appearances play a very basic role. But if the words and views of the President become a monolithic force, if they constitute not just the most powerful voice in the land but the only voice, then the delicate mechanism through which an enlightened public opinion is distilled, far from being strengthened, is thrown dangerously off balance. Public opinion becomes not informed and enlightened, but instructed and dominated.

To minimize the risks of such imbalance and to preserve the essential integrity of "politics through communication," the television networks, under the occasional prodding of the courts and the Federal Communications Commission, have attempted to achieve a balanced presentation of opposing opinions. This balancing process has extended not only to regularly scheduled news broadcasts, specials and documentaries, but also to provision of free time to leaders of the principal opposition party to respond to prior presidential appearances.²

In this spirit, on June 22, 1970 CBS offered Lawrence O'Brien, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), 25 minutes of broadcast time for presentation of views of the Democratic Party on public issues. The offer was made in light of the "cumulative impact of broadcast appearances of representatives of the party in office" and "the disparity between presidential appearances and the opportunities available to the principal opposition party" in order to achieve "fairness and balance in the treatment of public issues."³ The format and content of the "Loyal Opposition" broadcast were left to Mr. O'Brien to fashion in conformity with the stated purpose of the offer. CBS did not dictate which of the particular issues discussed

by the President were to be covered, the allocation of time to be made among such issues, or the spokesman to be used.

Mr. O'Brien accepted the CBS offer and the broadcast was aired on July 7, 1970. The format employed involved presentation of excerpts of previously broadcast presidential statements on various issues, followed by a critical commentary or rebuttal by Mr. O'Brien as to each presidential statement.⁴ Topics covered included: (1) the state of the economy; (2) the nation's crime problem; (3) civil rights for blacks and other minorities; (4) federal expenditures for defense versus public domestic issues; (5) air and water pollution; (6) dissent and national unity; and (7) the war in Indochina.⁵

On July 8, 1970, the chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC) requested CBS to provide free time to RNC comparable to that afforded for the July 7 broadcast.⁶ Shortly thereafter, having received no reply,⁷ RNC filed a petition with the Commission requesting that "the Commission * * * make its views known to CBS that their failure to afford forthwith" an opportunity to RNC to reply to the July 7 broadcast "would constitute a violation of the Fairness Doctrine and CBS's obligations as a licensee of broadcast stations."⁸

In substance, RNC argued that a national committee such as DNC was an inappropriate spokesman "to discuss specific political, economic and social issues—the 'gut issues.'"⁹ RNC alleged that the result was "a political attack on the President and his party," rather than an "issue-oriented response." Finally, RNC asserted that the O'Brien broadcast had injected a "fresh issue not specifically treated by any Presidential speech: which political party should hold power."¹⁰ RNC concluded, therefore, that Mr. O'Brien's treatment of this "which party" issue gave rise to a duty on the part of CBS, under the Commission's fairness doctrine, to afford time for RNC to present the other side of the issue.¹¹

On July 23, 1970, CBS submitted a letter in opposition,¹² and a week later RNC filed its reply.¹³ Then, on August 18, 1970, the Commission released its memorandum opinion and order¹⁴ disposing of five fairness doctrine complaints, including that of RNC.¹⁵ In granting the relief requested, the Commission specifically rejected RNC's argument that national committees are inappropriate spokesmen to respond to policy issues raised by presidential appearances.¹⁶ Rather, the Commission stated a new basis for its decision.

Although the Commission agreed that "CBS has acted in good faith" and "is to be commended for its concern,"¹⁷ it faulted CBS for failing "to have exercised journalistic supervision to assure fulfillment of its purpose" of allowing the principal opposition party an opportunity to reply to the President on major issues discussed in prior presidential appearances.¹⁸ The Commission held that, since Mr. Nixon's recent speeches had "largely concentrated" on the Indochina war issue, CBS should have taken steps to insure that the DNC broadcast similarly concentrated on this issue and should not have permitted Mr. O'Brien to devote as much time as he did to the other six issues previously discussed by the President.¹⁹ In making this determination of "unresponsiveness," the Commission failed to explain why it limited its consideration solely to Mr. Nixon's five speeches on Vietnam. It did not consider, for example, other presidential speeches occurring both before and after these five, other forms of presidential appearances (such as press conferences), and televised presentations by administration spokesmen other than the President.²⁰

Having found the broadcast to be "unresponsive," however, the Commission then concluded that it therefore fell within the

Footnotes at end of article.

ambit of the Commission's recent *Zapple* ruling,²¹ which held that, where a broadcast licensee has sold time to supporters of a particular candidate during an election period, he may not decline to sell equivalent time to supporters of that candidate's opponents.²² As a result, the Commission held that, although this was not a precise "equal opportunities" situation, since the DNC broadcast "did deal to some extent with the Cambodian issue, to which the President has made the five noted addresses,"²³ "fairness requires CBS to extend some time to RNC or a partisan Republican spokesman, to answer matters raised in the DNC broadcast."²⁴

On August 20, DNC filed a petition for reconsideration of the Commission's initial opinion.²⁵ In its petition, DNC urged that the July 7 broadcast was not intended by any of the parties involved as a response to the President on the war issue alone, as the Commission had "erroneously" assumed.²⁶ DNC contended that it had, in fact, responded to presidential appearances concerned with each of the issues discussed in the broadcast.²⁷ Attached to the petition were excerpts from the "Loyal Opposition" broadcast and corresponding excerpts from numerous televised appearances of the President on each of the issues involved.²⁸ DNC argued further that presidential use of television had created a serious imbalance and that the partial redress of that imbalance would be vitiated by an RNC reply to the O'Brien broadcast. It expressed a fear that the networks would be inhibited from carrying such DNC broadcasts in the future or would censor them to avoid the effects of the Commission's ruling.²⁹ RNC filed an opposition to the DNC petition on August 25,³⁰ to which DNC responded on September 9.³¹

CBS also sought reconsideration of the August 18 order.³² While conceding that the O'Brien broadcast was partisan, CBS argued that the broadcast had been devoted to vigorous discussion of specific issues. It pointed out that, contrary to the Commission's impression, CBS had not intended to limit the July 7 appearance to the Indochina war issue and that CBS had fully presented the views of the President and other members of his administration on all issues discussed by Mr. O'Brien on that broadcast.³³ Consequently, CBS urged, it would be grossly unfair to require that time be provided for a reply by the President's party to a prior reply to the President, since any such requirement would give the views of the President's party double exposure.³⁴ Finally, the CBS petition cited a precedent, completely ignored in the initial Commission order, that it asserted was controlling. In the *Hays* case,³⁵ CBS had denied a request by a Democratic Party spokesman for an opportunity to reply to a Republican response to President Johnson's 1968 State of the Union address. The Commission rejected a Democratic complaint that CBS had violated the fairness doctrine in refusing to provide time for a second Democratic broadcast. CBS asserted that *Hays* was essentially indistinguishable from the instant controversy.³⁶

The RNC opposition to the CBS petition for reconsideration³⁷ stated that the "fundamental defect" of the CBS petition was its "refusal to recognize or accept the Commission's well-supported factual conclusion that the DNC broadcast of July 7, 1970, was partisan rather than issue-oriented."³⁸ RNC argued that the Commission's decision was not based on any imbalance created by the DNC broadcast with regard to discussion of public issues previously raised by the President, but solely on the ground that the DNC broadcast was partisan in nature. Further, RNC implicitly admitted that *Hays* was contrary to the Commission's August 18 ruling, but apparently suggested that it be overruled.³⁹

Upon completion of the pleadings,⁴⁰ the Commission, on September 24, 1970, released a memorandum opinion and order denying the DNC and CBS petitions for reconsideration.⁴¹ Since the parties apparently had "misconstrued" its earlier ruling, however, the Commission decided to expound at greater length the reasons for that decision. The Commission made clear that the ruling was in no way based on the partisan content of the July 7 broadcast. To the contrary, in informing the public on issues raised in presidential broadcasts, "the presentation can be hard-hitting and partisan."⁴²

The Commission conceded also that its August 18 ruling "did not take into account the overall presentations of CBS on the issues covered in the July 7 DNC broadcast, and * * * did not follow the general fairness doctrine pattern."⁴³ The order was founded, rather, on a "specific corollary" of the fairness doctrine—a new "political party" doctrine derived by the Commission from its *Zapple* ruling, *supra*.⁴⁴ Concerning the question of responsiveness,⁴⁵ the Commission held that appearances by Republican Party spokesmen on news-type programs were irrelevant in the political party situation.⁴⁶ As to the presidential addresses, the Commission reaffirmed its position⁴⁷ that such speeches are subject to the general fairness doctrine,⁴⁸ and that CBS therefore had wide latitude in fashioning counterbalancing programming.⁴⁹ However, although the Commission implicitly reversed its earlier assumption that CBS' offer of time to DNC was geared specifically to Mr. Nixon's televised addresses on the Indochina war issue,⁵⁰ it held that, since the President's appearances "had by far concentrated on [this issue] * * * it would certainly seem that CBS—concerned to have the public informed on the issues covered by the President—would, first and foremost," direct Mr. O'Brien to present his party's views on Indochina.⁵¹ In essence, then, the Commission ruled that CBS, having chosen not to dictate the content of the July 7 broadcast, could not "avoid the consequences of the 'political party' doctrine" when the O'Brien broadcast ranged beyond the issues previously raised by the President.⁵²

Finally, the Commission never addressed itself to the contentions advanced by CBS concerning the *Hays* ruling. The citation of *Hays* in a footnote,⁵³ however, indicates that the Commission intended to reaffirm *Hays*, evidently regarding it as distinguishable from the present case—although no basis for such a distinction was stated.

One last matter must be mentioned before turning to our resolution of the issues presented on this appeal. Although the Commission's brief, in line with the opinions below, strenuously argued that the "unresponsiveness" of the O'Brien broadcast gave rise to a right of reply in favor of RNC, at oral argument, to the astonishment of this court, counsel for the Commission urged that we disregard the responsiveness issue and, rather, that we uphold the Commission's order on a totally new ground—that an RNC reply is mandated simply because CBS failed to dictate to DNC the precise issues to be discussed, without regard to the actual content of the broadcast. We return to this matter below.

II

Much of our evolving body of administrative procedure rests upon the cornerstone requirement of reasoned decision making. 2 K. DAVIS, ADMINISTRATIVE LAW TREATISE § 16.12 (1958). Without such a requirement, effective judicial review would be impractical if not impossible, and administrative litigants and the public generally would be set adrift on a potential sea of unconscious preference and irrelevant prejudice. Moreover, judicial vigilance to enforce the rule of law in the administrative process is particularly crucial where, as here, the area under consideration is in a constant state of flux

Greater Boston Television Corp. v. F.C.C.,— U.S.App.D.C. —, 444 F.2d 841, 852 (1971).

We do not challenge the Commission's well established right to modify or even overrule an established precedent or approach, for an administrative agency concerned with furtherance of the public interest is not bound to rigid adherence to its prior rulings.⁵⁴ Lodged deep within the bureaucratic heart of administrative procedure, however, is the equally essential proposition that, when an agency decides to reverse its course, it must provide an opinion or analysis indicating that the standard is being changed and not ignored, and assuring that it is faithful and not indifferent to the rule of law.⁵⁵ Moreover, as this court has emphasized, the Commission "must explain its reasons and do more than enumerate factual differences, if any, between * * * [similar] cases; it must explain the relevance of those differences to the purposes of the Federal Communications Act."⁵⁶ In our view, the Commission's treatment of the *Hays* case in the proceedings below was clearly violative of these basic tenets of administrative law.

The *Hays* ruling arose in the context of President Johnson's 1968 State of the Union address.⁵⁷ As it had done in the preceding two years, CBS invited Republican congressional leaders to respond to the President's address. CBS did not specify which of the many issues discussed by the President should be discussed on the program, require that those issues be discussed at all, or allocate time for presentation of any particular issue. The resulting one-hour broadcast covered a full panoply of issues, devoting a considerable amount of time to some issues treated only briefly by the President, while ignoring others he had examined at length.⁵⁸ Indeed, the 1968 Republican broadcast covered a range of issues at least as broad as, if not broader than, the range of issues discussed in the O'Brien broadcast.

The Commission, however, sustained CBS' refusal to provide time to Democratic congressional leaders to reply to the 1968 Republican broadcast. In so doing, the Commission relied upon traditional fairness doctrine principles, stating that its role was not to substitute its own judgment for that of the broadcaster, but rather to determine whether the licensee could be said to have acted in good faith in discharging its obligation to provide a balanced presentation of opposing viewpoints. The Commission concluded that CBS had acted within the wide discretion afforded it under the fairness doctrine, and therefore held that the Republican broadcast did not give rise to any reply-to-reply rights in favor of Democratic spokesmen.

The facts of these two cases have that degree of parallelism which entitles both petitioners and this court to a full explanation from the Commission, and not from its counsel on appeal, as to why *Hays* "should be jettisoned without giving credence to the charge that similar supplicants receive dissimilar dispensations." *F.T.C. v. Crowther*, 139 U.S. App. D.C. 137, 141, 430 F.2d 510, 514 (1970). The question before us, then, is not whether the Commission could properly abandon or distinguish *Hays*, but rather whether it has sufficiently identified and articulated its reasons for doing so.

Although *Hays*' relevance to the instant controversy is readily apparent, the Commission failed even to mention it in its initial order of August 18. In an effort to rectify this situation and to compel the Commission to face up to *Hays*, the CBS petition for reconsideration dealt at length with the *Hays* question, asserting vigorously that *Hays* was a controlling precedent which must be squarely confronted by the Commission.⁵⁹ RNC's opposition to the CBS petition implicitly acknowledged the relevance of *Hays*, but suggested that it simply be overruled.⁶⁰ Undaunted, the Commission persisted in its

Footnotes at end of article.

attempt to sidestep the issue entirely. Rather than face up to the apparent conflict, the Commission's opinion of September 24 relegated its "discussion" of *Hays* to a mere citation in a footnote.⁶⁰ In so doing, the Commission sought to reaffirm its earlier ruling, in the apparent belief that *Hays* was reconcilable with the decision here under review. The Commission made no attempt, however, to articulate the basis for reconciliation.

Faced with two facially conflicting decisions, the Commission was duty bound to justify their coexistence. The Commission's utter failure to come to grips with this problem constitutes an inexcusable departure from the essential requirement of reasoned decision making. The rule of law is intended to eliminate the appearance as well as the reality of arbitrariness, and if the public's faith in its administrative agencies is to be maintained, it is imperative that these agencies act in a wholly rational, logical fashion, completely free from even the appearance of bias, prejudice and improper influence. This is particularly true where, as here, the agency is functioning in the midst of a fierce political battle, where the stakes are high and the outcome can affect in a very real sense the political future of our Nation.

The Commission's handling of this case does not mark its finest hour. Put to the test under pressure, it waffled. Unable to articulate reasons for overruling or distinguishing *Hays*, the Commission effectively ignored its own obvious precedent. Under the circumstances, its arbitrary action may not stand.⁶¹

III

Our reversal of the decision below, however, is not premised solely upon the Commission's mistreatment of *Hays*, for we find serious fault with other aspects of the opinion as well. In an apparent effort to avoid a direct confrontation with its earlier ruling in *Hays*, the Commission adopted a wholly unreasonable view of the factual setting of this controversy. By selecting rigid and arbitrary blinders, the Commission failed to see beyond Mr. Nixon's five speeches on Vietnam in evaluating the "responsiveness" of the O'Brien broadcast. The result, of course, was an arbitrary and therefore impermissible application of the Commission's own "responsiveness" doctrine.

Congress has delegated to the Commission the responsibility to ensure that broadcast licensees "operate in the public interest and . . . afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance."⁶² As a result, a court reviewing agency action is not at liberty simply to substitute its own judgment for that of administrative officers who have kept within the bounds of their delegated powers.⁶³ However, these powers are not boundless, and unless administrative action is tempered by judicial supervision, "expertise, the strength of modern government, can become a monster which rules with no practical limits on its discretion."⁶⁴

Cognizant of the potential hazards of unbridled administrative discretion, Congress has wisely devised a scheme whereby "agencies and courts together constitute a 'partnership' in furtherance of the public interest."⁶⁵ Thus in the Administrative Procedure Act, 5 U.S.C. § 706 (1970), Congress chose to codify the long-standing rule that courts must "hold unlawful and set aside agency action . . . found to be . . . arbitrary, capricious, an abuse of discretion, or otherwise not in accordance with law." Our task here, then, is simply to determine whether the facts confronting the Commission rationally support its ultimate conclusion that the O'Brien broadcast was "unresponsive" to prior presidential addresses.⁶⁶

In granting RNC a right to reply to the "Loyal Opposition" telecast, the Commission shunned all reliance on the traditional balancing principles of the fairness doctrine. Generally, the fairness doctrine requires "that discussion of public issues be presented on broadcast stations, and that each side of those issues must be given fair coverage." *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. F.C.C.*, 395 U.S. 367, 369 (1969). See *Editorializing by Broadcast Licensees*, 13 F.C.C. 1246 (1949); *Applicability of the Fairness Doctrine in the Handling of Controversial Issues of Public Importance* [Fairness Primer], 29 Fed. Reg. 10415 (1964). The licensee may exercise wide latitude "in determining what subjects should be considered, the particular format of the programs devoted to each subject, the different shades of opinion to be presented, and the spokesmen for each point of view." *Editorializing by Broadcast Licensees*, supra, 13 F.C.C. at 1251. The Commission's role in this area "is not to substitute its judgment for that of the licensee . . . but rather to determine whether the licensee can be said to have acted reasonably and in good faith." *Fairness Primer*, supra, 29 Fed. Reg. at 10416.

This *carte blanche* licensee discretion has, however, been circumscribed in certain areas where it has been felt that an "equal opportunities" approach might better serve the end of fairness. Thus in Section 315 of the Communications Act,⁶⁷ Congress declared that a station permitting use of its facilities by one candidate for public office during a campaign period must, with certain exceptions, also make its facilities available to all other candidates for the same office on a comparable basis.

Section 315, however, applies only "to campaign appearances by candidates, and not by family, friends, campaign managers, or other supporters." *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. F.C.C.*, supra, 395 U.S. at 382. Thus to ensure that the spirit of the statutory requirement is not frustrated by discrimination in the sale of air time to the supporters of candidates, the Commission, in its recent *Zapple* ruling,⁶⁸ held that where a station sells time to supporters of a particular candidate during an election campaign, it cannot refuse to sell time to supporters of his opponents.⁶⁹

Arguing that "electioneering" is a continuing process,⁷⁰ the Commission ruled below that the instant controversy must be governed by principles similar to those first enunciated in *Zapple*. Thus the Commission held that, whenever a spokesman for the party in opposition utilizes his broadcast time to discuss issues not previously raised in prior presidential appearances, the President's party is entitled to reply, without regard to the overall balance that may exist if all televised presentations were considered. On this appeal we need not, and indeed do not, decide whether adoption of such a rule is within the powers of the Commission. We hold simply that in the context of the present case the rule has been applied by the Commission in a wholly irrational and therefore impermissible manner.

The July 7 "Loyal Opposition" broadcast was structured around presentation of excerpts of previously aired presidential statements on various issues, followed by critical commentary or rebuttal by Mr. O'Brien as to each presidential statement.⁷¹ The telecast covered seven separate topics—the Indochina war, economic policy, crime, civil rights, dissent, defense spending, and the environment. With the exception of Mr. O'Brien's treatment of the Vietnam war issue, however, the Commission deemed the broadcast "unresponsive" to prior presidential appearances.⁷² In reaching this conclusion, the Commission considered only those speeches of the President which were televised in the period from November 3, 1969 to June 3, 1970.⁷³ During this period, the President made six televised

speeches, five of which dealt exclusively with Indochina.⁷⁴

As a result, the Commission held that, since Mr. Nixon's televised speeches "had by far concentrated on the Indochina war issue," the DNC broadcast should "first and foremost" have been geared to a discussion of that issue.⁷⁵ Mr. O'Brien's remarks as to the other six issues were deemed "unresponsive," thereby giving rise to a right to reply in favor of RNC. The Commission's analysis, however, grossly oversimplifies a problem of considerable complexity. That the President's speeches during a limited period of time "largely concentrated" on one issue does not negate the indisputable fact that the President, personally and through his spokesmen, had extensively expounded the administration's views in numerous televised presentations which the Commission arbitrarily ignored.

We fail to see the logic underlying the Commission's decision to limit its consideration solely to presidential speeches televised between November 3, 1969 and June 3, 1970. Indeed, the only discernible purpose served by such a decision is the creation of an *illusion* that Mr. Nixon had not previously addressed himself to the other six issues discussed in the O'Brien broadcast. Thus the Commission never even attempted to justify its choice of June 3, 1970 as the cutoff date. The O'Brien broadcast was aired on July 7, 1970, and CBS offered the time for the broadcast on June 22. This being so, we see no sense whatever in the Commission's refusal to consider a 22-minute appearance by Mr. Nixon on June 17, 1970,⁷⁶ which dealt, not with Indochina, but with the economy generally and with inflation and unemployment specifically—topics covered by Mr. O'Brien in the "Loyal Opposition" broadcast.⁷⁷

Similarly, the Commission offered no explanation for its choice of November 3, 1969 as the starting date for its analysis. The July 7 presentation was, after all, the first "Loyal Opposition" type program to be carried by CBS during the Nixon administration other than the traditional response by Democratic congressional leaders to Mr. Nixon's 1970 State of the Union address.⁷⁸ Indeed, on several occasions prior to the July 7 broadcast CBS had rejected Democratic pleas for air time to reply to previously telecast presidential statements.⁷⁹ By selecting November 3 as a starting date, however, the Commission excluded consideration of numerous pre-November 3 presidential appearances, many of which dealt in whole or in part with issues other than the Vietnam war.⁸⁰

Moreover, the Commission's analysis of the "responsiveness" issue was limited solely to an evaluation of presidential speeches. The opinions below made no attempt to explain why other types of presidential broadcasts—such as televised press conferences—should be ignored. In a footnote to its brief,⁸¹ however, the Commission urges that such presentations should not be taken into account, apparently because the Commission believes they are not "voluntary, live, President-initiated appearances." This suggestion not only blinks reality; it is directly contrary to the Commission's treatment of press conferences in the past. The Commission has made clear, for example, that press conference type formats are to be taken into account in evaluating the proper balance under the fairness doctrine. Cf. *Eugene J. McCarthy*, 11 F.C.C.2d 511 (1968). Moreover, in *Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.*, 40 F.C.C. 395 (1964), the Commission squarely held that press conferences are substantially within the speaker's control, stating:

" . . . [N]ot only the scheduling, but in significant part, the content and format of the press conference is not under the control of the network. Thus, the candidate determines what portion of the conference is to be devoted to announcements and when

Footnotes at end of article.

the conference is to be thrown open to questions."⁸²

Thus we see no reason why press conferences should not also be taken into account in the "political party" situation. Here, Mr. Nixon's press conferences broadcast over CBS both before⁸³ and during the eight-month period chosen by the Commission dealt substantially with issues other than Vietnam, including economic policy, student dissent and unity, crime, human resources and civil rights,⁸⁴ all subjects covered in Mr. O'Brien's "unresponsive" response.

Finally, although the Commission noted in a somewhat cursory fashion that appearances by Republican Party leaders "on new-type programs [do] not satisfy the fairness requirement in the 'political party' situation,"⁸⁵ it failed even to mention the relevance of televised presentations by presidential spokesmen on other than "new-type" programs. If the Commission wishes to adopt a "responsiveness" test in implementing its new doctrine, it must apply this test rationally, and a blanket exclusion of all appearances by presidential spokesmen is simply not rational. The President speaks in many voices, and it makes no sense to pretend otherwise. In many instances the President's confidants—the Vice President, his cabinet officers, and other administration officials—present not only their own views as individuals, but also the views of the man they represent. Indeed, at times they speak subject to the direct authorization of the President himself. Thus the Commission's absolute exclusion of all such appearances cannot be sustained as a rational exercise of administrative discretion. And this is all the more true where, as here, many of these appearances dealt specifically with issues discussed in the "Loyal Opposition" broadcast.⁸⁶

While we do not here rule on the propriety of the Commission's new "responsiveness" doctrine itself, we do note that in many instances its application, by creating a right to reply under *Zapple* even though no fairness doctrine imbalance actually exists, may have extremely harsh consequences, not only for the litigants themselves, but for society generally. It can hardly be doubted that the power of the media in shaping public opinion plays a paramount role in our present political process. Yet any misapplication of the Commission's new doctrine would seriously distort this power, providing the President's party with "two bites of the apple"—with twice the opportunity to influence public opinion as its critics. Such a result strikes at the heart of representative democracy and imperils the very traditions upon which this nation is founded.

To avoid these consequences, it is imperative that the Commission exercise extreme caution in applying its new rule. A right to reply, in this context, should be granted only after an exhaustive examination of the relevant facts. The Commission, however, in constructing its new rule in an apparent effort to circumvent its earlier ruling in *Hays*, dealt with these facts in a notably shoddy fashion, arbitrarily ignoring many critical aspects of the factual setting in which this controversy arose. The Commission's determination of "non-responsiveness" cannot, therefore, be sustained.

IV

Finally, in a gallant, yet misguided, effort to "save" the Commission's ruling, counsel for the Commission at oral argument abruptly changed gears, urging, contrary to the primary contentions in his brief, that we uphold the ruling on a new and highly strained interpretation of the opinions below.⁸⁷ Apparently inspired by a belated recognition of the pervasive irrationality of the Commission's treatment of the "responsiveness" is-

sue, counsel seeks now to abandon that approach entirely, substituting instead what may fairly be termed a "specification of issues" rationale. Thus it is urged that RNC's reply rights derived not from any lack of responsiveness of the O'Brien broadcast but, rather, solely from the alleged failure of CBS to dictate to DNC the precise issues to be discussed, without regard to the actual content of the broadcast.

We are cited to several passages from the Commission's opinions as supportive of this new interpretation. Typical of these is the Commission's statement that the July 7 broadcast "was 'party-oriented' rather than 'issue-oriented,' because of CBS' abstention in this critical area of issues to be covered."⁸⁸ Taken out of context, such declarations may indeed seem to support the logic of counsel's position. When placed in their proper perspective, however, these statements are seen to relate to the "responsiveness" approach actually adopted. Thus it is true that as a factual matter CBS' failure to "exercise journalistic supervision" led to the grant of reply time to RNC, but only because the resulting broadcast was itself deemed unresponsive. In other words, CBS could have avoided this result had it specified the proper issues to be discussed; its failure to do so enabled Mr. O'Brien to make an "unresponsive" presentation.⁸⁹ Viewed in this manner, it is clear that the Commission did not attach to those facts the legal significance which counsel seeks now to transmogrify into dogma. These statements were mere factual descriptions, not legal doctrine.

We therefore cannot accept counsel's new and thoroughly distorted interpretation of the opinions below. This being so, we are powerless to affirm the Commission's ruling on this "specification of issues" rationale, for it is well settled that a reviewing court "may not accept appellate counsel's post hoc rationalizations for agency action" as a basis for affirmance. *Burlington Truck Lines, Inc. v. United States*, 371 U.S. 156, 168 (1962). The decision must stand or fall "solely [on] the grounds invoked by the [Commission]." *S.E.C. v. Chenery Corp.*, 332 U.S. 194, 196 (1967). See *N.L.R.B. v. Metropolitan Life Ins. Co.*, 380 U.S. 438 (1965).

Moreover, even if we were to accept as valid counsel's novel construction of the opinions below, the decision still could not be affirmed on that basis, for the "specification of issues" rule would itself fail the primary test of rationality.⁹⁰ Under the asserted rule, had CBS prescribed in advance the precise issues Mr. O'Brien actually discussed, no reply rights would have arisen. Yet it is clearly irrational to suggest that the mere failure to specify issues, by itself, somehow fundamentally alters the basic nature of the broadcast when its content remains entirely unchanged.

Whether the issue is viewed as one of fairness on the substantive issues discussed or equality of opportunity as between political parties, there is no discernible relationship between the existence of instructions to a party spokesman as to the specific issues he should discuss and the fairness of the coverage achieved. A partisan broadcast is not made more "party-oriented" simply because the issues covered are selected by the spokesman rather than by the network. The question of fairness cannot so readily be divorced from the actual content of the broadcast.

Finally, it is highly questionable whether the mandate to broadcasters inherent in this "specification of issues" rationale to dictate, censor or restrict partisan political spokesmen in their televised presentations accords with the commands of the First Amendment. The public must be equipped to make hard choices between competing political philosophies. This end is best served when there is robust debate among the people most directly involved—the spokesmen themselves—not where the operator of a federally

licensed facility must circumscribe that debate as a condition precedent to airing it at all. See *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. F.C.C. supra*. Moreover, since presidential addresses are governed solely by the fairness doctrine, and not by the "specification of issues" rationale, the Commission's extension of *Zapple* is essentially a one-way street. This is particularly dangerous where, as here, application of the "specification of issues" doctrine would require reply time for the party in power even though there exists neither a fairness doctrine imbalance nor a lack of responsiveness as to the particular issues discussed in the initial broadcast. Such a result is certainly contra-fairness, and raises serious questions concerning the requirement of governmental neutrality in the area of the First Amendment. Cf. *Fowler v. Rhode Island*, 345 U.S. 67 (1953); *Niemotko v. Maryland*, 340 U.S. 268 (1951). For all these reasons, then, we must reject counsel's brave last-ditch effort to salvage the Commission's ruling.

The sudden promulgation of the "specification of issues" justification for the ruling below is just one more step in the Commission's seemingly endless attempt throughout these proceedings "to vindicate its own idiosyncratic conception of the public interest [and] of the requirements of free speech." *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. F.C.C. supra*, 395 U.S. at 395. Yet the need for an informed public opinion—the great driving force underlying any working democracy—is simply too great to be subjected to the vagaries of irrational and arbitrary decision making. We conclude, therefore, that the ruling below, marked as it is by a succession of factual distortions and shifting justifications, must be reversed and the order of the Commission vacated.

So ordered.

TAMM, Circuit Judge, concurring: The administrative process requires that government agencies and commissions issue reasons for their action. Here the Commission has outdone itself by giving four reasons for its action—albeit different reasons at each step of the proceedings. In its initial order the Commission ruled that Columbia Broadcasting System was bound to grant time to the Republican National Committee because Chairman O'Brien referred only briefly to the war in his statement and because "The Loyal Opposition" was party-oriented rather than issue-oriented, thereby bringing this case within the Commission's *Zapple* ruling. C.B.S. and D.N.C. petitioned for a hearing based upon their claim that the Commission had overlooked its own decision in *Hays*.⁹¹ In response, the Commission denied the petition for rehearing on a new ground—the failure of C.B.S. to specify which issues O'Brien could raise during the broadcast. The Commission, based on the theory "that 'electioneering' is a continuing process" (A. 309), applied a "specific corollary" of the fairness doctrine known as the "political party" doctrine as contained in *Zapple*. (A. 308). The Commission stated, *inter alia*:

However well-intentioned CBS was, the result here was simply the "political party" situation which we described at the outset. It was "party-oriented" rather than "issue-oriented," because of CBS' abstention in this critical area of issues to be covered.

(A. 311, emphasis supplied, footnotes omitted.)

In its brief the Commission chose to change its position yet a third time. It claimed that special circumstances had rendered the general doctrine inadequate to assure reasonable opportunity for the public to receive conflicting views. These circumstances, *viz.*, a speech by a candidate, political editorializing, or a speech by a candidate's supporters, limit the broadcaster's discretion. *The FCC was not concerned with CBS' overall fairness.* It claimed that O'Brien's presentation was not responsive and that CBS had failed to assure that it would be. Even though the FCC was cog-

nizant that the President's numerous speeches created an imbalance on the war issue requiring presentation of the other side of the coin, CBS' fatal error, it said, was in granting time to D.N.C. for any purpose without supervision. Therefore, the only imbalance, the Commission contended, was one created by CBS in failing to give R.N.C. time to respond to D.N.C. Not satisfied with even this position as espoused in the briefs, the Commission made an eleventh-hour change in its game plan at oral argument. As Judge Wright points out, the Commission urged that we entirely disregard the responsiveness issue raised in the briefs and affirm the FCC on one ground and one ground only—failure of CBS to instruct D.N.C. on precisely which issues to raise during the broadcast.

I can neither accept nor sympathize with the manner in which the Commission has handled this litigation. They have created a debacle in seeking a sound basis for their decision. They have been unable to bring the case at bar within *Zapple* and have been similarly unable to distinguish it from *Hays*. Their opinions at the hearing level as well as the position urged in the briefs and at oral argument shows a capricious, arbitrary and inconsistent approach to this case. The Commission cannot constantly change its position *quocumque mod vellet*. I feel constrained to sound a trumpet in warning against such attempts by administrative agencies to play fast and loose with their opponents and the court. This court will not be made a party to the type of sham proceeding the FCC has attempted to create by its inconsistent changes in position. Once the FCC enunciated its position on the issue of R.N.C.'s right to reply it should have possessed the courage of its convictions to uphold that position and the reasons tendered therefor, or if convinced of its error, reversed its position rather than attempting to obfuscate both the issues and the Commission's reasoning. This failure to reach any coherent approach and the constant shifting of stance by the Commission leads me, although hesitantly, to conclude that by giving one political party two bites of the proverbial apple for every one granted to the opposing political party the Commission has taken a political role of interference contrary to all of the teachings of administrative decision-making.³³

FOOTNOTES

¹ In their first 18 months in office, President Eisenhower appeared on prime time network television on 3 occasions, President Kennedy 4 times, President Johnson made 7 such appearances, and President Nixon 14. These figures exclude appearances on regularly scheduled news broadcasts, reports on foreign trips, charity appeals, convention and campaign appearances in the case of President Johnson, and, in that of President Nixon, his Apollo appearances. Remarks by Frank Stanton, President, Columbia Broadcasting System, Park City, Utah, July 10, 1970, A. 49, 50. ("A. —" references are to the Appendix of materials from the record before the Commission.)

² For example, during both Democratic and Republican administrations CBS has made time available, following the President's State of the Union address, to congressional leaders of the opposition. See CBS Response to Republican National Committee Petition, A. 32, 38.

³ Telegram from Frank Stanton, President of CBS, to Lawrence O'Brien, June 22, 1970, A. 20-21.

⁴ The presidential statements were drawn from his Inaugural and State of the Union addresses, news conferences, and special addresses on such matters as the Cambodian invasion and the veto of the Health, Education and Welfare appropriations bill. Mr. O'Brien used Mr. Nixon's nomination acceptance speech to illustrate his views on the crime problem, and a broadcast statement

by Vice President Agnew to supplement a statement by President Nixon on the question of dissent and national unity. See transcript of the O'Brien broadcast, A. 23-31.

⁵ Following the O'Brien broadcast, there were several minutes of analysis by members of the CBS news staff of the type that customarily follows presidential appearances. In addition, a few CBS-affiliated stations, including the 5 CBS-owned television stations (but not the CBS television network), carried a paid political fund raising announcement purchased by DNC directly from the stations.

⁶ Letters from Rogers C. B. Morton, Chairman of RNC, to Mr. Stanton, President of CBS, July 8, 1970, A. 17-19.

⁷ A reply was sent on July 15, 1970, 2 days after RNC filed its petition with the Commission, denying reply time to RNC. CBS letter to Mr. Morton, Chairman of RNC, July 15, 1970, A. 45.

⁸ A. 11.

⁹ A. 5.

¹⁰ A. 4 (emphasis in original).

¹¹ A. 4-10.

¹² CBS pointed out, *inter alia*, that (1) RNC had conceded in the past that the national committee chairman of the principal opposition party was an appropriate spokesman to reply to the President (CBS noted that the then chairman of RNC had requested and received time in 1963 to respond to President Kennedy's televised discussion of tax legislation), A. 40-41; (2) the substantive issues covered in the July 7 broadcast had all been fully covered in presidential appearances, A. 34; (3) no showing had been made of any lack of fairness in the overall treatment by CBS of any of these issues, A. 34; and (4) as to RNC's contention that the O'Brien broadcast introduced a "fresh issue" as to which party should govern, CBS attempted to show that the President himself had addressed the "which party" issue in his prior broadcasts, A. 34-35.

¹³ The RNC reply, in substance, reiterated and amplified the arguments raised in its initial petition. A. 61-73.

¹⁴ 25 F.C.C.2d 283 (1970).

¹⁵ The other 4 complaints were concerned, in particular, with the extent to which fairness had been achieved by the 3 major commercial television networks in their coverage of the Indochina war issue. Part E of the August 18 opinion, ¶¶ 52-59, dealt with the RNC petition.

¹⁶ 24 F.C.C.2d at 301.

¹⁷ *Id.* at 300.

¹⁸ *Id.* at 300 n.25.

¹⁹ *Id.* at 300.

²⁰ These questions are considered in depth in a subsequent portion of this opinion. See text accompanying Notes 75-86, *infra*.

²¹ FCC letter to Nicholas Zapple, Communications Counsel, Senate Committee on Commerce, 23 F.C.C.2d 707 (1970).

²² In the *Zapple* ruling, the Commission also said that the *Cullman* aspect of the fairness doctrine would not apply to broadcasts on behalf of political candidates. In *Cullman Broadcasting Co.*, 25 Pike & Fischer R.R. 895 (1963), the Commission held that a licensee could not avoid his responsibilities under the fairness doctrine because of an inability to obtain paid sponsorship for a response to a particular view on a controversial issue of public importance even though the initial presentation was sponsored. In other words, *Zapple* held that an imbalance in the financial resources of candidates could, in the public interest, give rise to an imbalance in their use of broadcast facilities.

²³ 25 F.C.C.2d at 301.

²⁴ *Ibid.* The result as to the RNC petition was concurred in by 5 of the 7 Commissioners, but 3 of the 5 issued separate statements reflecting widely disparate views. Commissioner Robert E. Lee stressed an alleged failure of CBS to limit Mr. O'Brien "to the issues originally raised," but he failed to iden-

tify the new issues he thought had been treated in the July 7 broadcast. Commissioner Lee also appeared to rest his conclusion in part on the selection of DNC as spokesman, contrary to the main opinion. The concurring opinion of Chairman Burch stressed the alleged "person or party" orientation of the O'Brien broadcast, again without definition of that term. Chairman Burch asserted that the broadcast "covered issues in the political spokesman arena," but did not explain what he conceived that "arena" to be. Finally, Commissioner Johnson's concurrence, which was "extremely reluctant," was premised on the "content of the DNC program." However, he, like his brethren, failed to point to the particular content that troubled him.

²⁵ A. 127. Simultaneously, DNC filed a motion for stay, which was subsequently withdrawn when CBS made clear that it would not afford time to RNC until CBS had exhausted its rights to review.

²⁶ A. 132.

²⁷ A. 137-138.

²⁸ A. 144-190.

²⁹ A. 130-131.

³⁰ A. 192-202. RNC filed a petition for further relief on August 28, 1970, in which it asked the Commission to direct CBS to provide it with reply time on or before October 10, 1970, and that CBS give RNC notice at least 16 days in advance of the date on which the broadcast was to occur. A. 203-217. CBS filed an opposition and RNC a reply. In its September 24 order, the Commission denied the RNC petition in this respect. 25 F.C.C.2d at 746.

³¹ A. 280-290.

³² A. 218-270 (September 3, 1970).

³³ A. 221-222. CBS submitted an appendix detailing the discussion of these issues by Republican spokesmen by date, time and content. A. 243-265. CBS also pointed out that the presidential broadcasts to which Mr. O'Brien replied had constituted "a strong endorsement of Republican [Party] government and contained remarks 'extolling the virtues of the Republican Administration and commenting unfavorably on the positions or actions of the previous Democratic Administration and the current Democrat-controlled Congress.'" A. 226-227.

³⁴ A. 239-240.

³⁵ Letter from FCC Chairman Rosel H. Hyde to Congressman Wayne L. Hays, February 9, 1968, FCC Reference No. 8830-S, C2-105.

³⁶ A. 234-239.

³⁷ A. 271-279.

³⁸ A. 271.

³⁹ A. 274.

⁴⁰ CBS filed a reply to the RNC opposition to its petition for reconsideration. A. 291-301.

⁴¹ 25 F.C.C.2d 739 (1970). The petitions were denied by a 4 to 2 vote. Commissioner Cox, who had concurred in the August 18 opinion, had since left the Commission. Commissioner Johnson concurred in the result, while Commissioner Bartley wrote a short dissenting statement. Commissioner H. Rex Lee dissented without opinion.

⁴² 25 F.C.C.2d at 745.

⁴³ *Id.* at 742.

⁴⁴ *Id.* at 742-743.

⁴⁵ *Id.* at 743.

⁴⁶ See *California Democratic State Central Committee*, 20 Pike & Fischer R.R. 867 (1960); *Republican National Committee*, 3 Pike & Fischer R.R.2d 767 (1964).

⁴⁷ Non-campaign speeches of the President, however, were held to be exempt from the equal opportunities requirement of the "political party" situation. 25 F.C.C.2d at 744.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Id.* at 745.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Id.* at 746 n.16.

⁵³ See, e.g., *F.C.C. v. WOKO, Inc.*, 329 U.S. 223 (1946); *F.T.C. v. Crowther*, 139 U.S.App. D.C. 137, 140-141, 430 F.2d 510, 513-514

(1970); *Capitol International Airways, Inc. v. C.A.B.*, 129 U.S.App.D.C. 187, 392 F.2d 511 (1968); *Philadelphia Television Broadcasting Co. v. F.C.C.*, 123 U.S.App. D.C. 298, 359 F.2d 282 (1966); *James S. Rivers, Inc. (WJAZ) v. F.C.C.*, 122 U.S.App.D.C. 29, 351 F.2d 194 (1965); *Giant Food Inc. v. F.T.C.*, 116 U.S. App.D.C. 227, 322 F.2d 977 (1963). See also 2 K. DAVIS, ADMINISTRATIVE LAW TREATISE § 17.07 (1958).

⁶⁴ *Secretary of Agriculture v. United States*, 347 U.S. 645, 653 (1954); *Greater Boston Television Corp. v. F.C.C.*, — U.S.App.D.C. —, 444 F.2d 841, 852 (1971); *F.T.C. v. Growther*, supra Note 53, 139 U.S.App.D.C. at 141, 430 F.2d at 514; *Marine Space Enclosures, Inc. v. F.M.C.*, 137 U.S.App.D.C. 9, 17, 420 F.2d 577, 585 (1969); *Herbert Harvey, Inc. v. N.L.R.B.*, 128 U.S.App.D.C. 162, 385 F.2d 684 (1967); *Greensboro-High Point Airport Authority v. C.A.B.*, 97 U.S.App.D.C. 358, 231 F.2d 517 (1956). See also 2 K. DAVIS, supra Note 53, § 16.12.

⁶⁵ *Melody Music, Inc. v. F.C.C.*, 120 U.S. App.D.C. 241, 244, 345 F.2d 730, 733 (1965). See also *Burinskas v. N.L.R.B.*, 123 U.S. App. D.C. 143, 148, 357 F.2d 822, 827 (1966).

⁶⁶ 4 WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS (hereinafter "WCPD") 70-80 (1968).

⁶⁷ 114 CONG. REC. (Part 1) 882 (1968).

⁶⁸ A. 234-239.

⁶⁹ A. 274.

⁷⁰ 25 F.C.C.2d at 746 n.16.

⁷¹ See authorities cited at Note 54, supra.

⁷² Communications Act of 1934, § 315(a), 47 U.S.C. § 315(a) (1964).

⁷³ See, e.g., *Udall v. Tullman*, 380 U.S. 1 (1965); *Farmers Educational & Cooperative Union v. WDAY, Inc.*, 360 U.S. 525 (1959); *American Telephone & Telegraph Co. v. United States*, 299 U.S. 232 (1936); *McCarthy v. F.C.C.*, 129 U.S.App.D.C. 56, 390 F.2d 471 (1968); *Philadelphia Television Broadcasting Co. v. F.C.C.*, supra Note 53, 123 U.S.App. D.C. at 299-300, 359 F.2d at 283-284. See also 1 K. DAVIS, ADMINISTRATIVE LAW TREATISE § 5.03 (1958).

⁷⁴ *Burlington Truck Lines, Inc. v. United States*, 371 U.S. 156, 167 (1962), quoting *New York v. United States*, 342 U.S. 882, 884 (1951) (dissenting opinion) (emphasis omitted). See *Volkswagenwerk Aktiengesellschaft v. F.M.C.*, 390 U.S. 261, 272 (1968); *American Ship Building Co. v. N.L.R.B.*, 380 U.S. 300, 318 (1965).

⁷⁵ *Greater Boston Television Corp. v. F.C.C.*, supra Note 54, — U.S. App. D.C. at —, 444 F.2d at 851. See *United States v. Morgan*, 313 U.S. 409, 422 (1941); *Niagara Mohawk Power Corp. v. F.P.C.*, 126 U.S. App. D.C. 376, 383 n. 24, 379 F.2d 153, 160 n. 24 (1967).

⁷⁶ While the exact bounds of the concept of arbitrary and capricious administrative action are not precisely defined in the Act, it is well settled that the core of the concept is the notion of rationality. See, e.g., *Burlington Truck Lines, Inc. v. United States*, supra Note 64, 371 U.S. at 168; *Greater Boston Television Corp. v. F.C.C.*, supra Note 54, — U.S. App. D.C. at —, 444 F.2d at 850; *F.T.C. v. Growther*, supra Note 53, 139 U.S. App. D.C. at 141, 430 F.2d at 514; *Paducah Newspapers, Inc. v. F.C.C.*, 134 U.S. App. D.C. 287, 288, 414 F.2d 1183, 1184 (1969); *Grace Line, Inc. v. F.M.B.*, 2 Cir., 263 F.2d 709, 711 (1959); *Van Currier Broadcasting Corp. v. United States*, 98 U.S. App. D.C. 432, 435, 236 F.2d 727, 730, cert. denied, 352 U.S. 935 (1956); *Willapoint Oysters, Inc. v. Ewing*, 9 Cir., 174 F.2d 676, 695, cert. denied, 338 U.S. 860 (1949).

⁷⁷ Communications Act of 1934, Tit. III, 48 STAT. 1081, as amended, 47 U.S.C. § 301 et seq. (1964). Section 315 reads in pertinent part:

"(a) If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station: Provided, That such licensee shall have no power of

censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section. No obligation is imposed upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate. Appearance by a legally qualified candidate on any—

(1) bona fide newscast,

(2) bona fide news interview,

(3) bona fide news documentary (if the appearance of the candidate is incidental to the presentation of the subject or subjects covered by the news documentary), or

(4) on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events (including but not limited to political conventions and activities incidental thereto),

shall not be deemed to be use of a broadcasting station within the meaning of this subsection. * * *

⁷⁸ FCC letter to Nicholas Zapple, supra Note 21.

⁷⁹ Aside from these two instances, the equal opportunities approach has been applied also in both the "personal attack," see 32 FED. REG. 10303 (1967); *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. F.C.C.*, 395 U.S. 367 (1969), and "political editorial," see 47 C.F.R. § 73.123(c) (1971), situations.

⁸⁰ 25 F.C.C.2d at 743.

⁸¹ See Note 4, supra.

⁸² In its initial opinion, the Commission made clear that this was not a precise equal opportunities situation because, at least as to the time devoted to discussion of the Indochina war issue, the O'Brien broadcast had indeed been "responsive." 25 F.C.C.2d at 301.

⁸³ It is evident throughout both opinions below that the Commission considered only those speeches broadcast during this time period in reaching its determination of "unresponsiveness." See 25 F.C.C.2d at 299-301, 739-747. The Commission's decision to limit its consideration to this particular time period may be traced to its initial decision to dispose of the RNC complaint in conjunction with several other complaints which were in fact addressed specifically to the President's recent speeches on the Indochina war issue. Thus in the August 18 opinion the Commission stated that it had "grouped all these complaints because * * * they all involve a common problem—the discharge by broadcast licensees of their responsibilities under the fairness doctrine in dealing with the Indochina war issue." 25 F.C.C.2d at 291.

In the other complaints, the Committee for Fair Broadcasting, Fourteen United States Senators, and Business Executives' Move for Vietnam Peace all urged that network coverage of the presidential addresses on Vietnam (referring specifically to those speeches occurring between November 3, 1969 and June 3, 1970) required that they be given comparable time and format to present their opposing views. The Commission refused to order the networks to grant time to these complainants or to apply an equal opportunities requirement to presidential or other official appearances. The Commission did hold, however, that format should be considered in determining whether a licensee had achieved overall fairness. Accordingly, in light of the imbalance created by the large number of presidential addresses on Vietnam, the Commission required the networks to make additional uninterrupted time available to spokesmen selected by the networks for discussion of the Indochina war issue. Thus consideration of the RNC complaint in this context may well have led the Commission to mischaracterize that complaint as one dealing particularly with the President's recent speeches on Vietnam.

⁸⁴ The 5 speeches on Indochina were telecast on November 3, 1969, 5 WCPD 1546; December 15, 1969, 5 WCPD 1752; April 20, 1970, 6 WCPD 553; April 30, 1970, 6 WCPD 596; and June 3, 1970, 6 WCPD 721.

The 6th speech considered by the Commission was the President's January 26, 1970 appearance explaining his veto of a \$20 bil-

lion appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. 6 WCPD 76. However, no weight was given to this address in the Commission's determination of "unresponsiveness." In addition, a 7th speech televised during this period, the President's January 22, 1970 State of the Union message, was not considered by the Commission in evaluating the responsiveness of the O'Brien broadcast. This was probably because Democratic congressional leaders had already been given an opportunity, on February 9, 1970, to reply to this particular address.

⁸⁵ 25 F.C.C.2d at 745.

⁸⁶ 6 WCPD 774.

⁸⁷ See transcript of the July 7 broadcast, A. 23-31.

⁸⁸ See Note 74, supra.

⁸⁹ For example, CBS earlier refused Senate Majority Leader Mansfield's request for time to respond to the President's June 17, 1970 economic message. A. 140 n.1.

⁹⁰ On August 8, 1969, for example, the President delivered an extensive televised speech concerning welfare reform. 5 WCPD 1103. In addition, Mr. Nixon participated in numerous news conferences prior to November 3, 1969, dealing with a wide range of issues. See, e.g., 5 WCPD 175 (January 27, 1969) (inflation and recession, crime); 5 WCPD 225 (February 6, 1969) (civil rights, defense spending, environmental); 5 WCPD 360 (March 4, 1969) (student dissent and national unity); 5 WCPD 400 (March 14, 1969) (defense spending, student dissent and national unity); 5 WCPD 878 (June 19, 1969) (inflation and recession, student dissent and national unity); 5 WCPD 1327 (September 26, 1969) (inflation and recession, civil rights, student dissent and national unity).

⁹¹ Respondents' brief at 3 n.1.

⁹² 40 F.C.C. at 397. See also *McCarthy v. F.C.C.*, supra Note 63.

⁹³ See Note 80, supra.

⁹⁴ See, e.g., 5 WCPD (November 5, 1969) (inflation and recession, crime); 5 WCPD 1720 (December 8, 1969) (civil rights, spending, student dissent and national unity); 6 WCPD 76 (January 26, 1970) (inflation and recession, civil rights); 6 WCPD 616 (May 8, 1970) (unemployment, student dissent and national unity).

⁹⁵ 25 F.C.C.2d at 743.

⁹⁶ For example, presidential spokesmen have frequently appeared on CBS' *Face the Nation*. See, e.g., A. 248, 252 (Vice President Agnew) (February 1, 1970) (dissent, equal rights, crime); A. 249, 252 (Vice President Agnew) (May 3, 1970) (dissent, crime); A. 249, 250, 255 (Herb Klein, Director of Communications) (May 24, 1970) (dissent, economy, human resources); A. 251-252 (Dr. Paul McCracken, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors) (June 21, 1970) (economy); A. 254-256 (Daniel P. Moynihan, Counselor to the President for Domestic Affairs; Robert Finch, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Walter Hickel, former Secretary of the Interior) (January 25, 1970) (environment). It might be argued that such appearances should not be considered in this context since they are generally balanced by similar appearances by Democratic spokesmen. However, the issue under the Commission's new doctrine is "responsiveness," not "balance." If an imbalance was created by the O'Brien broadcast, that should properly be treated under the fairness doctrine, not the more stringent "equal opportunities" rule.

⁹⁷ Commission counsel, Mr. Ohlbaum, is well and favorably known to this court. Our references to his efforts to save the Commission's opinions are not intended as a reflection on him.

⁹⁸ 25 F.C.C.2d at 745.

⁹⁹ Indeed, a recent Commission decision lends support to this view of the opinions below. In *Democratic National Committee*, — F.C.C.2d — (FCC No. 71-882, August 20, 1971), RNC sought time to reply to a Demo-

cratic broadcast telecast on April 22, 1971 by the American Broadcasting Company. The Commission rejected the RNC demand, however, finding the situation there distinguishable from the instant controversy. In so finding, the Commission noted that *Zapple*, as extended by the Commission's decision in this case, "applies only to appearances by party spokesmen in response to Presidential appearances when the licensee does not specify the issues to be treated as those which were discussed by the President." Slip opinion at 7, ¶ 14. (Emphasis added.)

⁹⁰ See authorities cited at Note 66, *supra*.

⁹¹ Letter to Nicholas Zapple, 23 F.C.C.2d 707 (1970).

⁹² Letter from Chairman Rosel H. Hyde to Hon. Wayne Hays, Commission Ref. No. 8330-S; C2-105 (1968).

⁹³ See generally, 1 K. DAVIS, ADMINISTRATIVE LAW TREATISE, § 1.03 (1958).

THE NEED FOR INCREASED LINES OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE SCIENTIFIC WORLD AND THE PUBLIC

HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, in a recent address given before the American Oceanic Organization, Mr. Peter Hackes, NBC news correspondent, spoke on the need for increased lines of communication between the scientific world and the public. I share this with my colleagues:

COMMUNICATE OR DIE
(By Peter Hackes)

I needn't tell anyone gathered here that there are problems facing the oceanic community. From an outlook a few years back which was even brighter, I thought, than the NASA space exploration situation... the prospects for underseas research today are much bleaker than the NASA outlook—and that's not good.

Why? I suppose the most obvious answer is the price tag... although the expectation for immediate results—(returns, if you will, for dollars invested)—appears to me to be at least as hopeful in underwater research than in outer space. Certainly the possibilities of assistance to mankind—an improvement in life for all of us—are as promising through oceanic activity than through space research, although I'm sure I'd have a fight in my hands were I to make such a statement on the 8th floor of the NASA headquarters building.

Nasa programs, of course, have been slashed to ribbons—eliminated, cut back, delayed, postponed, and otherwise deleted. But even with tremendous cuts in manpower and programs, NASA remains a pretty viable $3\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollar a year organization—having shifted its future outlook to unmanned science probes rather than splashy manned trips into space.

Obviously, NASA has fallen victim of the economic facts of life. It suffers from a severe case of OMB-itis. But it's still going—strong in some areas.

I'm one of those who likes to think that NASA's communication effort—not that it was the best—might have had something to do with the fact that it's being continued in the face of tremendous opposition from the budget-cutters. I like to think NASA—and space-oriented industry—over the years have been able to tell their story convincingly enough to keep even a cutback NASA in

operation. There has been heavy emphasis, as you know—especially recently—in continuing to fund such projects as the space experts feel have the best chance to produce a pay-off to the American taxpayer. We've been inundated—as I'm sure you've noticed—with material underscoring spinoffs in the medical field... weather forecasting... anti-pollution... crop rotation... and hundreds—literally—of other by-products which have (or will) come as the result of our space effort.

It's possible (although nothing in this city has much logic to it) to assume that at least part of the on-going NASA story is that it managed to communicate to the right people in the right way.

Tom O'Toole's piece in the *Washington Post* the other morning was a move in the right direction. Surely it pinpointed the plight of what we once thought would be a "wet NASA" in operation by now. Falling that complete concept there was enough in the works—or so we thought—to keep NOAA expanding and to pay for dozens—if not hundreds of projects. But it sure didn't turn out that way. And the timetable for NOAA's recovery is murky, to say the least. Tom O'Toole's unhappy account which ends with the thought that Grumman is looking for a buyer for its multimillion dollar Ben Franklin submersible—trailer and all—sums up the sad state of affairs at the bottom of the ocean.

Could it be that the people who tried to sell the oceanic story just failed to get it across? Could it be that with a little more-carefully-prepared information passed along to the general public and to Congress there might have been enough outside pressure on Congress and the White House to keep NOAA's funding from being cut so drastically?

In a way, it could also be a function of better education of the news media. To explain what I mean in more detail, let me digress from your field to mine: The environment. (Maybe you hadn't heard that NBC is now touting me as the network's garbage man!)

I must confess that when I first became interested in reporting environmental matters I approached the field just as a reporter would approach any other assignment: get the facts and write the story of what's happening. As simple as that. That's the way we do it at City Hall. That's the way you cover a fire or accident. Those are basically the procedures for reporting any kind of story. Add a little who, what, where and why and you're home free.

But it wasn't long before most of us realized that reporting ecology wasn't the same as your every day murder where the crime is uncomplicated... the victim is easily defined... the motives are clear... the perpetrator is a blackguard... and the jury's decision can go only one way.

Many of us started off in that direction. All went well at first. It didn't take us long to find the pollution: the smog was unbelievable, you could almost walk on the Chicago River, city noise actually was beginning to make people deaf, and localities were starting to find their local dumps were not only contaminating the soil and water in many areas—but many communities were beginning to run out of dump space.

These were the simple, easy-to-report stories that occupied many of us in the early days. There was little or no doubt about what was going on... why... and how to clean it up. Cause—effect—and remedy. Then—not long after it all began—what had appeared to us to be an open and shut case started taking on something of a different shape. Phosphates, for example. We all knew—because eminent scientists had told us—that phosphates in laundry detergents were the prime culprits in killing off some of our rivers and streams. Phosphate

nutrients—from waste water—had fostered algae growth—which in turn had used up oxygen in the water... which in turn had killed off thousands and thousands of fish around the country as well as other marine life.

To correct the situation, a fairly straightforward step was needed: get rid of the phosphates in detergents. Here again we turned to science—the people who had pointed out the problem in the first place. In a matter of months (or so it seemed) they had presented us with a substitute product whose non-scientific abbreviation was NTA. Fine. The detergent companies went wild over NTA. It became a multi-billion dollar industry all by itself.

But again it was a scientist who blew the whistle on NTA... which he found was giving cancer and creating birth defects among laboratory rats. He admitted that the experimentation was incomplete and its conclusions a bit iffy. Yet, as charged by the bill which created it, the Environmental Protection Agency did what it had to in such an emergency situation—got the industry to agree to a voluntary ban on NTA.

So it was back to the drawing board for the detergent industry scientists. Instead of NTA they'd add more caustics to their product... anything, really, to clean those dirty collar rings and make those blue shirts come out whiter than white. Another few months of happiness in the detergent industry... until scientists found that the substitute for NTA might produce problems as great or even greater: the caustics were producing skin rashes, especially on babies, and when the stuff was taken by mouth (as inquisitive children may do) it produced a most unhappy effect on the windpipe and anything else it touched going down.

By this time at least one laboratory which had been researching NTA substitutes for some time had produced the report that they had come up empty-handed... that there was no really good substitute.

So... back to science again. This time we witnessed the interesting spectacle of two leading government figures at a news conference telling us (and through us, the nation's housewives) that detergents really were all right to use—phosphates and all—that the important thing to do would be to have each community build a tertiary sewage treatment plant to take care of phosphates as they were washed down the line. (The fact that the construction of sewage plants takes years and years and billions and billions must have escaped the two men momentarily.) We were told, of course, that it would be best for detergent makers to put out at least two kinds of washday miracles: medium phosphate content for hard water areas; low phosphate content for soft water areas.

But even before this final nostrum was passed along to us, many communities had begun work on anti-detergent or anti-phosphate laws—many of which are now on the books... despite some ardent lobbying by the detergent-makers—who, of course, are now supported by the government's pronouncement (in effect) that phosphate detergents aren't really good for the environment... but they're not really bad for us... so just be careful what you buy.

Way off in the wilderness, it seemed, one could barely hear the murmur of still another group of scientists repeating what they've been saying for these many years: why not try soap?

The phosphate story is a good one to point up the problems we all face... and especially those of us whose job it is to try to pass along to our readers and listeners the very best information we can find on the environment. What we needed, of course, was some good, solid scientific advice—not from the government—not from detergent huck-

sters—not even from doomsday environmentalists—but from some science types with no particular axe to grind. Believe me, it was hard to come by.

Nor is the detergent fiasco the only environmental area in which we (who want to communicate such things to those who will listen and watch) are having problems.

Let me quickly run down just a few of the others.

Remember "Get the lead out"—the campaign some scientists began (with government encouragement even to the point of proposing a tax on leaded gasoline) the proposal to phase out tetraethyl lead because that's what was causing smog? Along came another science group whose experiments indicated that eliminating lead from gasoline was likely to create more smog—not less.

Remember the world cry against mercury? It put the swordfishermen out of business . . . and for a while stopped the tuna boats. That too was a science-generated government ban. Comes now, however, another scientist who tells us the amount of mercury in our environment is in fact decreasing. He goes so far as to theorize that the presence of traces of mercury may even be essential to life—although he admits "the whole field is in ignorance."

Were the scientists who opposed the Amchitka blast on an environmental basis accurate in their predictions? Can the scientists who successfully defeated the SST (at least partly on environmental grounds) be any more accurate in their predictions of ecological catastrophe than those who took the other side, saying *nothing* bad would come from fleets of SSTs?

One possible substitute for the present-day gasoline engine is a motor that runs on natural gas. (EPA Administrator Ruckelshaus has a big tank of cooking gas in the trunk of his black government car.) But how can scientists tell us to use gas instead of gasoline when they (of all people) must know how short we are of gas supplies? It's been estimated that to run only half the nation's autos would take *all* the natural gas we have.

Where are the scientists who will give us an unbiased, un-influenced opinion on whether 1985 is far too soon to expect the nation's waters to be clean enough to swim in—even if Senator Muskie says it's so?

Where are the scientists to tell us—in an unbiased fashion—whether the auto makers are correct in saying they just won't be able to clean up auto exhausts by 1976—the date by which they'll all be breaking the law if they don't?

Where are the scientists who'll give us an unbiased view of the nuclear power picture? Are we, in fact, risking environmental ruin if we allow some heated water to go back into rivers and streams . . . or is it true that the scientific approach to this problem may find that if we don't turn to some kind of nuclear power, not only will conventional fossil fuel plants do us in much more quickly, but will also tell us that for some species of marine life heated water has proved a boon to increased reproduction and enlarged size—just what the local fisherman has been looking for!

The list could go on. I don't mention these areas of apparent scientific cross purposes to put down men of science. Just the opposite. The scientist, in environmental matters as with nearly everything else in our daily lives, is absolutely essential to those of us groping our way through the maze of ecological pros and cons. There are no obvious answers to the questions I've put. In most of these areas there have to be many more than one answer.

Science is needed to guide us so we in turn can guide the public. Not that the farmer, the bricklayer, the man who runs the local grocery store, or the school teacher

are stupid about things environmental. Nor are they without a good deal of basic knowledge about what makes the whole scheme of things tick right along. There's a great deal more sophistication among the American people these days than they are often given credit for.

But there is ignorance. Great ignorance. Not only among that vast audience we call the "general public" . . . but also, if you will, amongst the group of Spiro Agnew soothsayers called reporters. We need scientists to give us guidance. We need the one-time ivory tower people to come down and tell us what they've been doing and thinking. The day of the isolated experimenter who goes off in his little corner to contemplate one tiny segment of life all by himself is at an end. These are days, it seems to me, when the science community has a moral duty to itself, the public at large, and to future generations, to come forward with every scrap of knowledge that might be useful. Nor is this any more needed than in the environmental area.

But how to do it? How do scientists—even those who really want to—communicate with those whose background is so completely different as to give the impression—one to the other—that each is from a different planet? It's not easy—to put it mildly.

I must confess I haven't run this matter through my handy-dandy computer. Nor have I run it up the flagpole of scientific research. So my thoughts will have to be those of one communicator whose limited experience has at least presented a few of the problem areas more clearly than others—and whose meager efforts to translate science into English has had at least a modicum of success.

Scientists are not newsmen—any more than newsmen are scientists. (Thank God for small favors! Can't you just picture our most detailed analytical experiments in the hands of some club-footed reporter?) The scientists' problems in communication are manifold . . . and often defy solution.

Science, after all, is really a gathering together of experimentally-proven facts to which is added an analytical thought process—in essence the pursuit of ideas. Have you ever tried to illustrate a thought process for television? This is *our* basic problem: how to take the thoughts from inside the head of a scientist and pass them along, with pictures, to a public at large whose brain power is there—but whose background may or may not provide the proper basis for understanding.

It's not easy. But it has to be done. I remember my days as a graduate journalism student. I was lucky enough to find myself in Iowa City, Iowa (attending the university). One day I was sent out to "investigate" the physics department. I found out there was some kind of scientific nut over there whose pride and joy at that moment was a piece of machinery called a Van de Graaf generator. (My editor, I'm sure, thought it was a gadget to make Van de Graaf's, whatever they were!) I sought out this science creature, had a slightly stilted conversation with him—during which I found he was really quite a down-to-earth Iowa-bred farm boy who just happened to have a scientific head on his shoulders. (He told me his name was Van Allen, which at the time was just another of the many scientists whose work I knew nothing about.)

I did a short piece on Jim Van Allen and his generator. And I was a much wiser reporter for it. He was, and of course, is the kind of scientist who combines a human quality with his scientific bent. Not all scientists, let's face it, have the ability—or even the willingness—to explain things to a reporter, much less to get it across to the public at large.

Until recently there wasn't much incentive. Scientists appeared to be vying with

each other to see how mystically silent they could remain. For whatever reasons of jealousy, empire-building, worry about being misquoted, or fear that other scientists would look askance at someone foolish enough to subject himself to an interview—men of science were more than reticent, they were downright unavailable.

Changing times have changed those attitudes a bit, as has the need to share the government's financial pie—which can be divided only into a certain number of pieces. At the same time we reporters issued a plea for help. And in many instances these two needs are producing a flow of science news that has never before been apparent. Scientists have realized that they need public support to persuade Congress, for example, that certain projects are worth pursuing—knowing (in turn) that it's the members of the House and Senate these days who can turn on the biggest science-oriented economic spigot in history.

Current history, I feel, is also changing the typical public image of the scientist. He's now a member of the community, rakes his leaves, sends his kids to neighborhood schools, complains about taxes, and watches pro football games—scientifically. More and more often the modern scientist is taking part in the local PTA, fund drives, little league baseball. In short, he's becoming a human being.

That's where people like me come in. We're no smarter, scientifically, than the average slob whose major occupation is reading the daily comics. But we have one small knack (or should have)—the art of *representing* that other guy by asking the questions *he* would want asked, so the answers are understandable to him.

I don't care what the story is—there are ways of illustrating science for television. I don't care what research is being carried on—there are ways of telling us about it without compromising that precious experiment to scientific rivals. We reporters realize—or should—that research is fundamental to scientific progress, and that to be *good* that research often has to remain a bit vague—until the scientists begin to see the light at the end of the test tube. We don't insist on final answers. We *do* insist on progress reports. Representing the general public we want science to let us in on what's going on, *why* an experiment is being carried on, what has motivated the scientist to conduct it, and in some general terms what he sees as the possible future outcome from his work.

We're not spying. We realize the sensitivities involved. We realize that a person's scientific reputation, to say nothing of his life's work, can be wrapped up in a series of experiments. But more and more it behooves the scientist to make sure he's communicating.

We of the general public, in many instances, *have* to know what's going on or we won't have the necessary educational underpinning to recognize a crisis situation. When there's an emergency environmental problem, for example, such as the bad air over Birmingham, Alabama, the general public ought to have a basic awareness of why such an emergency exists or they can't be expected to respond by staying indoors to avoid polluted air. A well-informed public can and will back up the scientist if they are provided with enough background information to make a point logical. They need a logical frame of reference. Surely the person who sits at home and watches that aspirin tablet dissolve inside the glass stomach of a glass dummy on television—and then goes out and buys that aspirin—will be willing to listen to a *real* scientist talking about *real* achievements—*if* he presents his efforts in as logical a fashion.

The aspirin commercial points out yet another truism in the real world of 1971 communications: the average TV viewer doesn't

really need—or even want—to know why the aspirin works to relieve his headache. It's enough to show him that it does. By the same token he doesn't have to know how a laser beam operates to understand some of the things it can do for him. He doesn't have to know how holography works to be shown how it can be used to help him—as a tool to improve his life.

I am well aware, that not every reporter is science-oriented. I'm fully aware that many of us just don't have the background to grasp the import of what the scientist is saying. Here, I feel, it's the duty of both sides to try a little harder. Only in this way can we avoid some of the mistakes we've all seen.

Science writer David Hendin recently decried what he called "the shrill voices that sometimes get more credence than they deserve." He wrote in *Quill Magazine* about the environmental doomsayers and how they have sometimes made things terribly difficult for science to untangle.

Hendin told about a symposium he attended in New York City—on urban biology. One of the speakers said this: "The cost of one B-52 bomber could pay to install all the necessary sewage treatment plants in New York City four times over."

The audience—mostly environmentally-active college students—responded with applause and cheers. The next speaker was the man who at that time was New York City's environmental protection chief, Dr. Merrill Eisenbud—also an environmental activist.

Eisenbud challenged the speaker, asking if he knew just how much a B-52 bomber costs. The speaker responded by saying he wasn't sure, but he remembered a figure of 12 million dollars. And what about the cost of a sewage treatment plant in New York, asked Dr. Eisenbud? The speaker estimated that at about 4 million dollars. Eisenbud quickly informed the speaker that New York was completing a sewage plant at that time, which was costing 220 million dollars.

It wasn't that the speaker was deliberately trying to mislead the audience. He just did not know what he was talking about—a disease which is guaranteed to strike many of us if the scientific community doesn't explain itself and keep us posted on many things.

Author Hendin points out that despite all the fuss created by the pollution cleanup campaign, it's hard even to define environmental problems. To a person living in the inner city, he says, environment is a leaky roof, rats in the kitchen, peeling lead-based paint which kills children when they eat it, bad plumbing, no job, and no coat to wear when he goes out into the snow.

These are the things, it seems to me, to which the modern-day scientist must address himself. He has an obligation, I think, to keep himself well informed on a variety of things—national and international—so he can conduct his scientific efforts—not in that ivory tower, but in the context of a real-world situation, as a member of the human race as well as of the scientific community.

I know it'll make his life a better one. I think it'll make mine, as a reporter, a lot easier.

ONLY ONE CRIME IN EIGHT RESULTS IN CONVICTION

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE
OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, with the current interest in law and order and prison reform, the following article from

the St. Louis Bar Journal should be of interest:

WHY—AND WHAT IT MEANS TO SAY THAT—
"ONLY ONE CRIME IN EIGHT RESULTS IN CONVICTION"

(By Yale Kamisar, professor of law, University of Michigan)

"With 87 out of every 100 offenders in our country going free and escaping any punishment," wailed Senator Ernest Hollings during the Congressional debates on the Crime Control Act of 1968, "the criminal knows there is very little bite to the law today. No longer can it be said that crime does not pay when there is now only a 13 per cent chance that an offender will be caught and punished and the criminal knows this. There is no questioning the fact that the recent decisions of the Supreme Court have contributed greatly to this problem." Senator John McClellan similarly lamented the low "conviction rate." After describing "the kind of men" the courts are turning loose, he protested: "No wonder the criminal feels he can go out and violate the law, because he knows that he can get away with it." And in his May 1968 position paper on crime *Toward Freedom from Fear* (using figures which varied from Senator Hollings' by one percentage point), Presidential Candidate Richard Nixon warned: "Only one of eight major crimes committed now results in arrest, prosecution, conviction, and punishment—and a twelve per cent chance of punishment is not adequate to deter a man bent on a career of crime. Among the contributing factors to the small figure are the decisions of a majority of one of the United States Supreme Court."

Such talk, no doubt, manifests the speaker's determination not to "pussyfoot" about the crime issue, but is it "straight talk?"

Suppose you were trying to express in numbers the probability that a baseball player who took the field regularly would strike out *sometime* during the season. To say that he had only a twelve per cent chance of striking out *any one time* he went to the plate would be a rather awkward and obscure way of saying that in the course of the season he would strike out *thirty or forty times*, would it not? Fortunately few burglars or robbers get as many "turns at bat" as baseball players, but (unless they're caught the first time) they do commit many more than *one* burglary or robbery a "season," let alone a career.

If apprehension and conviction were purely a random occurrence (as opposed, in fact, to a product of such non-random factors as the status of the particular victim, the skills of the particular criminal, and the efficiency of the particular police department), and if the odds of a crime resulting in conviction were one in eight (as I indicate below, they are probably a good deal lower), then anyone who committed five burglaries or more would stand a better than 50 per cent chance of being punished. Even if the chance of being caught and punished for any one crime were much lower, the run-of-the-mill burglar and robber, because he spends so much time plying his trade, would be bucking very stiff odds over any substantial stretch of time. To say that 87 or 88 reported offenses out of 100 do not result in conviction is *not to say*, as Senator Hollings did, that 87 or 88 offenders out of 100 "escape any punishment."

A thinking would-be-criminal—especially one who is supposed to be shrewd enough to study and to take into account the latest Supreme Court decisions—must consider the cumulative statistical chance of escaping unscathed when he engages in 20 or 50 or 100 crimes, and as the University of Chicago Law School's Frank Zimring recently put it

*From *Law Quadrangle Notes*, Spring 1971, a publication of the University of Michigan. Based on a paper delivered at the University of Oklahoma.

when I broached the subject, "anybody who figures that at today's odds he can afford to pursue a criminal career is poorer at arithmetic than the fellow who calculates that he can safely go over Niagara Falls in a barrel."

The "only one-in-eight crimes results in conviction" and "twelve per cent chance of punishment" figures are misleading in another sense, and in a different direction. Presumably these figures are based on crimes reported to the police, but various surveys indicate that there is a "dark figure" of unreported crime *several times greater* than the amount which shows up in crime statistics. Why has so much crime gone unreported? According to several studies, among the reasons are embarrassment (in the case of rape and other sex offenses), fear of reprisal, an unwillingness to take the time, lack of knowledge as to how to report, and—the reason most often given for all offenses—a feeling that the police "can't do anything about it anyway," i.e., can't recover the property or identify the offender.

Thus, Messrs. Nixon, McClellan, Hollings, and other politicians could have chosen say, a spectacular "only one burglary in 24 (or 32) results in conviction" statistic rather than the less sensational (but still frightening) "one reported burglary in eight results in conviction figure. Why didn't they?

Perhaps because the more spectacular statistic might have necessitated some discussion of the vast reservoir of unreported crime and this in turn might have raised some doubts about the solidity and sanctity of crime statistics. Perhaps a primary thrust of much "law and order" rhetoric is to place a large part of the blame for the sorry state of crime on the courts and although computations based on reported crime *understate the crime problem*, they greatly exaggerate the extent to which the courts may be contributing to the problem. After all, how much blame can be heaped on the courts for the increase in burglaries and for the "fact" that only one in 24 or 32 burglaries results in conviction if 16 of every 24 burglaries—or perhaps as many as 24 of every 32—are not even reported to the police?

For political purposes the "only one-in-eight crimes results in conviction" statistic has more than adequate gee-whiz! appeal—so long as its arrest, prosecution, and conviction components are not singled out. The lump figure may be misunderstood as a meaning that only one out of every eight who are caught and prosecuted is convicted—when the primary reason for the "one-in-eight" figure is that most reported offenses *never result in an arrest or prosecution*. This is precisely the error Senator Russell Long made in the course of the recent crime control debates when he claimed that "seven out of every eight criminals we catch are turned loose anyway." (Emphasis added.)

Once that "one-in-eight" lump figure is broken down, however, the limited extent to which the judiciary generally, as contrasted with other agencies and multiple socioeconomic factors, can possibly be contributing to the low "conviction rate" is quickly grasped. For example, the *Uniform Crime Reports* for 1967 (the basis for the Nixon-McClellan-Long crime statistics) reveal that, for reasons I shall touch upon below, less than one reported out of four was "cleared by arrest." That is to say, only about 22 per cent of the time were the police able to say that their investigation established the identity of the offender and that the crime reported was "cleared" or "solved" by his arrest.

A crime is "cleared" it should be pointed out, whether or not the arrestee is later convicted—or even indicted. Indeed, as noted in the *Uniform Crime Reports* (for such reasons as failure of the victim to cooperate or appear for the prosecution, referral of the arrestee to juvenile authorities, and insufficient evidence to support the formal charge), only 75 per cent of those arrested for crime

index offenses were turned over to the courts for prosecution.

In short, even if the conviction rate—as the term is used by the *Uniform Crime Reports* and as it is normally understood—the percentage of those held for prosecution who are found guilty—even if the conviction rate were 100 per cent, only one reported crime in six would result in a conviction, because only one reported crime in six leads to a criminal prosecution. (The "conviction rate," once the cases get to the courts, is in the 80-90 per cent range.)

Although the over-all clearance rate has always been low, and sinking lower (from 26.1 per cent in 1960 to 23 in 1966 to 20.6 in 1969) the rates vary considerably depending upon the crime involved. They have always been highest for murder, where maximum detective-power is allocated, typically the circle of suspects is small, and the offender (as the police well know) often turns out to be the victim's spouse, parent, lover or close friend. They are fairly high for forcible rape and aggravated assault, where more often than not the offender is at least casually acquainted with the victim and leads are provided by personal contact between victim and criminal. They have always been low, and dropping lower, for burglary (from 29.5 per cent in 1960 to 22 in 1966 to 18.9 in 1969) and for crimes against property generally—where the lack of witnesses and the tremendous volume of these offenses work in the criminal's favor.

Although the percentages are slipping, the number of crimes being cleared is increasing substantially. The trouble is that the number of reported offenses is rising even faster. Why the low, and dropping, clearance rates?

It is important to keep in mind that a single arrest may lead to the "clearance" (on paper, at least) of many crimes. Even when he cannot be connected to other "unsolved" or "uncleared" crimes by solid evidence, a suspect may be willing to confess to these other offenses if he believes he will receive more lenient treatment for his "cooperation" in the "clearing cases." Detectives are rarely displeased at "writing off old cases" and looking better on the FBI books.

A dramatic illustration is furnished by sociologist Jerome Skolnick, who witnessed the incident in the course of his study of a California police department (*Justice Without Trial* 176-79 (1966)): A burglar who "confessed" to—and enabled the police to "clear"—some 400 burglaries was prosecuted for only one, and given a mere 30 day sentence at that. On another such occasion a district attorney insisted upon a heavy sentence, despite the fact that a promise of leniency had already been made in return for the defendant's "clearance" of other burglaries than the one for which he had been arrested and prosecuted. However, reports Professor Skolnick, eventually the police view prevailed, on the grounds that unless the police were "backed up" future burglary investigations would be "seriously impaired."

Although *Escobedo* and *Miranda* have not had the impact their supporters had hoped (and their critics had feared), apparently these cases have had the salutary effect of instilling (or heightening) an awareness among police interrogators that the courts will be "looking over their shoulder." This sense of review has led to a significant curtailment of the time the suspect used to be held before being taken before a judicial officer—and thus worked a substantial diminution of the "opportunity" the police once enjoyed to get the suspect to "confess to," and to "clear," crimes other than the one for which he had been arrested and was to be prosecuted. (This change probably began some years before *Escobedo* and *Miranda*, because the last stages of the old "totality of the circumstances"—"voluntariness" test for admitting confessions saw the Supreme

Court assigning increasing importance to length police detention as a factor operating against "voluntariness.")

The reliability of clearance rate statistics is further shaken by a recent study of the New York City police, disclosing a twenty-fold variance in the number of crimes "cleared" per arrest. The most likely explanation is that different commanders define clearances differently. The number of cases "cleared" by arrest in any unit, points out the study, "is probably influenced by how important the unit commander feels his clearance rate is." Greenwood, *An Analysis of the Apprehension Activities of the New York City Police Department 16-18* (1970) (New York City Rand Institute).

This is not to deny that there has been a real drop in the clearance rates. Professor H. Richard Uviller, for many years an outstanding assistant district attorney until he recently joined the Columbia Law Faculty, suggests some reasons: "What police manpower we do have is being spread thinner and thinner; much is now allocated to street demonstrations, for example; more is being extended to prevention and patrol and less to actually solving crimes. Thus, the police are forced to limit their investigative efforts to very serious crimes and, too often, can do little more than simply record reported burglaries and other crimes against property." (At this point one begins to wonder why the clearance rate for burglary is so high.) Moreover, notes Harvard criminologist Lloyd Ohlin, the number of reported burglaries is rising especially fast in the suburbs—"where police forces are even thinner than their urban counterparts and homeowners, less accustomed than are their city cousins to using locks and taking other security measures, are relatively easy, wide-open targets."

If anything, Professors Ohlin and Uviller may have significantly understated the intractability of the problems posed by crimes against property. The aforementioned New York City Rand Institute reveals that most of the arrests for crimes against property are made at the scene of the crime; "the probability that any particular case of robbery, burglary, or grand larceny will result in an arrest through a detective investigation is extremely small—six per cent for robbery and about two per cent for burglary and grand larceny"; "detectives are no more successful in solving cases to which they assign high priority than they are for cases of less significance"; and that "the solution of any particular property crime is a chance event, insensitive to the amount of investigation conducted."

The sad, stubborn finding of the Rand Study, as well as earlier studies made for the National Crime Commission, is that absent personal observations of the offense by a police officer or personal identification by a victim or witness, the great bulk of crimes are not, never have been, and (at least for the foreseeable future) are not going to be solved—in most of these cases no arrests are ever made.

Politicians are often tempted to fulfill an angry public's demand for simplistic solutions to stubborn, tangled problems. On the domestic front, no less than on foreign policy matters, a "mood of irritated frustration with complexity," as Dean Acheson once called it, finds expression in scapegoating. The double impact of (1) the low percentage of crimes reported and (2) the low arrest-clearance rates for those offenses which are reported, goes a long way toward laying bare the extent to which those politicians who concentrate their fire on the courts for the current "breakdown" in law and order are, in effect, perpetrating a cruel hoax on the public.

This point was dramatically made in recent testimony by the former Executive Director of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Criminal Justice (Crime Commission), Pro-

fessor James Vorenberg of the Harvard Law School. A few years ago, it should be pointed out, Professor Vorenberg incurred the wrath of a number of self-styled liberal law professors (including this writer) for his criticism of the *Escobedo* and *Miranda* decisions and their potential for expansion. But in recent testimony, he took members of a Congressional crime committee through the following "arithmetical calculation based on the statistics from the Crime Commission Report":

About three-fourths of the crime committed in this country is not reported to the police and only one-fourth or one-fifth of the crime that is reported leads to an arrest. "Changing the *Miranda* rule is not going to do any good for the other three-fourths (or four-fifths) because we cannot make the arrest anyhow." Then, in more than two-thirds of the arrests that are made, "the police have other information. They do not need a confession. There is a witness. Or the police themselves have seen the offense occur. So now you are down to (1/2 of 1/4 (or 1/8 of 1/4)). Then we know from (various empirical studies) that (even after *Miranda*) they still are confessing. So when you get all through, what you have is maybe a fraction of one percent of all crime that might be affected by a change in the *Miranda* rule. (Compare that figure) with the kinds of increases of crime that are being reported. . . ."

"LET MY PEOPLE GO"—A MOVING DOCUMENT

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, during the recess I sent every Member of the House and Senate a copy of "Let My People Go," a moving documentary account of the Soviet Jews' struggle for freedom. Copies of this new book were generously furnished by the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry.

Year 1971 was a year in which the plight of Soviet Jewry stirred the consciences of millions of citizens all over the world. Soviet Jews have been denied rights guaranteed even under Soviet law and in 1971 some Jews were tried and sentenced to prison for their desire to go to Israel. At the same time, because of worldwide pressure and public disapproval of Soviet policies, the number of Jews allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union to Israel increased substantially in 1971 over past years.

Concern for the plight of Soviet Jews is rightfully shared by people of all religious faiths. As the late Martin Luther King, Jr., once said:

I cannot stand idly by, even though I live in the United States and even though I happen to be an American Negro, and not be concerned about what happens to my brothers and sisters who happen to be Jews in Soviet Russia. For what happens to them happens to me and you, and we must be concerned. . . . In the name of humanity, I urge that the Soviet government end all the discriminatory measures against its Jewish community.

"Let My People Go" provides previously unpublished testimony from the recent Leningrad and Riga trials, letters smuggled from inside the U.S.S.R., anti-

Semitic cartoons that have appeared in Russian publications, and eyewitness accounts.

At this time, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the letter addressed to the Members of the House and Senate who received this book by Richard Maass, chairman of the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry:

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
ON SOVIET JEWRY,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR FRIEND: The issue of Soviet Jewry is today on the lips and on the minds of people throughout the world.

Enclosed is a copy of a new book, "Let My People Go," by Richard Cohen, a vivid and moving chronicle of Soviet Jewry's struggle for freedom. It was published by Popular Library at the request of the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, the major coordinating agency on Soviet Jewry for the bulk of the American Jewish community.

In my opinion, this is the best and most up to date book on the subject and is a must reading for anyone who wants to be truly informed on this issue of paramount concern to all people. It will provide a wealth of information for you to use in speeches or for papers that touch on this subject.

I would appreciate any comments you might have on the book.

Incidentally, should you know of anyone who might want additional copies, they are discounted at \$1.00 per copy for orders of 10 or more and at 75 cents each in orders of 50 or more. Royalties from sales of the book will go to support the work of the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry.

Cordially,

RICHARD MAASS,
Chairman.

PITTSBURGH CATHOLIC GUEST EDITORIAL HITS NIXON'S PAKISTAN BIAS

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the Pittsburgh Catholic newspaper, last week, reprinted an editorial which appeared originally in the New Zealand Tablet. The editorial severely criticized President Nixon for his one-sided handling of the recent Indo-Pakistani crisis.

The editorial accuses the President of disregarding Pakistan's massacre of hundreds of thousands of Bengalis and supporting the Pakistani Government only because of the latter's close relationship with Red China.

Mr. Nixon, the editorial said, "threw principle out the window," and seemed to see in the tragedy of war only the effect it might have for his coming trip to Peking.

Needless to say, much of what this editorial suggests was confirmed by Jack Anderson when he revealed publicly the transcripts of three National Security Council sessions.

I believe that the American people can see through this sham of expediency, this sacrificing of principles and lives, all for some artificial harmony at the time of Mr. Nixon's trip to the Chinese capital.

And I hope the American electorate

will make its displeasure known in November when President Nixon comes before the Nation on the strength of his 4 years' record.

I would like to introduce the editorial into the RECORD at this time.

[From the Pittsburgh Catholic, Jan. 7, 1972]

GUEST EDITORIAL—NIXON'S SHAME

One of the more distressing aspects of the tragic war between India and Pakistan has been the way in which the United States, the world's most powerful nation, has thrown principle out the window whenever it got in the way of expediency.

This was apparent, of course, long before the war started, the most obvious example being the way in which the United States kept selling arms to Yahya Khan, whose butchery of more than a million people—another 10 million are refugees—began the slide into war.

The reason, of course, was President Nixon's eagerness to do business with Peking. This is laudable enough, but it should never have been allowed to stand in the way of humanitarian and Christian principles.

When the war broke out, this United States partiality continued in the United Nations as it sought to brand India as an aggressor and to cut the flow of U.S. economic aid to it.

By that time, of course, Nixon had his appointment in Peking, which supports Pakistan. In addition, election year was looming and the U.S. president hopes (naively in our view) that he will extract a diplomatic success there that will help him creep back into office.

It mattered not to him that Pakistan's action in Bengal, and the creation of the refugee problem, had created strains in India which threatened to wreck the economy of that nation.

There is no country in Asia whose stability is more important to the West than India with its population of more than 500 million. If it cannot remain a stable, democratic entity, then the lookout for Asia is black indeed.

But attitudes such as that of Nixon not only have international repercussions. They also have them in human terms. Here is an example:

On November 13 an American missionary priest in Bengal, Fr. William Evans, 52, was traveling by boat to an out-station to say Mass. Pakistani soldiers ordered the boat to pull into the bank, and then took Fr. Evans, who was in his soutane, to the police station at Nawabganj, 15 miles from Dacca.

They interrogated him, then took him back to the boat. As he was about to board it, they ordered him into a trench. Witnesses on the opposite bank saw him cold-bloodedly shot. Then the body was tossed in the river.

The body was recovered next morning and taken to his church. Archbishop Theotonius A. Ganguly of Dacca received it and had it photographed.

The body bore two bullet wounds, all the teeth had been knocked out, there were large bayonet wounds in the hands and feet and one arm. The priest had bled from both ears.

The photographs were sent to the U.S. Consul in Dacca and he said he would take the matter up with the Pakistani Home Secretary. But he refused to make any protest to the Pakistani military, because, he said, he had orders from Washington.

In other words, an American citizen can be foully murdered, sworn statements can be produced, including one from an archbishop, and Nixon forbids any effective protest. The obvious reason was that a protest against the murder of a man who had given himself in service to the Pakistani people, might upset Nixon's cherished projects. Why worry about one murdered man?

All other American presidents of recent history would have protested loudly and strongly against this violation of human rights and the comity of nations. But not Nixon.

The symbol of America is the eagle. Small wonder that it is moulting badly.

It could be added, too, that one of the things that impresses about Americans is the pride they take in their flag. "Old Glory," as they call it. Suffice it to say that under the clodhopper boots of Nixon, the flag is torn and tattered and the glory obscured by mud.

—New Zealand Tablet, Auckland.

RIPON COLLEGE WILL OFFER
3-YEAR DEGREE

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of the House an unusual 3-year bachelor's degree program being started by Ripon College in Wisconsin. Ripon President Bernard Adams sees the program as a means of reducing the soaring costs of higher education somewhat, while offering the above average student an opportunity to get on much faster with his graduate studies or career.

The program has received considerable attention in news accounts, for example in the December 7, 1971 edition of the Milwaukee Journal. And I most wholeheartedly concur with the Fond du Lac Commonwealth reporter which editorialized on December 9, 1971: "By making such a program available, Ripon College continues its leadership in the ranks of the finest small colleges in the Nation."

The material follows:

RIPON COLLEGE WILL OFFER 3-YEAR DEGREE—SEEN AS AN ANSWER TO SOARING COSTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

RIPON, WIS.—One of the Midwest's pioneer four-year liberal arts colleges has adopted a three-year bachelor degree program. Ripon College will offer the three-year track as an option to its freshmen next fall.

Ripon President Bernard Adams said the program is aimed at the above average student and will require that he carry a heavier academic load.

A three-year degree will mean a direct savings of about \$4,000 in the cost of an education, Adams believes. Ripon's current comprehensive fee, which includes tuition, room and board, is \$3,420 and is rising under inflationary pressures about \$150 a year.

"Assuming an earning power of around \$8,000 for a college graduate, a student would stand to gain on the order of \$12,000 overall by completing his education in three years. And if he chooses to enter graduate or professional school, he can do so one year earlier," Adams observed.

The three-year candidate will have to earn a cumulative grade point average of 2.75 compared to 2.00 for four-year graduates, and will be required to accumulate 112 hours of credit, whereas 120 hours are required for the four-year degree. To do so he must carry an average load of 18 or 19 hours per semester, rather than the usual 15 or 16, and must meet the same major requirements as the four-year student.

"Acceleration without sacrifice of quality is the key to the Ripon program," Adams said. "It requires that all credits be earned by taking courses on the Ripon campus. It does not allow for acceleration through the passing of proficiency exams, nor can a student 'pad' his credits with summer study or other off-campus courses, some of which are of dubious academic quality."

Students who choose the three-year program and change their minds or fail to meet the requirements will automatically move into the traditional four-year program without any penalty, Adams said. He pointed out that students participating in both the four- and three-year programs will attend the same courses and sections. The new program may reduce the student's opportunity to take part in extra-curricular activities because of the heavier course load, he explained.

Adams expects the new program will be especially attractive to the highly motivated students who want to get ahead with their work and get into a graduate program. "It's also well suited for anyone wishing to defer college for a year of work, travel, or study outside of college," he said.

The Ripon College action, approved by the Board of Trustees in December and by the faculty earlier, is in line with a recent recommendation of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. One of the Commission reports, *Less Time, More Options*, asserts, "The length of time spent in undergraduate college education can be reduced roughly by one-fourth without sacrificing educational quality."

THREE-YEAR DEGREES AT RIPON

Ripon College, aiming its program at students who can function at an accelerated pace, has announced it will offer next fall's freshmen a chance to earn a degree in only three years.

Those who want to take the three year route will need a cumulative grade point average of 2.75 and 112 hours of credit. They'll have to take 18 to 19 credit hours of classes each semester—but can save up to \$4,000 in expenses if they can withstand the quicker academic tempo.

"Acceleration without sacrifice of quality is the key to the Ripon program," President Bernard Adams commented.

Students who start the three year course for a degree will be allowed to change their minds. If they decide they want to slow down they'll be able to transfer into the four year program.

The three year degree plan is a good one for gifted students who are in a hurry and for those who don't care to spend added time in extracurricular activities. By making such a program available, Ripon College continues its leadership role in the ranks of the finest small colleges in the nation.

RIPON COLLEGE WILL OFFER 3-YEAR DEGREE PROGRAM

RIPON, WIS.—Ripon College will offer next fall's freshmen the option of choosing a three year degree program, it was announced Tuesday.

The new program will be directed at the above average student, according to President Bernard Adams, and will require not only a heavier academic load but a higher grade point average.

The three year candidates will have to earn a cumulative grade point average of 2.75 compared to 2.00 for the four year graduates and will be required to earn 112 hours of credit compared to 120, Adams said. But to do so, the three year candidate will have to take 18 to 19 credit hours of classes each semester, compared to the usual 15 or 16. The three year graduate must meet the same requirements within the major as the four year graduate, Adams said.

Adams described the new program as "one answer to the soaring cost of higher educa-

tion." He estimated that three year candidates would save about \$4,000 in obtaining their degree compared to the four year graduates.

Ripon's current comprehensive fee, which includes room, board and tuition, presently is \$3,420 a year and is rising at the rate of about \$150 a year. There are also costs for books, travel and other living expenses.

If one adds the average of \$8,000 a year that the college graduate earns the year after graduation, the new program could be worth up to \$12,000 for the student taking it, Adams suggested.

"Acceleration without sacrifice of quality is the key to the Ripon program," Adams said. "It requires that all credits must be earned by taking courses on the Ripon campus. It does not allow for acceleration through the passing of proficiency examinations nor can a student 'pad' his credits with summer school or other off-campus courses, some of which are of dubious academic quality."

Students who elect to try the three year program and then change their minds will automatically move into the traditional four year program, Adams said.

Because of the heavier academic load, the program is expected to cut down opportunities for extracurricular activities. Students interested in athletics, publications, dramatics, and other traditional outside class activities are expected to continue to choose the four year program, Adams said.

The new program was approved by the college's Board of Regents earlier this month.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPACE SHUTTLE

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my wholehearted approval of the recent decision of the President to proceed with the development of the space shuttle.

On many counts, it was a wise and timely action. Thus far, the space effort—which surely must be regarded as one of the most successful national programs in this country's history—has demonstrated the vast potential that this newly accessible environment holds for us.

Operational systems of communications and weather spacecraft are already yielding great benefits to men everywhere and, in fact, have become as much a part of our every-day life as television or the telephone. The balanced mix of manned and unmanned missions that are being flown are producing a flood of vital new knowledge about the elemental forces at work in our solar system, and the galaxy of which it is a part. We are gaining new understandings of the dynamics of space-ship Earth, and the envelope of air and energy which encases it. Even so, it is obvious to the thoughtful observer that, in our space work, we have made no more than a good beginning.

As we look ahead to the latter part of this decade, and beyond—into the 1980's—the great and expanding capabilities that we have developed make possible a wide variety of important and productive missions. How many of these missions we will be able to conduct, how-

ever, will be influenced more by economics, than by our own technological capabilities.

During the first decade of the space program, we have used what can only be described as a primitive and high-priced means of placing our spacecraft in orbit. The launch vehicle and the spacecraft are used just once. Instrumented packages must have extraordinary—and very costly—reliability built in to perform its mission. If, for any one of hundreds of reasons, there is a malfunction in these highly sophisticated automated satellites, the mission fails.

In the program's experimental phase such a nonreusable transportation system could be justified. But we have passed that stage. If we wish to exploit space effectively, we must now move to create a system that makes economic as well as scientific sense. The decision to go ahead with the shuttle is a long first step in that direction.

The key to the shuttle's importance is its reusability and the resulting savings, plus the significant economies that can be expected in spacecraft design and construction. Partly because of the extraordinary reliability that presently has to be built in, a payload costs an average of \$20,000 a pound to construct, and may be years in design and fabrication. With the shuttle-given capability to deploy spacecraft and to retrieve and repair them, the demand for reliability will be greatly reduced with an equivalent reduction in fabrication costs. We can expect that leadtimes will be reduced from years to months.

Not only will this give us more space for our dollar, but it will open whole new areas of space work.

With an operational shuttle, we can look forward to a space program in the eighties that will have the versatility and flexibility that will insure a rich payout of benefits. I am confident that the development of the shuttle will turn out to be an excellent investment of this Nation's resources.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important issues facing the House as we begin this second session of the 92d Congress is the question of National Health Insurance. Our colleagues on the Ways and Means Committee have concluded hearings on pending legislation to establish such a system and I look forward to early action in the House on a committee bill.

At the beginning of the last session, I filed a national health insurance bill, H.R. 2478, which embodies the concepts of the Griffiths-Kennedy measure and the recommendations of the national AFL-CIO. Nothing less than a comprehensive, federally financed national program covering all citizens is adequate to meet the health care needs of the United States in the 1970's. I urge the members

of the Ways and Means Committee to endorse this approach as they proceed to executive sessions on national health insurance legislation.

A succinct and timely letter in support of the AFL-CIO's proposal was sent to me during the recess by Charles Marcianite, president of the New Jersey AFL-CIO's Group Health Maintenance Plan. As Charlie Marcianite points out, the private health insurance companies have failed to serve the American people adequately and have been willing handmaidens to the gross escalation of medical and hospital costs in the United States. The most recent evidence of private insurance companies' incompetence and disregard for the pocketbooks of the American workingman came with Blue Cross' unconscionable request for a nearly 50-percent increase in Federal employees' health benefit premiums. Only a truly national health insurance system will put an end to the highway robbery of these private carriers.

Mr. Speaker, I include Charlie Marcianite's excellent letter at this point in the RECORD:

NEW JERSEY STATE AFL-CIO GROUP
HEALTH MAINTENANCE PLAN INC.,
Newark, N.J., December 22, 1971.

Re National Health Insurance.
Hon. HENRY HELSTOSKI,
Congressman—Ninth District,
East Rutherford, N.J.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HELSTOSKI: We are quite disturbed to read in the December 19, 1971 edition of the New York Times newspaper that Congress feels that public support for National Health Insurance is on the wane.

Our organization, in following the lead of the National AFL-CIO, has very strong feelings for the immediate enactment of a national program.

In anticipation of such a program, we have appointed a full-time director and have incorporated the New Jersey State AFL-CIO Health Maintenance Organization (H.M.O.). The State AFL-CIO played a major role in having legislation passed through the legislature permitting the formation of HMO in New Jersey.

We are also keenly aware in detail of every legislative proposal before the Congress for a National Health Insurance program. The vast majority of these proposals, including the Administration's, are nothing more than a sellout to the not too high-minded insurance companies of our nation. I don't think it necessary to document for you the inept and sloppy way the Medicare and Medicaid have been administered by the private insurance industry. Their slipshod ugliness is apparent daily in the press.

Clearly, we are not happy with the present system of health care delivery including the major dispensers—Blue Cross and Blue Shield. The Blues have played a great role in the demise of our nation's once esteemed status in health care. We now rank 14th, the lowest of all industrialized nations.

We, in the State AFL-CIO, know that we can do a much better job under our HMO program in negotiating with hospitals and groups of doctors for a health care system that truly will be to our members' and community's betterment.

At present, increased costs are merely passed on to Blue Cross from a hospital whose overall procedures are slipshod. Blue Cross accepts the increase and other hospitals who learn of the increase, up their respective costs. After a period of time, Blue Cross' financial reserve begins to dwindle and they make application to the State Department of Insurance protesting that unless their rates are upped thirty, forty, or fifty percent they

will be insolvent. Naturally, no one wants to see or be part of such a catastrophe. Shortly, an increase is granted to keep the system rolling. Roll it does, right around the old circle and one year later Blue Cross is again knocking at the Department's door with the same problem.

It is abundantly clear that the present "fee for service" method of handling health insurance is not working properly and certainly not detecting illness beforehand to give us protection. This system must be scrapped. Congresswoman Griffiths' and Senator Kennedy's bill creating a national health program are by far the best methods of delivery. We strongly support that type and that type only. As previously stated, all the other proposals are nothing more than sell-outs to the perpetrators of a bad system—the insurance companies.

Please be assured we are most anxious for adoption of the Griffiths-Kennedy bill. Your help, together with those congressmen and senators of your acquaintance on behalf of the Griffiths-Kennedy bill will bring the people of our state and nation closer to correcting a glaring, unnecessary evil.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES H. MARCIANTE,
President.

JUSTICE JOHN M. HARLAN WAS CHAMPION OF RESTRAINT

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the passing of Supreme Court Justice John Marshall Harlan has brought to a close one of the most distinguished careers of our time.

Because of the majority views of the Court during his 16 years' tenure, he became known as a consistent and often lonely dissenter in support of apparent conservative views.

But labels can be misleading and their meanings vary with the times. At another period, he would have been viewed as a liberal.

Labels are not the way to judge any man. His contributions to his country and his profession must be judged in the broader perspective. On this basis, Justice Harlan stands high among his peers.

He came to the Court in 1955, early in the leadership of retired Chief Justice Earl Warren.

He was named by then President Eisenhower to succeed another New Yorker, the late Justice Robert H. Jackson, of Jamestown, the smalltown attorney from western New York who also made a distinguished mark of his own in our Nation's history.

I came to know Justice Harlan in a very personal way. He and I had adjoining rooms several months ago at the Bethesda Naval Hospital in suburban Washington. I was being treated for a strained back muscle.

I had never met the jurist until that day when he came into my room and introduced himself. We had wonderful visits during my hospital stay and he was most gracious. From the outset of our meeting, it was clear to me that here was a man with true compassion for his fellow man.

Mr. Speaker, all of us can be grateful that our Nation has had the benefit of the leadership in his field of Justice Harlan. His legacy to his fellow man cannot be measured in dollars—or words.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his widow and other members of his family.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I include an editorial and two articles from my hometown newspapers:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News,
Jan. 3, 1972]

HARLAN, CHAMPION OF RESTRAINT

On the activist Warren Court, Justice John Marshall Harlan came increasingly to be known, during the 16 years he served there, as a consistent and often lonely conservative dissenter. But "liberalism" and "conservatism" are very relative and oft-abused terms these days, and the greater truth about the late Justice Harlan is that, among any other Supreme Court colleagues and at any other time, he would have stood out as a Holmesian liberal.

He will in fact be remembered with Felix Frankfurter and Robert Jackson as one of the real pillars of an eminent line of liberal-minded jurists who stood for the Holmes doctrine of judicial restraint—and against the philosophy of judicial activism represented by another whole line of such great liberal justices as Brandeis, Black and Warren. What divided these judges was not at all a liberal-conservative cleavage or even necessarily a difference in the degree of their liberalism. It was rather a difference of fundamental belief about the Supreme Court's proper function.

Holmes put it well, if inelegantly, with his dictum a half century ago that, if the people of this country wanted to go to hell, he couldn't see anything in the Constitution to prevent it. Brandeis challenged that view even then. Militantly liberal on a court dominated by militant conservatives, he was, in the words of a biographer, "like his conservative colleagues . . . inclined by the pressures and drives of his own nature to translate his own economic and social views into the Constitution."

The same cleavage came down through the Roosevelt Court, in a fundamental conflict between the ardent activism espoused by Black and Douglas, and the stubborn judicial restraint insisted upon by Frankfurter and Jackson. Frankfurter expressed the latter doctrine eloquently in a classic dissent against a majority decision upholding a state flag-salute law. Frankfurter simply believed that any act of a legislature should be upheld if its unconstitutionality was not clear beyond reasonable doubt. "Were my personal views relevant," he wrote, "I should wholeheartedly associate myself with the general libertarian views" (of the majority opinion) but "as a member of this court, I am not justified in writing my private notions of policy into the Constitution, no matter how deeply I cherish them or how mischievous I may deem their disregard."

The same conflict went on throughout the Warren Court, with Warren joining Black and Douglas to press for an ever more activist assertion of the Court's own libertarian philosophy, while Frankfurter and Harlan argued consistently for judicial restraint—more memorably, perhaps, as the only dissenters in the first of the great legislative reapportionment decisions. After Frankfurter retired, Harlan often carried the torch of pure "judicial restraint" single-handedly. Now, though Harlan is gone, his view of the court's role is if anything magnified by the four Nixon replacements, all of whom generally share his "strict constructionist" view of the court's function.

For balance, we should now worry less therefore about having that view adequately articulated, and more about finding new-era

spokesmen for the militantly pro-Bill-of-Rights activism of Black, Douglas and Warren. The court needs the clash of both philosophies, not the total predominance of either one.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Dec. 30, 1971]

JUSTICE HARLAN DIES AT 72; FOE OF COURT'S "ACTIVIST" ROLE

WASHINGTON.—Former Supreme Court Justice John Marshall Harlan, the scholarly dissenter of the Warren court, died Wednesday three months after he retired because of cancer. He was 72.

At his bedside in George Washington University Hospital were his daughter, three sisters and his close friend, Justice Potter Stewart, who mourned Harlan as "a beloved brother and noble friend."

"... To remember him as simply a fine legal scholar is to miss the full measure of the man," Stewart said in a statement. "What truly set him apart was his character, not his scholarship. His generous and gallant spirit, his selfless courage, his freedom from all guile, his total decency—these were the qualities that gave him such singular leadership and strength."

DEATH CAUSE NOT ANNOUNCED

Harlan's death came just eight days before the swearing in of his successor, William H. Rehnquist, and Lewis F. Powell Jr., who will take the court seat vacated by the late Hugo L. Black.

The hospital did not announce a cause of death, but when Harlan retired Sept. 23, it was widely known that he was suffering from spinal cancer.

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger said Harlan's career as a lawyer and his record in public service have few equals. "His careful, thoughtful opinions... constitute a legacy to the court and through these his wise counsel will remain," Burger said.

A tall, slightly stooped man who exemplified his Princeton background, Harlan was appointed to the court in 1955 by President Dwight D. Eisenhower. He will be buried after a private funeral service Tuesday at Weston, Conn.

FLAGS AT HALF-STAFF

American flags on the Supreme Court White House and other government buildings were immediately lowered out of respect when word of Harlan's death came from the hospital.

Harlan, whose grandfather also served on the Supreme Court, had a long and consistent reputation as a dissenter who disagreed sharply with his colleagues over the "activist" role they assumed during the days of the Warren court in the 1960's.

But before he retired, Harlan saw the pendulum swinging once again toward legal conservatism as Justice Burger succeeded Earl Warren in 1969.

The scholarly New York jurist felt strongly that the Warren court tried to solve too many national problems it should never have tackled. He believed in a clean dividing line between federal and state authority—a principle he referred to as "federalism" rather than "state's rights."

SEPARATION OF POWERS

He also was acutely aware that the founding fathers distributed the power of the federal government to the legislative and executive branches as well as to the judicial—the "separation of powers" doctrine.

These two concepts "lie at the root of our constitutional system," he said. He judged every case on these principles regardless of the desirability of results for society or the individual.

Harlan took his seat on the court while the late Justice Felix Frankfurter, an apostle of "judicial restraint," was still influential.

Harlan and Frankfurter both felt the court made a serious mistake in a 1962 Tennessee

decision opening federal courts to voter complaints about the apportionment of seats in state legislatures. Harlan found no basis in the U.S. Constitution for such complaints, which he said are "of basically local concern." He later referred to the decision as "an experiment in venturesome constitutionalism."

By the time the court got around to the "one man, one vote" ruling for both houses of state legislatures on June 15, 1964, Frankfurter had been forced by illness to retire. Harlan dissented alone.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Dec. 30, 1971]

EX-HIGH COURT JUSTICE HARLAN DIES; PRAISED BY PRESIDENT AS "GIANT"

WASHINGTON, December 30.—John Marshall Harlan, 72, a Supreme Court justice who repeatedly opposed use of the legal system as the machinery for social reform, died of cancer in a Washington hospital Wednesday.

His death prompted President Nixon to call Justice Harlan "one of the 20th Century's giants on the Supreme Court."

The jurist retired Sept. 23 after 18 years on the court. More than a month earlier, he had been hospitalized for what was first described as a backache then later acknowledged to be bone cancer.

At Justice Harlan's bedside when he died were Justice Potter Stewart; Justice Harlan's daughter, Mrs. E. H. Dillingham of New York City, and three sisters. His widow, Ethel Andrews Harlan, whom he married in 1928, also survives.

Later, Justice Stewart said: "Mr. Justice Harlan was more than just a scholarly judge. He was a human being of great worth."

"For us here at the court he was more than a learned colleague. He was a beloved brother and a noble friend."

PRAISED BY CHIEF JUSTICE

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger said Justice Harlan's career as a lawyer in public service was virtually unmatched.

"His careful, thoughtful opinions covering a wide range of important constitutional questions constitute a legacy to the court and the country and through these, his wise counsel will remain with us and to future members of the court," Justice Burger said.

It was in his prolific research and legal scholarship that Justice Harlan took greatest pride, as well as continuing a family legacy in the law and on the high court.

He was the grandson and namesake of the Supreme Court justice who, in 1896, cast the only dissenting vote against establishing the racial doctrine of "separate but equal." The high court overturned the doctrine in 1954, the year before Justice Harlan was appointed by President Eisenhower.

Justice Harlan was heir to the legal thinking of the late Justice Felix Frankfurter and the ideological opposite of Justice Hugo L. Black, whose retirement ironically preceded his own by six days. Justice Black died Sept. 17, 8 days after his retirement.

DISSENT ON PENTAGON PAPERS

In his last major opinion last May, Justice Harlan joined with five other judges in rejecting attacks on the way juries apply the death penalty.

In the Pentagon papers case, he was one of three dissenters in the decision to allow the New York Times and the Washington Post to resume their articles on the once top-secret documents.

And last June, he sided with the majority in a 5-4 decision that erased a California youth's conviction for wearing in a courthouse a jacket bearing an obscene slogan.

Justice Harlan was born in Chicago. He received a Bachelor's Degree in jurisprudence from Princeton University in 1923 and a Master's Degree at Oxford. He earned his law degree from New York Law School in 1924.

While working as a corporate lawyer in New York in 1954, he was chosen a member of the U.S. Court of Appeals. The following year he went to the Supreme Court.

He served in the U.S. Air Force in World War II, reaching the rank of colonel.

ARAB TOURISM IN ISRAEL

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, despite the many problems that remain to be solved before a permanent and lasting peace is achieved in the Middle East, there are some hopeful signs. One of these is the increasingly apparent ability of Israelis and Arabs to engage in economic and social activities peacefully and even enthusiastically. I noted in my most recent visit to Israel that a great many Arabs are employed in Israeli-occupied areas, and that there is an encouraging degree of economic integration of Arabs and Israelis. The following article from the November 1971 issue of the Anti-Defamation League Bulletin contains additional evidence of this Arab-Israeli cooperation at a person-to-person level with regard to tourism:

ISRAEL'S ARAB TOURISTS

A new type of tourist, almost as unreal as a visitor from another planet, has become a familiar figure in Israel. He is the Palestinian Arab, who comes there from Jordan, Syria, Egypt and other Moslem countries inimical to Israel. He moves about the landscape—thanks to the liberal policy of the Jewish State—as freely as any tourist.

Last August, a young woman from Amman became the 100,000th such tourist. She was greeted at a special reception, presented with flowers and gifts from the Department of Tourism and cleared without the usual security checks.

The new arrivals are in the main Arabs with family ties in Israel. Not all, however. Some are there out of simple curiosity, anxious to explore a country they have heard so much about, albeit from the most dubious sources. Coming from backward and parched lands, they seek a view of the Mediterranean, the cafes and beaches of Tel Aviv, the Riviera style of Mt. Carmel, the zoo in Jerusalem. They prefer staying at hotels rather than with family. They rent automobiles, eat in restaurants, and otherwise behave in the traditional manner of sightseers.

The influx began in 1968 when people in the administered territory on the West Bank approached the military government of Israel for permission to continue the custom of summer visits from relatives living in Jordan. The Israeli authorities, in pursuit of maximum normalization, assented readily, and extended the permission to visitors from other Arab countries. To ease their path, the regulation calling for security bonds was lifted.

In 1968, 16,000 Palestinian Arabs arrived between June and September. In 1969, the number grew to 24,000. In 1970 it was 53,000. This year, the number reached 110,000. There have been no attempts reported thus far to smuggle arms or engage in sabotage.

But while the Israeli government lightened its entry requirements, the Jordanian government made things tougher for the Palestinians. It was necessary for them to obtain special permits to cross the Jordan River (an implied recognition of the Jordan as a border which has escaped notice). Also,

the Palestinian, finding it awkward to have an Israeli visa in the passport already held, usually applies for an additional one, at a cost of 6 dinars (\$17).

The Israeli government, anxious to correct the false impression many of the Palestinians have been given, leans over backwards to make the new arrivals welcome. Commercial interests are also pleased; Arab tourists bring a lot of money into the country and spend it lavishly. They occupy hotels on the West Bank and, for the first time, in the Jewish part of Jerusalem. The "Mediterranean Club" at Cesarea, welcomes Arab couples who mingle diffidently with Jewish and Christian vacationists. With genuine sightseeing curiosity, they seek out the observation tower of the Shalom, Tel Aviv's skyscraper hotel-office building, the beaches of that city, the Knesset building, and the zoo in Jerusalem.

Most Arab tourists head for the beach at Nathania. During any weekend, the Arabs represent nearly half of the thousands of bathers. Picnicking under the trees that fringe the shoreline, they would pass unnoticed in this town of Yemenite Jews, if the long "nightshirts" of the Arab bathers did not stand out conspicuously among the bikinis.

The Palestinian tourist is drawn first to the coast, "to a real sea," but he is curious to see all of Israel. The bustle and modernity of Tel Aviv amazes him—he had heard from Cairo broadcasts in 1967 that it had been razed to the ground by Egyptian bombers. He learns with surprise that Israel has industry, is amazed when his factory guide turns out to be an Arab worker, and is further amazed to learn that Arab and Israeli workers receive equal treatment.

He is impressed by his freedom to enter the halls of the Knesset. I am not permitted to enter the Parliament Building in Cairo," a student from Egypt observed. He asks to see the map showing Israel's expansionist plans and looks bewildered when he is told there is none.

Almost all of the visitors discover that they are treated better in Israel than in Arab countries. This is not to say that the Palestinian tourist has become a convert to the Israeli cause. His statements reveal a hatred of the Israeli conquerors and expansionists," but his animosity is gradually diluted by envy and the realization that he has been lied to. He goes home filled with the realities of Israel, so much so that the Arab press fulminates about the Israelis "brainwashing" the visitors. But the Arab governments do nothing about stopping the tourist traffic. To do so would enrage the Palestinians.

Israeli guides accompanying the Palestinian visitors report a few isolated instances of "ugly Israelis" booing visitors. On the whole, however, the attitude of the Israelis who learn the identity of the tourists is one of incredulity at first and eventual good-natured acceptance.

I was in Nathania in mid-August when Moshe Dayan came to pay the Palestinian tourists a visit, accompanied by 65-year-old Ben Ami, the mayor and founder of the town. Dayan's eye-patch made him easily identifiable, even if he had not had with him a retinue of aides-de-camp, Journalists and cameramen. He was greeted by cheers and shouts of "Yalch" (long live) Moussa (Moshe). He sought out Arab groups, and what ensued was mutual discovery without patronizing attitudes or complaisance. The "Zionist monster" was in fine fettle under the tamarinds, quoting Arab proverbs in profusion, and visibly amazing and enrapturing his audiences.

To the Palestinians, middle class for the most part, and politically conscious, Dayan was a revelation. There were some astonishing dialogues. One learned from them that even for "better class" Palestinians, life in their own diaspora was a bitter grind. Whether they

lived in Libya, on the Persian Gulf, or in Saudi Arabia, they were treated as second-class citizens. They could not own a house or land; could not own a business or open a store without a native as partner, to whom they had to pay half of the income even though he had not invested any money or given the business any time.

The visitors also revealed some amazing and flavorful misunderstandings about Israel. A medical student from Beirut, whose visit to Israel was his third, proclaimed that he had "penetrated the secret of the victories of the Jewish State over the Arabs."

"Your soldiers," he said, "come from the kibbutzim, where all things are held in common." Women, too, he claimed were common property, and therefore there was "nothing so courageous about soldiers' willingness to die in battle when they were born as illegitimate children and had no real family or parents to mourn them."

Others, however, displayed a more delicate understanding of the realities of Israel; some, indeed, sought permission to settle in Israel permanently. A young architect told me: "I have the impression that despite the frustrations which I might experience living in a country at war with my own life here, professionally and socially, would be far richer."

Another Palestinian, from Amman, was even more explicit without uttering a word. He drew from his pocket a Jordanian bill worth twenty dinars, unfolded it, and carefully and ceremoniously showed us the engraved portrait of Hussein. And then he vigorously spat on the Hashemite sovereign's image.

THE COLUMBIA, ALA., DAM SHOULD BEAR THE NAME OF GEORGE W. ANDREWS

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 18, 1972

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am joining forces with the Alabama delegation and with other interested Members in seeking to have the Columbia, Ala., lock and dam on the Chattahoochee River, a part of the great Chattahoochee-Flint-Apalachicola waterway system renamed the "George W. Andrews Lock and Dam." Congressman Andrews, who died on Christmas Day during convalescence from a coronary operation, was one of Alabama's most distinguished sons and a very able and dedicated Congressman. He came to Congress very soon after I did and we quickly formed a warm and close friendship and we worked constantly together on matters of mutual interest to our respective States and to our Nation. He was one of the most outspoken in Congress for a strong national defense, for improvements to our Nation's waterways and ports, and for economy in Government. I recall very well the contributions he made to the great waterway system of which the Columbia Dam is a part, and it was he more than any other person who made possible the construction of the dam at Columbia. I remarked at the time of the dedication that it should bear the name of George Andrews, and I am glad again to join in the proposal that this designation be made as a further token of respect and appreciation for the efforts and achievements of Mr. Andrews.

VETERANS AIDE STRICKEN

HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, it was with great sadness that I learned of the death of Melvin T. Dixon, director of the Florida State Division of Veterans Affairs for the past 4 years. Mr. Dixon passed away on Friday, January 7, stricken by a heart attack. He was 54 years old.

Mr. Dixon moved with his family to Dunedin, Fla., in 1945 and became the assistant State service officer 1 year later. Since his taking over the position of director in 1948, the veterans in my State have benefited greatly from his wise counsel and unselfish service. He was honored by President Johnson by being appointed to the U.S. Veterans Advisory Commission and served in this position from 1967 to 1968.

Melvin Dixon was a great man. He was loved by the veterans he represented in Florida, and was nationally respected for his veterans service work. Surely his death is a great loss, not only to his family, but also to those he served so well.

THE SPIRIT OF CHRISTMAS SEEMS A LITTLE OFF KEY

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 19, 1972

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, during the Christmas holiday just past, the following commentary about the meaning of the season appeared in the Louisville Times, one of the principal newspapers in my district.

It originally was published in the Waggner High School Chit-Chat, the newspaper of a neighboring school. It was written by Miss Lauren LaMay and was accompanied by a fine illustration drawn by Mr. Don Wrege.

I think it serves as a valuable reminder to all of us who find ourselves, each year, caught up in the commercial aspects of the Christmas rite. And I think it is most encouraging that it is our younger generation who are speaking out about the real meaning of Christmas.

I include the following message, entitled "The Spirit of Christmas Seems a Little Off Key," to be reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE SPIRIT OF CHRISTMAS SEEMS A LITTLE OFF KEY

(By Lauren LaMay)

What Child is this, who laid to rest
Where's the Scotch Tape?

On Mary's lap is sleeping
That'll be ten dollars please.

Whom angels greet with anthems sweet—
Careful! Those ornaments are fragile!

While shepherds watch are keeping—
Oh no! The cookies are burned.

Why lies He in such mean estate—
Will you gift-wrap this, please?
Where ox and ass are feeding—
I need some more stamps.
Good Christmas, fears for sinners here—
I suppose she'll expect a present from me.
The silent word is pleading—
I can't afford much; I'm broke.

So bring Him incense, gold, and myrrh—
Artificial trees are more practical.
Come peasant, king, to own Him—
I gave at the office.
This, this is Christ the King—
These cards must have cost a lot.
Whom shepherds guard and angels sing—
I've finally got my cards mailed.

Haste, haste to bring Him laud—
The turkey won't fit in the oven.
The Babe, the Son of Mary . . .
There's a song in the air—
Can you hear it?
There's a star in the sky—
Can you see it?

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, January 20, 1972

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.
The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord.—Psalm 33: 12.

God of peace and power, Maker and Ruler of men, we commend our country to Thee praying that we and all our people may walk in the way of Thy wisdom and be led by the light of Thy love. May all who govern do so in honesty of spirit and with uprightness of heart. Keep them ever awake to the appeal of truth and justice and have the courage to place patriotism above party and the good of all above the good of the few.

Bless our President as he speaks to us today. May he inspire us to be courageous and compassionate as we seek to meet the needs of our Nation and our world. Keep ever before us all a vision of the truth and a deep sense of the demands of righteousness that our country may be guided by wise principles and be lifted to higher ideals and nobler achievements.

In the spirit of Him whose life is the light of men we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

RECESS

The SPEAKER. The Chair declares a recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 1 minute p.m.) the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker at 12 o'clock and 16 minutes p.m.

JOINT SESSION OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE HELD PURSUANT TO THE PROVISIONS OF HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 499 TO HEAR AN ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER of the House presided.

The Doorkeeper, the Honorable William M. Miller, announced the Vice President and Members of the U.S. Senate

who entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, the Vice President taking the chair at the right of the Speaker, and Members of the Senate the seats reserved for them.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the committee on the part of the House to escort the President of the United States into the Chamber the gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. Boggs; the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. O'NEILL; the gentleman from Texas, Mr. TEAGUE; the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. GERALD R. FORD; and the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. ARENDT.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Pursuant to the order of the Senate, the following Senators are appointed to escort the President of the United States into the Chamber: the Senator from Louisiana, Mr. ELLENDER; the Senator from Montana, Mr. MANSFIELD; the Senator from West Virginia, Mr. BYRD; the Senator from Arkansas, Mr. McCLELLAN; the Senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. SCOTT; the Senator from Michigan, Mr. GRIFFIN; the Senator from Maine, Mrs. SMITH; and the Senator from Vermont, Mr. AIKEN.

The Doorkeeper announced the ambassadors, ministers, and chargés d'affaires of foreign governments.

The ambassadors, ministers, and chargés d'affaires of foreign governments entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them.

The Doorkeeper announced the Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court.

The Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

The Doorkeeper announced the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

The members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

At 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p.m., the Doorkeeper announced the President of the United States.

The President of the United States, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, and stood at the Clerk's desk.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

The SPEAKER. My colleagues of the Congress, I have the distinct privilege and the high personal honor of presenting to you the President of the United States.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

THE STATE OF THE UNION—ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 92-201)

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, my colleagues in the Congress, our distinguished guests and my fellow Americans:

Twenty-five years ago I sat here as a freshman Congressman—along with Speaker ALBERT—and listened for the first time to the President address the State of the Union.

I shall never forget that moment. The Senate, the diplomatic corps, the Supreme Court, the Cabinet entered the Chamber, and then the President of the United States. As all of you are aware, I had some differences with President Truman; he had some with me. But I remember that on that day, the day he addressed that joint session of the newly elected Republican 80th Congress, he spoke not as a partisan but as President of all the people—calling upon the Congress to put aside partisan considerations in the national interest.

The Greek-Turkish aid program, the Marshall plan, the great foreign policy initiatives which have been responsible for avoiding a world war for over 25 years were approved by the 80th Congress, by a bipartisan majority of which I was proud to be a part.

Nineteen hundred seventy-two is now before us. It holds precious time in which to accomplish good for the Nation. We must not waste it. I know the political pressures in this session of the Congress will be great. There are more candidates for the Presidency in this Chamber today than there probably have been at any one time in the whole history of the Republic. And there is an honest difference of opinion, not only between the parties but within each party on some foreign policy issues and on some domestic policy issues.

However, there are great national problems that are so vital that they transcend partisanship. So let us have our debates. Let us have our honest differences. But let us join in keeping the national interest first. Let us join in making sure that legislation the Nation needs does not become hostage to the political interests of any party or any person.

There is ample precedent, in this election year, for me to present you with a huge list of new proposals, knowing full well that there would not be any possibility of your passing them if you worked night and day.

I shall not do that.

I have presented to the leaders of the