

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H. Con. Res. 505. Resolution to relieve the suppression of Soviet Jewry; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WYMAN:

H. Res. 775. Resolution amending the Rules of the House of Representatives to expedite the enactment of general appropriation measures, to facilitate the making of appro-

priations for subsequent fiscal years, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. BENNETT:

H.R. 12638. A bill for the relief of Sgt. Gary L. Rivers, U.S. Marine Corps, retired; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BINGHAM:

H.R. 12639. A bill for the relief of Joyce Learmond Ramsey; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

COMMENDATION FOR EDICT

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to share with my colleagues in the House a most revealing article from the Long Beach Press Telegram's Southland Sunday magazine. The article appeared on December 19, 1971, and describes in some detail the activities of a group of former aerospace scientists and engineers who are dedicating their training and talents to the cause of a clean environment.

Many have spoken of the need to transfer our scientific emphasis from space flight to pollution control. These men in EDICT are doing it. I have been in close touch with EDICT since its inception and I can vouch for the value of the program.

I hope that my colleagues, after reading this article, will not only applaud EDICT's efforts but will work with me in finding ways to assist them:

MOON SHOT MANAGERS WITH A PLAN FOR EARTH

(By Don Roberge)

During one sweltering week in August:

Two young scuba divers prowled the ocean floor off the Huntington Beach sewer outfall, meticulously recording the marine life within a 10-meter grid of white ropes.

A millionaire Orange County land developer and a scientist urged fish cannery and government officials to convert an old Navy ship into a sewage reclamation plant in Los Angeles harbor, the heart of the plan being a system the scientist invented for converting astronauts' sewage into drinking water.

An earnest, bespectacled corporation management specialist pleaded with congressmen for a program to convert defense and space industry skills into new kinds of treatment for the social sores that fester in virtually every American community.

These busy people with the diverse backgrounds have one trait in common: their willingness to labor unpaid for EDICT, probably the most imaginative ecology organization in the United States.

EDICT, with 3,000 members in 12 states, was founded only a year ago in Huntington Beach by aerospace engineers and scientists who believe the technical and management brilliance that put man on the moon can clean up the nation's air and water in a decade. They are determined to make it happen.

The name, chosen with the aerospace penchant for jaw-breaking acronyms, stands for Ecology Development, Implementation and Commitment Team.

Unlike most ecology groups, EDICT doesn't rely on petitions, demonstrations and lobbying. It seeks technical solutions to environmental problems. In short, EDICT's business

is proposing not *opposing*. The atmosphere in the organization's national headquarters, a farmhouse on the Golden West College campus, fairly crackles with the kind of way-out, think-tank ideas that have solved America's knottiest technical problems.

When it was organized in October 1970, EDICT reasoned that the pollution problem is so vast that only the people who put men on the moon and devised the world's most deadly ballistic missile arsenal have ever encountered anything approaching such magnitude and complexity. The aerospace industry has the know-how, and thousands of its skilled people are unemployed—a vast reservoir of experience and ingenuity lying idle while the nation moves ever closer to perishing in its own wastes.

EDICT's answers are based on traditional aerospace thinking. Congress should appropriate \$100 million immediately for a definition of the whole pollution problem. After a competition among the nation's high technology companies, three firms would be selected to share the \$100 million. After a year of defining the problem and identifying the myriad tasks necessary for its solution, the nation would be ready for a \$100 billion, 10-year effort to conquer pollution. But some government agency, preferably the National Aeronautics and Space Agency, would have to carry the initial proposal to Congress.

EDICT's men ran head-on into a caliber of resistance they hadn't encountered since the sonic barrier was broken. NASA's eyes were on the moon, Mars and the space shuttle. The priorities and the budgets were already established, and spaceship Earth would have to wait. The answer was a flat NO. EDICT's president, Charles L. Stone of Huntington Beach, then took the idea to the new Environmental Protection Agency. EPA said it lacked the charter to sponsor such a vast technical program, but would be interested in EDICT's ideas for smaller environmental projects—a piecemeal approach contrary to EDICT's plan.

Sympathetic government officials privately advised Stone his volunteers would have to carry the fight to Congress without any federal help. He went back to Huntington Beach to pick up the pieces of EDICT's dream, take stock of the bitter lessons it had learned and start over.

Bitter Lesson Number One: what EDICT had to offer was brains and a plan, but the plan would have to wait. There would be no massive, coordinated environmental program until Congress was ready to appropriate the money, and Congress would not move until there was a clear-cut national commitment. Until then, EDICT's job would be to survive and to demonstrate that its methods would work. The crucial item would be survival, and that would mean money to pay its operating expenses and to keep hammering its message at government.

The answer: hire out EDICT's brains; go after the bits and pieces of money that had been appropriated on every level of government and donated by private foundations in the nation's aimless search for a cleaner environment.

Bitter Lesson Number Two: government agencies have their own vested interests and can't be relied on to light for a program like EDICT's until the bandwagon starts rolling.

"Besides," Stone observed, "some of the biggest polluters are government facilities."

EDICT's answer: government should form a nonprofit corporation to oversee the environmental program. It could be modeled after the new postal service or the Aerospace Corporation that was formed to oversee Air Force technology. The main difference would be that the ecology corporations' goal would be to work itself out of a job by solving the problems that led to its creation.

EDICT went into action. It formed proposal teams to go after think-tank business and established itself as a nonprofit corporation.

The organization's ideas caught hold among aerospace industry personnel and spread from a nucleus in the North American Rockwell space division plants in Downey and Seal Beach and the McDonnell Douglas Astronautics Co. in Huntington Beach.

EDICT teams began to pop up in places where local governments and industry were wrestling with pollution problems such as disposal of fish cannery wastes on Terminal Island, accurate assessment of sewer outfall effects on marine life and better and less costly sewage treatment. Unencumbered by traditional approaches and trained to look beyond the obvious, the teams came up with unorthodox ideas that first jolted, then intrigued civil engineers and local officials, who invited them to submit proposals that could lead to hard cash for engineering studies. EPA, the National Science Foundation and others began to listen. Congressmen and state legislators became aware of EDICT.

Then, while EDICT was taking aim at these small targets, the big one loomed. Rep. Robert N. Giaimo, D-Conn., authored H.R. 34, the Conversion Research and Education Act of 1971, and a subcommittee of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics scheduled hearings. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy introduced a similar bill, S32, in the Senate.

The House measure calls for unemployed aerospace scientists and engineers to spend \$185 million over three years to find ways to use defense and space technology against pollution, unemployment, drug abuse, crime and substandard housing and education.

Although the conversion studies would involve many problems besides pollution, Stone believes this is right in line with the systems approach that the aerospace industry pioneered. "All elements of the environment must work in harmony, therefore it's a systems problem," he said. "Air and water pollution are only symptoms of underlying social and political problems."

This is the heart of EDICT's approach—treating everything as a system with inter-related parts. Systems engineering defines all aspects of a massive project and coordinates all the plans that bring designs, manpower, materials, equipment and data together from thousands of sources—on time, in the proper order and ready to fit together. Without it, man would never have reached the moon. And EDICT believes it is the key to cleaning up the environment.

One of EDICT's most active recruits is Bruce Swartout, wealthy Capistrano Valley land developer. Swartout is convinced future growth will be stymied unless Southern California can find new solutions for its water

and sewage problems. He has been studying the problems and consulting technical experts for years, and he can call forth almost endless statistics from a steel-trap mind. He heads an EDICT water pollution committee that responded to a distress call from Assemblyman Vincent Thomas of San Pedro.

Thomas introduced the committee to the Tuna Fish Research Foundation which was trying to solve the problem of where and how to dispose of the wastes from the island's seven fish canneries. The Regional Water Quality Board had served notice on the canneries to stop dumping fish wastes into the harbor.

The hour was already late for EDICT. The foundation had spent \$280,000 for an engineering study which recommended a conventional approach, tying into a city of Los Angeles treatment plant and outfall. This would cost \$12 million, but would only postpone the inevitable environmental crisis. The partially treated sewage would simply be added to the millions of gallons being dumped into the ocean each day.

EDICT had a different answer: recycle the cannery sewage. Purify the water and use it over and over. The idea wasn't new; the community of South Lake Tahoe recycles its sewage and pumps the reclaimed water into a new recreational lake. But EDICT looked at the problem as aerospace engineers are trained to do—in terms of a total system—and its ideas went far beyond anything sanitation engineers have yet encountered.

EDICT suggested creating two closed loops, one for recycling the purified water and the other for treating and using the solids. The treated solids could be used as nutrients in an aquaculture system to raise salmon which would keep the canneries at full operation between catches. The aquaculture wastes would also be recycled.

The Terminal Island system concept is mostly the work of Gerald Keller, a former Northrop Corporation engineer, but the heart of the proposed system is based on the work of EDICT member Jack Bitterly, formerly a Marquardt Corporation scientist who worked on the Apollo spacesuits and helped devise the first mechanical heart. Bitterly devised a method for turning astronauts' sewage into pure drinking water using a minimum of equipment and very low power. The system was to have been used for a one-year Apollo manned voyage to Mars, which was canceled.

Bitterly's approach uses heat to vaporize the water from sewage, but does so in a vacuum. The vapor is compressed and then condensed into water in such a way that the heat is returned to the boiler and reused. The heat loss is 2 degrees Fahrenheit, so the power required to run the system is negligible. In a test, the total residue from an astronaut for six weeks was dried material weighing a few ounces. The astronaut had consumed all the rest over and over again. What he drank was purer than commercially distilled water.

Re-enter Keller. The Bitterly system, he reasoned, would need tanks, boilers, motors, space and shelter. Where could he find all of them cheaply? The answer: pull a surplus Navy tanker out of mothballs and put the system aboard it. Not only could the ship be used in a pilot recycling system for Terminal Island; it also would be an ideal mobile plant to sail into a disaster area, such as the wake of a hurricane where the water of coastal towns might be contaminated. He believes the system could also be used to clean up oil spills.

All of this, of course, is a combination of ideas, theory and laboratory work. It has never been tried in actual operation. EDICT estimates that its feasibility will have to be studied by a "three-to-five-man engineering team for nine months to a year. The non-profit cost would be about \$100,000. Where to get the money? The tuna canneries are in-

terested, but unwilling to risk that much. EDICT turned to the Environmental Protection Agency. Under the law which created it, EPA can fund up to 95 per cent of public environmental projects and 70 per cent of an industrial project if the public and the environment will benefit. The catch is that EDICT's proposal also requires approval of the State Water Resources Board before EPA will consider it.

And so it was that Swartout, Bitterly and Keller were briefing EPA regional officials in San Francisco one day during that broiling August week. They must still give presentations to the state water officials in Sacramento and to an upper EPA echelon in Cincinnati, Ohio. While Swartout, Keller and Bitterly were campaigning for systems to clean up or eliminate outfalls, two young scuba divers were gathering ammunition for the battle—and setting up a source of vital revenue for EDICT.

The divers are Jerry Jackson, 21, and Russ Brown, 19, civil and environmental engineering students from the University of California at Irvine. Both are EDICT members.

Jackson and Brown dive off the outfalls, using a cabin cruiser lent by Swartout. They don't collect marine life; instead they count specimens in the exact pattern in which they occur.

Organisms too small to count undersea are taken in water samples which are frozen immediately with dry ice so that the tiny phytoplankton don't eat the even tinier organisms and thus alter the sample while it awaits laboratory analysis.

The young divers are part of a team which consists of a project manager, a lab assistant and a computer. They are negotiating with UCI for computer time.

The revenue for EDICT? This team is for hire, and the city of Huntington Beach is considering employing it on a part-time basis. Huntington Beach wants to know exactly how partially treated sewage from the Orange County Sanitation District outfall is affecting the city's prime resource, the ocean. The team members have pledged their salaries to EDICT.

Other proposals in the EDICT works include:

A plan for community colleges to train paraprofessionals for environmental work.

A telephone communication system for the deaf, using visual display of voice waves. This proposal is expected to be submitted to the Hartford Foundation, a medical research organization.

And a proposal to the National Science Foundation for funds to conduct a "system of life" study involving a breakdown of the interrelationships of all forms of life—an essential step in a systems approach to ecology.

THE DRUG PROBLEM

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, recently I cosponsored H.R. 11927, which is designed to promote research and development of drugs or chemical compounds for use in the cure, prevention, or treatment of heroin addiction. Heroin addiction is more common in urban centers; however, recent evidence indicates that the problem is serious in suburban and rural areas. I would like to share with my colleagues an article on this subject published in the Morning Herald of Hagerstown, Md. The article follows:

WARNINGS IGNORED

Area young people apparently are ignoring the warnings of doctors and pleadings of their elders in the use and abuse of drugs.

Actual statistics are not available, but the consensus of a panel of eight who spoke out at the invitation of James Reagan, Western Maryland Coordinator of the Maryland Drug Abuse Administration, is that about 6,000 school and college age people in Washington County use drugs illegally.

It's the old story that youngsters have to find out for themselves. Several decades ago high school students were warned of the dangers of cigarette smoking. They ignored the lectures and went on puffing as usual; or worse, those who never smoked decided they'd try.

One of the panelists noted that youngsters today get the same kind of thrill out of taking illegal drugs as an earlier generation which put beer and liquor consumption to the test.

While opinions differ on the dangers of marijuana, there's little argument that the more potent drugs are really devastating.

Witness a rundown on experiences in Frederick County:

A young man convicted of attempting to murder an old woman during a burglary. He had a \$35 a day heroin habit.

Two young men pilfered checks from mailboxes to finance a \$50 a day heroin habit.

A shoplifter needed \$40 a day to purchase heroin.

These are actual court cases. They leave little doubt about drug dangers. But all too often sermons and medical advice fall on deaf ears. Then it's too late.

WHERE'S MY MOMMY TONIGHT?

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. David Gimbel, of my congressional district, is a poet of note in our community and has written many poems over many years. In spite of perhaps more than his share of personal tragedy, he remains kind, tender, and brave. All these qualities are reflected in his poems, one of which written for his retarded daughter on the recent death of her mother.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I include Mr. Gimbel's poem:

WHERE'S MY MOMMY TONIGHT?

(By David Gimbel)

"Daddy dear, please tell me where's my mommy tonight?"

I hugged and kissed my retarded child with a face so sweet and bright.

I began to search my aching heart, but no matter how I tried

I just could not find the proper words; but finally I replied:

"Your mommy was taken away but left us both her love,

And now she's with the Angels in heaven up above.

It seems like only yesterday when Mommy brought you home.

But you still have your daddy, dear, so you'll never be alone.

"She filled each room with sunlight, and the darkness would disappear.

And made each blessed moment so wonderful and dear.

Your mommy was something special, a person truly rare.

Who gave so much to everyone with such
tenderness and care.

"No matter how rough the going was
throughout those early years
Your mommy was always near to wipe away
those tears.

She would sing to you your favorite songs
and the hours just danced away;
It filled the time with endless joy—each and
every day.

"But suddenly darkness descended like night
upon the day,
And an Angel came from heaven and took
your mommy away.
My precious dreams just crumbled and sor-
row filled the air,
For we lost a jewel of beauty, with which
none can compare."

Oh, Lord, dear God, give me strength that
I may find my way
From the turbulence of this storm; I beg
thee and I pray.

"And now, dear child, 'tis time for bed so, as
always, say your prayer,
For standing by your bedside, your mommy
is always there."

THE NEW ERA IN UNITED STATES- CHINA RELATIONS

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, the Sep-
tember 1971 issue of East Europe maga-
zine contains an insightful article by
Mr. Laurence W. Levine on our Nation's
relations with China.

Mr. Levine's article, "The New Era in
United States-China Relations," is the
second of three articles that appeared
in East Europe magazine. The first ar-
ticle, "The Prospects of United States-
China Trade," which appeared in the
June issue and was discussed by C. L.
Sulzberger in the New York Times, dis-
cussed the need for a trade mission to
break the ice between the two countries
and discussed Mr. Levine's talks with
Chinese representatives in the summer
of 1969 about this.

It is particularly interesting because
it discusses his conversation in London
in 1969 with the Chinese representatives
about how President Nixon was the man
that could initiate these talks, whereas
a Democratic President probably could
not, and his first article appeared 2
months before President Nixon made his
announcement.

This second article, "The New Era
in the United States-China Relations,"
after tracing the historical relations of
China with England, the United States,
the Soviet Union, and Japan, covers one
of the most fascinating and least under-
stood periods of American-Chinese rela-
tions—the period during and after
World War II.

Mr. Levine, who has had access to
the State Department and Patrick J.
Hurley papers, and the papers of many
other people, shows how the advice of
the U.S. Foreign Service officers in
China, at the time of 1940-45, were ig-
nored and how Patrick J. Hurley, the
special envoy of President Roosevelt,

refused to pass on at least two requests
of Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung to
visit the United States and the United
Nations meeting in April 1945.

It also shows how Chiang Kai-shek,
who had promised both Mr. Hurley and
General Marshall, Hurley's successor in
China, that he would attempt to form
a coalition government in China with the
Communists, promptly sabotaged all ef-
forts to do so—when each of those men
returned home for consultation. Chiang
used his well-paid China lobby in Wash-
ington to sabotage all efforts at coalition
government.

The article shows in detail how the
U.S. Government attempted to cause a
coalition government in China after
World War II and how Chiang refused
to do so.

Mr. Levine believes that the Korean
and Vietnam wars were caused by
careful design of the Soviet Union and
not China—and that Russia's intent was
to keep China busy and her troops sta-
tioned in the west, rather than the east
near Russia.

Mr. Levine, after finishing the history,
suggests a five-point plan for making sure
that we do not make a mess of China
policy again. One point is the formation
of special subcommittees of various com-
mittees of Congress devoted exclusively
to China.

He suggests that we made a terrible
mistake in China during World War II—
that our primary goal in World War II
was to beat Japan and that Chiang was
the best man to lead a coalition to do it;
our second goal was to see China, after
the war, united under a coalition govern-
ment. Instead of point two—a coalition
government—we backed Chiang Kai-
shek with all the consequent tragedy.

The articles make reference to the
role President Truman, General Mar-
shall, Patrick J. Hurley, President Nixon,
Dean Acheson, John F. Dulles, Winston
Churchill, Clement Attlee, and our pres-
ent problems with Japan, and deal with
a good deal of practical commonsense
issues in politics and trade.

I commend Mr. Levine's article to the
attention of my colleagues:

THE NEW ERA IN UNITED STATES-CHINA
RELATIONS

(By Laurence W. Levine)

(NOTE.—This is the second of a series of
three articles on United States and China.
The first appeared in the June issue of East
Europe and the third will appear in our
next issue. The author, Laurence W. Levine,
formerly a Fellow in the Harvard Defense
Studies Program, is a long-time student of
Chinese affairs. He is a partner in Walsh and
Levine, a law firm specializing in interna-
tional trade.)

The China trade was opened to the West
with the signing of the Treaty of Nanking
in 1842. Prior to that time only Canton was
open to Western traders and trade was limited
to the ships being allowed to enter during
a few months a year. Families were not per-
mitted and travel was restricted to a few
special gardens. All communication was
through the Co-Lung, the guild of Mer-
chants.

This changed after 1842 as a result of the
Treaty of Nanking which resulted from a
war between England and China—the "First
Opium War" (1839-42).

Tea had comprised 50 per cent of Chinese
exports and over 14,000 tons were shipped

annually to England and 6,000 tons to the
United States. The Americans exchanged furs
and cotton for tea. The British had to pay
in India and by 1839 China was buying 200
tons, or 30,000 chests, of opium a year. China
had prohibited the importation of opium and
the ancient law was finally enforced by
Viceroy Lin when he seized 20,000 chests of
opium at Canton and destroyed them. Brit-
ain refused to sign a treaty in regard to
opium and China refused to pay for the
destroyed opium. The Chinese demanded that
Britain turn over the sailors who had killed
some Chinese in the fracas. England re-
fused.

The Chinese sent junks to destroy the war-
ships and the British opened fire. The British
sailed up the Yangtze and appeared at Nan-
king. That ended the war.

The Treaty of Nanking ending the war es-
tablished the principle of extraterritoriality
and British, American and French subjects
were tried in their own courts with their own
consuls as judges. The treaty also opened
five treaty ports in China and ceded the is-
land of Hong Kong to England. Thus began
the dismemberment of China.

SECOND OPIUM WAR, 1856-60

A second opium war occurred from 1856-
60. This time the British complained that
their flag was insulted and the French com-
plained that a missionary had been killed,
although the primary reason for the war
was the refusal of the Emperor at Peking
to talk with the Westerners.

The "Second Treaty Settlement" of 1860
resulting from this war provided not for
five, but ten foreign ports, the right to send
ambassadors to China, and the setting up
of a Chinese Foreign Office. The treaties were
with the United States, England, France and
Russia, which received in addition a strip
of land on the Amur River. For the next
thirty-four years China, with the exception
of civil wars and a few skirmishes with the
English and French, prospered.

FORMOSA GIVEN TO JAPAN

In 1894 China fought a war with Japan.
The Chinese had not looked with favor on
the Japanese organizing in Korea what the
Westerners had set up in China, namely,
free ports, extraterritoriality, etc. In 1885
Chinese troops were sent to help rescue the
King and Queen of Korea, who had been
kidnaped in a civil war. As a result, China
almost came to blows with Japan, and ten
years later actually did go to war. The
Japanese won a quick victory over China
in 1895. Japan forced the Chinese out of
Korea across the Yalu River. The Treaty of
Shimonoseki between China and Japan was
signed in 1895.

The Chinese ceded the Liaotung Penin-
sula to Japan as well as the Pescadores
Islands and Formosa, and agreed to recog-
nize a free Korea and also to give Japan
free ports in China. In effect, Korea became
a satellite of Japan. Russia did not want
Japan to get the Liaotung Peninsula and
since France and Russia were bound by a
treaty, as was Germany, all three warned
Japan there would be a war if she took that
peninsula. Japan decided it back to China—
for a price. But Japan had primary rights
in Korea and Japan never forgot what Rus-
sia did to help China and hurt Japan. Japan
kept Formosa—but she was furious.

China's weakness in the war with Japan
in 1895 pulled the mask from the remark-
able efforts of Li Hung-chung, her foreign
minister, who had convinced the world that
China from 1860-1895 was a strong country.

THE EUROPEANS SWARM IN

After 1895, all the European nations
swarmed into China without resistance; even
the Italians decided they wanted a Chinese
port, but the Chinese turned them down.
France came first and demanded an enlarge-
ment of her colony at Annam. Russia was

next. In 1860 Russia had obtained the Maritime Province from China (the Capital is Vladivostok).

As noted above, under the Treaty of Shimonoeki in 1895, Japan had been given the Leatung Peninsula. But France and Russia intervened with Germany and forced Japan to give it back to China. This was not a gift by Russia to China. The Czar had made his deal with China in exchange for an agreement by China for the construction of a railroad across Manchuria. This saved Russia the heavy expense of going North through Russian territory to Vladivostok. The road, called the Chinese Eastern Railroad, was a joint effort of Russia and China. China had the option of buying the road in thirty-six years or it would revert to China in eighty years. It looked like a good deal for China—until one read the fine print.

In 1898 Germany, on the pretext of protecting her priests, occupied Kiaochow Bay and took a ninety-nine year lease. England and France extended their holdings also.

A group of Chinese Boxers, disgusted by the land and assisted by the Dowager Empress, revolted and took the warpath in a manner similar to the American Indians when their lands were taken from them by the white man. They captured Peking and killed the German Ambassador, among others, bringing in an international army, under a German General, which marched on Peking. Another humiliating peace was imposed on the Chinese, including the stationing of foreign troops in Peking.

Russia had also been moving into Korea on a large scale, getting timber and mining concessions and training the Korean army. Russia later trained the Chinese Army of Chiang Kai-shek.

Japan, which had not forgotten the Russian intervention in the Peace of 1895 and did not mind if Russia took Manchuria from China, wanted Korea for herself. She had fought the Chinese for it. She liked the trade. She realized that the Trans-Siberian Railroad was not finished and Russia would have a hard time getting troops to the East. She wanted no more strong Russian intervention.

In February 1904, Japan, in a preview of Pearl Harbor, struck the Russian fleet at Vladivostok and Port Arthur without warning. The Russian Navy looked good on paper but it had trouble at sea.

Who stopped this war? President Theodore Roosevelt invited the parties to discuss peace and in 1905 the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed.

In retrospect, the world witnessed European colonization of China from 1842-1900: a Chinese-Japanese war in 1894 over Korea, with China having to give up more land—Formosa—and giving Russia land for a railroad in return for Russia forcing Japan to return the Liaotung Peninsula.

Then Russia and Japan fought over Korea, which Japan considered her sphere of influence, resulting in the Portsmouth Treaty; a revolt by some Chinese over Western domination and China's losing this Boxer War, and Western nations taking additional control of China. All of this happened in less than fifty years. Historically, China has much to fear from Japan and Russia and has hate of the Western powers who carved her up. The U.S. had no part in this.

We would do well to remember that.

The result of the Russia-Japanese War in 1905 was that Japan took over the administration of Manchuria from Russia (even though it was really Chinese land).

China from 1842 to the First World War was, as we can see, not mistress of her own home. The various treaties China was forced to sign deprived China of her sovereignty. Her tariffs and her public loans were in Western hands, guaranteed by Chinese taxes to Western banks. Shanghai, Canton, Tientsin, Hankow were foreign-run cities. Spheres of influence were carved out with Britain, Germany and France.

A revolutionary movement headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a Chinese physician educated in Hawaii, was launched. In 1912 he became President of China. This government did not last long. China was not ready for a Republic and civil war broke out.

From 1912, when he became President, Dr. Sun was involved in a civil war. He resigned in favor of Yuan Shi-kai who, when the Parliament would not confirm his nominees or a foreign loan, threw out the Parliament. In 1915 Yuan reestablished the Empire which again led to civil war and Japan's control of China.

When World War I broke out Japan took over the German colony at Kiauchow and presented an ultimatum to China. The Japanese refer to this as a Treaty but it is clear that it was an ultimatum of twenty-one demands whereby China accepted Japanese military and economic advisers and ceded to Japan all German and Russian concessions, including Manchuria. During this period Dr. Sun Yat-sen had founded the Kuomintang Party (Southern Nationalists) and wrote a book entitled *Three Principles of the People* laying the foundation for a new China in "nationalism, democracy and social welfare." The Chinese, he said, should learn the art of government from the West but be proud of their own past. Dr. Sun was revered as the founder of Chinese nationalism when he died in 1925.

CHIANG, MAO AND CHOU EN-LAI ON THE SCENE

China could not forever remain calm while foreign troops ran their cities, foreign gunboats patrolled their inland rivers, foreign officials ran their post office, and universities, customs, and tax systems while Chinese suffered in squalor, poverty and filth, and witnessed the world's major loss in newly-born children. Revolt was inherent in such a situation. The Chinese Communist Party was already in control of a share of China.

The Russians had also experimented with warlords. They were dealing with Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang in Canton and they were dealing with the recognized Chinese government in Peking. The Soviets decided to back Sun Yat-sen and in 1923 they sent Michael Borodin to reside with Sun Yat-sen. The Soviets also supported a third movement in China—the Communist Party which had been organized in the 1920's. Stalin ordered the Communists to join the Kuomintang and to take it over. This was a very difficult task. When Sun Yat-sen died in 1925 the Russian advisers were in control and the organization was run on Moscow time. A promising young Chinese officer, Chiang Kai-shek, was chosen by the Russians to go to Moscow for training and sent back to Canton to found and head China's West Point, The Whampoa Military Academy.

Chiang then decided to double-cross the Russians, heading for Shanghai to enlarge the Kuomintang power. Communists in Shanghai followed Stalin as did part of the Kuomintang. Chiang paused before the gates while the Communists fought the Kuomintang group. The Communists won and Chiang then entered Shanghai and slaughtered the Communists. Stalin, one remembers, did the same thing in Warsaw in 1944. Stalin, after Chiang's double-cross in 1927, ordered the Chinese Communist Party to concentrate in the large cities on China's coast. A minority faction of the party-incensed at Chiang's double-dealing—said that the future did not lie in the cities but in the small villages of hungry and poverty-stricken peasants. Stalin told this group to back Chiang and they wouldn't. They fled to the countryside. The loyal Communist Party members stayed in the cities and were slaughtered in the streets by Chiang Kai-shek.

The splinter group that did not listen to Stalin in 1926 survived. It was run by Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai.

It was not until 1934, seven years after Chiang's double-cross, that the Russians

gave help to Mao and his group. Mao and his group never forgot this 7-year wait.

The Russians offered more bad advice after they recognized Mao in 1934: they told Mao to attack Chiang. He did and lost, leading to the Long March of 1934, which was a retreat to North China. The Russian military adviser was held a prisoner until 1940, so furious were the Chinese at Moscow's orders.

The continued strain between the Mao group and Russia was intensified by the Yalta Agreements. Russia was given Manchuria and about \$1.5 billion of machinery was taken by her. I believe that the Yalta Agreements were Stalin's way of recognizing a U.S. sphere of influence over China after World War II. He wanted other foreigners there. If he had not agreed to that, then he would not have looted Manchuria. This points up again our lack of foresight in 1946 and how suspicious both Mao and Chou are of Russia.

Mao and Chou En-Lai's distrust of Stalin and their fear that Stalin had given the U.S. a sphere of influence over China is borne out by the results of the Supreme War Conference the Communists called in July, 1948. Manchuria was about to fall and Communist troops were about to annihilate Chiang's troops. The Russian adviser urged caution and told Chou not to strike. Chou opposed this advice, and the Communists took over all of China.

THE BASIS OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

This new China government had come to power with a violent hatred of the United States for the bungled intervention in the civil war. Russia saw to it that the hatred increased, seeking to act as middleman between the United States and China. Russia, in my opinion, then decided to keep China away from the U.S. until she could take over the organization of the Chinese Communist Party. That is precisely what she decided to try to do.

The United States was trapped in an impossible position of chose the losers, despite our knowledge of Chiang and of Russian history in China.

Theodore White in his book *Fire in the Ashes* (1953) noted Russia's plan to help Mao and then take over:

"It is unnatural to believe that a man like Mao, who so often proved himself right while Stalin was wrong, should now at the zenith of his power suddenly adopt the cloak of humility in the presence of Stalin's successors. Yet there is little chance of any breaks between Peking and Moscow, until Mao, himself, feeling his strength, conscious of Russian ambition and blunder, finds an opportunity to think for himself."

That point came in 1969. We have seen how true a prediction that was. As I stated in my article in June, the Chinese representatives told me in 1969: "that China could be debt-free in 1969 . . . that China had finally resolved most of her internal affairs and was getting down to the business of building up China."

I am convinced that the Cultural Revolution was in part the weeding out of Russian influence in China, which started in 1927.

The United States missed a chance again in the 1950's by not offering Mao and Chou En-lai an exit from the Russian world into ours—as Clement Attlee had suggested.

I have gone through this survey to show that I believe China wants to be free of Russian domination (based on a historical distrust of Russia) and that she wants to be friendly with us. Having done badly in 1946 and again in 1956 when China wanted better relations, we should not repeat this mistake.

JAPANESE-CHINESE RELATIONS FROM 1929-1941

After the depression of 1929 Japan was in trouble. Her population had grown from 50 to 70 million from 1914 to 1931. Her metal-

making facilities increased by 300 per cent. Yet, rice production was stationary and Japan needed imports. The need for raw materials for her factories was also gigantic. By 1931, 40 countries had imposed tariffs on Japanese goods produced at wages of about one-third the English or United States level (a familiar tale).

China was the main export market for Japanese goods, particularly cotton and manufactured goods; almost all of the raw materials for these factories and coal and iron, came from China. Japanese foreign policy was pushed to dominate China.

In September, 1931, the Japanese occupied Mukden and the Manchurian Railroad. In January 1932 Japan demanded the dissolution of all Chinese anti-Japanese organizations. When China refused, Japanese forces landed near the International Concession at Shanghai on January 28, 1932. The Chinese held out a month; they had spirit but no weapons. They withdrew from their forts in the Bay of Wu-Sung. Then the Japanese created a puppet state of Manchukuo. In 1933 they annexed the Chinese province of Jehol and by March of 1933 the Japanese armies had reached the Great Wall of China. The only power that raised its voice against this outrage was the United States. But the United States was not a member of the League of Nations which might have imposed sanctions. England, who was a member, was fearful of losing her trading position with Japan and her interests in the Far East. Furthermore, as Winston Churchill stated in response to a "do-nothing" policy against Japan in the 1930's:

"His Majesty's Government could hardly be blamed if, in their grave financial and European embarrassments, they did not seek a prominent role at the side of the United States in the Far East without any hope of corresponding American support in Europe." So England did nothing and the United States made a lot of noise.

China was a member of the League of Nations although behind in her dues. On September 30, 1931 the League, on China's request, asked Japan to leave Manchuria. An investigating Commission was appointed, headed by an Englishman, the Earl of Lytton, who had been acting Viceroy in India. The Commission's report rebuked Japan, and asked for an autonomous Manchuria as part of China, with a treaty of trade between China and Japan.

The League would not recognize the new Japanese General Staff's state of Manchukuo—but no sanctions were taken against Japan. On March 27, 1933 Japan withdrew from the League of Nations and invaded China. War had started.

Thus was added another chapter in China's distrust and fear of Japan. As I pointed out in my last article, China does not now want a strong Japan.

THE BASIS OF U.S. POLICY

With the history of China before us, the knowledge of the Chinese fear of both Russia and Japan, the knowledge that Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai had refused to follow Russian orders in 1927 and broke away to form their own enclave in the small towns and villages as opposed to the cities, with the knowledge that Chiang did not control more than one-third of China and that in order to control that he had to make deals with hundreds of corrupt military people, with the knowledge that we could have forced him to come to terms with the so-called Communists—why did we pursue a course of action that rebuked and excluded Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung while we backed Chiang Kai-shek on an island with fourteen million people, ignoring six hundred million Chinese, thus giving rise to twenty-five years of war in Asia? The answer, I think, comes from a quote in *The Stilwell Papers*:

"In 1948 China, our ally, was being run by a one-party government (The Kuomintang), supported by a Gestapo (Talis' organization) and headed by an unbalanced man with little education. This government, however, had the prestige of the possession of power—it was opposing Japan; and its titular head had been built up by propaganda in America out of all proportion to his deserts and accomplishments. We had to back the existing regime in order to have any chance of getting China to pull her weight. To change the structure during the emergency would have been next to impossible."

The Vietnam papers showed us better than anything else that there are no idols and that we are all human beings—although a few political people think they are not. We will make more mistakes, as in China and at Pearl Harbor, if we disregard Chinese history and the tragedy of Vietnam.

In my June article, I stated that, even in 1956 when Arthur Dean, the noted Republican lawyer, had proposed that we begin to talk to China the entire Republican party rose in unison against him—and even Vice President Nixon told the American people that "China was out to rule the world."

I also pointed out in June that when Adlai Stevenson made a remark in 1956 about recognizing China and improving our relations with its people, there was an outpouring of "soft on Communism."

I have just recently reread Mr. Stevenson's article *Foreign Affairs* (January 1960) entitled "Putting Things First." That was eleven years ago. In urging that China be admitted to the United Nations, he stated, "Moreover, as a member of the United Nations, Communist China, with a quarter of the world's population, would be more accountable to world opinion than as an outcast."

Mr. Stevenson pointed out that Vice President Nixon was not only opposed to this but "Mr. Nixon saw something disloyal in my warning about the Soviet rate of economic growth."

Recent disclosures in the Pentagon Papers have shown that the United States rebuffed several overtures from Ho Chi Minh in 1945-1946. The record, unfortunately, I believe, will show that we did the same thing with Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung at the same time. The three Foreign Service Officers who recommended such talks in good faith were Oliver Edmund Chubb, now 70; John Stewart Service 65, and John Paton Davies, 65. Mr. Chubb was the last American Consul General in Peking in 1949 when the Chinese Communists took over.

SEEKING HELP FROM F.D.R.

I believe that a careful reading of all the papers will show that in 1945, while U.S. policy was primarily centered on beating Japan but also concerned with unifying China under a coalition led by Chiang Kai-shek, Mao and Chou offered to meet secretly with F.D.R. to seek support for a coalition government. Chiang, using the China Lobby, and Ambassador Hurley, stopped any such meetings because Chiang really thought he could rule China without the Communists.

A Hurley message to Washington, dated February 7, 1945, stated:

"The following proposals were made by Chairman Mao and General Chou direct to General Wedemeyer, adviser to Chiang, with the second of them strictly off the record.

"1) That the Yen-an Government dispatch an unofficial group to the United States to 'interpret and explain' the problems of China to interested American civilians and officials, and 2) that Mao and Chou were available to proceed to Washington immediately for an exploratory conference in event that the President should express a desire to receive them at the White House as leaders of a primary Chinese political party. Mao and Chou also specifically requested that their

willingness to go to Washington be kept secret in the event that Roosevelt's invitation was not forthcoming in order to protect their status vis-a-vis Chiang."

There was a second telegram (Hurley's report continued) that indicated the Communist's desire to bypass "both the National Government and myself."

Hurley said this proposal "would have defeated the U.S. policy of sustaining the Nationalist Government of China." Our chief purpose really was, if Hurley had read his directives, to beat Japan, and to establish a coalition government under Chiang not to "sustain" the Nationalist Government.

A second attempt to visit the United States was made February 28, 1945 by Chou En-lai, then Vice Chairman of the Communist Party's Central Committee. In a letter to Ambassador Hurley asking to go to the U.N. Conference scheduled for April 25th in San Francisco, Chou said:

"Since at present the Democratic Coalition Government has not yet come into existence in China and the existing National Government is completely a one-party dictatorship of the Kuomintang which can represent neither the 10 million people of the Chinese liberated areas nor the common will of the broad masses. China (at San Francisco) cannot be represented by a delegation sent by the Kuomintang Government only.

"While I was in Chungking you told me that the delegation to the San Francisco Conference should consist of the representatives of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and the Democratic Federation. The Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung are in complete agreement with you.

"We consider furthermore that the representatives of the Kuomintang should be limited to one-third of the delegation. The other two-thirds of the delegation should be sent by the Communist Party and the Democratic Federation . . . Will you be so kind as to transmit this message to the President of the United States."

Hurley's response was:

" . . . I did discuss with you the coming conference at San Francisco but I made it clear to you that only the National Government of China had been invited to participate in the conference. I made no attempt to decide how the National Government would be presented . . .

"The conference . . . is to be a conference of nations, not of political parties within nations. The Communist Party of China is not a nation and, as far as I know, no one has recognized it as a nation. It is one of the political parties of China. The only difference from the ordinary political party is that it is armed. I am further of the opinion that recognition by the conference of any armed political party in China other than the National Government would destroy the possibility of unification of China."

Secretary of State Stettinius agreed but F.D.R. insisted that Chiang be told to include in the delegation representatives of the Chinese Communist Party.

THE POSTWAR YEARS

Chiang did authorize that his ten-member delegation to the United Nations include one Communist representative but, on March 29, 1945 John Stewart Service, assigned to Communist headquarters at Yen-an, cabled that Chiang had selected a delegate who is "old, speaks no English, is of secondary rank, (and) is the least suitable choice for Communist delegate." The U.S. did nothing to change this, although we could have. Chiang should not have chosen the delegate, but in doing so not only insulted Mao, but once again showed that he had no desire for a coalition government. Chiang controlled the delegation to the U.N. in April 1945.

As I will show, when I review President Truman's firing of Hurley and the Marshall Mission, the primary purpose of American policy in World War II was to beat Japan;

Chiang was chosen as the man best equipped to lead a coalition to that end. Our second goal was to see that China, when World War II ended, would not undergo a repetition of the 1800-1940 period, when everyone in the world was out to cut her up and internal chaos prevented the Chinese from running their country.

In February 1945, John Stewart Service and Raymond P. Ludden assessed U.S. policy in a position paper which said in part:

"American policy in the Far East can have but one immediate objective: the defeat of Japan in the shortest possible time with the least expenditure of American lives. To the attainment of this objective all other considerations should be subordinate.

"China's military failure is due in large part to internal political disunity and the Kuomintang's desire to conserve such military force as it has for utilization in the maintenance of its political power." (Joseph Stillwell said the same thing).

As long as the United States remained tied to Chiang as "champions of the status quo," China would remain disunited and ineffective. The solution recommended was a parallel of Britain's initiative in Yugoslavia. There, Winston Churchill in 1943 gave British support to Yugoslav Communist Partisan leader Josip Broz Tito in the civil war with the Chetniks of Draja Mikhailovich.

"At present," said Service and Ludden, "there exists in China a situation closely paralleling that which existed in Yugoslavia prior to Prime Minister Churchill's declaration of support for Marshall Tito—to judge all parties and factions dispassionately by the test of their readiness to fight the Germans and thus lighten the burden of Allied troops. . . ."

The Foreign Service officers proposed:

"A similar public statement issued by the Commander-in-Chief with regard to China would not mean the withdrawal of recognition or the cessation of military aid to the Central Government; that would be both unnecessary and unwise.

"It would serve notice, however, if our preparation to make sure of all available means to achieve our primary objective . . . The internal effect in China would be so profound that the Generalissimo would be forced to make concessions of power and permit a united front coalition. The present opposition groups, no longer under the prime necessity of safeguarding themselves, would be won wholeheartedly to our side and we would have in China for the first time, a united ally. . . ."

Prior to the U.N. meeting in April 1945 in San Francisco W. Averell Harriman, our Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Ambassador Hurley and Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov of the Soviet Union were to meet. Mr. Davies drew up a memo for the meeting for Ambassador Harriman for his discussion on China:

"The prospect for the attainment of Chinese unity through negotiation would not seem too bright.

"The central issue in Chiang-Communist negotiations has been the establishment of a coalition government. Chiang knows both the Kuomintang and Communists too well to accede to this seemingly innocent proposal. He knows that the Kuomintang is corrupt and vulnerable to boring-from-within. He knows that the Communists are so well organized and so well disciplined that they would sooner or later dominate the coalition. To understand the peril of coalition with the Communists the Generalissimo need not refer to the current working of Popular Front governments in Eastern Europe. He need only recollect his own 1926 experience with the then young and weak Communist Party."

But Chiang's regime, said Davies, was "venal, inefficient and stale" and could not survive without radical reform.

"As for the Communists, they are not

likely to compromise with Chiang or anything short of coalition. They would like coalition because it would mean a relatively cheap acquisition of control over most if not all of China. But if coalition is not forthcoming, they can afford to wait. The Communists reckon that time is on their side."

" . . . The Chinese Communist Party began as an instrument of Moscow's policy of world revolution. With the Kremlin's abandonment, however temporary, of that policy, the Chinese Communists were left pretty much to shift for themselves . . . they revised their platform in the direction of moderation. They adopted agrarian democracy as their immediate goal, socialism as their distant one . . ."

"With the growth of nationalist feeling among the Chinese Communists, the shabby treatment which they have received from the Kremlin during the past nine years and the possible prospect of the Red Army invading Manchuria and North China, and Russian suzerainty being imposed on Yenan regime, it would seem logical to assume that there are at least some elements among the Chinese Communists who might welcome foreign support designed to ensure the continuance of their expansion and independence.

"Mao Tse-tung is not necessarily a Tito simply because he is a Communist, but probably."

Instead of committing "all our policy eggs to one basket," Davies suggested consideration of American "cooperation and assistance to the Chinese Communists. . . ."

He asked, rhetorically, "will they be voluntary creatures of Russian foreign policy? We don't know."

But, said Davies, "if any Communist regime is susceptible to political 'capture' by the United States, it is Yenan." (Emphasis supplied by the author). Note that Clement Attlee said the same thing to Pres. Truman and Dean Acheson in 1951.

The conference of Ambassadors took place in Moscow on April 17, 1945, after F.D.R. had died. Ambassador Hurley reported that Molotov had said to him, "The Chinese Communists are not Communists at all."

Stalin was reported to have said: "The Chinese Communists sought 'only just reform' in China' and the Soviet Union is not supporting the Chinese Communist Party."

Stalin spoke favorably of Chiang Kai-shek and that while there had been corruption among certain officials of the Nationalist Government he knew that Chiang . . . was a selfless man, and a patriot that the Soviets had befriended in the past. Stalin said the Chinese Communists were "margarine Communists."

Harriman and his aide, George Kennan, were fearful of Stalin. Kennan thought that a free China for Stalin meant one with no foreign influence "other than Russian," while Harriman said that when and if Russia entered the war in the Pacific "Stalin would make full use of and support the Chinese Communists. . . ."

On August 14, 1945 the war in the Pacific ended, much earlier than anyone imagined it would because of the atomic bomb. The Nationalists and Communists seized land and Russia moved into Outer Mongolia.

THE MARSHALL PERIOD

So it is important to note that by 1945—the end of World War II—we had consciously sought out and backed Chiang Kai-shek as a World War II ally against the Japanese. We did this knowing that he had been chosen as a young man by the Russian Communists and trained in the Soviet Union, and he was sent back to China to organize a Russian-dominated China. We knew that, even though Russia had trained him and supplied him with money and men, when he arrived at the gates of Shanghai he did what the Russians were to do outside Warsaw during World War II. Chiang said he was calling on his

forces inside the city to rise up and fight. But, instead of helping them, as they expected, he waited outside the gates while both sides slaughtered one another.

This, then, is the man we decided to back during World War II. Our decision was evidently based on sound reasoning: he was the one man who could unite the country. The mistake we made was not insisting on his cooperation with others.

In the fall of 1945, the United States was faced with these problems. Few realized the depth of the divisiveness in China, the Nationalists' slim control, and the lack of participation of the people in the government. We had an opportunity to assess the situation again and we made a bad mistake.

It may be that the feeling in this country was such that to back a government in China including Communists might not have been palpable. Men like Richard Nixon then entering in politics, and others like him, loyal and well-intentioned, vigorously protested when communism was mentioned. The reason I believe Nixon is so China-conscious today is that he realizes his mistake.

Chiang's problems in China were immense. He was faced with a dissident group, the Japanese, and by war lords who played one side against the other. It was difficult to discover which was more dangerous to Chiang—the alleged Communists or the Japanese. On V.J. Day, Chiang Kai-shek controlled the Southwest corner; South and East China were under Japanese control; North China was controlled by Mao Tse-tung; and Manchuria by the Russians.

For Chiang to occupy North China, he needed Communist approval. The Communists controlled the rail lines, so Chiang couldn't move. In order to keep the Communists from occupying the Japanese-controlled parts of China, we actually used the Japanese troops to supervise their area until American Marines could be sent to the seaports and Chinese Nationalists airlifted to their provinces.

The decision to use Japanese troops to hold off the Communists was a decision, I believe, of the National Security Council. There were then three million Japanese troops in China and President Truman was faced with the choice of sending a large army to defeat the Communists, joining with the Communists, or trying to get rid of the Japanese while hoping for a miracle that could establish a coalition government. He almost succeeded.

American public opinion might not have supported either large American troop commitments, or backing the Communists. Instead, we chose to back Chiang Kai-shek, trying to get the Communists to go along with him. Chiang was chosen as the man to work with.

General Wedemeyer, Chief of the Staff to Chiang, in a letter to President Truman described the situation in the fall of 1945 in China as follows:

" . . . Based on limited knowledge, neither the Chinese Communist Party nor the Kuomintang is democratic in spirit or intentions. China is not prepared for a democratic form of government with 95% of her people illiterate and for many other cogent reasons. The inarticulate masses of China desire peace and are not necessarily interested in or aware of the various ideologies represented . . . conditions could best be handled by a benevolent despot or a military dictator, whether such dictator be a Communist or a Kuomintang, matters very little."

Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley first went to China as the personal representative of Franklin D. Roosevelt and was now Ambassador. He cabled President Truman on September 10, 1945 asking to return. He told President Truman that all was well in China and that he, Hurley, had just arranged for Mao Tse-tung to come to Chungking to discuss peace with Chiang.

On October 11, 1945, two days before Hurley saw Truman in Washington, an agreement was reached between Mao and Chiang—Hurley had witnessed the preliminary signing before he left China. Hurley told Truman that peace would follow and he believed it.

The agreement signed in Chungking by Chou and Chiang provided for a Council of 40 appointed by Chiang—with no more than 50 percent from his party. Chiang could veto proposals, but two-thirds of the Council override the veto. A constitutional convention was to be called.

The Political Consultative Conference was to take place November 20, 1945. In the interim, the Communists wanted no troop movements into the Japanese-held areas because they felt Chiang was taking advantage of the time-lag to strengthen his position. They also may have had designs on the region.

The Nationalists moved in troops. The Conference set for November 20th never took place and on November 25th, the principal representative of the Communists, Chou En-lai, who was in Chungking for the Conference, left for Yen-an, his capital.

On November 27, 1945, Ambassador Hurley agreed to return to China from Washington to see if he could straighten out the problem. He talked with President Truman at 11:30 A.M. On 1:30 P.M. of the same day, during a Cabinet luncheon, President Truman was called to the phone from the National Press Club and told that Hurley had attacked him personally. Truman immediately fired Hurley.

After he had fired Hurley, President Truman called General George Marshall and asked him to go to China. Marshall met with Truman on November 29th and again on December 11, 1945. Three long documents were prepared, along with a letter of instructions signed by President Truman on December 15, 1945. The most important section read:

"... Specifically, I (President Truman) desire that you endeavor to persuade the Chinese Government to call a National Conference of representatives of the proper political elements to bring about the unification of China."

MARSHALL BEGINS HIS MISSION

Marshall left Washington December 15th and arrived in China December 20, 1945. Marshall talked to both sides. The Chinese Communists again suggested that a cessation of hostilities take place. Marshall amended the suggestion, so that, along with a cessation of hostilities, both sides would appoint representatives to talk with him about how to enforce the armistice and the selection of a Committee by the Political Consultative Council (which had not yet met) to make recommendations regarding disputed areas.

By January 9, 1946, negotiations had progressed to the point where truce teams had been appointed, with an American observer to supervise the cease-fire.

The cease-fire was to be announced at 10:00 A.M. on January 10, 1946 at the opening of the Political Consultative Council. The announcement was made and headquarters set up in Peiping. Marshall acted as the Chairman of the Committee of Three to supervise the cease-fire and as adviser to the Committee working on the reorganization of the Chinese armies.

On February 4, 1946, Marshall cabled Truman, as Hurley had in December, that things were going well. Marshall then rushed home to consult Truman, arriving on March 15, 1946, and returning April 16, 1946.

When Marshall left China for his one-month visit, Chiang began breaking his promise, as he had when Hurley left. General Gillem, Marshall's deputy, reported that the cease-fire teams were being stopped and Communist members detained. Some Communist cease-fire members were arrested in Mukden and Peiping. Chinese Air Force

planes buzzed Yen-an, the Communist center. While Marshall was in Washington and he and President Truman were working out a \$500 million loan, the Chinese ambassador demanded changes in the agreement and on that day Chiang, contrary to what he promised Marshall before his departure, made a speech calling for war with the Communists. When Marshall returned to China on April 18, 1946, he heard that an American plane had strafed the Communists in Szeiping Kai. It was actually a Nationalist plane.

The Communists were also busy in April and May, 1946. They captured Changchun-Harbin. Thus, although Marshall thought he had arranged a truce, he had not. On June 7, 1946, a 15-day truce was arrived at in Manchuria. During the truce the Lend-Lease bill was up before Congress and Chiang's China Lobby used the truce period to have the legislation changed so that the proceeds went only to Chiang without the condition that he work with Marshall. Chiang was trying to circumvent Truman and Marshall through Congress and he succeeded. The Communists pointed to these Lend-Lease moves as indicating American duplicity and double-dealing. Whether Chiang was sabotaging Marshall or was forced to do so by die-hard Nationalists, I do not know. But each time one of the China Lobby made a speech calling for all-out aid to Chiang, the Nationalists ceased cooperating with Marshall.

In July, 1946, while Marshall was in China, President Truman appointed Dr. J. Leighton Stuart, the President of Yen Ching University in Peiping, as the new ambassador to China. Soon after, Chiang's government began the surveillance of all "liberal wing" professors. Two professors were assassinated and anti-American demonstrations led by Nationalist student groups occurred.

On August 10, 1946, President Truman sent a personal message to Chiang condemning the suppression of freedom of the press, of liberal views, and the assassination of the two professors. Truman said that Chiang was attempting to solve issues by force rather than by agreements reached in January at the Consultative Conference. The letter closed:

"Unless convincing proof is forthcoming that genuine progress toward a peaceful settlement of China's internal problems . . . it will be necessary for me to redefine and explain the position of the United States to the American people."

Chiang called in Marshall and placed all the blame on the "Communists." Chiang agreed to a political settlement, but Marshall reported that Chiang would not stop fighting unless a political settlement was signed first.

Marshall then asked for a meeting between both sides but Chiang set a number of conditions. Chou En-lai wanted Marshall to guarantee the good faith of Chiang. On September 13, 1946, Marshall and Ambassador Stuart said they were "stymied." The war continued.

On October 2, 1946, Marshall was at an impasse. Chiang had announced that he would try to take the city of Canton, which Chiang's government had agreed in June to leave in Communist hands. The Communists asserted that if this occurred, it would mean civil war. On October 15, 1946, Marshall asked Truman to be recalled, since his mission was a failure.

On October 9, 1946, Marshall traveled to Shanghai to see Chou but Chou was suspicious and condemned the American assistance to Chiang. On November 15, 1946, the National Assembly convened but without choosing a State Council to run the government. Chou En-lai returned to Yen-an but before he left he told Marshall that he was certain Chiang would launch an attack to capture Yen-an, the capital of the Communist area.

Marshall attempted to convince Chiang

that he could not beat the Communist forces, particularly if Russia aided the Communist forces. Chiang disagreed.

On January 3, 1947, President Truman recalled Marshall and promoted him to Secretary of State. Chiang attacked Chou against American advice and lost—fleeing to Formosa.

The prophetic words of President Truman carried this assessment, "There is no doubt in my mind that if Chiang Kai-shek had been a little more conciliatory—an understanding could have been reached."

A NEW APPROACH TO CHINA

As I stated in the June issue, "it will not be easy to convey our friendship to the Chinese people who have grown up in this generation. Our approach must be careful, planned and well reasoned, not hasty or overbearing."

Pearl Buck has also recently said, "it must be based on knowledge of the past because all our assets for the renewal of our old friendships and relations with the Chinese people are from our past friendly relations with them."

Unfortunately, because of the chain of events after World War II when Chiang Kai-shek spent millions of dollars on his China Lobby, supported by many newspaper columnists and newsletter writers the American people could not get a full and honest picture. I do not for a minute think that the Chinese Communists are completely virtuous. But they are an entity and we did not deal with them. The Ellsberg papers demonstrated that foreign policy is made by too few people.

We have had too many bad experts on China. We need the American people and the American Congress involved in foreign affairs, as well as those who are not seeking jobs or have egos to satisfy. We have been bombarded with as many devil theories on China as so-called experts have been able to invent.

The theory that the Soviet Union was going to assist us in ending the Vietnam War demonstrates the total lack of knowledge of every adviser since John F. Kennedy's days in the White House. The opposite was true. Every time more American troops were sent to Vietnam by the United States, the Soviet Union privately raised the consumption of vodka at their celebrations. More American troops in Vietnam meant less fear that China would cause trouble 6,000 miles away on the China-Russian border. China had to keep troops on her western front, near Vietnam, to make sure that those 500,000 American troops in Vietnam would not invade China—just as, during World War II, Russia kept 500,000 troops on her Japanese border prior to October, 1941 because Russia didn't know which route Japan would take. Richard Sorge, the chief Russian agent in Japan, reported in November, 1941 directly to Stalin that Japan would attack the United States. Russia did not communicate this to the United States but Stalin moved his 500,000 troops from Manchuria to Stalingrad, which probably saved that city.

One reason I believe China wants to talk to the United States now is that this administration has ceased depending on Russia to help end the Vietnam War and China is in a better bargaining position while our troops are still in Vietnam than if they were all out. I also don't believe China will have the final say on what the Vietnamese do, since there is a history of Chinese-Vietnamese hostility. The Vietnamese may move toward peace through fear of China.

I suggest that our future relations over the next twenty years be set up with these goals:

1. There ought to be several trade groups going to China and several coming here. I said in June that we "have a generation gap," and the best way to solve this is through

people-to-people meetings and word-of-mouth descriptions.

2. I would then try to readjust foreign relations so that we have competent young people in our government agencies going to China.

3. Our military personnel, who ultimately will be our military advisers in our consulates, ought to be carefully chosen. This might include a program to send West Point, Annapolis and other academy graduates through special schools such as the Harvard Defense Studies Program. Since China has a large army—as we do—our military representatives should be the best we have.

4. The President, whoever, he is, but starting with President Nixon, ought to have a group of advisers, none on the public payroll, reporting to him personally. The next Ambassador to China and the entire staff ought to be representatives who can pick up the telephone and report to him. We must have men in China independent enough to call a spade a spade. And they should be the same age as their Chinese counterparts.

5. There ought to be Subcommittees of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Senate Finance Committee, the House Banking and Currency Committee, the Senate Armed Services Committee and the House Armed Services Committee devoted solely to China. The President should consult with these subcommittees and let Congress know what he is doing. This will avoid a situation such as occurred in Truman's Administration, when the President knew what the problem was and what to do—but Chiang had a lobby that knew how to handle Congress and the Executive had no lobby.

We don't want any more Vietnams, with a small group of academicians and amateur leaders writing each other memos, and with secret reports being prepared by the Secretary of Defense on one hand and the Intelligence agencies on the other. (I noted that, in addition to the secret report on Vietnam ordered on Vietnam, the Defense Intelligence Agency of the State Department prepared a secret report and that has been put in a safe. For whom? This country has never operated as a secret society. I believe the adage that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Congress represents the people and they ought to be consulted.)

6. We must remember that the Russian-built factories in China are now 20 years old and outmoded and China does not wish to depend on Russia or Japan.

7. We must remember that just as we have "right" and "left" points of view, China has her "right" and "left," pro- and anti-Americans. We should remember that Chou En-lai is 74, and is the most experienced politician around—the man who lived through the half-century from the '20's to the '70's. Today's normalization could not have taken place without his approval. He knows history. He fears Japan and Russia. I believe he wants to restore the U.S.-China friendship.

8. It is our job to see to it that we work with China and that she works with us. In my opinion, this can avert future wars. And if this country is to survive as a democracy wars must stop.

HOLY CROWN OF ST. STEPHEN

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, on December 6, 1971, I reintroduced a resolution providing for the safekeeping of the Holy

Crown of St. Stephen until such time as a constitutional government freely elected by the Hungarian people once again functions in Hungary.

A man who has played a key role in Hungary's struggle for freedom and democracy is Josef Cardinal Mindszenty who lived in self-imposed exile in the American Legation in Budapest for more than 15 years to protest Communist oppression in his country.

Cardinal Mindszenty, as well as many of our colleagues in Congress, shares my concern for the safekeeping of the Holy Crown, which is a symbol of democracy in Hungary.

Recently a West German television network aired a program discussing the Holy Crown and the plight of Cardinal Mindszenty and I now insert a transcript of the program in the RECORD:

TV PROGRAM ON CARDINAL JOSEF MINDSZENTY OF NOVEMBER 10, 1971, ON THE WEST GERMAN ZDF NETWORK FROM WIESBADEN

(By Gerhardt Loewenthal, Moderator)

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen: There is hardly another concept more often used in the political vernacular nowadays as that of "easing of tensions." Every thinking man should be opting for the easing of tensions between the world powers, between all nations. But should this easing of tensions be achieved at any price? And where is the border line between the policy of easing the tensions and the policy of appeasement? The concept of appeasement became a bogey for entire generations after experiences of the 1933-1939 period. At the present time a man and a crown became enmeshed in the world-wide network of the American policy of easing of tensions. The man is Cardinal Mindszenty, a hero without arms and a symbol in the struggle against oppression and tyranny by the Nazis and the Communists, and the crown is the Crown of St. Stephen, the symbol of legitimate power in Hungary. When Cardinal Mindszenty left Hungary on September 28, after 5,441 days of self-imposed asylum at the American Legation in Budapest, rumors started to circulate in the United States to the effect that the Pope, possibly on request of the U.S. government, instructed the Cardinal to remove himself as a roadblock on the thorny road of understanding between Washington and Moscow. The purpose was to return quietly the Crown of St. Stephen, presently kept in the United States, and thus to ease the tensions between Washington and Budapest.

The background of these reports which alarmed the U.S. politicians belonging to the same political party as the President was as follows: The Communist Party Chief Janos Kadar granted an interview to the UPI on March 11, which contained the first hints of possible new developments in the Mindszenty case. Janos Peter, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary, paid a visit to the Pope on April 16, and conferred with him without witnesses for more than one hour. On September 3, the day when the Berlin agreement was signed, Monsignor Celi arrived in Budapest as a delegate of the Vatican Minister of Foreign Affairs Casseroli with a message from the Pope of Cardinal Mindszenty which induced Cardinal Mindszenty to make the decision to leave the Hungarian soil on September 28. It was obvious that at stake were not the aging Prince of the Church nor a royal crown, symbol of obsolete feudal government, but the present-day world politics, which is evident from statements of U.S. politicians, all of whom belong to the Republican Party.

Mindszenty 1945:

During the postwar period Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty was in the forefront of struggle

for a liberal and democratic system in his country. As a Prince of the Church and patriotic Hungarian, he was bound to become an adversary of the Communists, just as he was before an adversary against the Hungarian Nazis. He was arrested at the end of 1948. His pastoral letters denouncing the terror of the Stalinist Rákosi regime and his appeals to the Hungarian Catholics to oppose it, led to a spectacular process. The verdict was lifetime imprisonment. In connection with the Mindszenty process the U.S. diplomat Stephen Koczak has been expelled from Hungary. Today he is the Director for Research of the American Federation of Government Employees. We asked him:

"Mr. Koczak, you were Secretary at the United States Legation in Budapest during the 1947-1949 period. In your capacity have you been often in touch with the Prince Primate of Hungary Cardinal Mindszenty and, in your experience, what was his stature in the minds of the Hungarian people?"

KOCZAK. "In discharging the duties of my office I have been seeing the Cardinal quite often during that period and I have been maintaining also close relations with people around him. After the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty we Americans took a very active interest in the political life of this country, in order to protect the freedoms which were guaranteed by that treaty.

"The Cardinal was convinced already at this point in the history that we are living in a critical period. The relations between the Soviet Union and the West broke down during these years. In Yugoslavia and in Berlin in particular the opposing points of view were in evidence. I was very strongly impressed by the fact that he acted neither in a pragmatic nor in an opportunistic way. He exercised the powers of his office basing himself on moral principles alone."

On October 23, 1956, several hundred students gathered in front of the Petofi monument in Budapest. Their manifestations of sympathy for the uprising in Poland lit a spark which ignited an insurrection in Hungary. A people rose against the mighty Red Army. On October 30, the Cardinal was freed by the insurgents and reinstated in his office.

The attempt of the Hungarians to recover their freedom came to naught. Moscow brutally crushed the fight for freedom. The only option remaining for Joseph Mindszenty was to hide under the protection of a diplomatic mission. He asked the American Legation for asylum. He spent 15 years at this building as a living indictment against the Communist regime in Hungary. His forsaking of the asylum now is being interpreted as a sign for an easing of tensions in the relations between the Vatican, the United States and Hungary.

The rumor exists that the Crown of St. Stephen will be now handed over by the Americans to the Kadar regime in exchange for the easing of tensions. King Karol IV of Hapsburg was crowned in 1916 as the last King of Hungary when this crown was placed on his head. This crown is however more than a relic. It represents for all Hungarians the symbol of the sovereignty of their state and of the freedom of the Hungarian people. It is the symbol of the legality of the government in power and therefore has an immense value for the Communists. The Crown of St. Stephen is being kept in the United States since the end of World War II. The Americans were giving assurances many times in the past that the crown will be handed over only to a democratic Hungarian government. Will now the crown be used in the overall policy of easing the tensions?

This question is being very thoroughly discussed in public in the United States. Members of Congress and Senators have written to the Department of State about its Resolutions passed by the U.S. Congress and Sen-

ate dealt with this matter. The Republican politicians as well as members of the governing party made statements on that subject in Washington for the ZDF [News] Magazine:

(1) Congressman Larry Hogan (R-Md.). What my resolution does is express the will of Congress that a crown not be returned until there is a government in Hungary freely selected in free elections by the people of Hungary. And we have urged the State Department not to give it back until that eventually occurs. It has been very well received by my colleagues. Thirty-nine of my colleagues in Congress have cosponsored my resolution and five of the United States Senators have introduced it in the Senate. So, at this point we hope we have convinced the people that it should not be returned to the current government in Hungary.

(2) Congressman William Scherle (R-Iowa). I think that the crown of St. Stephen belongs to the democratic country of Hungary and not to a captive communistic regime. And the other reason that the communists want the crown back is to give them the legitimacy of authority that they need to establish themselves as the proper government in Hungary. And that is the primary reason why I don't want them to have it, because I feel that sometimes, somewhere along the way Hungary will once again be free. The thing that bothers me more than anything else is the continued communistic encroachment in all of Europe. And if we are not careful, if we don't deal from the position of determination, when we sit down to negotiate, I am afraid that as a so-called peace-loving nation we are going to have the tendency to compromise and give more and more to the communists until sooner or later there won't be anything left. This is the thing that bothers me.

(3) Senator Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) I recently wrote to Secretary of State Rogers concerning the reports that plans are being made to hand over the historic Crown of St. Stephen to the Hungarian regime. In my judgment, nothing could be more questionable. The Crown is the symbol of legitimacy and sovereignty, and it would be inappropriate to confer it upon a Communist government that has just forced Cardinal Mindszenty into exile. There are certain elements in the State Department that have been working behind the scene to get a so-called "normalization" of relations with Communist governments. I believe that you can negotiate with Communists, but you have to win substantial concessions. These behind-the-scenes people are not realistic and are acting irresponsibly. They are giving up on questions of principle. Giving St. Stephen's crown to the Kadar government would be as bad as the recent Four Power Berlin Agreement where we, in effect, recognize the legitimacy of the East German Government. Even our own negotiator, Ambassador Rush, said that he would never have signed the agreement if he had understood how it would be interpreted by the Communists. We have to understand the symbolism of the Crown, and the advantage which the Communists will make of it. We've got to stop this secret diplomacy. That's why I was pleased to join with several other Senators in cosponsoring Senator Dole's resolution opposing the return of St. Stephen's Crown. There's a definite feeling in the Senate that we must take a hard look at the direction of our foreign policy, and see just what kind of results we are getting.

We asked Stephen Koczak, who is as thoroughly familiar now with the situation in Eastern Europe as he was at that time, the following question:

"How does it happen that Senators, Congressmen as well as trade unions are interested in the possible restitution of the crown?"

KOCZAK. "The American public opinion is

very disturbed over the fact that the present policy with regard to Peking and Moscow is being decided in secrecy and the public is facing a fait accompli. This part of our foreign policy is being conducted directly by the White House, substantially excluding the State Department as well as the Senate and the Congress. Naturally everybody wants a true peace policy. The present American policy however seems to run the risk of creating only illusions of successes and not leading to durable solutions. In particular many people are disturbed over the Berlin policy of the government and about the conditions for the Peking trip of the President. The fact that the return of the St. Stephen's Crown to Hungary is being discussed at this particular time is upsetting the public opinion the most because the people do not see any real justification for this action."

"The trade unions are primarily and more than anybody else disturbed over this so-called policy of reconciliation because they are better than anybody else aware of what Communism takes away from the workers and the population. It is precisely this group of people which stands to lose most if someone is going to restrict the freedom. It should not be also forgotten that there are many people active in the trade union movement in the United States who were dealing with questions of personal freedom during their entire lives. Many are also escapees from both totalitarian systems, Nazism and Communism, and they are afraid that the new American foreign policy seems to be ready to morally recognize Communism."

These are, ladies and gentlemen, anxious voices of responsible Americans which should be noted along with the many positive declarations of official authorities in Washington. It has to be emphasized that all these voices come from the political camp of President Nixon. The resolution of October 29 in the American Senate for which Senator Thurmond presented the reasons in our interview has been introduced by Senator Dole who stands very close to the President. The American politicians are still taking very seriously the commitments which result from the Paris Peace Treaty of February 10, 1947 which guarantees fundamental rights and rights of freedom to all without distinction because of race, sex, language or religion.

PRIVATE PENSION PLANS

HON. JOHN N. ERLBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, one of the subjects which the House General Subcommittee on Labor has considered over the past several years is private pension plans. In but a few decades we have seen retirement coverage expand from just a few thousand Americans to over 30 million. We have wanted to protect the rights of these people to receive their benefits, but we have been concerned that, in providing that protection, we might either cut into their retirement benefits or retard expansion of coverage to those 35 million, or more, Americans who are not enrolled in a retirement plan or who can plan on having only their social security benefits in their retirement years.

Generally, proposals have been advanced for the inclusion by law of four features in pension plans:

First. Vesting, which means that, as a worker gains seniority, he gains partial pension rights which cannot later be taken from him;

Second. Funding, which means that a worker's pension money is accumulated in a trust fund as it is earned;

Third. Reinsurance, which means that the trust fund is insured against financial changes, including bankruptcy of the company; and

Fourth. Portability, which means that a worker takes his pension rights with him when he leaves one employer for another.

A worker can have a pension plan with all these features, but they cost money—some believe more money than the worker or the employer is willing to pay.

Moreover, there is so little solid information on these questions that our subcommittee has decided to devote the first several months of 1972 to getting the data we need. The House has granted us \$100,000 for this purpose.

In the meantime, it seems prudent that we move ahead to correct the inadequacies that we know are present in the existing law. Hearings over the years have unquestionably demonstrated general agreement that the Welfare and Pension Plan Disclosure Act, which only requires that trustees file various reports with the Secretary of Labor, should be amended to insure to a greater extent the well-being of such plans. Fiduciaries, actuaries, the Department of Labor, and members of the subcommittee alike have concurred in the need to improve the work of pension plan trustees, to tell trustees what is expected of them, and to compel them to make sensible reports about workers' rights and benefits.

These are the purposes of H.R. 12337, the Employees' Benefits Protection Act, as proposed by the President in a message to Congress December 8, 1971. I am pleased to be the principal sponsor of this bill and to be joined in sponsorship by Representative JOHN H. DENT, the chairman of our subcommittee, as well as by Representatives ALBERT QUIE and GERALD R. FORD.

So that our colleagues and others who share our interest in the health and growth of private pension plans may have a better understanding of our bill, an explanatory statement of it follows:

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT OF AMENDMENTS TO THE WELFARE AND PENSION PLANS DISCLOSURE ACT

The fundamental purpose of the proposed amendments to the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act is the broadening and strengthening of the protection of rights and interests of participants and beneficiaries of employee welfare and pension benefit plans. This aim is accomplished in three ways: First, by the addition of two new sections, one setting forth responsibilities and proscriptions applicable to persons occupying a fiduciary relationship to employee benefit plans, including a "prudent man" standard for evaluating the conduct of all fiduciaries; the other barring from responsible fiduciary positions in such plans for a period of five years all persons convicted of certain listed criminal offenses; Second, by additions to and changes in the reporting requirements designed to disclose more significant information about plans and the transactions engaged in by those control-

ling plan operations and to provide specific data to participants and beneficiaries concerning the rights and the benefits they are entitled to under their plans; Third, by providing remedies through either State or Federal courts to insure that the protections provided by the Act can be effectively enforced.

I. FIDUCIARY RESPONSIBILITY

A fiduciary is one who occupies a position of confidence or trust. As defined by the amendments, a fiduciary is a person who exercises any power of control, management or disposition with respect to monies or other property of an employee benefit fund, or who has authority or responsibility to do so. The fiduciary responsibility section, in essence, codifies and makes applicable to these fiduciaries certain principles developed in the evolution of the law of trusts. The section was deemed necessary for several reasons.

First, a number of plans are structured in such a way that it is unclear whether the traditional law of trusts is applicable. Predominantly, these are plans, such as insured plans, which do not use the trust form as their mode of funding. Administrators and others exercising control functions in such plans under the present Act are subject only to minimal restrictions and the applicability of present State law to employee benefit plans is sometimes unclear. Second, even where the funding mechanism of the plan is in the form of a trust, reliance on conventional trust law often is insufficient to adequately protect the interests of plan participants and beneficiaries. This is because trust law had developed in the context of testamentary and inter vivos trusts (usually designed to pass designated property to an individual or small group of persons) with an attendant emphasis on the carrying out of the instructions of the settlor. Thus, if the settlor includes in the trust document an exculpatory clause under which the trustee is relieved from liability for certain actions which would otherwise constitute a breach of duty, or if the settlor specifies that the trustee shall be allowed to make investments which might otherwise be considered imprudent, the trust law in many states will be interpreted to allow the deviation. In the absence of a fiduciary responsibility section in the present Act, courts applying trust law to employee benefit plans have allowed the same kinds of deviations, even though the typical employee benefit plan, covering hundreds or even thousands of participants, is quite different from the testamentary trust both in purpose and in nature.

Third, even assuming that the law of trusts is applicable, without provisions (lacking in the present Act) allowing ready access to both detailed information about the plan and to the courts, and without standards by which a participant can measure the fiduciary's conduct (also lacking in the present Act), he is not equipped to safeguard either his own rights or the plan assets. Furthermore, a fiduciary standard embodied in Federal legislation is considered desirable because it will bring a measure of uniformity in an area where decisions under the same set of facts may differ from State to State. It is expected that courts will interpret the prudent man rule and other fiduciary standards bearing in mind the special nature and purposes of employee benefit plans intended to be effectuated by the Act.

Finally, it is evident that the operations of employee benefit plans are increasingly interstate. The uniformity of decision which the Act is designed to foster will help administrators, fiduciaries and participants to predict the legality of proposed actions without the necessity of reference to varying State laws.

Section 14(a), when read in connection with the definition of the term "employee

benefit fund", makes it clear that the fiduciary responsibility provisions apply only to those plans which have assets at risk. Thus an unfunded plan, such as one in which the only assets from which benefits are paid are the general assets of the employer, is not covered. However, if the plan does have assets at risk, the form in which those assets are held is deemed to be a trust, whether or not a trust agreement exists, and the trust assets may be used only for the two stated purposes: providing benefits for participants and defraying reasonable administrative expenses.

The next two subsections (14(b) and (c)) incorporate the core principles of fiduciary conduct as adopted from existing trust law, but with modifications appropriate for employee benefit plans. These salient principles place a twofold duty on every fiduciary: to act in his relationship to the plan's fund as a prudent man in a similar situation and under like conditions would act, and to act solely in the interest of the participants and beneficiaries of the plan; that is, to refrain from involving himself in situations or transactions where his personal interests might conflict with the interests of the participants and beneficiaries for whom the fund was established. Thus, section 14(b)(1) sets out the prudent man standard and the attendant affirmative duties to discharge responsibilities in conformance with instructions (as set out in the governing plan documents) and solely in the interest of the plan's participants and beneficiaries. There follows a list of proscriptions (section 14(b)(2)) which represent the most serious type of fiduciary misconduct which in one way or another has occurred in connection with some welfare or pension plans. Some of these situations have been found in the administration of the WPPDA. Others have been discovered by congressional investigations, newspaper reporters, audits, and miscellaneous sources. While the magnitude of these improper practices is small in relation to the total number of plans in existence, the seriousness of the improper practices disclosed indicates the need for additional precautions to insure that these specific examples do not become general conditions. The list of proscriptions is intended to provide this essential protection.

The exemption provision which follows the listed proscriptions has been included in recognition of established business practices, particularly of certain institutions, such as commercial banks, trust companies and insurance companies which often perform fiduciary functions in connection with employee benefit plans. The Secretary will provide, by individual or class exemptions, exceptions so that the established practices of these institutions and others are not unduly disrupted, so long as they are consistent with the purposes of the Act.

Next, there are listed transactions in which fiduciaries are expressly allowed to engage. This listing is necessary for reasons similar to those which required inclusion of the exemption provision. That is, the breadth of the proscriptions, while considered necessary for the reasons stated above, would operate in some cases to prohibit transactions which are deemed desirable to the sound, efficient functioning of employee benefit plans. It was therefore necessary to specify that certain transactions, likely to be engaged in by fiduciaries of virtually all plans, will be allowed notwithstanding the proscriptions.

It is emphasized, however, that even with respect to the transactions expressly allowed, the fiduciary's conduct must be consistent with the prudent man standard unless the trust instrument specifically directs investments.

Especially significant among the expressly allowed transactions is that which permits, in most types of plans, investment of up to ten percent of the fund assets in securities

issued by the employer of employees who are participants in the plan. Since such an employer will often be an administrator of his plan, or will function as a trustee or in some other fiduciary capacity, this provision creates a limited exception to the listed proscription against self-dealing. The exception is made in recognition of the symbiotic relationship existing between the employer and the plan covering his employees. Such investments are commonly made under provisions in a trust agreement expressly allowing them. The ten percent limitation is prospective only, and does not require divestiture by funds already holding more than that percentage. Furthermore, in recognition of the special purpose of profit sharing plans, the limitation does not apply to such plans if they explicitly provide for greater investment in the employer's securities. Subsection 14(c) also recognizes the practice of including in trust instruments various authorizations governing the handling of the fund. Many such authorizations have been inserted by legal draftsmen because of questions in their judgment as to authority and are generally recognized as appropriate.

The next two subsections (14(d) and (e)) are intended to codify, with respect to employee benefit fund fiduciaries, rules developed under the law of trusts. Thus a fiduciary is made personally liable for his breach of any responsibility, duty or obligation owed to the fund, and must reimburse the fund for any loss resulting from such a breach. He must also pay over to the fund any personal profit realized through use of fund assets. Where two or more fiduciaries manage a fund, each must use care to prevent a co-fiduciary from committing a breach or to compel a co-fiduciary to redress a breach. Plan business is to be conducted by joint fiduciaries in accordance with the governing instruments of the plan, or in the absence of such provisions by a majority of fiduciaries and a fiduciary who objects in writing to a specific action and files a copy of his objection with the Secretary is not liable for the consequence of such action.

The requirement (subsection 14(f)) that every plan contain specific provision for the disposition of fund assets upon termination is necessary to avoid confusion on the part of fiduciaries and participants and beneficiaries alike as to the proper disposition of the fund assets upon termination of the plan. It is essential at such a time that the plan administrator (who is still, notwithstanding the termination, a fiduciary subject to the Act) know how assets remaining in the plan's fund must be distributed and it is important that the distribution plan be specified so that participants and beneficiaries can assess the propriety of the fiduciary's actions when the plan terminates. The requirement that liabilities to participants and beneficiaries be satisfied before claims on the fund by contributing parties will be heard is inserted to insure that the interests of participants and beneficiaries will be fully protected.

Exculpatory and similar clauses which purport to relieve a fiduciary from any responsibility, obligation or duty when under the Act are expressly prohibited and made void as against public policy. Whatever the validity such provisions might have with respect to testamentary trusts, they are inappropriate in the case of employee benefit plans. The large numbers of people and enormous amounts of money involved in such plans coupled with the public interest in their financial soundness, as expressed in the Act, require that no such exculpatory provision be permitted.

It is noted that the basic three year statute of limitations (subsection 14(h)) for suits to enforce the fiduciary provisions or redress a fiduciary's breach may be extended up to an additional three years where the breach is not discovered earlier. In no event can a suit be maintained more than six years

after the violation occurred. Where there has been a willfully false or fraudulent misstatement or concealment of a material fact, an action may be brought any time within ten years after the violation occurs.

Finally, by subsection (i) a fiduciary is specifically made not liable for violations committed before he became or after he ceased to be a fiduciary.

The second all new section, section 15, prohibits persons convicted of certain listed crimes from serving, for a period of five years after conviction or the end of imprisonment for such conviction, in a responsible position in connection with an employee benefit plan. The prohibition is considered necessary because of the large funds involved and the attendant great risk of a loss affecting a large number of persons. Section 15 is modeled after section 504 of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act (LMRDA) which bars persons convicted of certain crimes from serving as union officers. The presence of the LMRDA prohibition is another reason for including a similar provision in the Protection Act. Without such a provision, persons barred from serving as union officers might take positions with employee benefit plans. The danger inherent in such a transfer is especially great where elements of organized crime are involved.

The crimes listed have been chosen with reference to three kinds of criminal activity. These are (1) activities which involve a wrongful taking of property, (2) activities which are related to, and often occur in connection with the efforts of organized crime elements in the labor-management and securities fields, and (3) activities of a nature so vicious that involvement in them casts grave doubt on the individual's responsibility. Thus, in addition to the specifically named crimes the list includes crimes described in section 9(a) (1) of the Investment Company Act of 1940 (involving misconduct in the securities field), violations of section 302 of the Labor-Management Relations (Taft-Hartley) Act, certain violations of the LMRDA, violations of chapter 63 of Title 18, United States Code (mail fraud) and violation of sections 874 (kickbacks from public works employees), 1027 (false statements in documents required by the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act), 1954 (offer, acceptance or solicitation to influence operations of employee benefit plan), 1503 (jury tampering), 1505 (obstruction of government agency proceedings), 1506 (theft or alteration of court record or process; false bail), 1510 (obstruction of criminal investigations) and 1951 (interference with commerce by threats or violence) of Title 18, United States Code. The section contains its own criminal penalty, with a higher fine than that provided for other criminal violations of the Act. It is the same penalty as that specified in section 504, LMRDA.

II. REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE

The underlying theory of the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act to date has been that reporting of generalized information concerning plan operations to plan participants and beneficiaries and to the public in general would, by subjecting the dealings of persons controlling employee benefit plans to the light of public scrutiny, insure that the plan would be operated according to instructions and in the best interests of the participants and beneficiaries. The Secretary's role in this scheme was minimal. Disclosure has been seen as a device to impart to participants and beneficiaries sufficient information to enable them to know whether the plan was financially sound and being administered as intended. It was expected that the knowledge thus disseminated would enable participants to police their plans. But experience has shown that the limited data available under the present Act is insufficient even though the burden of enforcement has been partly assumed

by the Secretary. The Amendments therefore are designed to increase the data required in the reports, both in scope and in detail. Experience has also demonstrated a need for a more particularized form of reporting, so that the individual participant knows exactly where he stands with respect to his plan—what benefits he is entitled to and what steps he must follow to secure his benefits. Moreover, the addition of fiduciary responsibility provisions has increased the need for both generalized and particularized data. On one hand, participants will be able to ascertain whether the plan's fiduciaries are observing the rules set out in the fiduciary responsibility section only if they have access to sufficient data about plan transactions. On the other hand, the prophylactic effect of the fiduciary responsibility section will operate efficiently only if fiduciaries are aware that the details of their dealings will be open to inspection, and that individual participants and beneficiaries will be armed with enough information to enforce their own rights as well as the obligations owed by the fiduciary to the plan in general.

There are three significant changes designed to impart more information about the plan and its operations in general. First, the annual report must include the opinion of an independent accountant based upon the results of an annual audit. Such information will allow better assessment of the plan's financial soundness by administrators and participants alike (the exemption for the books of institutions providing investment, insurance and related functions and subject to periodic examination by a government agency will prevent duplicative audit examinations of these institutions). Second, plans except those which are unfunded must include in their reports information pertaining to leases, party in interest transactions and investment assets other than securities in addition to information about securities, investments and loans. Finally, actuarial information is now required so that participants and beneficiaries can judge the progress of the plan's funding scheme and its overall financial soundness.

Amendments to provide particularized information to individual participants and beneficiaries are found in section 8. In addition to the obligation to make available copies of the plan description and latest annual report, the administrator will be required to furnish to a participant or beneficiary so requesting in writing a fair summary of the annual report or a statement of what benefits (including nonforfeitable benefits, if any) have accrued in his favor or both. This will enable a participant to find out where he stands with respect to the plan at any given time. Administrators must make good faith efforts to supply to a participant (or his survivor) upon his termination of service under a plan, a notice telling the participant or survivor exactly what procedures must be followed to secure his benefits.

Further, the Administrator must furnish to participants and beneficiaries upon request copies of the plan description, annual report, or bargaining agreement, trust agreement, contract or instrument under which the plan is established and operated. He may make a reasonable charge to cover the cost of such copies. If a plan is subject to a Federal vesting requirement and is exempted from providing preretirement vesting for benefits earned during a year of financial hardship, good faith efforts will have to be made to inform participants of the lack of vesting in that year.

III. ENFORCEMENT

The changes in the enforcement provisions have been made so that the rights given to participants and beneficiaries elsewhere in the Act will be enforceable in an appropriate forum. The enforcement sec-

tion reflects the addition of the fiduciary responsibility provisions and provides remedies of two kinds; those designed to rectify fiduciary breaches and those to insure that participants and beneficiaries, and the Secretary, will receive the information required by the reporting and disclosure provisions. Suits to redress breaches of duty by a fiduciary or to remove persons from plan positions serving in violation of the criminal conviction bar may be brought by a participant or beneficiary only as a representative in a class action. Certification by an accountant as a prerequisite to the Secretary's investigation is no longer necessary because the annual audit requirement allows an assumption that the plan report is accurate.

Participants and beneficiaries may sue in any State court of competent jurisdiction.

For actions in Federal courts, nationwide service of process is provided in order to remove a possible procedural obstacle to having all proper parties before the court. Federal and State courts are given discretion to award attorney's fees and court costs to any party in actions brought by a participant or a beneficiary. The court also has discretion to require the plaintiff to post security for court costs and reasonable attorney's fees.

Fiduciary breaches may be rectified through civil suits only. Criminal penalties for such breaches are inconsistent with the principles established under the common law of trusts. However, criminal penalties remain available in cases of reporting violations, and, under Title 18, United States Code, in cases of embezzlement, false statements, bribery and kickbacks in connection with employee benefit plans.

IV. EFFECT OF OTHER LAWS

The Act provides for a uniform source of law for evaluating the fiduciary conduct of persons acting on behalf of employees benefit plans and a singular reporting and disclosure system in lieu of burdensome multiple reports. States may require the filing with a State agency of copies of reports required under the Act. State Courts as well as Federal courts are available to provide remedies under the Act and actions in State courts for accountings are expressly allowed. Furthermore, the Act expressly authorizes cooperative arrangements with State agencies as well as other Federal agencies and provides that State laws regulating banking, insurance and securities remain unimpaired.

TESTIMONY OF ANDREW J.
BIEMILLER

HON. WILLIAM R. ROY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, on October 5, 1971, Mr. Andrew J. Biemiller, director, Department of Legislation, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Health, on health maintenance organization proposals.

I include his testimony as part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

STATEMENT OF ANDREW J. BIEMILLER

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the AFL-CIO, I wish to thank you for the opportunity to present our views with regard to S. 837, S. 935, S. 1182 and S. 1301. Those bills are all designed to assist in the development of comprehensive, group practice prepayment plans (GPPP) operating on the principle of providing health services by an organized medi-

cal staff directly to an enrolled population on a per capita basis.

Let me say at the outset that the AFL-CIO has had differences, some major and some minor, with this Administration. However, we are in complete accord on the importance of utilizing public funds to stimulate the development of organized health delivery systems or Health Maintenance Organizations. We therefore welcome the initiatives already taken by the Administration in funding a number of HMO projects throughout the country.

We do have, however, a major reservation with regard to S. 1182, the Administration's bill to promote the development of HMO's, introduced by Senators Javits (R-N.Y.) and others.

Section 1102 of S. 1182 provides for making grants to public and non-profit private HMO's. However, it also authorizes the Secretary to enter into contracts with any (emphasis supplied) HMO or any organization intending to become a HMO. It is our opinion that this language will open the door to using public funds for the purpose of developing profit making health enterprises. We are adamantly opposed to the use of public funds for this purpose. Our experience with profit-making nursing homes has demonstrated that it is much too easy to make profits by not maintaining quality standards. We are opposed to exploiting human misery for private gain.

The same criticism is applicable to S. 703 introduced by Senator Pell (D-R.I.). This bill would establish a wide range of Federal subsidies for profitmaking "Community Health and Education Corporations." The Federal government assumes the risk of developing and supporting a private Corporation whose sole purpose is to make a maximum profit. S. 703 would provide Federal subsidies for the operation of such Corporations for 20 years.

I make this point at the outset because we regard this feature of S. 703 as highly dangerous. However, before making other specific comments on the bills the Subcommittee are considering, I want to convey to you the reasons why organized labor favors all practical steps for encouraging the expansion of HMO's.

Mr. Chairman, we are indeed delighted with the rapidly growing interest in prepaid group practice. Too long, Americans have had to accept the present fragmentation, inefficient and ineffective non-system of health care because there was, in most parts of the country, no alternative to fee-for-service medicine. For many years organized labor has supported and helped to develop prepaid group practice plans. Now, there is interest in developing HMO's, not only on the part of the Administration, but by industry, insurance companies, Blue Cross and Blue Shield, as well as by hospitals and medical schools. It now appears that everybody wants to get into the act. The AFL-CIO has supported the development of prepaid group practice and consumer controlled health cooperatives since the merger of the AFL and the CIO in 1955. In fact, both the AFL and CIO had resolutions favoring these principles prior to the merger. For example, the 1953 AFL Convention stated:

"We are particularly grateful to note a growing interest on the part of many unions in the establishment of truly comprehensive direct medical service plans, making use of the advantages of group medical practice in health centers and clinics, serving trade union members and the families in the community."

Nor have we remained content to pass resolutions. In 1913, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union sponsored the first union health center in New York City. Because of the opposition of organized medicine this health center initially had to limit its program to diagnostic services. Since that time, the Ladies' Garment Workers have established additional diagnostic and treat-

ment centers. Other unions such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Bartenders' International Union, the International Longshoremen's Association, the Retail Clerks International Association, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, the Service Employees International Union, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, the National Maritime Union, the International Union of Operating Engineers, the United Shoeworkers and the Seafarers International Union of North America have established health centers.

For the most part, these union health centers have provided health services for their members only. However, in recent years AFL-CIO policy has emphasized the importance of community sponsorship of group practice prepayment plans. We recognize where membership in a HMO is restricted to a single group of employees the potential for growth is limited. We now feel the benefits of such programs should be shared with the entire community. Until recently the only new communitywide group practice prepayment plans that were organized by other than the giant Kaiser Foundation were the Community Health Association of Detroit, sponsored by the United Automobile Workers of America and the Community Health Foundation of Cleveland, sponsored by the Meat Cutters and the Retail Clerks. In cooperation with the Group Health Association of America, the AFL-CIO is actively working to establish new plans in 15 cities around the country.

We have cited this history in some detail to indicate our longstanding commitment to improving the organization and delivery of health care through development of GPPP's.

Why do we have this interest? It is because our experience has demonstrated to us that HMO's can provide better quality medical care at lower cost than the fragmented fee-for-service system. Our members are enrolled in the Kaiser Foundation health plans in California, Oregon, Hawaii, Ohio and Colorado. We have members who belong to the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York (H.I.P.), Group Health Association here in Washington, D.C., Group Health of Puget Sound and others. All the reports we receive indicate these plans give the best value for the medical care dollar.

In fact, the potential cost savings from passage of this legislation are enormous. Prepaid group practice plans require 1.7 hospital beds per 1000 subscribers. The national standard under Hill-Burton is about 4.0 beds per 1000. For every GPPP plan developed, new construction of hospital beds can be reduced by 2.3 beds per 1000. This will save many millions of dollars.

In addition, GPPP's use physician manpower more effectively. The Kaiser, Portland plan operates on the basis of one full-time physician for every 1500 persons, compared with a national ratio of one patient-seeing physician for every 700 persons. If we could apply this ratio of physicians for the country as a whole and achieve a proper distribution of physicians, believe it or not we would have too many, not too few patient-seeing doctors. The more group practice plans we have, the fewer physicians and hospital beds we will need.

We do not intend to imply that we have sufficient beds nor adequate numbers of health personnel. All we are pointing out is that if the delivery system were as efficient as Kaiser, Portland or Group Health of Puget Sound, we would have enough resources to meet the need.

However, we know the delivery system is not going to change overnight. In fact, we know it will take years to achieve a rational health care delivery system. Until such time as we do have a more efficient delivery system, we will need more hospital beds, more nurs-

ing home beds, more physicians, more nurses, more medical technologists and more health personnel in every category. We do say that while we are spending billions of dollars developing new health resources, we should, at the same time, devote sufficient resources to develop organized delivery systems so that expenditures for manpower and facilities can be brought into balance with the need for them. We should develop resources and promote better forms of health delivery at the same time. We do need a program federally financed if we are to ease our requirements for manpower and facilities in future years.

In order to promote a rapid development of HMO's, an ideal HMO bill should include federal funding for the following:

1. *Feasibility Studies.* In order for a new plan to succeed the HMO concept must have support from consumers, labor and management, some physicians, one or more hospitals and from community leaders. Feasibility studies are essential to avoid loss of Federal funds on poorly conceived projects.

2. *Initial Planning and Development.* Federal grants must be provided to implement an enrollment campaign among potential subscribers, to design and make arrangements for the health services to be provided, to develop administrative and internal organizational arrangements, to design a capital financing program and to recruit physicians and other personnel.

3. *Construction.* Grants and subsidized loans must be made available to new or expanding HMO's for the construction of new facilities or the remodeling and renovation of existing structures.

4. *Initial Costs of Operation.* Experience has demonstrated that it takes 2 to 5 years for a new HMO to achieve capacity enrollment. Until such time as the medical department is fully staffed and the facility or facilities fully utilized, operating deficits will be incurred. Grants and subsidized loans to cover initial operating deficits are essential if a new plan is not to be drowned in red ink.

5. *Special Project Grants.* HMO's should be encouraged to train and develop new types of health personnel such as physician assistants and pediatric nurses. They should develop improved systems of recording, storing and retrieving medical records. Financial assistance should be provided for innovative programs in HMO management and operation. HMO's should be encouraged to develop innovative programs of initial screening of persons seeking health care as well as new ways of handling convalescent care.

6. *Management Training.* Grants should be made available to public and private educational institutions. Fellowships and scholarships should be provided for approved training programs in the management and administration of HMO's.

7. *Clinical Training.* Grants should be provided to approved schools or to HMO's for the purpose of training medical and paramedical personnel.

8. *Public Education.* The Department of Health, Education and Welfare should be directed to conduct a public education campaign to improve the public understanding of HMO's.

9. *Program Evaluation.* The Secretary of HEW should be directed and adequately financed to evaluate the relative cost effectiveness of different HMO models as well as HMO's as a group in comparison with the fee-for-service system.

An ideal HMO bill should also meet the following criteria:

1. Federal grants and subsidized loans should be made available only to nonprofit HMO's.

2. A wide variety of institutions and organizations should be encouraged to sponsor the formation of HMO's, but priority for public funds should be given to HMO's sponsored by consumers or by community organizations.

3. To be eligible for grants and loans an HMO charter should provide procedures for hearing and resolving grievances between its members and the personnel providing health services. The charter should provide the subscribers a meaningful role in policy making.

4. HMO's should enroll persons from among the various age, social and income groups in the area it serves. Insofar as is feasible, HMO's should not be established to serve one class of subscribers.

5. State and local area comprehensive health planning agencies should not have a veto power over the establishment of new HMO's.

6. Since 20 states prohibit prepaid group practice, federal legislation must pre-empt State laws that restrict the establishment of HMO's.

7. Provision should be made for a national HMO advisory council. The majority of members on this council should be consumer representatives.

We have outlined the features of what we believe should be included in the legislation if HMO's are to do the job expected of them. We urge their consideration in any bill that is reported out of this Subcommittee. All of the bills now before you could, in our opinion, be improved along the lines we have indicated.

We would like now to discuss more specifically each of the bills before you. We have already indicated our objections to S. 703 and we would like to proceed to a critique of the other HMO proposals. Our intention is only to point up those areas where these bills can be improved. All these bills have positive elements but, in the interest of time, we propose to dwell only upon those features requiring special emphasis.

S. 837, JAVITS (R-N.Y.)

Sec. 1003(a)(9) and Sec. 1004(b) require the approval of the State 314(a) agency or State health planning agency prior to providing financial assistance for the planning and development of a new HMO. The State planning agency for the State of New York, for example, is an effective planning body which provides for appropriate representation of consumer interests. Unfortunately, State planning bodies in some of the States have been captured by the provider interests and are likely to resist change. Other bills before this Subcommittee which provide review by the State planning agency but leave the ultimate decision for approval of a project to the Secretary are an improvement over S. 837.

Another shortcoming of S. 837 is that there is no provision for feasibility studies.

Other than the above, there are many excellent features of S. 837 including the following:

1. Federal funds would not be made available for profit-making HMO's.

2. The bill provides for continuing support of new HMO's up to 5 years.

3. Grants and subsidized loans (3 percent) would be provided for modernization and rehabilitation or construction of ambulatory care facilities for HMO's.

4. Grants not to exceed 80 percent of the amount of non-Federal contribution otherwise required for the construction or modernization of medical facilities under the Hill-Burton program are authorized.

5. Interest reduction payments to holders of mortgages under the National Housing Act where mortgaged medical facilities were used as part of an HMO are authorized. This interest subsidy would pay to the holder of the mortgage all interest charges exceeding 1 percent.

6. Grants up to 100 percent of costs would be provided for projects of special significance and for planning and developing new HMO's in urban or rural areas designated by the Secretary as needing such assistance.

S. 935, KENNEDY (D-MASS.)

Title II of this bill would provide for the purpose of establishing HMO's grants and loans to medical schools and to health care institutions such as teaching hospitals, which have a written affiliation agreement with a medical school. The focus of this bill is too narrow. HMO's eligible for funding should include not only medical schools but consumers, community organizations, hospitals and medical groups. The bill establishes a Health Maintenance Organization Review Council with no provision for consumer representation. We think this is a major omission. Loans would be provided to cover initial operating deficits, but at going rates. This is hardly adequate.

There is provision for grants to conduct feasibility studies which, as we have stated, is a necessary feature of a good program.

S. 1182 (JAVITS R-N.Y.) AND 20 CO-SPONSORS
ADMINISTRATION BILL

The bill would open the door to Federal funding for profit-making HMO's. The AFL-CIO recommends such funding be restricted to non-profit HMO's with priority for plans which are sponsored by consumers and community-wide organizations.

Sec. 1101(1)(D) would require a new HMO to demonstrate to the satisfaction of the Secretary proof of financial responsibility as a condition for receiving Federal financial assistance. This is too restrictive. Even major financial institutions or the Kaiser Foundation could hardly provide "proof" of financial responsibility under certain circumstances. The loan guarantee provisions of the bill are designed to tide a new plan over until such time as it may become self-sustaining. Therefore, "proof" of financial responsibility is both unnecessary and unduly restrictive. This language would in our judgment prohibit the formation of community-sponsored HMO's.

Grants are provided HMO's which locate in medically deprived areas. Guaranteed loans at prevailing rates are provided for HMO's in other areas. However, these loans are not subsidized. If grants are not to be provided for for new HMO's, which are to be located in areas not medically deprived, the loans then, at a minimum should be subsidized.

The AFL-CIO favors the provision that only requires review and not approval of a project by the State health planning agency.

The provision for joint funding of a single project where more than one Federal agency may be the source of funds will greatly simplify the administration of projects for the applicant.

S. 1301 (MONDALE, D-MINN.)

This bill would restrict the funding of new HMO's to medical schools. The AFL-CIO supports the concept that medical schools should receive grants to establish HMO's. However, sponsors should not be limited to medical schools. This bill, like S. 935, would restrict grants to establishing HMO's in communities which are characterized by a lack of adequate medical care. There is no provision for guaranteed loans in S. 1301.

All of the bills before this Subcommittee fall short of our specifications for an ideal bill. We think the best bill now under consideration is S. 837 introduced by Senator Javits. However, we feel improvements could be made in S. 837 along the lines we have suggested.

We would like to point out that the organization and financing of health services are interrelated. A Health Maintenance Organization provides comprehensive services. In fact, the whole HMO concept contemplates a single capitation payment to cover preventive care, physician services, hospitalization, skilled nursing home care and home health and other health care services. The single capitation enables an HMO to make maxi-

mum use of the budgeted dollar by utilizing lower cost methods of treatment where they are appropriate to meet the medical care needs of the patient.

In conclusion, we are disturbed that while Administration officials have stated that HMO's are conceived as the cornerstone of Administration policy to resolve the health care crisis, the funds requested by the Administration are completely inadequate to launch a large-scale development of HMO's. We think there should be less rhetoric and more funds. For this reason, we would like to suggest this Subcommittee write into any bill that you report out substantial authorizations to indicate the intent of Congress is that HMO development will have a high budgetary priority for future appropriations.

We believe prepaid group practice plans or HMO's will be the backbone of any future health delivery system. They will provide a foundation for the financing of health services for all Americans such as is provided in S. 3, the National Health Security program introduced by the Chairman of this subcommittee. A good HMO bill, adequately funded, will provide the organizational structure upon which to build a national health program. It will be part of the tooling-up process for National Health Security.

TAX CREDIT FOR COST OF
HIGHER EDUCATION

HON. BEN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced a bill, cosponsored by 58 Members, which would provide for tax credit for the cost of higher education. For the benefit of my colleagues, I insert a letter and attached article I received regarding this proposed legislation:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BLACKBURN: The Chronicle of Higher Education has reported on the introduction of your bill—HR 10912. The Financial Aid officers in Connecticut representing both public and private institutions of Higher Education have viewed with increasing alarm the mounting pressure on the middle-income family in terms of paying for a college education.

The current philosophy of Federal Student Aid is admirable in its effort to remove economic barriers to higher education for the economically disadvantaged. However, one of the fall-out effects has been the elimination of middle-income families (over \$12,000) from participation in such aid programs. Therefore, students from such families must decide to either attend low-cost public institutions or undertake considerable debt to attend private institutions. Institutional aid funds are being utilized to "match" and/or add to Federal aid funds to low-income students.

At Wesleyan University, for example, a student eligible for the maximum EOG of \$1000, (family income less than \$6,000, parental contribution less than \$600), a National Defense Student loan of \$600 and a College Work Study job for \$400 will require \$2900 in institutional grant money to meet his student budget for one year. Clearly, few institutions will have funds to do little more than "match" the federal programs again eliminating the middle-income family from consideration for support.

The Connecticut Aid officers have followed the "career" of the tax credits proposals by Senators Ribicoff and Dominick. We strongly

support such action by you at this time and request a copy of your bill in order that we may become knowledgeable of its details. I am enclosing a recent article which I trust you will find interesting.

Sincerely yours,

P. JEROME CUNNINGHAM,
President.

WHAT TUITION TAX CREDITS WOULD DO

The Ribicoff-Dominick plan, so named after its leading sponsors, Senator Abraham Ribicoff, Democrat from Connecticut, and Senator Peter Dominick, Republican from Colorado, would permit anybody who pays for tuition, fees, books, and supplies for a student at an institution of higher learning—whether the payer be the student himself, his parents, or a benefactor—a tax credit of 75 percent of the first \$200, 25 percent of the next \$300, and 10 percent of the next \$1,000. Thus, a credit of \$175 would be allowed for expenses of \$300 (58 percent) and a credit of \$325 for expenses of \$1,500 (25 percent). The scale is weighted in favor of low-tuition institutions where it wipes out much or most of the tuition cost. The credit starts tapering off from an income of \$25,000 and then vanishes at \$57,500.

The Treasury Department estimated that the cost of the Ribicoff-Dominick plan would initially be \$750 million a year, gradually rising to \$1.3 billion. Sixty-two percent of the credits would accrue to beneficiaries with an income between \$3,000 and \$10,000; 91 percent to persons whose income is under \$20,000. (This gives the lie to the misconception that tax credit plans benefit the rich.)

The Ribicoff-Dominick tax credit plan offers little or nothing to the rich, little or nothing to the poor, and aims at easing the future college burden—the inevitable tuition boosts—of the great majority of students who come from families "in between." Most students from families whose income is so low that they pay little or no income tax are probably on a scholarship. The granting of tuition tax credits would not only free more scholarships for needy students (because students from lower-middle income families would no longer need them), it would also stimulate many thousands of benefactors to donate scholarships for which they would receive credit on their income tax.

If it were still held desirable to make direct tax credit benefits available to people who pay no income tax, the tax credit could be made "absolute": a potential recipient of an educational tax credit would compute his income tax, including his tuition tax credit, and if his return winds up with a final net credit it would be paid to him by the Internal Revenue Service like a net credit from overpayment on the income tax.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks: "How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,600 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

ARAGON BEATS BIG ODDS

HON. JOHN W. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it is very rare these days to hear of a small, struggling community which makes it in this world of giant metropolises. Far more often, we read of these communities either being swallowed up by our larger cities, or finally succumbing to the laws of supply and demand, only to be remembered as a town that once was. It is for this reason that I am submitting for the RECORD a copy of an Atlanta Journal article which details the success one community in my district had in surviving as an individual entity. Appropriately enough, the article is entitled "Aragon Beats Big Odds":

TOWN TO GET NEW INDUSTRY—ARAGON BEATS BIG ODDS

ARAGON, GA.—Aragon beats the odds when its only industry quit operating in 1970. It should have followed other towns in similar situations down that dusty Georgia road to oblivion.

Instead in the 18 months since United Merchants, Inc., closed its Aragon Mill, the citizens of the small community reactivated a 57-year-old city charter, took control of the public services and elected a mayor along with four councilmen.

Now the news comes that Integrated Products of Rome is planning to buy closed Aragon Mill. A spokesman said the mill would be converted from a carpet yarn producer to a spinning and drying operation and could be in operation with 200 to 250 employees by next July.

Only a few details remain to be worked out, a company spokesman said.

"This would be a tremendous economic boost in every way," said mayor-elect Larry Pittman.

The voters of the mill village also scored a first among Georgia cities. They amended their charter to allow a \$2,000 homestead exemption on ad valorem taxes for all Aragon homeowners and increased it to \$4,000 for persons over 65 years of age.

The effect of the amendment frees many elderly persons from paying any city taxes at all. According to lifelong resident Ed M. Elliott, there are few homes in Aragon valued over \$8,000.

"These are working people's homes," he said of the values.

Given the normal method of taxation, he said, a home assessed at a total value of \$8,000 would be taxed at 50 percent of \$4,000. Subtracting the \$4,000 exemption for senior citizens, many city tax bills will equal zero.

"There isn't going to be many taxes over \$5, anyway," Elliott said, adding the taxation rate for Aragon was set at 5 mills. The assessments will be based on the Polk County tax records, and billing will not start until 1972.

Collecting taxes and running a city usually is not the worry of residents of small Georgia towns. Simply keeping folks in town is the overriding concern. But not in Aragon's case.

Doomsayers were predicting that Aragon would "dry up and blow away" when the mill closed and put 500 persons out of work. But the town of 1,080 seems to be thriving.

"Today, there's not an empty house in the city limits, and we're better off now than when the mill was going," Elliott said. "Most of the folks put out of work were from out-

of-town, I doubt more than 100 people from Aragon worked at the mill when it closed and those have found work somewhere else now."

Although the residents remained in Aragon, Elliott admitted the payroll at the mill was missed.

What concerned Elliott and many neighbors when the mill closed was being left at the mercy of private utility companies that the company had employed to supply urban services.

A private company was running garbage collections and the Polk County Water and Sewer Authority had control over water rates, he said.

So, Elliott and several others checked with the state attorney general for an opinion on the legality of the 57-year-old charter that was given the city in 1914. The answer from Atty. Gen. Arthur Bolton was that the charter was valid.

A house-to-house straw vote brought a three-man commission plus a vice commissioner into being and they reactivated the document.

The Commission took over the utilities along with a swimming pool, a little league ball park, a fully equipped fire station, a storm sewer system and a building for the city hall, at the legacy of the defunct mill.

The only thing the City of Aragon does not have control of is the water and sewer system, including a waste disposal plant, administered by the Polk County Water Authority.

"We (Aragon) have made application to the Farmers Home Administration for a grant to acquire the water and sewage disposal system," Elliott said.

Since the commission has been operating the city, Aragon has obtained grants totaling \$18,000—\$3,500 from the state and \$9,500 from the federal government—to supply services for the community.

Also expected the first of next year is a grant under the Omnibus Crime Act that will supply the city with its first employee, a police officer. Accompanying the salary of the officer will be a patrol car and equipment. The grant was obtained through the Coosa Valley Area Planning and Development Commission.

The commission has also bought a garbage truck and installed 90 mercury street lights. Thirty of the lights were placed in locations where there had been none because the old mill village limits did not extend to the present city boundaries.

"Everybody in town is expecting a New York City to be made of Aragon overnight," Elliott chuckled.

He also said the commission was leaving the city "in pretty good shape" for the new mayor and the four-member council that will take office Jan. 1, 1972.

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION BUDGET

HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's meaningful recognition of this Nation's obligation to America's veterans, and their dependents and survivors, has been shared wholeheartedly, and on a nonpartisan basis, by my distinguished colleagues in the Congress of the United States.

I am certain, moreover, that the President's highest in history fiscal year 1973 budget request of \$11.7 billion for Veterans' Administration programs, which he has just submitted to the Congress, will be accorded continued, nonpartisan congressional support.

The President's record high budget request for VA appropriations in fiscal year 1973 is not only about \$790 million over this fiscal year, but marks the fourth consecutive year in which record high VA budget requests have been recorded.

As ranking minority member of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, I admit to a special concern for our veterans and their families, and for the survivors of deceased veterans. At the same time, however, I recognize that all of my colleagues in the Congress are privileged to number among their constituents a proportionate share of America's 28.5 million living veterans, their families and the survivors of deceased veterans—who, together, constitute nearly half of our entire national population, and who are presently or potentially entitled to benefits and services from the Veterans' Administration.

In citing the highlights of the requested fiscal year 1973 VA budget, I do not intend to emphasize cold, impersonal budget figures, impressive as they are. Rather, I would ask that the Members think in terms of the personal, human hopes and needs which this budget will enable the Veterans' Administration to meet.

In taking this approach, I can assure the Members that they will be sharing the operating philosophy of the Veterans' Administration, and the personal compassion, concern and dedication of Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Donald E. Johnson and his more than 180,000 VA associates.

In the ensuing fiscal year, nearly 5 million veterans and dependents will receive \$6.4 billion in needed and deserved disability and death compensation and pension benefits from the Veterans' Administration. This will be \$331 million more than the Veterans' Administration will pay out in the current fiscal year.

I think that all Members will agree that one of the most important and popular benefits for our Vietnam era veterans is the GI bill education and training program.

How critically this program is needed, and its increasing use, are reflected in the fact that the Veterans' Administration proposed fiscal year 1973 budget requests \$204.7 million more for GI bill education and training and other readjustment benefits than is budgeted this year. The total \$2.2 billion requested for these benefits beginning July 1 represents more than a 200-percent increase over the amount expended just 4 years ago.

Again, however, I emphasize the human factors, and the fact that more than 2 million Vietnam era veterans will be trained in fiscal 1973—an increase of 105,000 veterans over this year's record number of enrollees under the Vietnam era GI bill.

The GI bill home loan program is also projected to increase in fiscal 1973. Specifically,

the requested budget forecasts a volume of more than 340,000 home loans valued at \$7.2 billion—an increase of 5 percent over this year, which, in itself, marked the highest home loan volume since 1957.

Unprecedented in concept, VA's massive information and contact program, called Outreach, will be continued and expanded in the coming fiscal year, with an expected total of 18.4 million personal and telephone interviews with veterans and their dependents being completed—an increase of 91.7 percent over the interview total of 1969.

VA's requested fiscal year 1973 budget calls for an increase in the agency's average employment of 11,640, to bring its total work force to more than 183,000. Nearly 11,000 of this employment increase is earmarked for VA's Department of Medicine and Surgery, which, as Members know, operates the agency network of hospitals, clinics, and other health delivery facilities.

The \$2.5 billion requested for VA medicine in fiscal year 1973 is an all-time high, and is up \$166.1 million over this year's budget, thus permitting VA to achieve these new goals:

Inpatient treatment to nearly 950,000 veteran patients, an increase of more than 24,000 over this year.

Handle nearly 11 million outpatient medical visits, an increase of almost 1.5 million over this year.

Increase by one-fifth the care provided in VA nursing care units.

Obligate \$78 million for medical and prosthetic research, an all-time high and an increase of \$8 million over this year.

Add seven employees for each 100 patients, bringing the VA hospital staffing ratio to 149 employees for each 100 patients.

Provide medical training for nearly 62,000 physicians, dentists, nurses, and other health personnel, again, a record-high.

In the area of hospital construction, the \$155 million proposed in the fiscal year 1973 budget is \$61.6 million over this year, and the highest amount budgeted for construction since 1951.

I am pleased to note that for California veterans this means that nearly \$92 million will be committed for the construction of new facilities at VA hospitals in southern California.

Included in these new projects will be a replacement hospital in Los Angeles, expected to cost approximately \$48 million, a hospital at Loma Linda, with a \$33.5 million construction cost budgeted, and nursing care beds budgeted at an additional \$10 million.

Reflected in the fiscal year 1973 budget are the first increments in planning and construction for these projects. Specifically, \$20 million is budgeted for this purpose for the Los Angeles hospital, \$2.8 million for Loma Linda, and \$7.5 million for nursing care beds.

As the Members may recall, President Nixon announced his approval last August of the 630-bed hospital at Loma Linda to replace the 521-bed VA hospital at San Fernando which was lost in the earthquake this past February 9.

In addition to these hospital construc-

tion projects in southern California, the fiscal year 1973 budget request for VA contains \$585,000 for expansion of the VA cemetery in West Los Angeles, and replacement of the present cemetery sprinkling system.

SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF CUBAN EXILES' DECLARATION OF FREEDOM

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, Sunday, January 23, marked the sixth anniversary of the signing of the declaration of freedom by the Cuban exiles in the United States.

Six years ago 1,500 proud Cubans gathered together in Key West, Fla., at the historic Club San Carlos, and affirmed their commitment to freeing Cuba from the oppressive Communist rule of Castro.

The declaration of freedom stands as the formal recognition by those Cubans who were forced to leave their homeland, of the qualities of freedom which they cherish and which have been suppressed by the Castro regime.

Mr. Speaker, the spirit expressed by this document echoes the spirit of our Nation's forefathers. On this sixth anniversary of its signing I call the attention of our colleagues to the declaration, and urge them to consider its statement of commitment to the fundamentals of freedom:

DECLARATION OF FREEDOM

In the City of Key West, Monroe County, State of Florida, United States of America, we, the Cuban exiles in the United States, in the name of God Almighty, and speaking both for ourselves and the oppressed people in Cuba, the Martyr Island, do say:

That on January 1st, 1959, the slavery yoke that came from Europe and was extinguished in Cuba at the end of the 19th century, was resumed.

That those responsible for this high treason to our Fatherland and to our People are just a score of traitors who, usurping the Government of the Country have been acting as mercenary agents for the Sino-Soviet imperialism, and have surrendered to that imperialism our Freedom and our Dignity, also betraying the American Hemisphere.

That as a consequence of this high treason, those who are usurping the Power in Cuba (as they were never elected by the People), are imposing a regime of bloodshed, terror and hate without any respect or consideration to the dignity of the human being or the most elementary human rights.

That in their hunger for Power, these traitors, following the pattern of totalitarian regimes, are trying, within Cuba, to separate the Family, which is the cornerstone of actual society, and at the same time, are poisoning the minds of the Cuban children and youth, in their hope of extending the length of time for this abominable system.

That the rule of the Law has been wiped out in Cuba, and it has been replaced by the evil will of this score of traitors, who are acting under orders from their masters, the Sino-Soviet imperialists.

In view of the foregoing, we declare:

First: That the actual Cuban regime is guilty of high treason to our Fatherland and to the ideals of the Freedom Revolution which as started on October 10th, 1868.

Second: That this score of traitors who have committed treason against our Fatherland, in case they survive the downfall of their regime, will have to respond, even with their lives before the Ordinary Courts of Justice of Cuba.

Third: That as the Noble Cuban People will not ever surrender, because that Nation was not born to be slave, we, the Cuban People, hereby make the present declaration of freedom.

We hereby swear before God Almighty to fight constantly, until death comes to us, to free Cuba from communism.

The fundamentals of this Revolution for Freedom are:

First: God Almighty, above all things, in Whom we believe as the essence of Life.

Second: The Fatherland, with all of its Laws, tradition, customs and history as a spiritual value, only surpassed by the concept of God.

Third: The Family, as the cornerstone of the Human Society.

Fourth: Human Rights, for each and every citizen, regardless of race or creed.

Fifth: The Law, as the foundation for the proper development of the Human Society.

Sixth: Democratic Government, with its three independent branches: Legislative, Executive and Judicial.

Seventh: Representative Democracy, through the exercise of Universal Suffrage, Periodically, Free and Secretive, as the expression of Popular Sovereignty.

Eighth: Freedom of Worship, Freedom of Teaching, Freedom of the Press and Free Enterprise.

Ninth: Private Property and Ownership, as the basic expression of Liberty.

Tenth: The improvement of living conditions for both rural and city working masses, with the just and necessary measures, keeping in mind the legitimate interests of both Labor and Capital.

Eleventh: The derogation and eradication of anything which is opposed to the political and religious fundamentals aforementioned, and specifically, the abolition of Communism and any other form of totalitarian manifestation.

Signed and sealed in Key West, Florida, on the 23rd day of January, 1966.

CUSTOMS SETS RECORD IN FIGHT AGAINST DRUGS

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I call to the immediate attention of my colleagues the praiseworthy record of the U.S. Bureau of Customs compiled during 1971 regarding the seizure of illegally imported drugs. The Bureau's impressive achievement is examined in a perceptive article appearing in last Thursday's edition of the Washington Post.

Having served as a member of the Treasury-Post Office Appropriations Subcommittee for 12 years, I am keenly aware of the effectiveness of this agency and I applaud this latest manifestation of its dedication to duty. Last year, Customs officials confiscated a total of 1,309

pounds of heroin—almost four times the amount taken the previous year. Additionally, seizure of opium, marihuana, and hashish exceeded the amounts confiscated during 1970.

At a time when public concern about the tremendous drug problems facing our Nation is at its highest level, it is reassuring to note that the Customs Bureau is attacking the source of these problems with all the vigor it can muster. A large part of the credit must be attributed to Mr. Myles Ambrose who, shortly after assuming the office of Commissioner of Customs in August of 1969, galvanized the Bureau into the hard-fighting organization it has now become.

Under his guidance, the Bureau's operating budget has increased by \$66 million and the number of its employees has grown by 5,000. The Bureau's investigative arm has been reorganized. Sophisticated communications equipment and its own fleet of helicopters, light aircraft, and high-speed boats have been acquired. Additional innovations have included the use of dogs to detect the presence of hidden marihuana and hashish.

I commend the Bureau and Mr. Ambrose for this admirable record of achievement and I now include the Post article to which I previously referred:

CUSTOMS SETS RECORDS IN FIGHT AGAINST DRUGS

(By Elsie Carper)

Despite the seemingly limitless ingenuity of smugglers, the U.S. Bureau of Customs made record seizures of heroin and other narcotics entering the country last year.

The biggest haul in value was in heroin, the bureau said. Customs agents confiscated a total of 1,309 pounds, nearly quadrupling the amount seized the previous year.

On the street level, that much heroin would have provided more than 104 million injections and at the going rate of \$6 a dose would have been worth more than a half billion dollars. There were 566 separate seizures as compared with 324 in 1970.

The heroin seized at U.S. ports and border crossings was in addition to that intercepted overseas through an international program to cut off major world supply routes. The State Department recently reported that 12,000 pounds of heroin or its equivalent in ingredients was confiscated last year by police in cooperating countries. State could not say how much of it was intended for the United States.

Customs officials seized more opium, marijuana and hashish than in the previous year but less cocaine even though there were more individual arrests for cocaine smuggling. Couriers are carrying in cocaine in smaller amounts to evade detection, officials say.

The estimated street value of narcotics other than heroin seized last year was near \$100 million. Agents confiscated 48 pounds of opium, 165 pounds of cocaine, 202,105 pounds of marijuana and 6,818 pounds of hashish.

The agents discovered narcotics in some strange places, with imported automobiles a favorite hiding place for heroin. It was found in spare tires, gas tanks, inside the hollow driveshaft of a truck and in traps welded to car frames.

Commissioner of Customs Myles J. Ambrose said that the federal government's intensified effort to shut off the importation of drugs has diverted commercial smugglers from traditionally easy methods, such as carrying it on the person and in luggage, to more elaborate and bizarre methods.

INSPECTION INCREASED

Customs has substantially increased the number of cars examined—it won't say how many—and periodically conducts drives in which every car entering a port is inspected. It also relies on an international network of information from its own agents overseas, those of the Justice Department's Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and from police in foreign countries.

The biggest heroin seizure last year was 247.5 pounds detected in May when agents searched and then dismantled a 1967 Citroen car shipped to San Juan, Puerto Rico, from Spain.

Four days later, acting on information developed by customs agents and the Justice Department's Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, Spanish federal police seized a second Citroen car and 249 pounds of pure heroin in Valencia, Spain.

The car was destined for New York.

In September, three persons were arrested for attempting to smuggle 200 pounds of heroin into the country. The heroin was hidden throughout the body of a 1970 Ford unloaded at a New York pier after a voyage from Genoa, Italy. Customs found the narcotics during a routine examination.

Heroin was discovered in the seat of a Honda motorcycle, in the sports jacket of a pedestrian entering from Mexico and in the false bottoms of wine bottles imported from France.

A customs import specialist became suspicious when a powder-like substance sifted from the frames of four original paintings shipped from Buenos Aires to New York. In the frames were 38.6 pounds of heroin and 19.7 pounds of cocaine.

Are the seizures cutting down on the availability of drugs in the country? The amount that gets through the customs screens is a matter of conjecture. Nelson Gross, State Department coordinator for international narcotics matters, estimates the annual consumption of heroin in this country at six tons. Ambrose thinks it is less than that— from three to four tons. The amount of heroin seized then represents from 10 to 20 per cent of imports.

There was a time when the effects of a big haul could be seen on the street. Within days addicts would feel the pinch and would come to the attention of police. That is no longer true. It may be that a lot of heroin is stashed away or that addicts turn temporarily to methadone, Ambrose said.

REDUCTION POSSIBLE

It may be impossible to stop completely the smuggling of narcotics but the amount can be substantially reduced, Ambrose believes. And if you reduce the supply, you reduce the demand.

"The drug explosion was a phenomenon of the '60s," Ambrose declared. "Everybody talked about it but nobody did a — thing about it. I am personally convinced that a great deal of the problem is related to a lack of enforcement. If we had tried to do something about the supply there wouldn't be so much around. There is a direct correlation between supply and demand."

When Ambrose, a New York lawyer and a former assistant secretary of the Treasury became Commissioner of Customs in August 1969, the bureau had the same number of employees that it had in the Coolidge administration and was operating with a \$123 million a year budget. This year it received \$189 million and the number of employees has been increased from 9,000 to 14,000.

The investigative arm was reorganized to combat drug smuggling. The bureau acquired sophisticated communications equipment and its own fleet of helicopters light aircraft and high speed boats. It also started using dogs to sniff out marijuana and

hashish in mail, cargo, unaccompanied baggage and vehicles.

During their first year on the job, the dogs detected 13,000 pounds of marijuana, 650 pounds of hashish, 4,000 marijuana cigarettes, 35 pounds of opium and 300 grams of heroin.

ALL-OUT PROGRAM

The appointment of Ambrose corresponded with a message from President Nixon to Congress announcing an all-out program to combat what he called "this growing menace to the general welfare of the United States." Since then Mr. Nixon has taken other steps to control narcotics traffic including diplomatic missions to other countries seeking cooperation.

There are two major routes by which heroin reaches the United States. One originates in Turkey where the opium is grown and where it is reduced to a morphine base. Ten pounds of opium makes one pound of the powder white morphine base. The base is shipped from Turkey overland by truck through Bulgaria or Greece to Yugoslavia and then to western Europe where it is processed again into heroin. From there it is smuggled by various routes into the United States.

These routes change constantly. During the early 60's the drugs were smuggled from Marseilles to Canada and Mexico City. Later South America became the base for shipment into this country.

Last June, Turkey agreed to end all opium poppy cultivation within one year and in the interim to try to keep opium out of the underground market. The State Department recently announced that it is working out a cooperative plan with Yugoslavia to intercept the drugs enroute to western Europe.

Last month, following conferences in Paris and Vienna, 14 European nations agreed to tighten border controls and exchange information on illicit narcotics traffic.

Ambrose said that countries, which formerly regarded narcotics as an "American problem," now are concerned that addiction will spread within their own borders.

THE WAY TO SAY GOODBY

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, for some years now Today's Education, the journal of the National Education Association, has been holding a teachers' writing competition. During the last competition one of my constituents, Mr. Richard Hollis of Los Alamitos, Calif., won the third prize. Mr. Hollis teaches English at Millikan High School, Long Beach, Calif. His winning entry, "The Way To Say Goodby," is based on his own experience with his daughter and her first day at school. The story, which was published in the January 1972 issue of Today's Education, follows:

THE WAY TO SAY GOODBY

(By Richard Hollis)

It was the time for the annual reopening of school—the time for our first child to go off to kindergarten. It was the time for her to say good-bye.

Of course, her mother and I knew what

an emotional shock it would be for our girl (not yet five years old, really just four and ten-twelfths) to leave the security of her parents and little brother to go out into the tough, frightening world of strangers. And so we wanted to do all we could to make the parting as easy as possible and to avoid a tear-filled scene.

I knew the trick would be to explain everything necessary to her and then to take her through the separation in a brisk, no-nonsense manner. That was the way to do things like this. She might as well learn the lesson early: Make a break quick and make it clean—walk away without looking back.

In the years stretching ahead of her, there would be many partings from close friends and loved ones. That was the rule of life. Sooner or later she would have to learn the way to say good-bye.

As K-Day drew near, we beamed and said, "You'll have so many nice new friends."

We said, "You'll sing songs and play games and paint and have such a good time."

And we said, "You'll have a wonderful teacher and you will like her so much."

That was our tack: What fun it was all going to be. (No need just yet for her to know that it was a jungle out there waiting for her.) With the right preparation we would avoid the last-minute clinging, the clutching, and . . . the tears.

However, her response was not reassuring. She was more quiet than usual. Her countless projects and activities abruptly dwindled to nothing as if she were all burned out. I would cast furtive glances at her for signs of nail-biting or a quivering chin, but saw only enigmatic stares. She showed more enthusiasm in cleaning up her room than in answering my questions.

The eve of the big day brought something else. "I'm just not sleepy," one girl said again and again until almost one a.m., when she finally went to sleep. Once more I realized how fortunate it was that the school where I taught would not open for another week, and that therefore I would be on hand to see her through her worst time.

Despite our apprehension, things began well enough the next morning. Our girl seemed more concerned about her immediate problems than about the fact that she was leaving home. First there was the question of what dress to wear. Next came the task of getting her snack of vanilla cookies and an apple into her lunch box. I figured the poor child was terrified but just wouldn't show her feelings. It was a very brave performance.

We got away from the house without incident. Making no effort to restrain myself, I admitted that our girl certainly looked pretty in her new pink dress with white lace trim, which complemented her perky hairstyle, big brown eyes, and rosy cheeks. (I wasn't counting the serious look on her face.) She carried her lunch box—a conservative plaid job with no cartoons or TV folk around the sides—with the dignity of a seasoned schoolgirl.

Her little brother, three years old, carried a plastic model of the "Spirit of St. Louis." Walking a few paces behind the children, their mother and I, proud as we were, carried only distended wrap-around grins, almost unbearable weights at that speed.

It was a fine day for the walk—clear and fresh, with a bright September sun. But the street probably never seemed longer to our girl. Passing all the familiar houses of our immediate neighbors, ones where we knew everybody including grandparents, we got to the houses where we didn't know anybody.

The going was getting rough. How good it was that I could be along to hold things together. I felt like a trail boss, keeping the people moving onward, to whatever their destiny might be.

In the distance I could hear the sound of morning traffic on the freeway, while high overhead a jetliner slipped almost silently across the sky. That was the way of it. The world went on, no matter what.

The closer we got to the bus stop, the more I could sense the situation deteriorating. Then, there we were at the telephone pole which marked the stop.

A small group of mothers stood back from the two lines of wild kids already waiting—pushing and jostling each other as they struggled for first position in line. Here was our girl's new world waiting for her.

For the older kids it was a time of joking. One big lug (he looked six and a half if he looked a day) was thumping at the approaching big yellow bus as though to hitch a ride. Another shouted, "Here come de bus! Here come de bus!"

But for my little family, it was a time of parting. And then, just what I had been afraid of all along: Here came the tears. First they trickled, then they flowed. Next came the clutching, the clinging, the refusal to let go. But it couldn't last. It has to end. After all, life is made of partings.

Then, abruptly, the break came. "Daddy, let go of me and stop that crying. I have to go now," said my first, my only girl—my baby.

And gaily, cheerily she skipped over to the line of bright, chattering children, and without taking the extended hand of the lady bus driver, stepped up into the bus, not even once looking back at me.

There it was. I had been right. She was becoming hardened already. You give them a sensitive child and they give you back a stranger.

Well, that was the rule. You had to let go. But as the bus roared away, I yelled after it, through my tears, "Be kind to her!"

Then I hurried away with what was left of my family. I figured I had better start to work right away getting my son ready to leave home. He had only two more years before kindergarten and I certainly didn't want him to go through what my girl had just endured.

SHOOTS DOWN MIG-21

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the accomplishments of my constituent, Lt. Randall Cunningham, son of Mr. and Mrs. Randall Cunningham, of Shelby, Mo. Lieutenant Cunningham received his masters degree from Missouri University in 1965. Since 1967 he has served in the Navy and is now assigned to the U.S.S. *Constellation*. On Wednesday, January 19, 1972, Lieutenant Cunningham used a sidewinder missile to shoot down a Mig-21 over North Vietnam, making the first U.S. air combat killing in nearly 2 years.

I know we all hope and pray for an early end to this war. In the meantime it is well to remember that men such as Lieutenant Cunningham are successfully carrying out the difficult and dangerous tasks assigned to them. I know we all join in the desire that he may soon safely return to his wife, Susan, and his children, Todd and Kristin.

THE 1,600 AMERICANS

HON. JOHN N. ERLBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, about 10 days ago President Nixon announced the withdrawal of 70,000 more American troops from Vietnam. This means that by May 1, our numbers there will be reduced to 69,000.

While all Americans find a certain relief in this knowledge, our anxiety for the 1,600 Americans who are missing in action or prisoners of war continues. We want all of our people home from Vietnam, including those who are held prisoners.

Our concern for these 1,600 men and women was affirmed again this past December 3 by the people of Downers Grove, Ill. It was Tim Bodden Day in Downers Grove, and the man to whom these good people paid tribute is one of these 1,600 Americans. Tim Bodden Day, arranged and coordinated by the Downers Grove Jaycees, was both a tribute to Tim and a demonstration of our support, our hope, and our concern for him, for all of the others who are missing or who are prisoners, and for their families.

It was a demonstration also of the President's personal respect, hope, and concern for all of them, and of his determined pursuit for the release of those Americans who are prisoners of war.

The President sent Robert Finch, one of his counselors, to Downers Grove on December 3. I believe all of us who share the twin hope of ending our involvement in Vietnam and of bringing home those Americans who are held captive by the Communists will want to read what Robert Finch had to say on Tim Bodden Day:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE ROBERT H. FINCH

I am privileged to be here with you tonight and pay tribute to Gunnery Sgt. Timothy Bodden and to Mrs. Bodden whose efforts underscore the extraordinary concern we all share with the families and friends of the some 1,600 American men who are Missing In Action or known to be Prisoners Of War in Southeast Asia.

It was just a few years ago, in 1960, that Tim Bodden graduated from this high school and enlisted in the Marines. Many of you in this audience know Tim. When the President asked me to come here this evening, I took the opportunity to look at Tim's record, and it is an outstanding one indeed.

His Commanding Officer summed it up well by describing Tim as a man "respected by his subordinates, admired by his contemporaries, and praised by his seniors."

Tim Bodden typifies the American character and spirit at its finest. He had the courage and the determination to go to the aid of his fellow Marines on an emergency medical evacuation to remove the seriously wounded from the battlefield. That is a volunteer assignment. In the midst of heavy enemy fire his helicopter was forced down.

His mission was to free his wounded companions. Our mission tonight is to reaffirm that the President and the American people have the same spirit and determination to bring Tim Bodden and the other Prisoners Of War home and to have all the Missing in Action accounted for.

The outpouring of public interest and concern evidenced here in Downers Grove under the leadership of Mrs. Bodden, the Jaycees, and all the community is moving indeed.

It is critically important that the American public make known their opinions to Hanoi as well as the rest of the world. I commend you and I encourage you to redouble your efforts.

I am here particularly tonight to underscore what President Nixon said two months ago in Washington to the Convention of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia. He gave then, and I repeat now, the solemn affirmation that the matter of Prisoners Of War and men Missing In Action is one that has the highest Presidential priority.

It is a problem that the President has refused to delegate to anyone. As he told the Convention in September, "I can assure you that every negotiating channel, including many private channels that have not yet been disclosed, have been pursued, are being pursued, and will be pursued."

The President noted that many times hopes have been raised and then dashed because of the enemy's incomprehensible lack of concern for any humanitarian ideals.

But he said emphatically, "We believe that it is essential to check every possible lead; we don't care where it comes from."

He has assumed personal responsibility for this problem, and he will continue to do so until the last American fighting man held prisoner is home again, and the last man Missing In Action has been accounted for. Only one who has served in uniform can appreciate how deeply this obligation runs.

The war in Vietnam has now become the longest war in our Nation's history. Only history can pass final judgment on any war, and in doing so history must discount the rhetorical excesses committed on both sides of the domestic controversy about this war.

But whatever else, there is one thing that we will not have to wait for history's judgment on—and that is the callous, cruel, and calculated silence of North Vietnam toward the more than 1,600 American Prisoners Of War or Missing In Action, and toward their families, friends, and comrades who, with only this barbaric silence to listen to, are waiting, hoping, and praying.

Nearly every American knows that negotiations are going on in Paris. But few know just what is going on in those negotiations. You have shown your concern and so I think you also should know the facts.

As part of their propaganda tactics, the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong representatives have deliberately attempted to sow seeds of confusion and divide the American people by making it appear that we are the foot-dragging, heartless ones who will not negotiate. That is absolutely not the case.

What the Communists say outside of the forum of the Paris negotiations is not what they say at the conference table.

They will tell a Senator or Congressman, or a group of civic leaders, or a columnist, or a demonstration leader on a transatlantic phone call, that they will release the Prisoners Of War if we will set a firm troop withdrawal date. But at the Conference meetings, when that demand is addressed, they deny ever having made it.

The record is there; and the record is plain to any who will read it. The United States has made it clear, made it dramatically clear, that we are ready to stop the fighting RIGHT NOW if the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong will agree to do so.

The United States has reiterated many times in many forums that we are prepared to immediately release their Prisoners Of War whom we are holding if they will release ours.

The United States has repeatedly promised to negotiate seriously in Paris and wherever else we think it might be useful.

But it takes two parties, two serious parties acting in good faith, for negotiation or agreement.

Several weeks ago, Ambassador Porter, the head of our delegation at the Paris Peace Talks, reviewed the other side's record there. He reminded the North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front delegates that their continued refusal to negotiate seriously has impaired the entire progress of the talks.

I would like to sketch for you briefly the sad record of the Paris talks which raised such great expectations and which have been turned into a propaganda sideshow by the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong delegations.

Our Ambassador began with a reminder to the Communists that at the very first meeting on January 29, 1969, the United States made specific proposals concerning the early release of prisoners held by both sides, and these proposals were summarily refused.

Two months later, on March 25, 1969, the Republic of South Vietnam offered to hold private, direct, and unconditional meetings with the National Liberation Front on the question of political settlement. This offer was refused two days later and labeled a "perfidious maneuver."

On May 8, 1969, the other side made what was called a peace "proposal." This was a number of non-negotiable conditions which we had to take or leave and this proposal made no mention of what, if anything, they would agree to do.

In contrast, on May 14, 1969, President Nixon put forth an eight-point program, every point of which defined what both sides should do. The President's proposals contained no unilateral demands on the Communists; in fact, they contained no demands at all, only proposals for negotiation.

Nevertheless, Hanoi and its agents refused the proposals for the release of Prisoners of War.

On June 8, 1969, President Nixon announced the first withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. The other side promptly labeled this action a "fraud," and they spent the next few months trying to convince people that it was not happening.

Even today, after 350,000 of our troops have been withdrawn, North Vietnam and the Liberation Front still refuse to admit that this withdrawal has actually taken place!

At the Thirty-Second Plenary Session, August 28, 1969, we asked the enemy to identify all the prisoners they held, to allow impartial inspection of Prisoner of War camps, to permit the regular exchange of mail, and to consider the early release of sick and wounded prisoners. They bluntly and categorically refused to take any of these basic humanitarian actions.

In September 1969, when the second massive reduction of American troops was announced, the representative on the other side of the table in Paris quickly labeled it a "trick."

On December 11, at the Forty-sixth Session, Ambassador Porter laid it on the line. Just in case they had left their dictionaries in Hanoi, he reminded them, and I quote him, that "Good will means the following things: To present reasonable proposals; to listen to the proposals of others; to discuss one's own proposals and to explain them; to discuss the proposals of others and to ask for clarification; to be ready to deal with all parties; to be ready to give and take; and to reach an agreement to which all parties can honorably adhere."

He pointedly told the Communist delegates that by any normal standards, they had shown neither good will nor a serious attitude toward real, mutual negotiations.

Two weeks later, at the Forty-Eighth Session on December 30, 1969, the United States again proposed that the two sides "enter promptly into discussions on all questions affecting Prisoners Of War held on both

sides, including the question of their early release."

On February 26, 1970, at the Fifty-Sixth meeting, responding to propaganda statements carried by various news media, our Ambassador asked for confirmation that prisoners held in North Vietnam could, in fact, correspond with their families and receive mail and packages. He asked specifically for instructions which we could pass on to their families so that they would know how to go about sending letters and packages to their men.

At the next three sessions on the 5th, 12th, and 19th of March, the question of mail for men in North Vietnam was again put to the other side. They steadfastly refused then—and still refuse today, almost two years later—to answer this very basic question.

All through the summer of 1970, the Communists at Paris continued to refuse any meaningful discussions or negotiations concerning the Prisoners Of War and men Missing in Action.

On October 7, 1970, President Nixon offered a broad ranging, bold and imaginative peace initiative. His peace proposal called for an immediate cease-fire and for the immediate release of all Prisoners Of War on all sides.

Before this proposal for a cease-fire and prisoner exchange was 12 hours old, the representatives of Hanoi and the National Liberation Front had denounced it as a "trick" and "absurd."

How does one describe a government whose official representative declares it is "absurd" to propose a cease-fire that would immediately halt a war?

But the President in his search for peace, two months later on December 10, 1970 (almost a year ago tonight), proposed the release of all North Vietnamese Prisoners Of War held in South Vietnam in return for the release of all American and free world prisoners anywhere in Indochina and for all South Vietnamese prisoners held outside South Vietnam.

Despite the abrupt rejection of that generous proposal, which would have resulted in an exchange of prisoners in a 10 to 1 ratio in favor of the North Vietnamese, President Nixon has made it clear that the offer still stands. And the Communists' stubborn refusal to negotiate seriously still continues.

At the One-Hundred Eighth Plenary Session of April 8, 1971, we proposed direct repatriation or internment in a neutral country for all able-bodied prisoners who had been held for a long period of time. As you know, some prisoners had been in captivity for more than seven years.

We also requested the other side's cooperation so that their own sick and wounded soldiers whom we hold might return home. The other side dusted off their favorite cliché, and once again described our offers as "perfidious maneuvers."

Since July of this year, the other side has insisted that we blindly accept their so-called seven-point peace proposal. They have repeatedly indicated that there is no room for negotiation or discussion or even clarification.

And finally, just yesterday, December 2, our Ambassador demanded that Hanoi allow a "normal flow" of mail between the American prisoners and their families. Again, no reply as yet.

Now, some ask, well, if we've tried everything else, what if we just pulled out? Maybe then we could get our prisoners back.

Unfortunately, history tells us that such a withdrawal would hardly guarantee any return of our prisoners because you can be sure that the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong are fully aware of North Korea's humiliating propaganda experience with Prisoners Of War.

It was, as many of you well remember, the issue of prisoner repatriation which pro-

longed the Korean War for two years after the first armistice negotiations began.

The Communists were ideologically unable to admit that a large minority of the North Koreans and a clear majority of the Chinese prisoners did not want to be returned to Communism.

Finally, after almost two years, and under very direct pressure, the Chinese gave in to the principle of voluntary repatriation, and an armistice was signed.

Now there is no reason to think that the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong would rush to open themselves to similar embarrassment on the propaganda front which is so important to them and to their cause.

I want to affirm that the way to get our men back now is the direct, determined, and purposeful way of negotiation that we are pursuing, and to assure you that President Nixon has but one aim: to get our men back.

He has pursued that aim, despite rebuffs and in the face of cheap propaganda assaults . . . he has pursued that aim from the first day of his Administration. And he is pursuing it today. He will not forget, and he will not let up his efforts. . . .

We are telling the enemy and its delegations at Paris that however little or much our conduct of the war, or our part in the war may have changed with changing events, that these 1,600 men are those whom we honor and care for; these are men for whom we demand, not beg, treatment which even most of the most barbarous nations in the whole history of the world have accorded to those opponents who honorably fall or are taken in battle.

And until the enemy realizes the real meaning of meetings such as this one, the real spirit of Downers Grove which fills all of America regarding these prisoners, until that time, then we too will be prisoners; prisoners, in the Biblical words, of hope.

Prisoners of hope that these men, that Tim Bodden, will know, will feel, will sense, our care, our support, our prayers.

It was Tom Paine, who also lived in times that tried men's souls, who wrote that, "We fight not to enslave, but to set a country free, and to make room upon the earth for honest men to live in."

That is what these 1,600 Americans are doing. That is what Tim Bodden is doing. And that is part of what we honor when we gather at meetings like this one tonight in Downers Grove.

Freedom has a special meaning for Mrs. Bodden and the hundreds like her, but most of all freedom means something to a man like Tim Bodden.

In this sense and spirit, I would leave you tonight with the words scribbled on a "C ration box" found at Khe Sanh after the siege in 1968: "For those who fight for it, freedom has a flavor the protected will never know."

Thank you and God bless you.

NOW LISTEN TO A FIREFIGHTER'S PLEA

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Joseph E. Galvin is chief of Battalion 12 of the New York City Fire Department. His moving essay, "Now Listen to a Firefighter's Plea," appeared in the Thursday, January 20, 1972, New York Times.

While his experience has been fighting fires in our largest city, impressions will

be familiar to other fireman no matter where they serve. And every fire department in this Nation has, if not the identical problems described by Chief Galvin, problems requiring immediate attention.

I am pleased that attention and Federal moneys are to be directed to technological advances in firefighting. The Times reported January 21 that a Federal project aimed at improving our Nation's normal processes will investigate, "radical improvement of firefighting systems, with emphasis on use of helicopters, advanced protective clothing and masks, and automatic extinguishing systems." I support research of this nature. The men who devote their lives to protecting our society from fire require and deserve this support.

NOW LISTEN TO A FIREFIGHTER'S PLEA

(By Joseph E. Galvin)

During my firefighting career I've been blown from the roof of a blazing pier, have had the man next to me on a hose line gasp and die as we tried to advance into a burning tenement, have had a woman relieve herself as we carried her down an aerial ladder from a blazing Harlem tenement in a snow-storm.

I've worked seven hours in a blizzard while soaked to the skin, and had to be taken to a hospital as a result; I once literally tore the arms from a dead firefighter who was trapped beneath a truck.

I've saved lives and have had mine saved several times by my brother firefighters. I've suffered injuries ranging from scalds and burns to a form of "combat fatigue." I've been taken to the hospital, unable to walk, due to the swelling in my heels resulting from sliding the firehouse pole over twenty times during one single night tour in Harlem. I've been in building collapses to assist in the removal of victims when the building was threatening to collapse over our heads and bury us.

I've also been cursed, punched, assaulted and insulted by so-called "toughs" so many times that, incredibly, I'm almost inured to it. I've fought off a group of hoodlums who had surrounded our apparatus and were attempting to steal our tools and equipment. However, and this is quite important, I am not alone nor am I unique. Many other professional firefighters have endured much more than I, and will carry terrible physical and emotional scars to their graves.

To be a member of a ladder company crawling around the smoke-filled rooms of an occupied tenement, searching for possible fire victims, while three or four rooms are afire in the apartment directly below, is one of the most demanding tasks required of a human being. To be given the assignment of cutting a hole in a building's roof to effect ventilation so that the engine company down below can advance its line, when every enlargement of the hole allows super-heated smoke and gases to blast into one's face, demands the ultimate in dedication and raw guts.

The human body is subjected to such a high level of punishment during the performance of these tasks that no one, and I mean no one but a firefighter, would place his body in close proximity to the immediate area. You see, professional firefighters as a rule have life spans approximately seven years less than the average male.

Few of this city's citizens realize that some fire units respond to over seven thousand alarms during the year, and that each time they do, the firefighters are subjected to tremendous emotional strain—not knowing whether the alarm will be a tragedy or a false alarm. I've seen some of my men leave their

firehouses after the completion of their tour of duty almost disoriented from fatigue and the effects of noxious gases. To respond to over twenty alarms during one night tour and get three or four tough fires, back to back, is a terrible experience. What motivates men to perform this task?

After almost twenty years of working with and observing firefighters in every conceivable emergency, I've concluded that the glue which holds this great department together is a combination of brotherhood and love. The misery, suffering and pain which we firefighters share creates a bond which those outside the fire service cannot comprehend. Wives, mothers, sweethearts—none can intrude into this unique fraternity that comes from being truly brothers. This spirit of comradeship grows from the development of mutual respect and admiration which each man has for another, and is a form of love. And that special love which men in combat develop for one another is indeed a wonderful thing to share in, or even to observe. We firefighters endure hardships and share experiences which we'll never forget even if we live to be 200. The crucible of arduous fire duty welds us into a tough steel-like chain, which may be strained, but never parted.

In recent years we have all but been inundated by television shows, newspaper and magazine articles, movies and books describing the problems of the law-enforcement officer (all valid) during this era of "crime in the streets." This has resulted in hundreds of millions of dollars being granted by both state and Federal agencies to police departments throughout this country.

Doesn't "crime in the streets" and the Safe Streets Act relate to malicious false alarms, arson, assaults on and shooting at professional firefighters? Cannot we in the fire service acquire the aid of someone to forcefully bring to the attention of our citizens a truly honest picture of the firefighter's life? And death? Does it have to be left to a nonerudite individual like myself, so obviously out of my element, to attempt to get across the message that this noble calling—the saving of lives—takes a terrible toll?

What is needed is the effective spotlighting of the firefighter's problems; the unique skills required of the job and the need for aid—new equipment, research and development programs, a newer type of lightweight mask (the mask widely used now, developed for World War II, weighs thirty pounds and can be used up in less than ten minutes).

It should be just as easy for a firefighter to attend a course at a university as it is for a policeman, but the work schedules now in effect in the New York City Fire Department make it very difficult for a fireman and almost impossible for an officer.

Won't someone please come forward to help us?

REDUCING LOCAL PROPERTY TAXES

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. WYMAN, Mr. Speaker, the distinguished columnist Joseph Alsop not infrequently places his journalistic finger on key matters of importance. Not the least of these is reflected in his current comments appearing in today's Washington Post relating as they do to

the mounting public concern over escalating property taxes and forced busing of schoolchildren to schools away from where their homes are.

I would expect that Mr. Alsop's words may prove prophetic before the current year has ended.

An article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 24, 1972]

NIXON CAMPAIGN ACES

(By Joseph Alsop)

Except on the topic of national defense, the President's message on the State of the Union was remarkably bland. The blandness was strictly illusory, however. For there are at least two campaign-aces up the Nixonian sleeve, in the form of gut issues of the very toughest kind, that will be played in due time.

Act Number One is a scheme to effect a vast reduction in residential property taxes, which just happen to be the most hated taxes now levied in the United States. Act Number Two is a plan for the Nixon administration to go squarely on record in sharp opposition to forced school busing, which is due to be the most inflamed topic in the U.S. by next summer.

Since Act Number One was boldly allowed to peep from the presidential sleeve when he appeared before the joint session of Congress, it will be best to begin with it. Briefly, the scheme is still the same that was first revealed in this space a couple of months ago.

At a suitable moment in late winter or early spring, the President will propose a value-added, or transactions tax of about 3 per cent. The request will be tied to a promise to hand on the entire huge revenue from the tax to the states. And the states will in turn be required to hand on the money to the school districts or other suitable local authorities.

Finally, the local authorities will get the new revenue on the strict condition that it must be used as a substitute for the entire share of the residential property tax that now pays for the schools. Ingeniously, therefore, the proposal for a value added tax will be used as a device for cutting the hated residential property taxes by at least one-half on average.

Predictably, the liberal Democrats will howl with rage and horror at the mere mention of a value-added tax. Predictably, too, the liberal Democrats will thus exhibit their increasing loss of touch with average Americans.

In Kansas City, for instance, a school bond issue was recently defeated for the third time hand-running. A poll was then taken, to find out how the voters actually preferred to finance essential increases in school costs. A majority plumped for an increased sales tax, which is, of course, more burdensome than a value added tax.

In sum, President Nixon is deftly positioning himself to run against residential property taxes. Equally deftly, and with good hopes of success, too, he is planning to put the Democrats in the position of the great defenders and advocates of these same detested levies.

"If my plan had passed the Democratic Congress," he will be able to say, "home-owners' property taxes would now be down by 50 per cent (or 45 per cent, or 55 per cent, or whatever the White House researchers discover) in this great city (or lovely town, or beautiful country, as the case may be) that all you fine people are so proud of!"

You can all but hear the President intoning those words at every stop on the campaign trail. If they do not involve a gut issue, moreover, there is no such thing as a gut issue. Yet by next summer, school busing is

due to be an even more powerful gut issue.

The point is, here, that litigation like that which produced the Richmond decision is already going on in lots of other major urban centers. The case in Detroit, for instance, is several months away from being decided. But it will pretty clearly be decided on the Richmond pattern; and this threat has already gone far to transform the whole political landscape of Michigan.

Other cities already involved are Indianapolis, Wilmington, Dallas, Denver, Atlanta and Grand Rapids; and Baltimore, St. Louis and Louisville may well be involved soon. The list almost adds up to a list of key states.

For good to ill, meanwhile, President Nixon has always been an open and consistent opponent of forced school busing. It is not clear, as yet, how he will register that opposition—whether by ordering the Justice Department to appear as a friend of the court in one of the numerous anti-busing suits; or by coming squarely out for the anti-busing constitutional amendment proposed by Senator Robert Griffin of Michigan.

But it is abundantly clear that the President's opposition to busing will be registered in due time and in a most emphatic way. And once again, beyond doubt, the liberal Democrats will be hopelessly entangled in their own slogans.

POW EVEN FOR ANOTHER DAY

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. JACOBS, Mr. Speaker, I was wondering if, at this late date, any Member of Congress or any member of the executive branch would care to say he or she is willing, from this day forward, to give his or her life, limb, sanity, or freedom—POW even for another day—further to prop up the Saigon dictatorship.

Other Americans are being ordered to do so today.

Following is the language of House Resolution 630, which I introduced on September 30, 1971:

RESOLUTION

Whereas the President of the United States on March 4, 1971, stated that his policy is that: "as long as there are American POW's in North Vietnam we will have to maintain a residual force in South Vietnam. That is the least we can negotiate for."

Whereas Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, chief delegate of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam stated on July 1, 1971, that the policy of her government is: "If the United States Government sets a terminal date for the withdrawal from South Vietnam in 1971 of the totality of United States forces and those of the other foreign countries in the United States camp, the parties will at the same time agree on the modalities:

"A. Of the withdrawal in safety from South Vietnam of the totality of the United States forces and those of the other foreign countries in the United States camp;

"B. Of the release of the totality of military men of all parties and the civilians captured in the war (including American pilots captured in North Vietnam), so that they may all rapidly return to their homes.

"These two operations will begin on the same date and will end on the same date.

"A cease-fire will be observed between the

South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces and the Armed Forces of the other foreign countries in the United States camp, as soon as the parties reach agreement on the withdrawal from South Vietnam of the totality of United States forces and those of the other foreign countries in the United States camp."

Resolved, That the United States shall forthwith propose at the Paris peace talks that in return for the return of all American prisoners held in Indochina, the United States shall withdraw all its Armed Forces from South Vietnam within sixty days following the signing of the agreement: *Provided*, That the agreement shall contain guarantee by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam of safe conduct out of Vietnam for all American prisoners and all American Armed Forces simultaneously.

BREAKING THE BACK OF INFLATION—OVER THE WORKING-MAN'S NECK

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I was one of the few Members in this body who voted against extending the President's wage-price authority last session. I said at the time, both in committee and on the floor, that the history of wage-price controls suggests quite strongly that in each instance the burden of controls rests on wages. The working man is the prime victim of inflation and in every instance has been the one to bear the brunt of the fight against inflation.

Mr. Speaker, history is again repeating itself, because, once again, we have refused to learn from it. The Price Commission has just announced that 75 percent of the Nation's retailers and the majority of rental units in this country are exempt from the phase II guidelines. The administration is finding just as some of us warned, that prices are almost impossible to control, so they have in large part given up.

The recent pronouncements have also vindicated the warnings I made during the discussions last fall that the dividing of wage-price authority between two boards would make an effective program almost impossible. As I expected, there is little, if any, apparent coordination of wage and price decisions. The operation of the Price Commission, in particular, is an example of the administration's artful governing, which consists of issuing decisive orders based on inaccurate, incomplete, and archaic information with which they hope to meet a situation they only dimly understand.

The Congress reacted last fall to the temporary popularity of the President's actions. I suspect that, as the public sees the repeated inequities of phase II, they will not think kindly of our action which gave a 12-month extension of life, sight unseen, to more of this type of decision-making.

SAFETY ADMINISTRATION GETS THE FACTS ON ACCIDENTS

HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, the January 23 issue of Parade magazine contains an article by E. D. Fales, Jr., describing the efforts of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration to ascertain the causes of auto accidents. For far too long legislators have been forced to make guesses instead of sound judgments on various safety programs because of the lack of adequate data in this area. Doug Toms, the Administrator of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, is to be commended for his efforts in this regard. He seems to be accomplishing that which others have lacked either the ability or fortitude to do. The article follows:

A NEW TEAM FINDS OUT WHY ACCIDENTS HAPPEN

(By E. D. Fales, Jr.)

A team of investigators sometimes beats the ambulance to the scene of auto accidents, thanks to an ambitious new federal program.

The program, sponsored by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (TSA), borrows techniques which have made airline travel the safest in the world. Its purpose: to investigate the causes of individual accidents. Already, its specialists have established that many of our notions about highway safety are wrong.

The teams include engineers, mechanics, perhaps even a lawyer and a psychologist. Some are paid, but most are dedicated experts who work for free. All are on 24-hour call and wear radio-controlled "beepers." Sometimes their beepers sound on college lecture platforms, and they rush from their classes. They have been summoned from ball games, from theaters, even from their bathtubs.

RE-CREATING THE WRECK

They try to arrive at the crash site almost before the wheels stop spinning. The engineers immediately measure skid marks and inspect the damage. Often they radio their facts to a computer right from the roadside. Within minutes the computer cranks out a motion picture, recreating the wreck exactly as it occurred. Afterward, lawyers, doctors and psychologists interview survivors, friends, even distant relatives.

Twenty-five hundred accidents have been analyzed since the program was launched two years ago, by teams functioning in 15 U.S. cities. From these, the government is assembling its first arsenal of facts, including some surprises.

For instance, many drivers die because they skid into obstacles they could easily avoid. The reason: they don't know the simple trick called "steer-out." "Steer-out" means pumping the brakes instead of holding them down, which locks the wheels and makes the car uncontrollable.

BRACING ERROR

Another mistake made by frightened or ignorant drivers is to apply the brake and the gas simultaneously: sometimes so hard that the imprint of the pedals is found on the victim's shoe soles.

Utility poles and construction sites rank among the major death traps. So do many

"safe" curves on our superhighways. The problem with these curves, says TSA investigators, is that they are sharp enough to demand a driver's entire attention. Yet many also contain bridges, entrance ramps, or blind hills; or else require a fast lane-changing for exits a short distance ahead. "Drivers just can't cope with it all," the investigators report.

Engineers have also discovered bent tail pipes that pump poisonous exhaust into cars, accelerator pedals that jam, and tires whose rims snap off for a second, releasing air, and then snap back on again.

But the most interesting discoveries of all pertain to the drivers.

Some come from disaster-prone families, long plagued by tragedy: accidents, serious illness, even murder.

SUICIDE BY CAR

Apparently some set out, consciously or unconsciously, to kill themselves. A few had threatened relatives: "If I don't come back, you'll find me on the highway." In one particularly bizarre incident, a driver slammed head-on into a stone wall—a year to the very hour after his best friend had perished in the same manner and on the same spot.

Often it is the driver's close relatives who are emotionally disturbed. They cite instances in which wives have exclaimed, almost triumphantly: "Well, I told him it would happen!" A mother, informed of her son's death, cried out: "What did he go and kill himself for? Now he can't take care of me." Another insisted that her son couldn't be dead, because he was sleeping in the next room. Then, with a look of dawning awareness, she added, "Well, he's snuck out before. If he did it this time, I'll kill him." Experts conjecture that the tensions that arise in these families could provoke accident-causing behavior.

Another oddity is the driver who, having caused a wreck, sulks in his damaged car.

"They won't come out," says Miami sociologist Carole Haviland, "not even to help the people they've hurt. Maybe they're just morally afraid to face them."

Drugs are taking their place among the major killers on the highway. Police have known for some time that narcotics are often a factor in accidents. But it remained for a Miami investigating team to discover just what drugs—even marijuana—can do.

Alarmed by "drug-wreck" calls, the team enlisted the aid of the culprits themselves. In one test, two young men kept a record of their experiences on the road. "One," says Dr. Haviland, "tried to set his speed at 20 miles an hour without looking at his speedometer. But when he called out 'Twenty!' his car was going 60." Another time, he veered to avoid a dog that ran into the road. Upon examination, the "dog" turned out to be a dirty rag. The other man, meanwhile, complained that he was having difficulty because he was "driving upside down."

The biggest hazard, though, is alcohol. "We knew it figured in a lot of accidents," one engineer says. "But not until we started answering crash calls did we realize that it's a factor in almost all bad accidents. We rarely get a call that doesn't involve alcohol."

"We find bottles in almost every wreck," another volunteer. "We even find them embedded in steering wheels. Evidently a lot of drivers are actually drinking when the crash comes."

Other hazards include low ceilings (drivers bump their heads on rough roads, losing control); potholes; untrained, over-excited rescuers who inadvertently shove broken bones through lungs, or pull spines apart; heavy medication, which dulls reflexes and distorts depth perception; lenient judges who allow dangerous drivers to go back onto the roads.

NEW CAR HAZARD

New cars present a particular kind of hazard. "Drivers," says Cornell University's Dr. John Garrett, "worry about the first scratch and don't see danger coming." One man, upset by a parking lot dent, failed to notice another vehicle. His shiny new car was cut in half and he was killed. Another driver heard something rubbing and looked away from the road to trace the sound. He too was killed.

The Cornell team insists that accidents come in waves. "We go two weeks without a single bad wreck, then we get 14 calls in 12 hours." The phenomenon puzzles them. But Connecticut state police have noted that when brisk, clear air starts floating down from Canada, "drivers start going faster and faster."

Of what use are the findings?

For one thing, TSA alerts Detroit within hours—sometimes minutes—after discovering a major defect. When a Southern team found a steering problem in one American car, Detroit dispatched an engineer that very day to change the design. And when an Atlanta, Ga., team attributed a fatal Alabama school bus crash to faulty brakes, 10,000 new school buses were recalled for refitting.

LESSONS LEARNED

Instructors in driver education courses also benefit from TSA information. For instance, young drivers should now be taught the split-second "stab-and-steer steer-out technique." Also, teachers must forget the old rule: "Stay one car length behind the vehicle ahead of you for every ten miles of speed. Steering-out requires the driver to remain at least two car lengths back."

The more we know about why accidents happen, the more we can do to prevent them. Thanks to TSA, the causes are being spotlighted, as in a high beam on a darkened road.

ANTI-HAZARD PROPOSALS

The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration has come forward with a pair of proposals to reduce road hazards. One is to impose a built-in speed limit of 95 miles an hour on all automobiles except police cars, together with audible and visual warnings which would activate between 81 and 85 miles an hour.

The other, in an experimental stage, is to install polarized headlights, thereby reducing glare while increasing the range of vision. If the experiment proves successful, cars would be equipped with special lamps and plastic devices which the driver could attach to the windshield. (Or, he could wear treated sunglasses.) The desired effect is produced when the light is filtered through the plastic.

The built-in speed limit scheme has already generated considerable controversy, with drivers about evenly divided. Women drivers, though, were overwhelmingly in favor—as were insurance companies and police. Opposition has come from auto clubs and auto manufacturers.

The polarized headlights have already been tested on a 40-mile two-lane road in Texas. A spokesman for the Safety Administration described the test as highly successful. Next step is a mass experiment, possibly encompassing all of Canada's Prince Edward Island. Feelers have already been extended to the Canadian government. The new devices would be inexpensive, the spokesman said.

WELFARE AND CHARITY

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, even faster than most Government programs,

the already enormous welfare outlay keeps on growing year after year, with no end in sight. Increasingly vehement objections from the public are met by the old familiar gambit of setting up new committees, new bureaus, new programs to "study the problem" and justify spending still more money on it in the hope that somehow this will make it go away. As the debate grows bitter, it is easy to slip into the position of either condemning or justifying all welfare recipients.

The key to understanding the present welfare situation in the United States is the issue of eligibility to receive benefits. While almost all the money for welfare comes from the tax revenues of the Federal and State governments—divided 50-50 in most of the major programs—all the decisions on who shall receive welfare assistance are made by local government—specifically, by county welfare offices. Beginning about 4 years ago, the usual rule in such cases became simple, uncritical acceptance of the applicant's unverified declaration of need. Every subsequent attempt at any one of our three levels of government—Federal, State, and local—to establish and enforce restrictions on this wide-open-door policy has been promptly frustrated at one of the other levels.

This means in effect that anyone can get welfare now if he really wants it, and only very rarely is the cheater caught. With enough knowledge of the numerous categories of income which the Government does not count in determining financial need, it is even possible to get on welfare with an income substantially larger than that of many employed persons, without cheating at all.

We have gone on what amounts to an honor system for welfare eligibility at the very time in our history when willful failure to sustain oneself economically is ceasing to be regarded as dishonorable. While the ordinary citizen still thinks of welfare as a kind of charity, the welfare recipients—passively, or in a considerable number of cases actively encouraged by the welfare bureaucrats—increasingly regard it as a right. The very name of the Welfare Rights Organization is a case in point.

No matter how many new programs with fine-sounding new names be tried, no matter how much we may juggle AFDC payments to welfare mothers to stay home with their children and day-care programs to get them out of the home—to mention just one particularly glaring contradiction in policy—the welfare mess will never be straightened out so long as any significant number of people have reason for thinking of welfare payments as a right. A man has a right to what he earns, and to equal treatment under the law. Beyond that, his genuine need is a moral claim on others' generosity, but not a license to take from them what they have earned. Whether genuine needs are met by Government or by private charitable agencies, the assistance should never be granted in such a way as to encourage dependency and baseless claims, for this is neither charitable nor just.

In fact, whatever Government welfare programs may be, they are not charity.

Charity is a free gift—of one's time, labor or money. Government welfare programs give away nothing but other people's money. It is deeply disturbing to see the large numbers of well-meaning people, including many church leaders, who think they are demonstrating charity by lobbying for more spending and higher taxes for welfarist programs. Genuine charity would entail their own active participation and their own personal giving to help the needy, not putting political pressure on other people to do it. Genuine charity would not continue to give money which is wasted or misused. Genuine charity rejoices in every recovery of self-reliance and mourns the narrow egotism of those who think the world owes them a living. It is not love that turns a man into a parasite.

TRADE LAWS NEED OVERHAUL;
MANY U.S. JOBS AT STAKE

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that our international trade laws require an overhaul at the earliest possible time.

This is a very controversial area and I do not pretend to have all the answers. But I do recognize the problems that exist and I believe it is essential that we act to deal with them.

Just a few days ago, the General Electric Co., told me and its employees in Buffalo, N.Y., that it would phase out its electronics production by the end of the year.

As an aside, I might mention that I am somewhat puzzled—and I think rightly so—as to why this company told the employees and me simultaneously, but refused to confirm this information to the press for several days.

The Buffalo General Electric plant shutdown will cost 550 jobs and an annual payroll of \$4,125,000. The company told me that it planned to merge its production with plants in Auburn and Syracuse, N.Y.

But when I asked about transfer prospect or other opportunities for the 550 Buffalo workers, the company spokesman told me flatly that the prospect was nil. No transfers, no jobs in other company plants anywhere.

LAYOFFS IN SYRACUSE

The spokesman said there already had been layoffs in Auburn and Syracuse and that those employees would have recall priority over transfers from Buffalo. What he neglected to tell me was that this company has laid off 3,300 in Syracuse in the past 2 years and further cuts are expected.

What he also did not tell me—but I found out elsewhere—was the extent of the expansion of General Electric operations in Ireland.

Back in 1957, GE launched a major expansion of its electronics production at Buffalo and predicted its employment would increase to 1,500 or 2,000 in 2 or

3 years. That expansion never occurred—indeed, employment never reached 1,000 and has been declining for some time.

In 1960, GE opened its plant in Dublin and the shift of production began from the United States. Indeed, recently, the company asked a few key employees if they would move to Ireland.

Why the attraction of operations in Ireland?

By coincidence, a national weekly magazine carried a full-page advertisement last week headlined: "Ireland. For 15 Years of No Taxes." The invitation was to American manufacturers to open plants in Ireland.

JOBS ABROAD AT U.S. EXPENSE

This, of course, is at the expense of the jobs of our workers in Buffalo, Syracuse and other cities across the Nation.

I support free trade. I support free enterprise. I also support full employment at home. I am concerned particularly about Buffalo, of course. But my concern extends to employment throughout our Nation.

National unemployment is 6 percent and holding. Prospect is for little improvement in the foreseeable future.

Unemployment in the Buffalo area is 8 percent. That is also holding, at best, if not likely to increase as a result of cutbacks like GE.

What is the answer? There must be something wrong with our trade policies. These are complex and adjustments must be made with care. But the situation is critical and we must act promptly.

New jobs do not grow on trees; they do not appear as if by magic from thin air.

MUST CUT UNEMPLOYMENT

The White House takes the current unemployment situation with a grain of salt, apparently resigned to the fact that there always is going to be unemployment. I cannot accept this really cruel attitude and neither will those people without jobs who really want to work.

I know what these unemployed think about conditions. There are exceptions, I am sure, but most of them would rather work than "exist" on welfare checks. They tell me so in just so many words when they see me.

Mr. Speaker, we in the Congress have sought to deal with unemployment twice in little more than a year. The first time, the President vetoed our bill. Then he supposedly accepted a watered-down version in mid-1971, except that he has been dragging his feet about putting it into operation.

Those two bills would have helped in varying degrees if they had been utilized. We need to act again in all out fashion and make it crystal clear where the hangup lies: 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW.

At the same time, I have urged the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee—Mr. MILLS of Arkansas—to set earliest possible consideration of a revamping of the international trade laws.

TRADE LAW CHANGES

Here is what my bill (H.R. 11392) proposes:

First. New procedures to make taxes on U.S. corporations' overseas operations more closely relate to the tax treatment domestically. Tax breaks and incentives to move production out of the United States have been removed. For example, U.S. companies now receive dollar for dollar tax credits for taxes paid abroad, yet companies which pay taxes to State governments here receive only a deduction. This inequity would be ended. Title I.

Second. A new method to regulate the torrent of imports that have smothered U.S. production and cost hundreds of thousands of U.S. jobs. Imports would be regulated on a "sliding door" basis, replacing the wide open door that currently perils the United States as a manufacturing nation, and offering a healthy alternative to the closed door of the dead past.

Production of U.S. goods would be insured through a guaranteed portion of the U.S. market. All products that enter the United States would be awarded an annual import quota of the number of units that entered the United States during 1965-69. Thus, all foreign goods would be guaranteed an annual percentage of our production. Goods not produced here—bananas, for example—would be excused from quotas. Also excused would be those goods already under quotas and those products under voluntary agreements. As the U.S. production of goods rises, the number of imported units would rise. Title III.

Third. A new method to regulate the outflow of capital from the United States. Currently billions in U.S. dollars, equipment, technology, and patents—and jobs—are being exported without regard to the harm done to U.S. citizens and U.S. communities. The President would have authority to act whenever he determined that employment in the United States would be decreased by the transaction. Title VI.

Fourth. An improved program to speed antidumping complaints and to expedite relief to affected industries and workers. Under current law, by the time a dumping determination is made that imported goods are deliberately being sold at lower than fair value in order to capture a market, a U.S. industry can be forced out of business and its workers jobless. The current countervailing duty provisions would be similarly modernized. Title IV.

Fifth. A modernization of the escape clause to make injury easier to determine and relief easier to apply. Again, the purpose is to save industries and jobs through speedy action and more liberal determinations. Title V.

Sixth. New procedures for collecting pertinent data on foreign trade and labeling procedures. American foreign grant and foreign loan programs must show the effect of these programs on U.S. production and jobs. Foreign-made components must be identified on the product and in advertisements. Title VII.

Seventh. The so-called Mexican border escape route would be closed by the repeal of section 807.00 and section 806.-30 of the Tariff Code. This abuse stems from the practice by U.S. companies of

assembling products in foreign countries and shipping them into the United States as "Made in U.S.," paying only a minimum duty on the so-called value added. Title VII.

Eighth. A totally new Foreign Trade and Investment Commission would be established to administer the new program, bringing modern concepts and methods to its operations. Trade-related programs now in the Treasury, Commerce and Labor Departments would be placed in the new commission. Title II.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I am including several newspaper articles about the GE closing at Buffalo. Also, included is an editorial which disagrees with my legislative view but acknowledges the basic problem.

The articles follow:

[From Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Jan. 10, 1972]

EAST SIDE FACILITY WILL BE CLOSED BY END OF YEAR

The General Electric Co. is planning to phase out its Fillmore Ave. plant by the end of the year, dismissing 550 employees, Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski (D., Buffalo) said today.

Rep. Dulski said the plant intends to start laying off six or seven workers in February and continue a gradual phaseout through the year. He said the company will lay off 50 men per month after July 1 until the plant is completely closed.

"The General Electric management said the closing is caused by a reduction in demand for electronic products manufactured at the Buffalo plant," Rep. Dulski said.

The plant at 1495 Fillmore Ave. houses the Semiconductor Products Department.

IMPORTS ARE PROBLEM

Rep. Dulski said he left the real reason for the closing is the "hard competition from imports, especially from Japan."

He said most of the 550 jobs involved are "working people," as opposed to management.

Mr. Dulski said no formal announcement has been made by the company, but officials of GE called his Washington office with the news.

He said that officials met with employees of the plant this morning, presumably to tell them of the layoffs.

GE officials told Rep. Dulski that some of the persons displaced might be transferred to other GE plants, but such prospects would be unlikely and difficult.

The congressman said most of the employees of the Fillmore Ave. plant are women.

BLOW TO COMMUNITY

"The decision to close the General Electric Buffalo plant this year is another serious blow to our community," he added.

"Our unemployment in Buffalo is already one-third higher than the national average," he said.

Rep. Dulski said he is already working vigorously to obtain legislation to curb the competition from imports.

"Last week I met on the same subject with Buffalo groups representing all segments of labor involving the manufacturing of electronic material," he said.

"We have to change our laws with respect to international trade and put the United States industry back on its par," he added.

The GE plant made Christmas tree lights and automobile lights when it opened in 1919. It was an early producer of tubes for World War II proximity fuses and in 1946 was a pioneer in the production of TV picture tubes.

When the plant switched to transistor production in 1957 it was predicted employment would soar to 1500 to 1800 within 2 or 3 years. It never reached 1000.

CONVERSION COST MILLIONS

GE spent millions of dollars converting the 150,000-square-foot facility to transistor production but never used more than half the space.

At the outset, transistors were produced mainly for portable radios, car radios and hi-fi's, but the emphasis later shifted to military uses.

Overcapacity problems in the transistor industry caught up with the plant in the early 1960s, and employment dropped to between 500 and 600.

The plant survived the shakeout, however, and employment by 1967 had reached 950.

General Electric continues to operate its apparatus service shop at 175 Milens Rd., Town of Tonawanda. This facility, built about three years ago at a cost of around \$2 million, employs about 80 workers. Services by this shop include the repair and maintenance of electric motors, generators, turbines and transformers.

[From Buffalo (N.Y.), Courier-Express, Jan. 13, 1972]

MORE CLOSINGS FORECAST, GE PLANS OVERSEAS MOVE, DULSKI SAYS

Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski charged Wednesday that the closing of the General Electric plant in Buffalo is the beginning of a complete phase-out and transfer of all its transistor operations to overseas facilities.

General Electric had announced Monday that it was going to close its plant at 1495 Fillmore Ave. during the year with a loss of 550 jobs. Of the 550 persons affected, 480 are hourly workers. The total yearly payroll of the Buffalo plant is \$4,125,000.

Dulski said the company told him that it was going to concentrate its production in the future in its Auburn, N.Y., and Syracuse plants. However, he said, the company has admitted that it already has reduced production in those plants as well.

NO JOBS—SHIFTS

For that reason, the congressman said, the company explained it has no prospect of absorbing elsewhere any of the Buffalo work force.

"It looks to me as though the shutdown of the Auburn and Syracuse plants may well be next on the schedule," Dulski said.

"Last week, General Electric closed a plant in Cleveland which employs about 1,000 and manufactures vacuum cleaners, Dulski added.

General Electric prior to announcing it was closing the Buffalo transistor plant said it had closed its transistor plant in Lynchburg, Va., and consolidated its production in Auburn and Syracuse.

MOVE TO IRELAND

"I have been informed that considerable production of the four electronics plants already has been shifted to a company plant in Dublin, Ireland," Dulski charged.

Dulski contended that when the Buffalo plant was enlarged and its production switched to transistors and other electronic items in 1957, the company said it expected to build the work force to 1,500 to 2,000 employees within two or three years.

"However, the largest work force at the plant since 1957 has been less than 1,000 employees and there has been clear indications for the past year that the company had no intention of continuing the operation, let alone increase its work force," Dulski stated.

TIES TWO MOVES

"Significantly, the opening of the Dublin plant about 1960 relates directly to the turnaround in the plans for the Buffalo operation," he contended.

Dulski pointed out that production at the Buffalo plant centers on three items, principally the 814 rectifier, which is a universal component. The other products are tunnel diodes and transistors.

"There is no question in my mind about the need for a prompt and effective change in our laws regarding international trade.

Our unemployment, already over 6 percent nationally and about 8 percent in Buffalo, is going to keep increasing unless we take corrective action," Dulski said.

He pointed out that among the need changes in the law are those affecting the foreign operations of U.S. corporations.

"We cannot afford to have trade and tax laws that encourage U.S. companies to close domestic factories at the cost of thousands of jobs and transfer manufacturing operations to plants built under tax shelters in other countries," he stated.

TRADE BILL INTRODUCED

Dulski said he has introduced legislation to deal with this imbalance in international trade and seek to reduce the unemployment resulting from transfer of American production to foreign facilities.

"My bill, the Foreign Trade and Investment Act of 1972, would provide dramatic new tools for meeting these problems," Dulski stated.

Specifically, he said, it would provide new procedures to make taxes on U.S. corporations' overseas operations more closely relate to domestic tax treatment.

According to Dulski, the bill also would provide a new method to regulate the torrent of imports that has smothered U.S. production and cost hundreds of thousands of U.S. jobs.

"Imports would be regulated on a sliding-door basis to replace the present wide-open door policy that perils our national economy," he stated.

Dulski said "I am urging Chairman Wilbur Mills of the Ways and Means Committee to give earliest possible priority consideration to the complex and pressing economic problem."

The Congressman said that General Electric is building a plant in Australia where it will produce refrigerators. "So you can expect another curtailment of a plant in the United States," he said.

[From Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Jan. 14, 1972]

GE SILENT ON CHARGES OF U.S. PLANT PHASEOUTS

Officials of General Electric had no comment Thursday about charges made by Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski, Buffalo Democrat, that the company is planning more and more transistor production in foreign countries and phasing out U.S. production.

GE announced Monday it is closing its Buffalo transistor plant at 1495 Fillmore Ave., resulting in a loss of 550 jobs. The company said the Buffalo transistor production will be consolidated in plants at Syracuse and Auburn.

Dulski said GE has admitted that production at the Syracuse and Auburn facilities also has been reduced. He said he has been informed that considerable production of the three GE electronic plants already has been shifted to a company plant in Dublin, Ireland.

Thomas Farrell, personnel manager of the Buffalo GE plant, had no comment Thursday on the congressman's charges. GE officials in New York City said any statement on the matter would have to come from Farrell.

[From Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Jan. 18, 1972]

GE DENIES IT WILL LEAVE SYRACUSE AND AUBURN

SYRACUSE, January 18—The General Electric Co. has no plans to transfer its Syracuse and Auburn transistor production to Dublin, Ireland, Thomas A. Vanderslice, GE vice president and general manager of the company's electronic components business division, said here Monday.

However, GE will continue to cut employment at its Syracuse installations in 1972 after dropping 3600 workers over the past two years, he said.

Mr. Vanderslice denied charges made by Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski (D. Buffalo) last Wednesday that GE might be planning to shut down both the Auburn and Syracuse plants, transferring their operations overseas, particularly to Dublin.

The congressman's charges came in the wake of GE's announcement last week that it would shut down the Buffalo GE plant at 1495 Fillmore Ave., eliminating 550 jobs.

"Recent announcements of the phasing out of the Buffalo GE plant of the semi-conductor products department and the announcement of plans to discontinue the small semi-conductor manufacturing facility at Lynchburg, Va., are not expected to have any appreciable impact on operations in Auburn and Syracuse," Mr. Vanderslice said.

However, he said competition in the same field by other firms could have an effect.

Mr. Vanderslice blamed the shutdown of the Buffalo and Lynchburg units on competitive pressures and uncertainties in the economy.

[Editorial in Buffalo, (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Jan. 15, 1972]

NO QUICK WAY TO SOLVE TRADE WOES

The planned closing of the General Electric plant in Buffalo stirred up a thickening smog of charge, countercharge and clarification. One fact that all agree on is that loss of 550 jobs and a \$4,125,000 payroll is a severe body blow to an area economy trying hard to keep moving on the recovery route.

Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski, D-Buffalo, contends that GE is shifting some transistor operations to a plant in Dublin, Ireland, in contrast to statements about consolidation at Auburn and Syracuse. Shifting overseas is part of the current perplexing trend: Bendix Corp. is moving a brake operation from Elmira Heights to a new plant in Mexico; parts of the women's garment industry long ago moved to Puerto Rico; our biggest steel and auto firms buy major interests in the largest mills in France and Japan.

The answer to the shifting economic balance, however, will not be found, over the long haul, by piling one more piece of patchwork legislation atop existing trade and tariff law. Nothing is really gained in promoting trade wars, import surtaxes, nor ill-tempered, emotional antiforeign campaigns. As spokesmen for 14 members of the House Ways and Means Committee said during their current trade-policy meetings with Common Market leaders in Brussels, the goal is closer trade ties, to achieve more liberal trade legislation.

Ambassador William B. Eberle and other top U.S. negotiators are conducting concession talks with Common Market nations and Japan. Reform discussions within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade are coming up. These are the ways through which multinational trade conflicts are resolved. Raising one more unilateral trade barrier won't do it. Furthermore, there are several methods under the existing U.S. trade law by which the president can raise or lower tariffs and/or quotas, or impose countervailing duties if these are proved necessary.

We've suggested before that there may be need for tighter control over the flow of U.S. corporate investment abroad; Canada has been pushing the same idea with regard to U.S. control of its industry. These also may be need to cut down on the deferred tax liability for U.S. firms which move plants to other countries. But this needs careful study, and Rep. Dulski's bill is not the way to get that. Ways and Means Committee members pointed out how difficult it was to even close the communications gap, to iron out definitions of terms, for example.

Nor will any bill solve the basic dilemma of U.S. plants which can't get their productivity rates back to where they are competitive. If unit costs keep going up, either productivity has to increase or, in the over-all sense, Americans have to cut back on their expectation of an always-rising standard of living in dollar terms. This is a labor-management problem which too few unions and too few managements seem willing to tackle honestly. The cop-out seems more appealing.

This trade-readjustment period requires patience, restraint and a commitment to evenhanded multilateral bargaining. It also requires a better sales effort on behalf of our own business, as is being launched—incredibly—for the very first time on a joint, coordinated basis, for example, by the U.S.A. Textile Council with the aim of promoting sales of more American goods abroad. It does seem fair to wonder why we have lagged so far behind other nations on this point, too.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TO BECOME BLACK MUSLIM SANCTUARY?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, classic examples of the abuse of Government ownership and increased control of the communications media occurred this weekend in Washington, D.C.

Channel 14, a public broadcasting or Government owned and operated TV station, programming to the Washington, D.C., community of some 538,000 people of whom 71 percent are black, carried a half-hour tirade on white devil teachings of the Black Muslims concluding with Muslim propaganda and a recruiting drive.

The same day channel 4, an NBC affiliate, privately owned, commercial TV channel under FCC guidelines programming to the local community, offered a half hour interview of a Black Muslim minister who announced expanded Muslim activities in District of Columbia as well as Muslim schools for black youth.

Both incidences should be of particular interest to the Baton Rougean—first, it shows how Government control and regulation is being used to continue polarizing the American people; and second, while Washington, D.C., may be a long way from Baton Rouge, we should not forget that the recent police murders and city violence was at the hands of Muslims trained a long distance from Louisiana.

If Washington, D.C.—our Nation's Capital—is to be turned into a Muslim sanctuary and paramilitary staging area for invasions of peaceful communities like Baton Rouge, our people should be forewarned.

I include a newsclipping covering the channel 4 broadcast:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 24, 1972]
BLACK MUSLIMS PLAN TO EXPAND ACTIVITIES
(By Ivan Brandon)

Minister Lonnie Shabazz, leader of Washington's Black Muslim community, said yesterday that his followers will expand their activities in Washington with the opening

of three more temples here within the next three months.

Shabazz, interviewed on the WRC-TV show "Dimension Washington," also said that the Muslims will open a college branch of the Muslim University of Islam in March.

The University of Islam, located in Chicago, is made up of primary and secondary schools and a college set up by Muslims' leader, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. There are branches of the university in most cities where the Muslims have a mosque.

The local Muslims run a high school and an elementary school with a total enrollment of about 350 students. Shabazz said the college will probably have about 50 students when it opens.

The schools are open to all black students and are tuition free. Shabazz said the Muslims have opened their own schools because "the schools are in a bad situation." He added that black studies programs "are nothing more than a warmed-over version of white history. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad has solved this with his own schools," Shabazz said.

Shabazz said the new temples will be located in the Upper Northwest, Northeast and Southeast sections of the city. Muhammad's Mosque No. 4, 1519 4th St. N.W., is the Muslims' headquarters here.

Shabazz did not say how much the expansion would cost or offer any other details on the new temples. The Muslims will not release the number of members in the Washington area or nationwide.

Shabazz was questioned about Muslim involvement at the recent shootout in Baton Rouge where two blacks and two policemen were killed in what police officials called a confrontation prompted by Muslims.

"We have been taught by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad to go about our work in a peaceful manner. We were not involved at all" in the incident in Baton Rouge, Shabazz said.

Shabazz said local Muslims have a "peaceful relationship" with the Washington police. Muslims have been in Washington for nearly 40 years, and there have been no serious incidents here involving Muslims and local authorities.

When asked about reports of an internal struggle for control of the Muslims, Shabazz quickly denied all rumors, saying that there is no dissent or power struggle going on within the movement.

RADIATION AND THE WAR ON CANCER

HON. MIKE GRAVEL

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, exactly 2 years have passed since the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare called for a thorough review of the presently "permissible" radiation doses for the public. There is no report yet. This is a very hot political potato indeed.

The vested interests whose dollars and activities will be directly affected include at least the following:

First. The entire nuclear power industry, whose advertising and licenses are based on the assumption that even 25 rads of whole-body radiation exposure is not injurious.

Second. The uranium mine owners, many of which are oil companies.

Third. The Atomic Energy Commission.

Fourth. The Department of Defense.

Fifth. The employers of several thousand atomic workers, who might start holding their employers liable for work-related cancer.

Sixth. The growing and questionable nuclear medicine business.

All these groups have a direct interest in getting official blessing for a high "permissible" radiation dose and a low estimate of the risk-per-rad of exposure.

PUT YOUR MOUTH WHERE YOUR MONEY IS

We ought to ponder the attitude of the 1971-72 president of the Health Physics Society, Dr. Dade W. Moeller, who is at the Harvard School of Public Health and also happens to be a member of the National Council on Radiation Protection.

A man in such positions of responsibility might be expected to consider the prevention of cancer and genetic deformity as his number one concern.

In his address to the members of the Health Physics Society, published in the July 1971 issue of Health Physics, he states as follows:

When one realizes that there will be a need for over 300 additional health physicists (plus some 2,500 licensed operators) to man the nuclear power stations scheduled for construction during the coming decade, that there is a projected need for over 500 additional health physicists (plus approximately 15,000 technicians) to staff new nuclear medicine departments anticipated within our hospitals during this same time period, and that 500-700 more medical radiation physicists will be needed to supervise radiation protection activities in hospital X-ray departments, our potential for growth is exciting to say the least . . .

Projections to the year 2000 show the need for 2,000 to 3,000 additional health physicists for the support of the operation of power reactor stations alone . . . [It is] essential . . . that we speak out and make known our positions on such issues as nuclear power safety and radiation protection guides. This includes speaking . . . to our Congressional leaders . . .

To paraphrase an old adage: let's all put our mouth where our money is.

PAPER INTO THE RECORD

In contrast, it is refreshing to read a paper which is clearly grounded in a passionate concern for the public's health, and which clarifies principles of public health which should be applied to chemical additives and pollutants as well as to radioactive ones.

I am referring specifically to the paper entitled "Epidemiologic Studies of Carcinogenesis by Ionizing Radiation", by Drs. John W. Gofman and Arthur R. Tamplin, whose frontal attack on the present "guidelines" or permissible doses of environmental man-made radiation began in October 1969. This paper was presented on July 20, 1971, by invitation before the Sixth Berkeley Symposium on Mathematical Statistics and Probability, at the University of California.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this paper printed at the end of my remarks.

THE WAR ON CANCER

Although this paper is written for experts, as its title might indicate, its

message needs to be understood by everyone who has ever watched another person wither and suffer into extinction with cancer.

I hope that this paper will find its way into the hands of all the experts and politicians who are so properly determined to reduce the Nation's cancer problem.

Some of the paper's main points, as well as a table of its contents, are provided below.

TWELVE MAIN POINTS

First. The presently "permissible" dose of environmental man-made radiation is 170 millirads per year for members of the general population.

Chronic population exposure to 170 millirads per year—0.170 rad—might cause a 34 percent increase in cancer—or about 100,000 extra cancer deaths per year in this country.

The legality of such a "permissible" dose is completely at variance with our intensified national effort to conquer cancer.

Second. If the real effects of 170 millirads per year could be this large, then the contribution of medical plus natural radiation—100 millirads and 135 millirads per year respectively—must constitute quite an important part of the so-called spontaneous cancer mortality rates.

Third. The authors state:

Dr. Karl Z. Morgan's suggestions for feasible reduction in medical X-ray exposure, without loss of medical diagnostic information, deserve immediate attention.

Fourth. Further, the authors state:

Natural radiation must be estimated as possibly responsible for taking a toll of several tens of thousands of lives annually by premature cancer and leukemia in the USA alone. Here again we must agree with Morgan, that man may decide to look carefully at the radioactivity of certain "natural" building materials before using them for home construction.

Fifth. The estimate of radiation mortality varies greatly with the assumptions made about age-sensitivity to radiation, about the length of the average latency period for cancer, and about the duration of the radiation effect.

The use of optimistic values for these unknowns can produce mortality estimates much lower than 100,000 extra cancer deaths.

This paper presents in detail three separate sets of assumptions which produce mortality estimates of 9,400 extra cancer deaths, 74,000 extra cancer deaths, and 104,000 extra cancer deaths per year from population chronic exposure to 170 millirads. See tables 5, 6, and 7.

Since there is no basis in evidence to believe the optimistic instead of the pessimistic figures, it is prudent to assume the worst.

Sixth. Since reliable human experiments with radiation-induced cancer can never occur in a civilized society, we must agree to make our policy decisions on public health protection without ideal sets of data.

It is the authors' opinion that—

It is not appropriate nor good public health practice to demand human epidemio-

logic evidence to evaluate carcinogenic or leukemogenic hazard of a pollutant.

Seventh—

It should be assumed, for public health purposes, that the human is at least as sensitive as the most sensitive experimental species studied—

Say the authors.

Eighth. For people who develop radiation-induced cancer, the average loss of life is about 13 years. Even for men in the age group of 65-69 years, the life expectancy is 11.5 years. If these men lose their life through radiation-induced cancer at 67 years, they have lost 11.5 years.

However, if the man-years of life expectancy lost due to radiation are distributed into the entire population instead of into the victims of radiation-induced cancer, the average loss of life expectancy is computed to be 2.8 days.

Apologists for pollution, nuclear and other, often try to hide the serious loss of life for victims by averaging the loss over the larger group of nonvictims.

The ridiculous nature of this approach to calculation of loss of life expectancy would be obvious, to everyone.

The authors point out:

If we considered an issue like the death of young Americans in Vietnam. After all, when those Americans who are at home are averaged in with those who are killed in Vietnam, the average loss of life expectancy is small, the deaths are not tragic, for, on the average everyone is just losing days from his life.

Ninth. Ignorance about the body's sensitivity at various ages, about the length of the "latent" period for cancer, and about the duration of cancer-producing effect of a pollutant, create major uncertainties about the alleged "safety" of all additives and pollutants, including radiation.

Tenth. Evidence suggests that radiation may act as a multiplier of the cancer-causing power of other carcinogenic pollutants.

Eleventh. The serious underestimate of the cancer hazard from radiation was largely a result of using human data before the serious carcinogenic effects had time to appear.

The long observation periods required should alert us to the futility of hopes of learning about carcinogenic effects from new pollutants through human epidemiologic studies on a time scale that can be practically useful—

Warn the authors.

Twelfth. In conclusion, Drs. Gofman and Tamplin state:

The purpose of this Symposium implies that, for the host of potential pollutants now being introduced into our environment, enough epidemiologic evidence will, in the course of time, accumulate so that the statisticians and epidemiologists can do their thing.

This means that the statisticians and epidemiologists have capitulated *in toto* to the dictum that progress means we must expose humans to by-product poisons of industry in the future as we have in the past. And then the effects will be studied.

If our radiation experience is any guide at all concerning the time scale over which we will learn the effect of our folly . . . then the chances for humans surviving this approach are slim indeed.

We think it might have been more important if this gathering of statisticians and epidemiologists had met instead to lend their talents and wisdom to a concerted human effort to work toward a total recycling economy, in which essentially zero pollution is the objective, instead of building up of a reservoir of epidemiologic evidence of the effects of pollutants on humans. . . .

We have extreme doubt that the planning of appropriate epidemiologic investigations for future environmental pollutants is likely to be any real contribution to the public health.

There has to be a more rational approach to the question of potential environmental carcinogens—like not introducing them into the environment at all.

The table of contents follows:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Do We Really Need Human Epidemiologic Data for Pollutants?
 - 1.1 Carcinogenesis and Leukemogenesis in Humans Exposed to Ionizing Radiation.
 - 1.2 Dose-Response Relationship: Ionizing Radiation-Induction of Cancer and Leukemia.
 - 1.2a Time of Onset of Carcinogenic Response and Its Duration.
 - 1.2b Dose-Response Relationships over a Range of Doses.
 - 1.2c Variation in Carcinogenic Dose-Response Relationship with Age at Radiation Exposure.
2. The Carcinogenic Consequences of Population Exposure to Environmental Ionizing Radiation.
 - 2.1 Cancer Hazard for Average Population Exposure at 0.17 rads per Year, Total Body Irradiation.
 3. Life Shortening by Radiation-Induced Cancer.
 4. Are There Possible Mitigating Factors Which Could Reduce the Estimated Hazard of Population Exposure?
 - 4.1 Thresholds: Absolute and "Practical."
 - 4.2 Protraction of Radiation.
 - 4.3 Repair of Radiation Injury.
 5. A Re-Look at the Purposes of This Symposium after Consideration of the Potential Population Consequences of Low-Dose Radiation Exposure.

SUMMARY

Table I: Increase in Childhood Cancer and Leukemia from *In Utero* Radiation.

Table II: Change in Rate of Induced Malignant Disease with Duration of Time Since Exposure in Irradiated Ankylosing Spondylitics.

Table III: Ratio of Spontaneous Cancer Mortality Rates to Leukemia Mortality Rates.

Table IV: Variation in Cancer Induction per Rad with Age.

Table V: Case 1, Radiation-Induced Cancer Mortality by Age and Sex from 170 millirads per year, with 5 year latency for *in utero* radiation, 15 year latency for all other radiation, Plateau constant after latency period.

Table VI: Case 2, Radiation-Induced Cancer Mortality by Age and Sex from 170 millirads per year, with 5 year latency period for *in utero* radiation, 15 year latency period for all other irradiation, Plateau: 30 years beyond latency period.

Table VII: Case 3, Radiation-Induced Cancer Mortality by Age and Sex from 170 millirads per year, with 5 year latency period for *in utero* radiation, 10 year latency period for all other radiation, Plateau: 20 years beyond latency period.

Table VIII: Loss of Life Expectancy from Radiation-Induced Cancer.

REFERENCES

SOME INDEPENDENT CONFIRMATION

It is worth noting that one participant in the discussion after this paper was David L. Levin, M.D., from the Office of

the Associate Director of the National Cancer Institute. Dr. Levin made the following statement:

In regard to the cancer/leukemia ratio and the extrapolation of risk down to low levels of irradiation, we have also looked at the Court-Brown and Doll data on spondylitis and the Hiroshima-Nagasaki data.

We have found that the cancer-leukemia ratio, when adjusted for difference in dose to the target organs, is indeed higher than often quoted.

Also, we have made calculations on the lifetime risk of developing cancer from irradiation levels of 170 millirads, based on extrapolations from high dose situations (X-ray therapy and atom bomb) to low-dose situations.

Using different methodology than that described today, we computed risks to be of the same general level as those shown by Dr. Gofman. We are now continuing our calculations trying to improve our estimate based on demographic studies.

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

Epidemiologic studies of carcinogenesis by ionizing radiation

(By John W. Gofman and Arthur R. Tamplin, Bio-Medical Research Division, Lawrence Livermore Laboratory and Division of Medical Physics, University of California at Berkeley, presented July 20, 1971, Sixth Berkeley Symposium on Mathematical Statistics and Probability, University of California, Berkeley, Calif., by John W. Gofman)

1. DO WE REALLY NEED HUMAN EPIDEMIOLOGIC DATA FOR POLLUTANTS?

In general we should like to express our lack of sympathy for the expressed purpose of this Symposium, which is the planning of epidemiological studies for the evaluation of effects of major pollutants on humans.

Carcinogenesis and leukemogenesis are two particularly worrisome long-term effects which deserve consideration with respect to any pollutant. From our experience with ionizing radiation as a pollutant, we have derived some lessons that we believe are extremely important to understand if society is to avoid paying a very high, probably unacceptable, price for the introduction of environmental pollutants.

One such lesson centers around the prevalent notion that human epidemiological evidence concerning carcinogenesis should be required before technological promoters are willing to admit the serious potential hazards of a pollutant. Ionizing radiation is a classic example of this fallacious notion.

In our opinion it is not appropriate nor good public health practice to demand human epidemiologic evidence to evaluate carcinogenic or leukemogenic hazard of a pollutant. First, in a civilized society there should never exist an ideal set of human epidemiologic data. What epidemiologic data do become available are always subject to serious reservations with respect to equivalence of controls and exposed groups upon variables other than the specific pollutant variable under study.

The net result is that controversy persists interminably. Peculiarly, but not unexpectedly in the face of promotional bias, the presumption is all too commonly made that, where uncertainty exists about the magnitude of effect, it is appropriate to continue the exposure of humans to the potential pollutant. It would indeed be sad if this Symposium helped contribute to this pernicious philosophy, which can only be described as that characteristic of a society bent upon ecocide in the name of ostensible technological progress.

In the case of radiation as a pollutant, we

may consider some of the major epidemiological samples that have become available for study, and relate the reservations that have been raised concerning acceptance of the results derived from the study of these samples.

Approximately 100,000 survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombing have been under followup study with respect to cancer and leukemia. Dosimetry reconstruction is difficult, at best, considering the nature of the event during which the radiation exposure occurred. Further, the associated possible injurious factors other than radiation were expected, in general, to be highly correlated with radiation exposure.

Another large sample available for epidemiological study is the series of some 11,000 cases of ankylosing spondylitis in Great Britain, treated with x-irradiation. No satisfactory control series of spondylitis, untreated by x-rays, but otherwise equivalent, is available. Hence, questions can properly be raised about using the population-at-large as a reference sample. And the use of drugs for pain relief in addition to radiation therapy leads to the question of effects due to the drugs alone or to synergistic effects between drugs and radiation.

It can be pointed out that a vast experience with experimental animals of several species has proved cause and effect relationship between radiation exposure and carcinogenesis and leukemogenesis. Therefore, the real significance of the human studies is to ascertain comparability of dose-response relationships for humans versus other species, rather than establishment of whether the observed association of radiation and cancer in these human population samples is causal.

We believe the appropriate approach to the study of leukemogenic or carcinogenic potential of pollutants is the study of dose-response relationships in several mammalian species. And until or unless scaling laws are established among species, including humans, it should be assumed, for public health purposes, that the human is at least as sensitive as the most sensitive experimental species studied.

In the ionizing radiation case, abundant experimental animal data have accumulated over the past quarter-century demonstrating that radiation can provoke cancers of essentially all organs, provided the radiation is delivered to susceptible cells. Moreover, reasonable dose-response data were available through such studies. (Gofman and Tamplin 1970d). Had these experimental animal data been utilized properly, the recent surprise concerning the higher-than-anticipated cancer hazard of ionizing radiation need not have occurred.

Having expressed our serious disapproval of the concept that human epidemiological studies should represent an approach to the study of pollutant effects, we should like to review here the treachery inherent in such studies, how they led to an earlier underestimate of the carcinogenic effect of radiation, and the residual uncertainties which still exist in assessment of the magnitude of the carcinogenic response to ionizing radiation in humans.

1.1 CARCINOGENESIS AND LEUKEMOGENESIS IN HUMANS EXPOSED TO IONIZING RADIATION

Direct evidence that virtually all forms of human cancer can be induced by ionizing radiation has accumulated over several decades, often, however, with poor assessment of dose-response relationships. By now, acute and chronic myelogenous leukemia, other acute leukemias, multiple myeloma, bone sarcoma, skin carcinoma, lung cancer (bronchogenic and other varieties) thyroid cancer, breast cancer, stomach cancer, pancreas cancer, malignant lymphoma, colon cancer, cerebral tumors, neuroblastoma, Wilms tumor, maxillary and other sinus carcinomas,

and pharynx cancer have all been shown to be inducible in humans by ionizing radiation. (Gofman and Tamplin, 1970a).

One disease (presumed malignant), chronic lymphatic leukemia, does not, thus far, appear to be radiation-induced. (Lewis, 1970) The implications of this finding remain unclear.

For those remaining varieties of human cancer, other than the ones just listed, no evidence indicates they are not radiation-inducible. Within the evidence available, fortunately limited, there are simply no adequate data concerning radiation-induction.

Recently we presented three generalizations concerning induction of human cancer and leukemia by ionizing radiation. (Gofman and Tamplin, 1970a, 1970b). These generalizations follow:

Generalization I

All forms of cancer, in all probability, can be increased by ionizing radiation, and the correct way to describe the phenomenon is either in terms of dose required to double the spontaneous mortality rate for each cancer or, alternatively, of the increase in mortality rate of such cancers per rad of exposure.

Generalization II

All forms of cancer show closely similar doubling doses and closely similar percentage increases in cancer mortality rate per rad.

Generalization III

Youthful subjects require less radiation to increase the mortality rate by a specified fraction than do adults.

Others (Stewart and Kneale, 1968) had clearly stated the outlines of these generalizations based upon the irradiation of infants in utero. Court-Brown and Doll (1965) had done so based upon irradiation of adults. Additional study (Gofman, Gofman, Tamplin, Kovich, 1971) provides no reason to suggest a change in any of these generalizations; rather, it provides supplementary support for the generalizations.

The second of these generalizations led us to predict that for every leukemia induced by ionizing radiation, the sum of the number of cancers induced would stand to leukemia as does the sum of spontaneous cancer mortalities to leukemia mortality. Since the sum of spontaneous cancer mortalities is some twenty times that of leukemia mortality (Table 3) over a fair share of the human adult life span, we predicted the sum of cancer mortalities per unit of radiation would be twenty-fold that of leukemia.

This caused a furor in the "radiation community", since the International Commission on Radiological Protection (1966) had predicted only one cancer mortality per leukemia mortality from radiation (exclusive of thyroid carcinoma which shows a low mortality rate in the cases which do occur).

The error in the ICRP estimate represents a classic illustration of the pitfalls in the epidemiologic approach that had been used. Leukemia happens to occur earlier, post-irradiation, than do other cancers. Thus, since the ICRP was studying population samples in the relatively early years post-irradiation, the cancer mortality was seriously underestimated.

Data are available for adults from the study of the irradiated ankylosing spondylitis cases in Great Britain. (Court-Brown and Doll, 1965). These subjects were irradiated primarily in early adulthood and then followed for periods up to 27 years. This study provides a good basis for testing the prediction that the sum of cancer mortalities is some 20 times that of leukemia mortality following irradiation. It is obvious that such a comparison test requires that radiation doses be equivalent for all sites compared, or that appropriate dosage corrections be made before comparison of cancer mortalities with leukemia mortality. The Court-Brown and

Doll data are presented in Table 2, including partial followup through 27 years.

In these studies:

40% of the total bone marrow (the expected site of origin of the leukemias) is estimated to have received irradiation. The spondylitis treatment is directed to the spine, not to other bone sites containing marrow. The mean bone marrow dose=880 rads, (for spinal marrow).

The "heavily irradiated" sites in those studies represent the sites receiving spray irradiation incident to the planned spinal irradiation. Dolphin and Eve (1968) estimated that these "heavily irradiated" sites received ~7% of the mean spinal marrow dose.

From Table 2, the observed (Σ Cancer Mortalities/Leukemia Mortality) = (369/67).

The Σ Cancer Mortalities must be multiplied by 100/7, or 14, to correct dosage for "heavily irradiated" sites to be equivalent to that for the spinal marrow.

The Leukemia Mortality must be multiplied by 2.5 to correct for the fact that only ~40% of the total bone marrow received irradiation.

Therefore, for true total body irradiation the *Corrected Ratio* for radiation-induced malignant diseases, (Σ Cancer Mortalities/Leukemia Mortality) = (369/67) / (14/2.5) = 31.

Since the spondylitis patients were irradiated in early adulthood, the period of followup is approximately in the 40 to 70 year age region. From U.S. Vital Statistics, 1966, we can derive the ratio, (Σ Spontaneous Cancer Mortality Rates/ Σ Leukemia Mortality Rate) for this age range. These values are presented in Table 3.

In the spondylitis patients, the sites designated as "heavily irradiated" include lung, stomach, colon, pharynx, esophagus, pancreas, lymphatic tissue. The major contributing sources to cancer mortality are, therefore, included. Possibly the ratio, (Σ Radiation-Induced Cancer Mortalities/ Σ Leukemia Mortality), determined here to be ~31 might be increased some if remaining tissue sites had been irradiated. The ratio, (Σ Spontaneous Cancer Mortality Rates/ Σ Leukemia Mortality Rate) is in the neighborhood of 20-30, for the relevant age range. Within the errors of such data as those for the spondylitis cases, the similarity of ratios for the spontaneous and the radiation-induced cases can be taken as strong support for the Generalization II presented above, and as grossly at variance with the earlier ICRP prediction.

By now, however, this whole controversy has all but subsided.

An ICRP Task Force (1969) has presented the Court-Brown and Doll data, together with the dose correction shown above (application of the Dolphin-Eve correction).

Hamilton (1971) stated that his own estimate of the ratio, (Σ Radiation-Induced Cancer Mortalities/Radiation-Induced Leukemias), is within a factor of five of that of Gofman and Tamplin, but he failed to take into account the dosage corrections which are, of course, absolutely essential in the treatment of the ankylosing spondylitis data. When the Hamilton estimate is appropriately corrected for the dose difference between bone marrow and the "heavily irradiated" sites (where cancers arise), his revised estimate would be entirely in accord with our own estimate.

Mole (1971) has recently published an estimate that the sum of radiation-induced cancer mortalities is "an order of magnitude" greater than radiation-induced leukemias. In a personal communication, Mole (1970) indicated to us that he had not applied the full Dolphin-Eve dosage correction, and this almost certainly explains the residual factor of two difference between his estimates and our own.

Thus, the so-called "radiation controversy", at least with respect to the ratio, (Σ Cancer Mortalities/ Σ Leukemia Mortality), for total

body radiation, is essentially over. The controversy did pinpoint a valuable epidemiological pitfall, namely, the serious under-estimate of cancer hazard from ionizing radiation resulting from the use by standard-setting bodies of epidemiologic data for a time interval before the serious carcinogenic effects had developed. And the long observation periods required should alert us to the futility of hopes of learning of carcinogenic effects of new pollutants through human epidemiologic studies on a time scale that can be practically useful.

1.2 DOSE-RESPONSE RELATIONSHIPS: IONIZING RADIATION-INDUCTION OF CANCER AND LEUKEMIA

The ultimate objective, for a pollutant such as ionizing radiation, is an estimate of the human cost in premature death through cancer and leukemia, resulting from fairly chronic low or moderate dose irradiation.

It is self-evident that dose-response relationships are required for such an estimate. Less immediately evident are some of the more subtle characteristics of the dose-response relationships—characteristics which are crucially determinative of the magnitude of expected human cost.

(a) One such characteristic is the time of onset of the carcinogenic response following exposure. Closely related is the duration of the response period in an exposed population.

(b) A second characteristic is the nature of the dose-response curve over a wide range of doses. This becomes especially important because much of the available epidemiologic data covers a dose region higher than that anticipated for population exposure. Dose rate is an ancillary feature deserving consideration.

(c) A third characteristic is the variation in dose-response relationship as a function of age at exposure.

1.2a TIME OF ONSET OF CARCINOGENIC RESPONSE AND ITS DURATION

A valid parameter commonly employed to assess carcinogenic response to ionizing radiation is the radiation-induced age-specific mortality rate from any particular malignancy or group of malignancies. It would be ideal if this parameter were readily available both from the experimental animal and human data, but this is not always the case.

Following radiation exposure (humans and experimental animals) there is a time-period which elapses before any provably induced mortality from cancer or leukemia is observed. In short-lived mammals, e.g. rat, this time-period is on a time scale of months; in the human, it is on a time scale of years.

Most workers have referred to this apparently silent period as a latent period. It is not at all certain that such a latent period is truly as long as has generally been suspected. What is more likely is that the dose-response curve shows at first a gentle slope upward with time, followed by a more steep slope, and then followed by what may be called a "plateau" region (Figure 1a). In studies involving relatively few subjects, the low incidence in the gentle slope region can appear to be a time-period free of effects, and this may well be why the impression has arisen of a long latent period. In most of the data available for analysis, the quantitative features of this segment of the response versus time curve are poorly defined.

Of additional great importance would be knowledge concerning duration of the "plateau" region of the response versus time relationship. Unfortunately, the available data simply do not allow, for any particular malignancy, satisfactory construction of this curve to ascertain how long the "plateau" region persists.

For chronic myelogenous leukemia (Bizzozero, Johnson, and Clocco, 1966) the data suggest that once the excess mortality-rate from radiation is perceived, it persists year after year for some 10 to 15 years, whereupon

the excess mortality rate drops toward a lower value.

In that same study, the radiation-induced excess acute leukemia mortality rate showed no significant decline from the peak (or "plateau") value even after 20 years beyond irradiation.

In the study of Court-Brown and Doll (1965) on patients with spondylitis treated by X-rays, the 15-27 year period post-irradiation showed a higher excess mortality rate than any earlier periods of observation. There is, thus, no evidence yet within that study, of a return toward spontaneous mortality rates from malignant disease for the irradiated subjects.

Both the Japanese studies and the spondylitis studies should, in the next 10 years, provide very valuable clues concerning the duration of the plateau region of response. For the present, however, no valid data are available to determine plateau duration. Indeed, and regrettably, the data for experimental animals, with respect to this issue, are no better than the sparse human data.

As will be noted in the subsequent discussion of estimating long-term population effects of low or moderate dose radiation, the duration of the plateau region is an extremely crucial parameter in determining the human cost expected. Furthermore, the shape of the early part of the dose-response curve (the so-called latent period region) is also an important parameter in determining the total magnitude of expected population cost.

In the absence of definitive data on these two issues, we shall idealize such dose-response curves using simplifying assumptions which are in reasonable accord with what experience is available. Figure 1b presents such an idealized diagram describing the main features of the dose-response relationship. The gently sloping part of the response curve is there replaced by an idealized "zero" response; followed by an abrupt rise to a flat plateau region. The duration of the flat plateau region is then available as a parameter for study, which is all that can be done at this time in the absence of definitive data.

In order to explore the consequences of variation in major parameters (length of "latent period" and duration of "plateau"), the following assumptions and cases will be used:

(a) A single latent period of 5 years for in utero irradiation. (So chosen as to be in accord with the estimates of Stewart and Kneale.)

(b) A single latent period of 15 years for all forms of cancer for all irradiation beyond birth [except in (d) below].

(c) Two general cases; first, that with no return toward the spontaneous mortality rate (plateau, therefore, extending throughout the remaining life span for the population-at-risk); and second, that with an idealized abrupt return to spontaneous mortality rates after a 30-year plateau region.

(d) An extreme case; latency period 10 years (instead of 15 years) for all post-natal radiation and a plateau duration of 20 years. Both these changes have the effect of reducing the expected consequences of irradiation. We refer to them as "extreme" because it appears doubtful that the gently sloping part of the dose-response curve is any shorter than 10 years for the majority of radiation-induced malignancies (aside from leukemia, which appears shorter than all others), and second, because what evidence is available suggests that the plateau region is most likely to be greater than 20 years in duration.

It is essential to consider the manner of description of the radiation-induced excess age-specific mortality rates. In most of the literature data the results are presented either as excess cases per 1000 population at risk, or as the percentage increment in cancer mortality over the spontaneous age-

specific mortality rates. In some cases data are available for individual malignancies; in others, all cancers are presented as a sum.

There is no theoretical reason for preference of absolute or percentage increments in age-specific mortality rates. Both expressions suffer the defect that data derived from one population sample (e.g. Japanese subjects) may not be directly applicable to another population sample (e.g. United States subjects). We are far, far from having sufficient epidemiologic data to address such questions.

We have mentioned earlier the desirability of having age-specific mortality rates for all ages of interest. We are far from that goal. Instead, available to us are radiation-excess mortality rates over a span of years of observation of exposed population samples. Therefore, expressed either as absolute or percent increment in mortalities, the data allow only an average value for this span of years.

In the absence of further evidence, we are here treating the plateau region as a *fixed* percentage increment in cancer mortality per unit of radiation over the *entire plateau region*. Only extensive further data can definitively test the validity of this particular approach.

In its favor is the conservative nature of this treatment for public health purposes. Let us consider the implications of this treatment. Since spontaneous age-specific cancer mortality rates change with age (rising steeply with age beyond 20 years), the assumption of a fixed percentage increment for radiation-induced excess over the whole plateau implies that the absolute increase in age-specific mortality rate induced by radiation also changes with age. Thus, if the plateau region represents a 50% increase in mortality rate, there will be 1000 extra deaths per 10⁶ persons per year where the spontaneous mortality rate is 2000 deaths per 10⁶ per year. At a later age, with a spontaneous mortality rate of 4000 deaths per 10⁶ persons per year, the absolute increment due to radiation would be 2000 deaths per 10⁶ persons per year. Thus, a constant percentage increment in the plateau response region implies that absolute radiation-induced age-specific mortality rate increments will increase over a span of ages.

"Spontaneous" cancer mortality rates include all known and unknown causes of cancer. Therefore, in an epidemiologic study, radiation-induced cases resulting from natural radiation background plus medical radiation exposures are included in the "spontaneous" cancer mortality rates for the population sample under study. Thus, if calculations are presented concerning the percentage increase in cancer mortality rate per rad of additional exposure to such a population, the true "spontaneous" base rate must be lower than that which includes the radiation effect from such sources as medical or natural radiation.

Therefore, the true radiation percentage increment per rad is actually larger than that presented. For calculational purposes this does not introduce any significant complications. However, if the effect per rad is high, then the observed percent increment per rad is stated to be lower than it truly is, simply because the spontaneous rate already is inflated by that mortality due to natural plus medical (and other) radiation for the population sample under study.

1.2b DOSE-RESPONSE RELATIONSHIPS OVER A RANGE OF DOSES

One cannot be certain that the time aspects of the dose response relationship are identical over all dose ranges to be considered. Earlier impressions have been that the "latent period" (the gently sloping region described in Section 1.2a above) might be longer at lower radiation doses. This speculation was flimsily supported, if at all. The kind of study which led to this impression of

a longer latent period at lower doses generally included small population samples at the lower doses, such that the expectancy of cancer at the low doses was often measured as a small fraction of one case (Evans, 1969).

Under these circumstances, the probability of observing zero cases, in a small population sample, is very high. The observation of zero cases led to the false impression of a long latent period. In this manner a mythology arose concerning "practical thresholds" at low doses—the view that low doses of radiation might not be carcinogenic simply because the latent period could exceed the life span of the exposed population.

Finkel (1969) recently demolished this myth very effectively, based upon a study of some 3200 mice exposed to Ra²²⁶. She saw no evidence of a variation in latent period with dose and indicated that she believed no other investigators would see such variation either if they had an adequate population sample in the low dose region.

In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we shall assume latent periods and duration of plateau to be independent of the dose range under consideration. We shall, further, consider the effects calculated in the plateau region of the idealized diagram of Figure 1b.

The epidemiologic data available cover a wide range of doses of radiation, which much of the human data, at least up to recently, having been obtained at moderate or high doses. Our interest, for purposes of evaluation of radiation is, in general, for doses in the low to moderate range. It is, therefore, essential to know the nature of the dose-response curve over a wide range of doses if the epidemiologic data are to be utilized for predictive purposes in the case of population exposures.

A priori, in such problems, there is no way to predict the nature of the dose-response curve. In principle, three generalized dose-response patterns are conceivable, connecting observations at high doses with those to be anticipated at low doses. These are shown in Figure 2.

Curve A (Figure 2) may be taken as one representative curve of a family of curves that are convex upward. Clearly, curves of this family express pessimism in that they predict a higher response at low doses than would be anticipated from a linear dose-response relationship (Curve B). Curve C, on the other hand, is a representative of a family of curves concave upward. This curve may be considered the "optimistic" curve from the viewpoint of the promoter of a radiation-associated technology. The optimism arises because there can be a low dose region where the excess mortality due to radiation may be extremely low.

Early in the history of study of radiation carcinogenesis, data were available, for humans and experimental animals, only for the fairly high dose region, and the shape of the entire curve down to very low doses was unknown. During that period, most responsible scientists and such radiation study groups as the International Commission on Radiological Protection made the prudent assumption of a linear relationship of radiation dose versus excess cancer mortality rate (Curve B).

While this did represent a conservative approach consistent with sound public health principles, it must be emphasized that this was by no means the most conservative position. Any of the family of curves, represented by Curve A (Figure 2) represents a more conservative relationship for connecting available high dose points with the low dose region. But all these considerations describe an era that is now past.

Abundant new data, in humans and experimental animals, have now become available, permitting description of the dose-response relationship over a wide range of doses. These new data all point unmistakably

to the correctness of Curve B, the linear relationship between excess cancer mortality and radiation dose, over a very wide range of doses for a variety of cancers and benign tumors.

While one can understand the disappointment of radiation-industry promoters over the disappearance of the fondly regarded Curve C, it is not possible to condone their lack of appreciation of the existence of all this new evidence. Let us consider the specific new evidence that has appeared in recent years.

(a) Shellabarger, Bond, Cronkite and Aponte (1969) have demonstrated linearity both for breast adenocarcinoma and breast fibroadenoma development in rats exposed to x-rays or gamma rays down to total doses of 15 rads.

(b) Upton et al (1969) have demonstrated linearity for mouse mortality from thymic lymphoma down to total doses of 10 rads. Studies at lower doses are in progress.

(c) Finkel, Biskis, and Jinkins (1969) have demonstrated linearity for osteosarcoma development in the mouse with ²²⁶Ra injection over a wide range of doses. This is a landmark study, since it is refreshingly characterized by the experimental design of providing an adequate number of experimental animals in the low dose region. Gofman and Tamplin (1970e, 1971a) have pointed out the fallacious conclusions derived from the study of inadequate numbers of humans exposed to ²²⁶Ra and developing osteosarcoma.

(d) Hemplemann (1968) has indicated linearity in the production of human thyroid adenomas by x-rays, including data points down to 20 rads total dose to the thyroid gland.

(e) Beebe, Kato, and Land (1970) have now extended the leukemia studies in survivors of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki bombings. They now have demonstrated linearity in the production of human leukemia with radiation dose, down to total doses of 20 rads.

(f) Stewart and Kneale (1970) have demonstrated linearity between cancer and leukemia induction in children during the first 10 years of life and irradiation by x-rays in utero in the process of diagnostic obstetric radiography. Their observations covered the range of ~2.0 rads, thus providing direct human evidence in the extremely low dose region.

(g) Mays and Spiess (1971) have demonstrated linearity in the production of osteosarcoma both in human adults and children as a result of ²²⁶Ra injection. Their experimental data extend down to 90 rads estimated dose. These studies are grossly at variance with the claims of Evans of a "threshold" for osteosarcoma in humans by alpha-emitters at a dose of 1000 rads.

Taken overall, these recent and diverse publications leave very little reason to doubt a linear dose-response relationship for cancer and leukemia induction by radiation. It has been an interesting phenomenon, indeed, to observe the antics of the promoters of radiation-associated technologies during the evolution of all these data. Starting with their hope that linearity would fall below 100 rads, they have been forced to retreat steadily to 50 rads, then 25 rads, and now they find themselves faced with linearity down to the region of a fraction of one rad. Hope springs eternal.

To be sure, for any particular set of data, one could always argue that perhaps there is a deviation from linearity somewhere below the dosage represented by the lowest experimental point. There exists no rational support for such an assumption, since it would require a fundamental change in the mechanism of radiation carcinogenesis in the region below the linearity region.

Further, such an assumption, in the absence of evidence supporting it, represents a totally unsound approach to the protection of the public health. The in utero data of

Stewart and Kneale (1970), extending down to ~ 0.3 rads, militate strongly against further serious consideration of non-linearity in the very low dose region.

From the point of view of mechanism, linearity between radiation dose and carcinogenic response suggests that a single-event phenomenon is involved in the production of the critical change which results in the development of cancer. If a single event produces the carcinogenic change over a wide range of doses, for a variety of cancers, for several mammalian species, there appears little reason to expect a fundamental change in such mechanism at still lower doses.

Since linearity appears well established for a variety of cancers, we shall here consider the dose response relationship, in the plateau region, as being linear for every type of cancer and leukemia (Figure 3) for prediction purposes.

The excess age-specific mortality rate, for any cancer, can be expressed, for a linear dose-response relationship, as a percentage increase per rad over the spontaneous mortality rate for that particular cancer. Such percentage increment is simply the slope of the linear plot of Figure 3.

For illustrative purposes, assume the slope, for a particular cancer, were determined to be 1% per rad. It follows then, for a linear relationship, that 100 rads will produce 100×1 , or a 100% increase in cancer mortality above the spontaneous cancer mortality rate.

That dose which increases the spontaneous cancer mortality rate by 100% is commonly defined as one doubling dose of radiation for production of that particular cancer.

Thus, if a = slope of the line in Figure 3, then Doubling Dose = $100/a$ (for this particular cancer).

The doubling dose notation does not in any way imply a geometric progression in excess cancer mortality rate with increasing radiation dose. Rather, one doubling dose adds 100% to the spontaneous age-specific mortality rate, two doubling doses add 200%, three doubling doses add 300%, etc. It is simply a matter of convenience as to whether radiation carcinogenesis, for any particular cancer, is described as the percent increment in cancer mortality rate per rad or as the dose in rads, the doubling dose, required to add an excess mortality rate equal to the spontaneous age-specific rate.

Nothing about the doubling dose notation infers or suggests that the doubling dose is the same for all forms of cancer. This is a matter for experimental evidence to decide. Before considering the question of variation of doubling dose with form of cancer induced, it is necessary to turn our attention to the variation in sensitivity to radiation carcinogenesis with age at irradiation.

1.2C VARIATION IN CARCINOGENIC DOSE-RESPONSE RELATIONSHIP WITH AGE AT RADIATION EXPOSURE

Our considerations thus far have led us to description of radiation carcinogenesis as follows:

1. Dose-response relationship, at a specified age, is linear (Figure 3), characterized by a particular percentage increment in cancer mortality per rad for a particular form of cancer.

2. Dose-response relationships will be treated for the idealized "plateau" region of the curve of the response-versus-time after radiation exposure.

For any particular cancer, occurring at a specified age, how does the slope of the dose-response line vary with age at irradiation? It is clear that any refined effort to assess population response to continuous or intermittent radiation exposure requires consideration of this particular question. To the best of our knowledge there exists no theory that provides the answer to this question.

We must, therefore, have recourse to empirical data.

First, we have the data for in utero radiation provided by Stewart and Kneale (1968) and MacMahon (1962). These data, presented in Table 1, describe the increase in cancer and leukemia mortalities during the first ten years of life following irradiation in utero. Inspection of the data leads to a best estimate of a 50% increase in mortality rates for a variety of cancers and for leukemia for radiation associated with diagnostic pelvimetry. The similarity in percentage increase in cancer mortality for diverse cancers and for leukemia, for such radiation, is striking.

Stewart and Kneale (1970) indicate that approximately 4 x-ray films lead to 100% increase in such childhood cancers and leukemia mortality rates. During the period of accumulation of their evidence, each x-ray film represented less than 0.5 rad delivered to the infant in utero. Conservatively, therefore, one estimates that two films, or 1.0 rads, are required for an $\sim 50\%$ increase either in cancer or leukemia mortality rates. (The true value may be somewhat higher than the conservative 50% increase per rad.)

None of the Stewart studies address the issue of effects of in utero radiation upon the development of cancer or leukemia beyond the first ten years of life. Both from the Hempelmann studies (1968) and the Hiroshima-Nagasaki studies (Jablon and Belsky, 1970), involving the irradiation in early infancy, we have conclusive evidence that carcinogenesis extends far beyond the first ten years of life. It would be surprising, therefore, if such were not the case for in utero irradiation as well. In any event, our treatment of the data for estimating population exposure specifically explores the effect of various durations of the plateau response region.

Utilizing the Stewart-Kneale and MacMahon data, we shall use a 50% increase in age-specific cancer mortality rates per rad for irradiation received in utero and shall assume this value holds for all cancers and leukemias.

For infancy and childhood irradiation, there are two major sources of information:

- (a) Data for thyroid cancer induction in U.S. children irradiated in early infancy.

- (b) Data for various cancers in Japanese subjects in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, who were between 0 and 9 years of age at the time of bombing.

For the thyroid cancers occurring in irradiated children, Pochin (1966) provided an estimate that the absolute increment is 1 case per 10^6 persons per year per rad of exposure of the thyroid gland. Carroll, Hadden, Handy and Weeben (1964) reported the spontaneous thyroid cancer rate as ~ 5 -10 cases per 10^6 persons per year in the age range 10-20 years. Combining these data, we have previously estimated 10 to 20% increase in thyroid cancer per year per rad for irradiation in infancy. (Gofman and Tamplin, 1970b).

Jablon and Belsky (1970) have recently provided data for cancers (other than leukemia) in persons exposed to atom bombing at 0-9 years of age. For those receiving 100 rads or more, the cancer mortality rates (during the period 10 to 24 years beyond exposure) was 8.4 times that observed for persons receiving less than 10 rads. The mean dose for the (100 rad or more) group was not given, but it must lie between 100 and 200 rads. So 100 to 200 rads represent 7.4 doubling doses ($8.4 - 1.0 = 7.4$).

Therefore, the doubling dose for cancer production in these 0-9-year old children (at exposure) lies between 14 and 28 rads. This corresponds to a 3.5 to 7.0% increase in cancer mortality rate per rad.

The percent increment in leukemia mortality rate per rad was even higher, as observed in a group of children 0-14 years of

age at the time of bombing. (Jablon and Belsky, 1970) A variety of cancers were represented in the Jablon-Belsky data, but the limitations of numbers did not allow for treatment of individual types of cancers. (Also Jablon, Belsky, Tachikawa, Steer, 1971.)

From several sources, data are available concerning the percentage increase in specific-site cancer mortality rates per rad for persons irradiated in early adulthood (Tamplin and Gofman, 1970). These include data for subjects receiving radiation under widely different conditions. Included are:

- Breast cancer (Nova Scotia women (MacKenzie 1965) receiving fluoroscopic radiation) (Japanese survivors of atomic bombing).

- Thyroid cancer (Japanese survivors of atomic bombing).

- Lung cancer (Spondylitis cases) (Japanese survivors of atomic bombing).

- Leukemia (Spondylitis cases) (Japanese survivors of atomic bombing).

- Stomach cancer (Spondylitis cases).

- Colon cancer (Spondylitis cases).

- Pancreas cancer (Spondylitis cases).

- Bone cancer (Spondylitis cases).

- Lymphatic + other, Hematopoietic Organ cancer (Spondylitis cases).

- Misc. cancers (Spondylitis cases).

- Pharynx cancer (Spondylitis cases).

The range of values determined for percentage increase in cancer mortality rate per rad of exposure was between 1 and 5%, with an estimated best value of approximately 2% per rad.

Ideally, one would want to have these values determined for groups irradiated at a specified age, and one would wish to be certain that the observations were strictly referable to the plateau region of the response vs. time curve, rather than possibly including some data referable to the latent period. But such ideal data are unavailable.

Hence, we shall use a 2% increase in cancer mortality rate per rad as a "best" value, we shall consider that it applies to all cancers (the major ones are all represented in the data), and we shall relate this value to irradiation at approximately 20 to 30 years of age.

There can be no doubt that risk of induction of excess cancer mortality rates per rad, described as percent increase over spontaneous mortality rate, declines steeply with increasing age at irradiation. Within the totality of available epidemiologic evidence now available, the estimates just listed provide about as much description of this declining function as is now possible. For purposes of estimation of the consequences of population exposure, these estimates can be reasonably approximated by the step function presented in Table 4.

It can be shown that the precise values in the step function are not the dominant parameters that determine the consequences of population exposure. Of far greater importance is the duration of the plateau region of the response vs. time curve.

As will be noted below, the overall data indicate the sensitivity to cancer induction, when expressed as the percent increase over spontaneous cancer mortality rates per rad of exposure, is a steeply declining function of age at irradiation. Therefore, it is entirely possible that the range of 1-5% increase in cancer mortality rate per rad might be narrowed appreciably but for differences in age at irradiation for the young adult groups tabulated. Inaccuracies in dosimetry may also account for part of the range of values observed. In any event, the average value of 2% per rad for irradiation in the age range of 20-30 years will be seen below to be consistent with trends noted over a very broad span of ages at irradiation.

Beebe, Kato and Land (1970) have recently presented data for cancer mortalities during the 1962-1966 period for Hiroshima-Nagasaki survivors who were between 25 and 55 years of age at the time of bombing (1945). It

appears quite clear, from their studies, that there is a markedly lower sensitivity for cancer induction per rad compared with that for younger subjects. These workers estimate a 20% increase in cancer mortality risk per 100 rads, or 0.2% per rad for this older group of subjects.

Summarizing all the evidence just described, we have the following estimates of sensitivity to radiation-induction of cancer and leukemia as a function of age at irradiation:

In utero, ~50% increase in mortality rate per rad.

0-9 years of age, 3.5-20% increase in mortality rate per rad.

20-30 years of age, ~2% increase in mortality rate per rad.

50 years of age, ~0.2% increase in mortality rate per rad.

Peaceful atomic energy programs are currently allowed to deliver an average dose of 0.17 rads per year to the U.S. population. At present, so far as measurements allow dose estimates, it appears that such programs deliver only a small fraction of this "allowable" average dose. Nevertheless, with the burgeoning growth of the nuclear electric power industry plus numerous proposals for utilization of "peaceful" nuclear explosives (Project Flowshare) plus growing radioisotope utilization, the exposure to the population from the "peaceful" atom will undoubtedly grow.

So long as 0.17 rads per year remains permissible by Federal Regulations, there is good reason to believe the full exposure may ultimately be reached. It is, therefore, of especial importance to calculate the cancer and leukemia expectation for such an average exposure to the U.S. population.

Medical and dental exposures to x-rays have resulted in a steadily increasing average population dose of ionizing radiation. Medical diagnostic x-ray exposure has recently been estimated to provide approximately 0.10 rads as an average population somatic tissue dose (Morgan 1971). We are in full accord with Morgan that advantage should be taken of modern technology to reduce such exposure drastically, especially since Morgan has estimated that a ten-fold reduction in average exposure could be accomplished without any loss in diagnostic x-ray information.

Natural radiation provides an average population exposure in the neighborhood of 0.125 rads per year. Such features as radioactivity content of building materials, radioactivity in rocks of the earth, and elevation above sea level account for variation in such natural doses among population sub-samples.

Through a strange system of logic, or better, illogic, it is commonplace for promoters of radiation-associated technologies to arrive at the wholly absurd conclusion that doses comparable to natural radiation cannot be carcinogenic simply because natural radiation "has always been with us".

2. THE CARCINOGENIC CONSEQUENCES OF POPULATION EXPOSURE TO ENVIRONMENTAL IONIZING RADIATION

We believe the major parameters required to evaluate the consequences of population exposures to ionizing radiation have been identified in the foregoing discussion. That the epidemiologic data are far less than ideal for quantitative evaluation is undeniable. A humane society should consider itself fortunate that better data are not available.

The various sources of potential ionizing radiation exposure include natural radiation, radiation from weapons testing fallout, radiation from a variety of peaceful atomic energy programs, and radiation from diagnostic medical and dental exposure.

Since the signing of the atmospheric test ban treaty, weapons testing fallout has become a small source, and should decline fur-

ther, unless non-signatories to that treaty increase weapons testing appreciably.

All these sources of ionizing radiation represent primarily low LET radiation (LET—linear energy transfer). Primarily the radiations are X-rays, gamma rays, and beta rays. Carcinogenic effect per rad will be essentially identical for all these radiation sources. One could estimate population consequences per millirad per year, for natural radiation exposures, for medical exposures, or for the 0.17 rads per year permitted as an average population exposure for peaceful atomic energy activities.

Since the concern of this Symposium is with matters related to environmental pollution, it is particularly appropriate to estimate the consequences of the 0.17 rad per year average allowable population exposure. The U.S. Government has decreed this much population pollution to be permissible, (Federal Radiation Council, 1960). The scientific and lay communities should be especially interested in the carcinogenic consequences of this permissible pollution by ionizing radiation.

It should be evident that the consequences of natural, medical, or weapons fallout exposures can be derived from the consequences of 0.17 rads per year by direct application of the linearity of dose vs. response.

We have previously estimated the cancer plus leukemia consequences of exposure to 0.17 rads per year to be approximately 32,000 extra cancer plus leukemia deaths per year, at equilibrium, for the U.S. population at its current size of 2x10⁸ persons, (Gofman and Tamplin, 1970c, 1970d). That estimate was based upon the average 2% increase in cancer mortality rate per year per rad of exposure observed for young adults, coupled with a 30-year duration of the plateau region.

With the more extensive data available in the past year concerning sensitivity variation with age, a more refined estimate is now possible. More over, it is important to explore the implications of both a longer and shorter duration of the plateau region, as well as the implications of variation in "latent" period. As we shall see, the estimate of 32,000 extra deaths per year is by no means overly conservative, since this number can rise several fold if it turns out that the plateau region extends throughout the life span of exposed populations.

2.1 CANCER HAZARD FOR AVERAGE POPULATION EXPOSURE AT 0.17 RADS PER YEAR (TOTAL BODY IRRADIATION)

Three general cases will be considered here:

(1) Plateau persists indefinitely after latent period.

(2) Plateau region persists 30 years, with subsequent return to spontaneous cancer mortality rates.

(3) The extreme case: Plateau region persists 20 years. Latent period of 10 years for post natal radiation in contrast with 15 years for Cases (1) and (2).

Case 1: Plateau persists indefinitely after latent period.

The calculation is based upon the consideration of the total percent increment in radiation-induced cancer mortality rate at a particular specified age as made up of the sum of contributions from radiation received at ages less than the specified age. The procedure will be illustrated below.

For in utero irradiation we have stated above that a five-year latent period will be assumed.

In Case 1 calculations, a 15-year latent period is assumed for all post natal irradiation.

Radiation received in any particular year of life begins to contribute to cancer mortality rate only after the latent period is over. Thus, radiation in the first year of life starts contributing to cancer mortality in

the 16th year of life. Radiation in the 10th year of life starts contributing to cancer mortality in the 25th year of life.

For in utero irradiation at 0.17 rads per year, approximately 0.12 rads would be received in the course of a pregnancy. At 50% increase in cancer mortality rate per rad, we calculate 50 x 0.12, or a 6% increase in cancer mortality rate for the in utero radiation exposure. Now, since we have assumed a 5-year latent period in utero radiation, there is obviously zero cancer mortality increment during the first four years of life. For the 5th year of life and beyond, however, the 6% increment in cancer mortality rate would apply for each year that the plateau region persists. In case 1, under consideration here, this would be for the remainder of the life span of the exposed population.

For irradiation in the first year of life (0.17 rads), the sensitivity factor to be taken from Table 4 is 10% per rad. Thus, 10 x 0.17 = 1.7% increase in cancer mortality rate. However, since we are taking the latent period for post natal irradiation to be 15 years, it follows that irradiation in the first year of life does not begin to add its increment in cancer mortality rate until the 16th year of life. For Case 1, this increment would be effective for all subsequent years for the exposed population, since indefinite persistence of the plateau is assumed.

Therefore, for the 16th year of life, there is 6% from the in utero irradiation plus 1.7% from irradiation in the first year of life, for a total increment of 7.7% in radiation-induced cancer mortality rate.

For the 17th year of life, we have 6% from in utero radiation, 1.7% from 1st year irradiation, plus 1.7% from the 2nd year irradiation, for a total of 9.4% increment in cancer mortality rate from the irradiation received in utero plus the first two years of post natal life.

The increment in cancer mortality for irradiation in each subsequent year of life is calculated in the same manner as the product of the sensitivity factor from Table 4 (for that year of life) by the 0.17 rads. The total increment in cancer mortality rate for any particular year of life is the sum of all contributions to that year from irradiation at earlier years, taking into account that no increment is derived until the latent period is over for that particular year's irradiation. In this manner, a value for total percent increment in cancer mortality rate becomes available for every year of life, taking into account, appropriately, irradiation received at all earlier periods of life. For ease of comparison with U.S. Vital Statistics, these annual values are averaged for five-year age intervals.

In assessing impact of irradiation upon the population, we can consider just the percent increase in age-specific cancer mortality rate. The values just calculated provide this result. Or, alternatively, and of possibly greater interest, is the absolute increase in number of cancer deaths per year at each age for the population-at-risk. We are now immediately in a position to make this estimate.

From U.S. Vital Statistics, the absolute number of spontaneous cancer deaths per year for each age interval is provided (1966 data used here). Now, let us suppose for a particular age that the combined increment due to all prior radiation is a 15% increment in cancer mortality rate over the spontaneous cancer mortality rate. And let us suppose, further, that for this particular age, the spontaneous cancer mortality rate is 1000 cases per year. The radiation-induced increment is then (15/100 x 1000), or 150 radiation-induced cancer deaths for the population at this particular age.

In a similar manner, a tabulation of absolute numbers of radiation-induced cancers by age-interval can be built up, separately for males and females. Finally the total annual number of radiation-induced cancer

fatalities can be calculated by summation over all age intervals for males plus females. This tabulation, for Case 1 calculations, is provided in Table 5.

The result, a prediction of some 104,000 annual additional cancer fatalities, is more than 3 times worse than our earlier estimate. We are, of course, not at all surprised at this result, for we had indicated earlier that taking sensitivity as a function of age into account could make for a much more serious prediction. Additionally, Case 1 calculations consider the plateau region to extend indefinitely, whereas our earlier calculations were based upon a 30-year duration of plateau.

It can be further noted that if the real effect is as large as shown in Table 5 (and no reason exists to reject the Case 1 analysis), then the contribution of natural plus medical radiation must constitute a quite appreciable segment of the so-called "spontaneous" cancer mortality rates.

One could consider a second iteration on the total calculation, correcting the "spontaneous" mortality rates downward (by subtracting the contribution from natural plus medical radiation) and correcting the percent increment per rad upward as a result of the lower true "spontaneous" mortality. These two effects would tend to balance out so that the final calculations of population risk would not be seriously altered. It would, however, point up the major contribution of natural plus medical radiation to the existing cancer mortality rate, wholly aside from increments due to peaceful atomic energy programs.

Case 2: Plateau Region Persists 30 Years, with Subsequent Return to Spontaneous Cancer Mortality Rates.

It is possible that once the increased cancer risk due to irradiation is fully developed (the plateau region), such risk may not persist indefinitely. It is difficult to know, within presently available epidemiological data, how many years the plateau lasts, if it does indeed only last a limited period for cancer.

A calculation based upon a 30-year plateau period is provided here. In this calculation, the contribution of radiation received in any particular year of life is credited for 30 successive years, following the latent period. After this, the contribution of that particular radiation is cut off. Thus, for example, the percent increment in cancer mortality rate from radiation received during the 1st year of life begins to be credited starting in the 16th year of life, and is credited for each subsequent year of life out to the 45th year of life. Beyond the 45th year of life, no crediting toward radiation-induced cancer mortality is given for irradiation in the 1st year of life. Similar calculations are made for irradiation in each subsequent year of life. Otherwise, procedures of calculation are similar to those for Case 1, Table 5 (5-year latent period for in utero radiation; 15-year latent period for all post natal irradiation). The calculations for Case 2 are presented in Table 6.

It is evident, on comparison of Table 5 with Table 6, that reduction of the plateau duration provokes a marked drop in the expected mortalities, (104,000 down to 74,000). However, both values are extremely high and should raise grave concern about the nature of the societal benefits that might be worth permitting population exposures as high as 0.17 rads per year as the average exposure.

No comfort whatever is to be drawn from repeated assurances that abound from nuclear promoters to the effect that "we'll never give you the full allowable exposure" while at the same time they staunchly defend retaining such an allowable exposure. Good intentions are materially aided by codification into Federal Regulations.

The calculations should be especially illuminating to the sponsors of this Symposium addressing the issue of designing epidemiologic studies for the evaluation of societal impact of environmental pollutants. A quarter of a century into the atomic era,

the epidemiologic data indicate that our permissible doses could lead to a public health calamity—a 25 to 35% increase in annual cancer mortality rate. No evidence at this time militates against the most pessimistic calculation (Case 1). We have commented elsewhere that this late realization based upon epidemiologic data could all have been averted by judicious use of experimental animal data decades ago, (Gofman and Tamplin, 1970d).

It is of interest to speculate upon possibilities that might have resulted in the Case 1 or Case 2 calculations leading to a serious overestimate of the cancer hazard. For example, one might consider the possibility that dosimetric or other errors had led to an overestimate of the percentage increment in cancer mortality rates per rad at all of the ages listed in Table 4.

We believe it is unlikely that such an overestimate could be as much as two-fold. Moreover, one might also, under such circumstances, consider that the seriousness of the results is underestimated as a result of dosimetric errors.

Case 3: The Extreme Case—Plateau Region Persists 20 years Latent period of 10 years; Post Natal Irradiation

It is important to ascertain what the prospects for "optimism" may be with regard to carcinogenic consequences of population exposure to radiation. Therefore, we may consider the possibility that the duration of the plateau region of the response vs. time relationship is materially shorter than 30 years. From the epidemiologic evidence available, admittedly still scanty, we would estimate that it is highly unlikely for plateau duration to be less than 20 years. (Radiation-induced cancers have been described occurring 30-40 years after exposure.)

But since this should lessen greatly the expected consequences, we shall test here a 20-year duration for the plateau region.

It is also evident that if the latent period were shorter than 15 years, the net carcinogenic effect would be reduced further, because the large percent increments in cancer mortality rate for irradiation early in life would not be carried as far forward into the later age spans where the spontaneous cancer mortality rates are high and, hence, the product of percent increment by spontaneous mortality rates are also high.

The procedure of calculation is precisely the same as that employed for Case 1 and Case 2 except for the alterations in the two parameters, plateau duration and latent period for postnatal irradiation. The results are presented in Table 7.

The final estimate for population exposure at an average of 0.17 rads per year is 9428 extra cancer deaths per year. While this is a marked reduction compared with the estimates for Case 1 and Case 2, the seriousness of such radiation exposure levels is self-evident. We would doubt that a more "optimistic" set of parameters than those for the Case 3 calculation is likely to be justified.

3. LIFE SHORTENING BY RADIATION-INDUCED CANCER

A variety of pronouncements have greeted estimates of the serious carcinogenic hazard of population exposures to doses in the neighborhood of 0.17 rads per year.

One such we have dealt with above, namely, the statement that, after all, this dose is comparable in magnitude with natural radiation, which humans have endured on earth for the entire history of the species. No further comment is required.

A second is that even though the calculated cancer deaths may indeed occur, they will occur so late in life as to be inconsequential. Grendon has championed this approach, readily provable to be false, (Grendon, 1970). A variant of this approach is that of Sagan (1971) who has pointed out that, even if the calculated cancers did occur, the average life shortening for the exposed population would be very small.

In fact, it has become fashionable of late to estimate the deleterious effect of environmental hazards in terms of average life shortening for the exposed population. We hear "Wouldn't people be willing to give up a few minutes, hours, or days of life span so we can all enjoy 'clean, cheap, and safe' nuclear electricity?"

This approach to evaluation of life shortening is exceeded in its scientific fallacy only by its immorality in public deception.

If those who die prematurely of cancer due to irradiation are averaged in with those who do not, the apparent loss of life expectancy appears quite small. What really matters is the average loss of life expectancy for those who do develop radiation-induced cancer. Their loss of decades of life expectancy is not easily recompensed by a "loan" from those who do not become victims.

The losses in life expectancy for the victims are readily estimated. If the victims of radiation-induced cancer had not been irradiated, there is a priori every reason to assume they would have experienced the usual life expectancy associated with their age group at victimization. Thus, from 1971 estimates, a man at age 25 years has a life expectancy of 45.5 years. If he dies at 25 years of age of radiation-induced cancer, he has lost 45.5 years of life expectancy.

In Table 8 are presented the calculated losses of life expectancy by age group for the persons developing radiation-induced cancers, as well as the average loss of life expectancy for all the cases of radiation-induced cancers as a group.

For males developing radiation-induced cancers, the average loss of life expectancy is 13.1 years. For females, the loss is 13.7 years. Such average losses hardly are in accord with Grendon's assertion that the radiation-induced cancers occur so late in life as to be inconsequential.

For men in the age group of 65-69 years, the life expectancy (as of 1971) is 11.5 years. If these men lose their life through radiation-induced cancer at 67 years, they have lost 11.5 years. One wonders whether Grendon has checked with such members of the population to ascertain that these "old" people need not care about losing 11.5 years of life.

Let us return to the Sagan view of only a minor loss of life expectancy (hours or days). If the man-years of life expectancy are distributed into the entire U.S. male population of 95,919,000 men instead of into the 56,703 victims of radiation-induced cancer, the average loss of life expectancy is computed to be 2.8 days.

This practice of hiding the serious loss in life expectancy for the victims of an environmental poison by averaging the loss over the larger group of non-victims deserves strong condemnation. The sole effect of the practice is to obscure the real hazard of an environmental poison from the public, carried through on behalf of the promoters of the technology responsible for the distribution of the poison.

The ridiculous nature of this approach to calculation of loss of life expectancy would be obvious to everyone, if we considered an issue like the death of young Americans in Vietnam. After all, when those Americans who are at home are averaged in with those who are killed in Vietnam, the average loss of life expectancy is small, the deaths are not tragic, for, on the average, everyone is just losing days from his life. The public would not stand for such nonsense. Why they are so readily brainwashed by pseudoscientific evaluation of loss of life expectancy for environmental poisons escapes understanding.

4. ARE THERE POSSIBLE MITIGATING FACTORS WHICH COULD REDUCE THE ESTIMATED HAZARD OF POPULATION EXPOSURE?

We have considered above the crucial parameters, such as latent period and duration of carcinogenic response plateau, which

can determine in a major way the magnitude of expected population cost. We must address a few other concepts, since the uninitiated may hear that such concepts provide a reasonable basis for expecting a lesser hazard. As will become evident, there is essentially no reason to expect any lessening of hazard.

Among these concepts are:

- (a) A Possible Threshold.
- (b) A Possible "Practical" Threshold.
- (c) Protraction of Radiation.
- (d) Repair of Radiation Injury.

Threshold: Absolute and "Practical"

In the discussion above it was demonstrated that abundant new data concerning the low dose region of radiation exposure indicate linearity of dose versus carcinogenic response over a wide range of doses. There really never has existed any acceptable evidence for an absolute threshold of exposure below which radiation carcinogenesis will not occur. It is to the credit of all radiation study groups that they have consistently rejected supposed evidence for radiation thresholds with respect to carcinogenesis. The linearity of dose versus response, now demonstrated down to very low doses, indicates there is no reason to expect any evidence for an absolute threshold ever to develop.

One total non-sequitur has often been introduced into discussions concerning a possible threshold. That concerns the development of signs and symptoms of acute radiation sickness following radiation exposure.

Everyone cognizant with this field has known for decades that acute radiation sickness is not linearly related to radiation dose, whereas carcinogenesis now appears definitely so related. The underlying mechanism in acute radiation sickness relates to whether or not cell replacement can operate rapidly enough to prevent such phenomena as mucosal ulceration or leukopenia. At radiation doses where cellular replacement is rapid enough, radiation sickness just doesn't occur. For carcinogenesis, not a shred of evidence has ever been adduced that cellular replacement can avert cancerous change.

The modification of the threshold concept to the "practical" threshold we have dealt with above. There is no basis for expecting any help from this concept.

Protraction of radiation

It is very commonly stated, with appallingly little evidence, if any, that if radiation is delivered slowly, the carcinogenic effect is lessened. A little later this was modified to the statement that protraction protects against carcinogenesis from low LET radiation (such as beta rays, x-rays, or gamma rays), but not high LET radiation (such as neutrons or alpha particles). A variety of experiments have been cited as direct demonstrations that protraction of radiation affords protection against carcinogenesis, (Upton, 1967).

Almost invariably such experiments contrast acute delivery of radiation early in life with protracted radiation extending from early in life through a significant part of the life span of the experimental animal. In some of the specific cases reported, the author has himself demonstrated a marked diminution in carcinogenicity of radiation with increasing age at irradiation, (Upton and Odell, 1961). In other studies, this point is entirely neglected.

In the material presented throughout this communication, the steep decline in carcinogenicity per rad with age in humans has been documented. Thus, the most probable interpretation of experiments contrasting acute versus protracted irradiation is simply that protraction provides part of the irradiation at older ages and, hence, cancer induction is lessened. All that this re-emphasizes is the extreme seriousness of radiation as a carcinogen early in life.

Whether there truly exists any residual mitigation from radiation protraction is un-

certain within present evidence. Certainly such bodies as the International Commission on Radiological Protection have acted with wisdom, from the public health viewpoint, in refusing to count upon protraction of radiation to lessen carcinogenic hazard.

We feel strongly that it would be appropriate to go further, for any environmental pollutant, and state the following principles:

"If under any dosage rate schedule a pollutant shows a certain magnitude of toxic effect, that toxic effect should be assumed to be at least as high for any other dosage rate schedule, until and unless definitively proven otherwise."

Adherence to such a public health principle might reduce the danger from those individuals all too ready to spew forth cliches, such as, "Maybe the poison won't be so bad if we give it slowly."

In the carcinogenesis field there is one special circumstance that deserves special consideration here. This is the case, either in humans or experimental animals, of a cancer whose incidence does not increase spontaneously in a monotonic fashion with increasing age. While most of the familiar cancers of adult life do show monotonically increasing incident rates with increasing age, this is not true for several human cancers that occur in childhood (e.g. neuroblastoma, Wilms' tumor). Some of these childhood cancers show a peak incidence in the first decade of life and a declining incidence thereafter. There is every reason to suspect that certain cancers of experimental animals may have a similar age-related incidence pattern.

Earlier in this communication we presented a generalization (Generalization 1) which stated "the correct way to describe the phenomenon (cancer induction by ionizing radiation) is either in terms of the dose required to double the spontaneous mortality rate for each cancer, or, alternatively, of the increase in mortality rate for such cancers per rad of exposure."

Let us consider what might occur if one happened to do dose protraction vs. acute radiation studies on a cancer having a peak incidence at one age period. If Generalization 1 is correct, then the results obtained by dose protraction could appear to be a lesser incidence of the cancer simply because of its spontaneous age-incidence pattern, and be wholly unrelated to any "protection" resulting from slow delivery of the radiation. We suspect that in time such an experiment will be done, and the results misinterpreted, to society's detriment.

Repair of radiation injury

Lastly, we must consider the phenomenon known as "repair". We hear commonly stated that DNA repair mechanisms exist and, hence, low dose radiation may not be as harmful as a carcinogen as had been suspected. No serious student of biology doubts the existence of DNA excision-repair or of such phenomena as light-stimulated thymine dimer repair. However, the existence of such phenomena by no means argues in any way for mitigation of radiation carcinogenesis. These is no evidence whatever that has been adduced relating such repair to ionizing radiation carcinogenesis.

When we observe the induction of cancer by ionizing radiation, we are, as yet, totally in the dark concerning the mechanism operative in production of the cancer. Whatever such mechanism may be, it is entirely conceivable that a large part of the carcinogenic damage of radiation may get repaired. What we are observing is the net, unrepaired carcinogenic damage.

The only conceivable way that any such hypothetical carcinogenic repair could help at low doses would be for more efficient repair to exist at low doses, or slow delivery of dose, than for high doses or rapid delivery of dose. If the fraction of unrepaired carcinogenic damage by radiation were independent of total dose and/or dose rate, then the very existence of any such repair mech-

anism would be wholly irrelevant as a possible mitigating factor for population consequences of low dose rate exposure.

And since (a) we know of no such carcinogenic repair mechanism, and (b) nothing whatever is known about variation in efficiency of an unknown repair mechanism as a function of dose and dose rate, it should be clear that all this represents the sheerest of speculative fancy. The linearity of dose-response in carcinogenesis by radiation argues strongly against repair of carcinogenic damage at low doses with decreasing repair at successively higher doses.

Injection of speculative fancy into a serious matter of public health protection is irresponsible. Relating DNA repair phenomena to mitigation of carcinogenic injury by radiation, in the absence of any demonstration that these phenomena are in any way related to each other, seems equally irresponsible.

5. A RELOOK AT THE PURPOSES OF THIS SYMPOSIUM AFTER CONSIDERATION OF THE POTENTIAL POPULATION CONSEQUENCES OF LOW-DOSE RADIATION EXPOSURE

Do we really want to design epidemiologic studies to evaluate the population effects of pollutants, or potential pollutants, past, present, or future?

Radiation, to paraphrase many nuclear enthusiasts, is one of the most intensively studied environmental poisons. Yet, for those who have had the patience to read through this communication, certain points, we hope, will stand out.

Twenty-five years into the atomic era, and 75 years after Roentgen's discovery of the X-ray, we realize that, while the risk of cancer is high, certain parameters, still not possible to evaluate within present epidemiologic data, may make the cancer risk more than three times higher than our pessimistic estimates of 1969.

Are there rational humans who will be able to understand setting an allowable radiation guide for population exposure which may provoke a public health hazard one-third the magnitude of the entire cancer problem? We can only hope that the lessons of the radiation story will lead to a radical change in human approach to the questions of environmental pollutants.

Statisticians and epidemiologists, of course, are inclined to look forward to doing what statisticians and epidemiologists are professionally prepared to do. Unfortunately, this is true about physicists, chemists, and engineers.

The purpose of this Symposium implies that, for the host of potential pollutants now being introduced into our environment, enough epidemiologic evidence will, in the course of time, accumulate so that the statisticians and epidemiologists can do their thing. This means that the statisticians and epidemiologists have capitulated in toto to the dictum that progress means we must expose humans to by-product poisons of industry in the future as we have in the past. And then the effects will be studied.

If our radiation experience is any guide at all concerning the time scale over which we will learn the effect of our folly, and there is every reason to believe either for carcinogenesis or genetic injury that the time scales will be similar, then the chances for humans surviving this approach are slim indeed.

We think it might have been more important if this gathering of statisticians and epidemiologists had met instead to lend their talents and wisdom to a concerted human effort to work toward a total recycling economy, in which essentially zero pollution is the objective, instead of the building up of a reservoir of epidemiologic evidence of the effects of pollutants on humans. Indeed, such a thrust might even lead to the revolutionary idea of "Why do we do

some of these nonsensical activities labelled 'Progress' at all?"

SUMMARY

Ionizing radiation is a potent leukemogen and carcinogen. The demand for epidemiologic evidence of human injury has resulted in a belated appreciation of the true magnitude of the serious carcinogenic hazard of population exposure to radiation. Even now, a quarter of a century into the evaluation of the epidemiologic evidence, certain parameters of crucial character remain indeterminate. Should these parameters turn out to have unfavorable values, the seriousness of the hazard may truly be even larger than recent pessimistic estimates. We question, therefore, the wisdom of epidemiologic studies of human exposure for new potential carcinogens being introduced into our environment.

Refined estimates presented here suggest that our earlier estimate of 32,000 extra cancer deaths per year for exposure to the still permissible 0.17 rads per year (average for U.S. population from the "peaceful" atom) are not at all conservative. The true cancer risk may be closer to 100,000 extra deaths per year, representing a 30% increase over the current spontaneous cancer mortality. Fortunately, atomic energy programs have not yet progressed to a point where such allowable exposure is being experienced.

The National Council on Radiation Protection has recently stated that the current standards for radiation exposure are satisfactory, (1971). We would not for one moment challenge the fact that the exposure standards are satisfactory to the membership of the National Council on Radiation Protection any more than we would challenge the concept that possession of 10,000 nuclear missiles is satisfactory for the Department of Defense. What escapes our understanding, however, is how one might go about evaluating the quantitative nature of the nebulous relationship between the interests of the membership of the NCRP and the public's interest in good health.

Medical uses of x-rays presently are a major source of population exposure and are undoubtedly responsible for a significant part of our currently experienced cancer mortality rate. Morgan's suggestions for feasible reduction in medical x-ray exposure, without loss of medical diagnostic information, deserve immediate action, (Morgan, 1971).

Natural radiation, while in large part not directly within our control, is comparable in responsibility to medical x-rays in the quantitative fraction of cancer mortality rate currently being experienced. No rational basis exists for the frequently heard sug-

gestion that natural radiation can be used as a bench-mark for estimation of "safe" exposures.

Natural radiation must be estimated as possibly responsible for taking a toll of several tens of thousands of lives annually by premature cancer and leukemia in the USA alone. Here again we must agree with Morgan, that man may decide to look carefully at the radioactivity of certain "natural" building materials before using them for home construction.

Life expectancy loss experienced by those who will become the victims of allowable population radiation exposure will average more than 13 years. The assertions of "only a few days of loss of life" are arrived at by the absurd and dangerous practice of distribution of the man-years lost in life expectancy into the larger group of nonvictims of radiation carcinogenesis.

Epidemiologic investigations are extremely interesting and carry, for the investigators, the thrill experienced in solving murder mysteries and other challenging problems. We have extreme doubt that the planning of appropriate epidemiologic investigations for future environmental pollutants is likely to be any real contribution to the public health. There has to be a more rational approach to the question of potential environmental carcinogens—like not introducing them into the environment at all.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work was supported (in part) by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

TABLE 1.—Increase in Childhood Cancer and Leukemia from In Utero Radiation

Radiation Delivered in the Form of X-Rays during Diagnostic Pelvimetry. (Estimated Dose <2 rads)

Stewart-Kneale data (1968).
Type of Cancer and Radiation Induced Increase

Leukemia—50% increase over spontaneous mortality rate.

Lymphosarcoma—50% increase over spontaneous mortality rate.

Cerebral Tumors—50% increase over spontaneous mortality rate.

Neuroblastoma—50% increase over spontaneous mortality rate.

Wilms' Tumor—60% increase over spontaneous mortality rate.

Other Cancers—50% increase over spontaneous mortality rate.

MacMahon data (1962)

Leukemia—50% increase over spontaneous mortality rate.

Central Nervous System Tumors—60% increase over spontaneous mortality rate.

Other Cancers—40% increase over spontaneous mortality rate.

TABLE 2.—Change in rate of induced malignant disease with duration of time since exposure in irradiated ankylosing spondylitics

[From data in table VI of Court-Brown and Doll, 1965]

Years after irradiation	Cases per 10,000 man-years at risk	Leukemia + aplastic anemia	Cancers at heavily irradiated sites
0 to 2	2.5	3.0	3.0
3 to 5	6.0	7.7	7.7
6 to 8	5.2	3.6	3.6
9 to 11	3.6	13.0	13.0
12 to 14	4.0	17.0	17.0
15 to 27	.4	20.0	20.0
Total of expected cases in 10,000 persons in 27 years calculated from the rates given		67	369

TABLE 3.—Ratio of Spontaneous Cancer Mortality Rates to Leukemia Mortality Rates

(Derived from U.S. vital statistics for 1966)
Males—Age Group (years) and Ratio¹

40-44	15.9
45-49	22.9
50-54	28.5
55-59	28.7
60-64	29.2
65-69	29.1
70-74	23.5

¹Σ Spontaneous Cancer Mortality Rates/Σ Leukemia Mortality Rates.

TABLE 4.—Variation in Cancer Induction per Rad with Age

Age at irradiation (years) and increase in cancer mortality rate per rad (in plateau region) (percent)

In utero	50
0-5	10
6-10	8
11-15	6
16-20	4
21-30	2
31-40	1
41-50	0.5
51-60	0.25
61 and beyond	Assumed negligible

NOTE.—These estimates represent a step function approximation in reasonable accord with the data points available in the text.

TABLE 5.—CASE 1: RADIATION-INDUCED CANCER MORTALITY BY AGE AND SEX

[5-year latency for in utero radiation; 15-year latency for all other radiation; plateau constant after latency period; exposure 0.17 rads per year]

Age interval (years)	Percent increase in cancer mortality rate	Annual spontaneous cancers (male)	Annual radiation induced cancers (male)	Annual spontaneous cancers (female)	Annual radiation induced cancers (female)	Age interval (years)	Percent increase in cancer mortality rate	Annual spontaneous cancers (male)	Annual radiation induced cancers (male)	Annual spontaneous cancers (female)	Annual radiation induced cancers (female)
0 to 4	0	827	0	720	0	50 to 54	34.2	12,363	4,231	11,950	4,089
5 to 9	6.0	826	50	606	36	55 to 59	34.8	17,594	6,123	14,359	4,997
10 to 14	6.0	673	40	482	29	60 to 64	35.2	22,469	7,909	15,780	5,555
15 to 19	9.4	820	77	546	51	65 to 69	35.5	25,275	8,968	17,921	6,358
20 to 24	17.2	754	130	508	88	70 to 74	35.7	25,698	9,169	18,746	6,689
25 to 29	23.3	796	186	733	171	75 to 79	35.8	21,221	7,589	16,650	5,954
30 to 34	27.8	1,145	318	1,418	394	80 to 84	35.8	13,318	4,763	12,141	4,342
35 to 39	30.5	2,104	641	2,890	881	85 and beyond	35.8	7,793	2,787	8,996	3,217
40 to 44	32.2	4,163	1,340	5,565	1,791	Total		164,948	56,703	138,743	47,556
45 to 49	33.4	7,109	2,372	8,732	2,914						

Note: Total spontaneous cancer mortality per year=303,691 cases. Total radiation-induced cancer mortality per year=104,259 cases. Percent increase in cancer which would occur with

0.17 rads average annual exposure=34.3 percent.

TABLE 6.—CASE 2: RADIATION-INDUCED CANCER MORTALITY BY AGE AND SEX

[5-year latency period for in utero irradiation; 15-year latency period for all other irradiation; plateau: 30 years beyond latency period; exposure 0.17 rads per year]

Age interval (years)	Percent increase in cancer mortality rate	Annual spontaneous cancers (male)	Annual radiation induced cancers (male)	Annual spontaneous cancers (female)	Annual radiation induced cancers (female)	Age interval (years)	Percent increase in cancer mortality rate	Annual spontaneous cancers (male)	Annual radiation induced cancers (male)	Annual spontaneous cancers (female)	Annual radiation induced cancers (female)
0 to 4	0	827	0	720	0	50 to 54	25.4	12,363	3,140	11,950	3,035
5 to 9	6.0	826	50	606	36	55 to 59	24.9	17,594	4,381	14,359	3,575
10 to 14	6.0	673	40	482	29	60 to 64	24.6	22,469	5,527	15,780	3,882
15 to 19	9.4	820	77	546	51	65 to 69	24.4	25,275	6,167	17,921	4,373
20 to 24	17.2	754	130	508	87	70 to 74	24.6	25,698	6,322	18,746	4,612
25 to 29	23.3	796	185	733	171	75 to 79	24.4	21,221	5,178	16,650	4,063
30 to 34	27.8	1,145	318	1,418	394	80 to 84	24.5	13,318	3,263	12,141	2,975
35 to 39	24.5	2,104	515	2,890	708	85 and beyond	24.0	7,793	1,870	8,996	2,159
40 to 44	26.2	4,163	1,091	5,565	1,458						
45 to 49	26.0	7,109	1,863	8,732	2,288						
						Total		164,948	40,117	138,743	33,896

Note: Total spontaneous cancer mortality per year=303,691 cases. Total radiation-induced cancer mortality per year=74,013 cases. Percent increase in cancer which would occur with 0.17 rads average annual exposure=24.4 percent.

TABLE 7.—CASE 3: RADIATION-INDUCED CANCER MORTALITY BY AGE AND SEX

[5-year latency period for in utero radiation; 10-year latency period for all other radiation; plateau 20 years beyond latency period; exposure 0.17 rads/year]

Age interval (years)	Percent increase in cancer mortality rate	Annual spontaneous cancers (male)	Annual radiation induced cancers (female)	Annual spontaneous cancers (female)	Annual radiation induced cancers (female)	Age interval (years)	Percent increase in cancer mortality rate	Annual spontaneous cancers (male)	Annual radiation induced cancers (female)	Annual spontaneous cancers (female)	Annual radiation induced cancers (female)
0 to 4	0	827	0	720	0	50 to 54	4.6	12,363	566	11,950	550
5 to 9	6.0	826	50	606	36	55 to 59	3.3	17,594	577	14,359	474
10 to 14	9.4	673	63	482	45	60 to 64	2.2	22,469	503	15,780	347
15 to 19	17.2	820	141	546	94	65 to 69	1.6	25,275	402	17,921	287
20 to 24	23.3	754	176	508	118	70 to 74	1.2	25,698	311	18,746	225
25 to 29	21.8	796	173	733	160	75 to 79	1.0	21,221	212	16,650	167
30 to 34	21.1	1,145	241	1,418	299	80 to 84	1.0	13,318	133	12,141	121
35 to 39	15.0	2,104	315	2,890	434	85 and beyond	1.0	7,793	78	8,996	90
40 to 44	10.2	4,163	425	5,565	568						
45 to 49	6.6	7,109	471	8,732	576						
						Total		164,948	4,837	138,743	4,591

Note: Total spontaneous cancer mortality per year=303,691. Total radiation induced cancer mortality per year=9,428. Percent increase in cancer which would occur with 0.17 rads average annual exposure=3.1 percent.

TABLE 8.—LOSS OF LIFE EXPECTANCY FROM RADIATION-INDUCED CANCER

[Data from table 5]

Age group (years)	(1) Number of radiation-induced cancers	(2) Average loss of life expectancy (years)	(1)×(2) Man-years of loss of expectancy	(3) Number of radiation-induced cancers	(3)×(2) Woman-years of loss of expectancy	Age group (years)	(1) Number of radiation-induced cancers	(2) Average loss of life expectancy (years)	(1)×(2) Man-years of loss of expectancy	(3) Number of radiation-induced cancers	(3)×(2) Woman-years of loss of expectancy
0 to 4	0	66.1	0	0	0	50 to 54	4,231	21.3	90,120.3	4,089	87,095.7
5 to 9	50	62.0	3,100.0	36	2,232.0	55 to 59	6,123	17.7	108,377.1	4,997	88,446.9
10 to 14	40	57.2	2,288.0	29	1,658.8	60 to 64	7,909	14.4	113,889.6	5,555	79,992.0
15 to 19	77	52.5	4,042.5	51	2,677.5	65 to 69	8,968	11.5	103,132.0	6,358	73,117.0
20 to 24	130	47.8	6,214.0	88	4,206.4	70 to 74	9,169	9.1	83,437.9	6,689	60,869.9
25 to 29	186	43.2	8,035.2	171	7,387.2	75 to 79	7,589	6.9	52,364.1	5,954	41,082.6
30 to 34	318	38.6	12,274.8	394	15,208.4	80 to 84	4,763	5.1	24,291.3	4,342	22,144.2
35 to 39	641	34.0	21,794.0	881	29,954.0	85 plus	2,787	3.0	8,361.0	3,217	9,651.0
40 to 44	1,340	29.5	39,530.0	1,791	52,834.5						
45 to 49	2,372	25.3	60,011.6	2,914	73,724.2	Total	56,703		741,263.4	47,556	652,282.3

Life expectancies are somewhat higher for females than males, so the use of male life expectancies here leads to a slight underestimate of the loss of life expectancy for females with radiation-induced cancers.

Note: The use of data from table 5 (the case 1 estimate) leads to the lowest estimate of loss of

life expectancy. For case 2 (table 6) and case 3 (table 7), the radiation-induced excess cancer mortalities are more prominent at earlier ages. Hence, for either of these the life expectancy loss would be appreciably higher than the 13-year estimate for case 1.

Average loss in life expectancy (males)=741,263.4÷56,703, or 13.1 years.
Average loss in life expectancy (females)=652,282.3÷47,556 or 13.7 years.

REFERENCES

G. W. Beebe, H. Kato, and C. E. Land. Mortality and Radiation Dose, Atomic Bomb Survivors, 1950-1966. Presentation at the IVth International Congress of Radiation Research, Evian, France, June 29-July 4, 1970.
R. E. Carroll, W. Haddon, Jr., V. H. Handy, and E. E. Weeben, Sr. Thyroid Cancer: Cohort Analysis of Increasing Incidence in New York State, 1941-1962. *Journal of the National Cancer Institute*, 33: 277-283, 1964.
W. M. Court-Brown, and R. Doll. Mortality from Cancer and Other Causes after Radiotherapy for Ankylosing Spondylitis. *British Medical Journal*, 2: 1327-1332, 1965.
G. W. Dolphin, and I. S. Eve. "Some Aspects of the Radiological Protection and Dosimetry of the Gastrointestinal Tract", *Gastrointestinal Radiation Injury*, M. F. Sullivan, Ed. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Excerpta Medica Foundation, 465-474, 1968.
Federal Radiation Council, Staff Report No. 1. Background Material for the Develop-

ment of Radiation Protection Standards, Washington, D.C. Part V, pp. 26-30, 1960.
M. P. Finkel, B. O. Biskis, and P. B. Jinkins. "Toxicity of Radium-226 in Mice," *Radiation-Induced Cancer*. (Proceedings of a Symposium, Athens, Greece, 28 April-2 May, 1969, Organized by International Atomic Energy Agency in Collaboration with the World Health Organization), Vienna, Austria: International Atomic Energy Agency, 369-391, 1969.
J. W. Gofman, and A. R. Tamplin. Low Dose Radiation and Cancer. *Institute for Electrical and Electronic Engineers, Transactions on Nuclear Science*, Part 1, NS 17: 1-9, 1970a.
J. W. Gofman, and A. R. Tamplin. Studies of Radium Exposed Humans II: Further Refutation of the R. D. Evans' Claim That The Linear, Non Threshold Model of Human Radiation Carcinogenesis is Incorrect. Testimony (on Bill S3042) presented before the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution,

U.S. Senate, 91st Congress, pp. 326-350, 1970e.
J. W. Gofman, and A. R. Tamplin. Federal Radiation Council Guidelines for Radiation Exposure of the Population-at-Large—Protection or Disaster? Underground Uses of Nuclear Energy, Part 1 (Hearings before the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, U.S. Senate, 91st Congress, November 18, 1969). Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office, pp 58-73, 1970b.
J. W. Gofman, and A. R. Tamplin. A Proposal for At Least a Ten-Fold Reduction in FRC Guidelines or Radiation Exposure to the Population-at-Large: Supportive Evidence. *ibid*, pp 319-325, 1970c.
J. W. Gofman, and A. R. Tamplin. Nuclear Energy and The Public Health. *The Nevada Engineer*, 6: 1-16, 1970d.
J. W. Gofman, J. D. Gofman, A.R. Tamplin and E. Kovich. Radiation As an Environmental Hazard. Presentation at the 1971 Symposium on Fundamental Cancer Research, The University of Texas, M.D. An-

derson Hospital and Tumor Institute, Houston, Texas, March 3, 1971. *In Press*.

Gofman, J. W. and A. R. Tamplin. The Question of Safe Radiation Thresholds for Alpha Emitting Bone Seekers in Man. *Health Physics* 21, 47, 1971. A. Grendon. Radiation Protection Standards in *Environmental Effects of Producing Electric Power*, Hearings before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, 91st Congress, 2nd Session, January 27-February 26, 1970. Part 2 (Vol. II), p 2371, 1970.

L. D. Hamilton. Biological Significance of Environmental Radiation: Calculation of the Risk. Presentation at the 1971 Spring Meeting of the American Physical Society, Washington, D.C., April 29, 1971.

L. H. Hempelmann. Risk of Thyroid Neoplasms after Irradiation in Childhood. *Science*, 160: 159-163, 1968.

International Commission on Radiological Protection, Publication No. 8. Radiation Protection: The Evaluation of Risks from Radiation. Published for the International Commission on Radiological Protection by Pergamon Press, Oxford, England, Table 15, p. 56, 1966.

International Commission on Radiological Protection, Publication No. 14, Radiosensitivity and Spatial Distribution of Dose. Pergamon Press, Oxford, England, Appendix III pp. 56-106, 1969.

S. Jablon, and J. L. Belsky. Radiation-Induced Cancer in Atomic Bomb Survivors. Presentation at the Xth International Cancer Congress, Houston, Texas, May 1970.

S. Jablon, J. L. Belsky, K. Tachikawa and A. Steer. Cancer in Japanese Exposed as Children to Atomic Bombs. *The Lancet*, Saturday 8 May, 1971, 7706, pp. 927-931, 1971.

E. B. Lewis. Ionizing Radiation and Tumor. *Genetic Concepts and Neoplasia* (23rd Annual Symposium on Fundamental Cancer Research, 1969, University of Texas, M. D. Anderson Hospital and Tumor Institute, Houston, Texas), Baltimore, Maryland: Williams and Wilkins Co., 57-73, 1970.

B. MacMahon. Pre-Natal X-Ray Exposure and Childhood Cancer. *Journal of the National Cancer Institute*, 28: 1173-1191, 1962.

I. MacKenzie. Breast Cancer Following Multiple Fluoroscopies. *British Journal of Cancer*, 19: 1-8, 1965.

R. H. Mole. Radiation Effects in Man: Current Views and Prospects. *Health Physics* 20, pp. 485-490, 1971.

K. Z. Morgan. Never Do Harm. *Environment*, 13: 28-38, 1971.

N.C.R.P., Report 39. Basic Radiation Protection Criteria. Published by National Council on Radiation Protection and Measurements, Washington, D.C. p. 97, 1971.

E. E. Pochin. Somatic Risks—Thyroid Carcinoma. *International Commission on Radiation Protection*, Publication 8. Oxford, England: Pergamon Press, p. 9, 1966.

L. Sagan. A Positive Word for Nuclear Power. *This World* Section of San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle, January 10, 1971.

C. J. Shellabarger, V. P. Bond, E. P. Cronkite, and G. E. Aponte. Relationship of Dose of Total-Body ⁶⁰Co Radiation To Incidence of Mammary Neoplasia in Female Rats. *Radiation-Induced Cancer*, (Proceedings of a Symposium, Athens, Greece, 28 April-2 May, 1969. Organized by International Atomic Energy Agency in Collaboration with the World Health Organization), Vienna, Austria: International Atomic Energy Agency, 161-172, 1969.

H. Spiess, and C. W. Mays. Bone Cancers Induced by ²²⁶Ra (ThX) in Children and Adults. *Health Physics* 19, pp 713-729, 1970.

A. Stewart, and G. W. Kneale. Changes in the Cancer Risk Associated with Obstetric Radiography. *The Lancet*, 7532: 104-107, 1968.

A. Stewart, and G. W. Kneale. Radiation Dose Effects in Relation to Obstetric X-Rays and Childhood Cancers. *The Lancet*, 7658: 1185-1188, 1970.

A. R. Tamplin, and J. W. Gofman. Biologi-

cal Effects of Radiation. *'Population Control Through Nuclear Pollution*. Chicago, Illinois: Nelson-Hall Co., pp 7-27, 1970.

A. C. Upton, T. T. Odell, Jr., and E. P. Sniffen. Influence of Age at Time of Irradiation on Induction of Leukemia and Ovarian Tumors in RF Mice. *Proceedings of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine*, 104: 769-772, 1960.

A. C. Upton. Comparative Observations on Radiation Carcinogenesis in Man and Animal. *Carcinogenesis, a Broad Critique*. (20th Annual Symposium on Fundamental Cancer Research 1966, University of Texas, M.D. Anderson Hospital and Tumor Institute, Houston, Texas), Baltimore, Maryland: Williams and Wilkins Co., 631-675, 1967.

A. C. Upton, R. C. Allen, R. C. Brown, N. K. Clapp, J. W. Conklin, G. E. Cosgrove, E. B. Darden, Jr., M. A. Kastenbaum, T. T. Odell, Jr., L. J. Serrano, R. L. Tyndall, and H. E. Walburg, Jr. Quantitative Experimental Study of Low-Level Radiation Carcinogenesis. *Radiation-Induced Cancer* (Proceedings of a Symposium, Athens, Greece, 28 April-2 May, 1969. Organized by International Atomic Energy Agency in Collaboration with the World Health Organization), Vienna, Austria: International Atomic Energy Agency, 425-438, 1969.

CONTRACT CHANGE COSTS NAVY \$3 MILLION

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that the Navy is providing Litton Industry a 12- to 14-month grace period on the delivery dates of five LHA—landing helicopter assault—ships. If the dates for the LHA delivery were not changed, the Government would be able to collect \$600,000 for the late delivery of each of the five ships. It would appear that the Navy has arbitrarily given Litton the opportunity to escape payment of \$3 million of the taxpayers' money.

I believe it is clear that when a contractor, because of his own mistakes, is unable to deliver ships within a reasonable time frame, that he should be penalized. I hope that the Navy will be able to collect some liquidated damages for the late delivery of the five LHA ships. I have called upon Secretary of the Navy John Chafee to explain the Navy's position in this matter. Their letter follows:

JANUARY 7, 1972.

Mr. JOHN H. CHAFEE,
Secretary of the Navy,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAFEE: It has come to my attention that Litton Industries and the Navy has, at least tentatively, decided to change the delivery schedule for the five LHA Landing Helicopter Ships allowing Litton an additional twelve to fourteen months to deliver these ships.

This naturally changes the ability of the government to collect late fees under the liquidated damages provisions of the contract. I am most concerned that the Navy has pushed these dates back, not only in recognition of the fact that Litton is far behind schedule, but also because the contractor might be forced to pay liquidated damages. It appears that the Navy has arbitrarily given Litton a gift of \$3 million of the taxpayers' money.

It seems to me that the whole system of

liquidated damages as outlined in the LHA contract has been organized to grant maximum protection to the contractor coupled with the minimum possibility of the government collecting liquidated damages.

I hope that you will review the situation and inform me of the Navy's position in regard to such changes in the delivery schedule that, in effect, may allow the contractor to escape payment of late fees by pushing ahead the proposed guaranteed delivery dates.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

LES ASPIN,
Member of Congress.

REPORT OF NEW YORK STATE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION NYQUIST TO STATE'S CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, at the December 3 meeting of the New York State congressional delegation, the State's distinguished commissioner of education, Ewald B. Nyquist, spoke briefly. His report was very much to the point and merits reading by all. For example, he pointed out that just to enable New York State's elementary and secondary education programs to hold their own would require an increase of some \$100 million of State—and the State just does not have the money—or Federal resources accompanied by a local increase of more than \$110 million—and that is just for these programs to remain even. Commissioner Nyquist's remarks are especially cogent as they are applicable to the situation in other States and throughout the Nation generally.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Nyquist's comments be printed in the RECORD.

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

COMMISSIONER NYQUIST'S COMMENTS BEFORE THE NEW YORK STATE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 3, 1971

Governor Rockefeller, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am pleased to be with you this afternoon to comment about the urgency of Federal action in relieving the fiscal crisis in education in our State.

We can all be very proud of the commitments to education and the accomplishments of our educational system in the past years. In the last fifteen years, enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools in the State has increased by fifty percent and the number of public high school graduates has increased by one hundred percent. The holding power of the secondary schools, which is calculated by dividing the number of graduates by ninth grade enrollment, has increased from sixty-five to seventy-five percent. The numbers of handicapped children in special classes has increased by 350 percent. Higher education full-time enrollments in four-year institutions have more than doubled, and in two-year programs have increased nearly tenfold. New York costs are high, but costs are mainly attributable to salaries. The average school teacher salary in New York is about \$11,000.

We can be proud, also, of the quality of our institutions. We have approximately eight percent of the nation's pupils eligible for

post-secondary education in any given year and yet we have twenty-three percent of the nation's enrollment in Advanced Placement programs (college level courses in high school for which students receive college credit). Our students receive seventeen percent of the commendations for the National Merit Scholarships and they receive more than twenty-seven percent of the Westinghouse Science Talent Search Awards. These are just some indications of the quality of the education. I have often been fond of saying that while California has the biggest educational system, and Massachusetts the oldest, New York has the best. And yet we have serious, intensive educational problems, especially in the large cities.

We are, in addition, in deep fiscal trouble this year and in the coming years which puts in grave jeopardy the quality we already have. Let me give you some examples. The City of Poughkeepsie is up against its constitutional tax limit. This school year that district has been forced to cut 96 of the 330 educational professionals.

New Rochelle is against its constitutional tax limit. It has had to cut \$1.8 million from the budget this year because of no additional State assistance.

The burden of educational costs grows heavier and heavier on local property taxation. More than half of the school districts in this State have local property tax rates for schools in excess of \$20 per thousand on true value. More than fifteen percent of all districts have rates in excess of \$30 on true value and three districts have rates in excess of \$36 on true value (Spring Valley, Briarcliff Manor and Central Islip).

Without additional State revenues available, these local property tax rates must continue to climb unless Federal resources are forthcoming, and this in the face of growing property taxpayer revolt.

In order to hold our elementary and secondary school program merely in a steady state this next year, it would take an increase of some \$100 million of State or Federal resources. Even that would have to be accompanied by a local increase of more than \$110 million. Remember, that will only keep the school programs in a "steady state," just to stay even.

I fully expect increased local budget deficits, coupled with intensified teacher militancy, turmoil, and disruption at the local level, not to mention the added fiscal problems associated with declining parochial and private school enrollments.

Now, let me give you an illustration of our fiscal crisis in higher education.

There are 220 colleges and universities in the State of New York, and most are in serious financial trouble. The 115 private institutions in the State will incur a combined deficit upwards of \$50 million in 1971-72, and have incurred a cumulative deficit of \$175 million over the last five years.

Several of our finest nationally known private institutions—Columbia, Syracuse, Cornell, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, and New York University—are suffering substantial deficits, and two of these institutions face the possibility of being unable to operate by the end of this year unless additional funds are found for them. New York University alone has a current cash shortage of \$30 million, which it has been able to cover by borrowing against unrestricted endowment funds. These funds are now fully committed and they can no longer finance an annual deficit.

Public higher education faces no less serious a problem. During each of the last two years, the State University of New York has had to increase enrollments without a commensurate increase in operating funds. They cannot do this again. This year they cannot expect much of an increase in their budget and this State may see the first incidence of public institutions closing for lack of funds.

The City University, which established an open admission policy in 1970, may, just two years later, be forced to abandon that policy if it is unable to receive increased funds to maintain the size of its freshman class.

In just these last five years New York State has taken the leadership nationally in extending higher educational opportunity (open admission). Unless we are able to find more Federal funds, we will be forced to close off increased opportunities for higher education and stifle the enrollment growth, which has been approximately seven percent per year.

We firmly believe that expenditures for education are the most essential investments for the public to make. The way to break the cycles of welfare dependency, under-employment, health deficiencies, and the burdens on the public in caring for those persons who are incarcerated or who cannot sustain themselves, is to invest in educational programs that will develop to the fullest capacity the talents of all our citizens. The cost of ignorance is surely far greater than the cost of education.

A very small part of all of our educational costs in New York comes from Federal sources. Only four percent of the total cost of public elementary and secondary education is borne by Federal funds. We must develop together an increasing share of these costs from Federal resources. This may be through general revenue sharing, for which local school districts must be eligible recipients; fiscal relief of the State by a Federal takeover of welfare, for instance, thus releasing State funds for education; reshaped and expanded block grants to the States for education; or, the full funding of Federal programs now authorized. Public Law 874, the Impacted Areas Law, was amended to include payments for students in public housing, and, if this were fully funded, New York would net \$49 million annually. If Title I, ESEA, were fully funded, New York would gain \$250 million annually.

I hope that I have given you some sense of the crisis that the great educational institutions of our State face. It is reported that the Chinese use the same ideographic symbol for trouble and opportunity. It is, incidentally, two women under one roof. We surely have the trouble—you have the opportunity. I ask that we work together to realize a solution in which the Federal government will have a much more significant part—soon.

EQUAL TIME BECOMES VICIOUS ATTACK

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, if the televised response of the Democrats to the President's state of the Union message is an example of "equal time," then it would seem appropriate to review again this entire principle.

I would not want to suggest that the President's appearance was without political significance. However, it was a statesmanlike presentation—consistent with the kind of responsible behavior the people should expect from Washington. The contrast, as embodied in the response of our Democratic colleagues, was decidedly unworthy of those Members who performed, and a distinct disservice to the American public which are entitled to something fairer and more constructive.

Mr. Speaker, two timely editorials have appeared in the Chicago Tribune which summarize the views of many who deplored the Democrats' venomous attacks. I am attaching these critical editorials which appeared in the January 22 and 24 editions:

EQUAL TIME BECOMES VICIOUS ATTACK

President Nixon's restraint toward the Democrats in his State of the Union message may have reflected professional courtesy more than sincere affection, but at least he was restrained. The Democrats, in contrast, turned yesterday's "equal time" response into a series of personal attacks too biased for even a half-wit to find credible.

We're not saying that everything the President has done or proposed is perfect; we've often criticized him on these pages. But even the legitimate criticisms touched upon by the Democrats were submerged in a sea of venom. For each successive issue, the formula was the same. The Democratic spokesman was a man or woman who had backed legislation opposed by the White House and whose objectivity was thus somewhat impaired to begin with.

Rep. John Brademas of Indiana, for example, was the "expert" on day care centers. He denounced Mr. Nixon for "breaking another pledge" by vetoing a costly Democratic day-care measure without so much as mentioning that within days Mr. Nixon had approved another bill providing specific aid, both directly and indirectly, for day-care centers.

And so it went—on Viet Nam, the farms, crime, jobs, health care, and inflation. The President was blamed for conditions which the Democrats might at least have admitted that he inherited from previous Democratic administrations; he was vilified for opposing Democratic measures which in general have tended to be costly and to expand the federal bureaucracy; and he was given no credit at all for White House proposals which, whatever their faults, tend to be less ambitious and more practical.

We are grateful to Sen. Eagleton of Missouri, who acted as moderator [if there was any moderation] on the program, for holding up a copy of Thursday's CHICAGO TRIBUNE and quoting School Supt. Redmond to the effect that "only a massive infusion of federal funds can save" the schools. In our copy, however, we can find Mr. Redmond quoted only as saying he was "optimistic that there will be more funds for schools coming from federal and state sources." With all due respect for the plight of our schools, this exaggeration seems typical of the Democratic show.

Sen. Eagleton closed the show by quoting a weather prediction from the San Clemente [Calif.] Sun-Post: "Continued Crummy." He didn't enlarge upon its significance, but it could have had something to do with the performance on his own show.

AN ABUSE OF "EQUAL TIME"

We've already said that the Democratic Party's "equal time" response to President Nixon's State of the Union message was an insult to the intelligence of the people. The continuing reaction from around the country prompts us to add that it was also an affront to the Presidency and a crass misuse of the "equal time" privilege.

The Federal Communications Commission announced last fall that it was reexamining the effectiveness of its "equal time" policy; and if there remains any doubt that the policy needs to be reworked, it should now be dissipated.

The "equal time" doctrine goes back to the Federal Communications Act of 1934, which specifies that a broadcaster who affords time to one candidate for public office must afford equal time to other candidates for that office. The doctrine was little known

until 1959, when Lar Daly, Chicago's perennial candidate for whatever office is available, demanded equal time to offset a 20-second newscast appearance by Mayor Daley in connection with a March of Dimes drive. The FCC, astonishingly, supported him.

This prompted Congress to revise the law so as to exclude newscasts and "on the spot coverage of bona fide news events" from the requirement. The limitation to announced candidates in a political campaign remained. And again, the issue subsided until 1969, when the Supreme Court ruled that the FCC could order networks to provide equal time without infringing on freedom of the press.

This brought a series of demands for equal time, and usually free time, to answer the President—by the Democratic Party, antiwar groups, House Negroes, the Congress itself, and even Republicans seeking equal time to respond to the Democrats' equal time. The television networks tended to go along with the Democrats in order, in the words of Dr. Frank Stanton of CBS, "to achieve fairness and balance in the treatment of public issues."

The goal may be valid, but the doctrine became so bogged down in demands and counterdemands and law-suits that in the summer of 1970 even Sen. Mansfield, Democratic leader of the Senate, complained that equal time was "getting out of bounds" and that "every time the President makes a speech, somebody wants to answer."

True, this didn't stop Mr. Mansfield from carrying the flag for the Democrats in their "equal time" hour to answer Mr. Nixon just a year ago. But Mr. Mansfield was courteous in his remarks and respectful toward the office of President, despite his disagreement.

Nothing of the sort can be said of the performance put on by a junior varsity team of Democrats on Friday with Mr. Mansfield conspicuously absent. Mr. Nixon had done his duty as President in delivering the State of the Union message, and it was a creditable job done without bitterness. The Democratic response was a venomously one-sided barrage of highly partisan and personal denunciations, and generally false ones at that. Viewers have even complained that when they tried to telephone the program in response to the invitation extended, and when it was found that their questions were not of the type desired, they were shunted off the line.

In short, the whole thing struck a new low in politics. Democratic Chairman Lawrence O'Brien and his hatchet men have turned equal time into a cheap and degrading farce of just the kind which Congress presumably sought to avoid in 1959. Indeed the best example of legitimate campaign debate—the Kennedy-Nixon debates—took place only because Congress had suspended the equal time law. Otherwise the candidates of various lesser parties would have clamored for equal time, too.

The custom of demanding equal time to answer every Presidential message, regardless of whether a campaign is in progress and whether the participants are candidates, makes a mockery of the law. Clearly the State of the Union message is a news event worthy of spot coverage and therefore beyond the scope of the law anyway.

The President is entitled to do his job without subjecting himself and his office to this sort of indignity. If the FCC finally gets around to establishing more sensible equal time rules, the Democratic Party, in its infinite stupidity, will at least have contributed to a desirable ending.

COLONEL BAGGS' RETIREMENT

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, last evening was a sad occasion for many of us in the Boston area who had come to know and admire Col. John W. Baggs for the tremendous work he has done in recent years for the Salvation Army. The sad occasion was the official retirement party for this great man. What better tribute can anyone pay to a gentleman who has devoted the greater part of his life in serving an organization so universally admired and respected than the Salvation Army to say it will be difficult to get used to that organization without him, so inseparable and closely identified have they become, one with the other over the years. I know that retirement never comes easy for anyone—neither for the individual involved nor for those who knew him. In a real sense, to use the word retirement for a man who has devoted his life to serving others is to say the wrong thing. Colonel Baggs obviously will never stop doing that; however, he has stepped down from his position of leadership and it is only fitting that we who have benefited from his years at the helm should pay tribute to both him and the fine organization he headed for so many years. Long before concern for those living in the urban ghettos was either fashionable or a matter of much concern to the powers that be, the Salvation Army was there, dedicated to the proposition that God's work is where it is needed and that Christianity of necessity demanded involvement and total participation in the daily lives of the underprivileged souls of the sprawling urban centers of the world. To both Colonel Baggs and the Salvation Army, many more years of productive laboring in the Lord's urban vineyards.

I want to include at this time in the RECORD an article from the Boston Sunday Globe of January 23, which reports on the recent testimonial to the colonel: [From the Boston Sunday Globe, Jan. 23, 1972]

SALVATION ARMY LEADER RETIRES

(By George M. Collins)

A man who almost perished in the Easter Sunday fire that swept Chelsea in 1908 will retire today after 45 years of "rewarding experience" in the Salvation Army.

Col. John W. Baggs, divisional commander for Massachusetts, cleared out his desk in the Army's Boston headquarters on Friday, picked up a silverplated shovel emblematic of the many building projects he has completed during his six-year stint in the Bay State and reluctantly finished his active duty career.

Tomorrow night Col. and Mrs. Baggs will be honored by 600 friends and Army officials at a dinner with the newly appointed national commander of the Salvation Army, Comr. Paul J. Carlson, conducting the official retirement ceremony.

Col. Baggs spent most of his youth in Roxbury where his family lived after losing their home in the Chelsea fire. It was there that

the Baggs family first came into contact with the Salvation Army.

A donation to the building fund for a new Roxbury Army Center entitled them to two seats in the chapel and Mrs. Baggs and her children began attending. There were 10 children, eight are still alive.

A building brought the colonel into the Army and his final duty today will be the dedication of a building, the center at Newburyport which has just been completed under his leadership. In fact, the last three Sundays of his active career have been spent dedicating buildings he has built, at Athol on Jan. 9, Haverhill on Jan. 16 and today at Newburyport.

If there is anything he regrets, it is that he has not been able to complete his dream for a new Army Program Center in the South End.

"That'll be a priority item for my successor, Brig. Maro Smith, when he takes over on Monday," Col. Baggs said Friday as he reminisced about his career. Brig. Smith has been serving as the divisional commander for the Southern New England Division that covers Rhode Island and Connecticut.

A 1925 graduate of Boston Latin School, the Col. Baggs was commissioned a lieutenant by the New York Salvation Army Training School in 1928. He served in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Maine, and Massachusetts.

Mrs. Baggs, the former Mary E. Leggett of Albany, N.Y., has served as an officer for 42 years and also will retire on Jan. 24.

The Baggs' will move to their home at Ocean Park, Me., where they will live in a cluster of log cabins which they have built in recent years with the colonel's three brothers. Two of the brothers are retired Army brigadiers and the fourth is a Baptist clergyman.

CANANDAIGUA, THE CHOSEN SPOT

HON. JOHN H. TERRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, much is written about this great land of ours and its many beautiful natural resources. One of the most magnificent spots in the world is the Finger Lakes region of New York, located in my congressional district.

Recently, the magazine *Business in New York State*, carried a lengthy article about the city of Canandaigua and the beautiful territory surrounding it. The article, entitled, "Canandaigua, the Chosen Spot," explores the social, cultural, business, and climate aspects of this most beautiful community. I would like to include the article in the RECORD for all to read. Canandaigua is truly a most magnificent area. The article follows:

CANANDAIGUA, THE CHOSEN SPOT

No visit to Canandaigua is complete without a tour of Squaw Island, the smallest New York State park. It is located within jumping distance from the shore of Canandaigua Lake and a complete tour, self-guided, takes under one minute. It's that small.

There is, however, a lot more to this energetic Ontario County city of some 11,000 souls than just Squaw Island, Canandaigua—which in Indian means "Chosen Spot"—offers much to see and do for the tourist and much to industry.

Canandaigua is a transportation hub with

its busy Main Street just 30 minutes by car from Rochester, 60 from Syracuse, 20 from Geneva, 90 from Buffalo and 90 from Elmira. Busy routes 20 and 5 roll through the town, while the New York State Thruway has two nearby exits.

CANANDAIGUA INDUSTRY

Its convenience transportation-wise is one reason industry loves Canandaigua. Local firms include Canandaigua Industries, the third largest winery in New York State and sixth largest in the country; Canandaigua Plastics; E. F. Fairchild; Cuddeback Co.; Glig Bra Inc.; Labelon Corp.; Leaming Plastics, Inc.; Mobil Foam Products; N/C Service, Inc.; Rochester Coca-Cola Bottling Co., and Sunoco Products. There's more, including many in the Canandaigua area like Widmer's Wine Cellars in Naples and Mobil Chemical Division's Macedon plant.

Kenneth J. Fugo, who claims with justification that nobody ever suffered a head concussion from using his product (wrestling mats), is just one satisfied Canandaigua industrialist. He heads up Vopex Corporation's Canandaigua Plastics Division. The firm's Leaming Plastics Division is also a Canandaigua resident.

This young firm has sold gym mats to Annapolis and West Point and custom makes its product. It is expanding in Canandaigua by great leaps and bounds and increasing employment, which soon should reach 200.

"We took a gamble on Canandaigua and it paid off," says Fugo. "We like it here. The labor force is stable and advantages far outweigh disadvantages."

Another expanding Canandaigua industry, testimony to its excellent industrial climate, is Mobil Chemical's Plastics Division. Employing 255, this firm is one of the nation's leading producers of plastic packaging materials for both consumer and industrial markets.

VACATIONLAND

But it is Vacationland—sun and fun—that pops into mind most readily when Canandaigua is the topic.

First of all, there's Canandaigua Lake—the Lake to area residents. Lake and rainbow trout, largemouth, smallmouth and rock bass are numbered among its finny denizens. Boats, sail and otherwise, frolic the length of its lean 16.57 square miles. Swimming, picnicking, camping—this fabulous Finger Lake has it all!

On its shores in Canandaigua is Roseland which attracts between 30,000 and 40,000 people on summer weekends. It is a complete amusement park—25 rides, an extensive picnic area, boat rides, bowling, miniature golf, and special events held all during the summer.

Finger Lakes Race Track north of the city grows daily in popularity, and William A. Thayer, Jr., general manager of the Finger Lakes Racing Association, sees nothing but more potential for growth with 988 stalls now and 194 more to come. The track opens in May and operates through early autumn.

HERITAGE OF HISTORY

Canandaigua provides a rich mine for history buffs. Originally the site of the principal village of the Seneca Indians, the village was rudely treated in 1779 when General Sullivan's expedition marched through and left it a mass of charred ruins. With those fiery beginnings as an early backdrop, Canandaigua grew in importance and became a city in 1913.

Landmarks of New York State history abound in the city today. The home of the fourth postmaster general of the country under Jefferson and Madison—Gideon Granger—has been restored and transports the 20th century visitor to the grace and charm of that earlier day. Also housed here is a carriage museum, offering a wide variety of these antique vehicles for the viewing.

Canandaigua was the site of the signing of the Pickering Treaty in 1794 in which the Senecas granted the white man the right to settle the Great Lakes basin.

The Canandaigua Central School District includes Canandaigua Academy where, in the original building constructed in 1795, Stephen A. Douglas, the "Little Giant" of Lincoln-Douglas debate fame, attended school in the 1830's. College-wise, the city lays claim to Community College of the Finger Lakes, and there are a host of fine educational institutions nearby.

One of Canandaigua's oldest and most revered traditions is its fine newspaper. *The Daily Messenger*, which, in April of this year, moved into new, modern quarters after 174 years of operation. *The Messenger* proudly wears the title of oldest continuously published newspaper west of the Hudson River. Its new offset operation is a far cry from the early days when the paper was known as the *Ontario Gazette*.

Canandaigua's citizens like it too. Frank Patrizio, Canandaigua city manager since 1968, calls it "one of the finest communities in New York State and the East Coast. Pride and love of community seem to transcend everything else here."

T. Hamilton Kennedy, more than eight years mayor of this Ontario County seat, echoes these sentiments and adds:

"This city works together. The city government is appreciative of the wholehearted participation of our people and, for our part, any sales tax we levy goes for capital improvements. We show the citizens where their money is going, and how it is being used."

A center for tourism, a drawing card for industry and a haven of concerned citizenry. These three factors are why Canandaigua, New York, is truly the "Chosen Spot."

TRANSPORTATION

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, on January 18 and 19, educators, community leaders, and legislators met at Worthington, Minn., to discuss various aspects of rural development—what was needed to bring our countryside back into the mainstream of our American economy.

Today, I would like to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a paper on "Transportation" presented by former State Senator Walter Franz of Mountain Lake:

TRANSPORTATION

(By Walter Franz)

Someone has suggested that if one stands long enough in Times Square in New York City, sooner or later, just about everyone in the world will pass by.

Times Square is one of the crossroads of the world. People congregate there, and around them can be found just about every imaginable type of merchandise and service. Transportation, to the New Yorker, is pretty much an abstract concern for he needs only to go a few blocks to find anything he wants.

Not so in the rural areas of the nation. Take southwestern Minnesota and northwestern Iowa, for example. People living here are 180 miles from the Twin Cities and 250 miles from Des Moines. All that is present around them is the abundance of farm production. Everything else needed must be transported to them, and it probably costs a little more as a result.

A person can stand on some of the street

corners in this region and see very little traffic at all and much of what he does see will be heading away toward the Times Squares of the nation.

So transportation is no longer an abstract. It is a reality on which our very lives depend. If we can improve our transportation, we can improve our economic position, and if we can improve that we can sustain our population and stop exporting people to the cities where they contribute to the urban crisis.

There's a lot of room for improvement. While the post office is bragging about 24-hour mail delivery between New York and San Francisco, we're living with 48-hour mail service between Orange City and Sanborn.

Out where we live, where distances are great and the need for high speed highways is imperative in order to cut travel time, we have to content ourselves with the worst two-lane cowpaths Iowa and Minnesota have to offer. Small wonder we find ourselves crying with frustration when we read of urban people fighting highway construction when we so desperately need good roads out here.

Airline fare between the Twin Cities and New York is \$78 and passengers ride the big jets, eating steaks and sampling the wines. Out here, where we are three hours from the Twin Cities and four hours from Des Moines by road, the only airline service we have is that provided by North Central's propjets. And it costs us \$24 to fly to Minneapolis while being treated to powdered coffee. Not only that, but we live under constant threat of cancellation of service because the airline says it can't make money serving us.

Out here, our commerce is agriculturally based. As such, we deal in bulk cargoes of corn, soybeans, cattle and hogs, ideal products for rail transportation. But our railroads can't wait to abandon service, claiming they can't make a profit serving us.

Every time this happens, it throws that much more of a load onto the trucks, but in Minnesota, 45 per cent of the towns are served by roads on which load restrictions are placed in the spring. Fortunately for them, Iowa's small towns don't have this problem because Iowa does not restrict roads. But in Minnesota, 45 per cent of the state's communities are in effect economically isolated for extended periods of time each year.

If transportation is defined as the business of moving goods and people, it stands to reason that it becomes all the more important with each additional mile of distance involved. For those people living in the rural areas of southwestern Minnesota and northwestern Iowa, transportation is one of the most vital problems to be solved by those concerned with economic growth.

Let's consider the problem from its component parts. Let's start with highways for they are the backbone of commerce. What does the region need in the way of highways?

To begin with, it must have no less than a useable road to every single municipality. That's not too much to expect. Iowa has it already. Minnesota needs it too. This means an all year round, non-restricted road over which trucks can move.

Iowa achieved this, not by building better roads, but simply by removing restrictions. It may in the long run find the decision costly, but in the meantime its people are being served.

Minnesota must either do the same or move immediately to upgrade carrying capacity of roads serving those 45 per cent of isolated towns. There are too many of them to list individually, but just the isolated Nobles County towns may provide some sort of idea as to the extent of the problem. In Nobles County, Leota, Lismore, St. Killian, Rushmore, Dundee, and Kinbrae all are on restricted roads. They cannot stand much more delay in solving the problem.

Beyond this, there are certain major highways that are more than mere roads. They are economic development arteries.

They serve communities in which major industrial growth is taking place and are, in fact, in large measure responsible for that growth. Foremost, of course, is Interstate 90 across the southern edge of Minnesota. It serves the entire region on both sides of the border. After a slow start, it is getting more emphasis now and is scheduled for completion in 1976.

But other roads of equal importance are not. They are Highway 60 cutting diagonally across the region and providing its main link to the port of Duluth, the Twin Cities, Sioux City, Omaha and the southwest; Highway 71, the north-south federal link from Canada to the Gulf; and Highway 18, the east-west regional carrier in northwest Iowa.

All three of these—Highway 60, Highway 71, and Highway 18—have been designated four-lane expressways by the highway departments of both Iowa and Minnesota, but all are languishing because of lack of money.

New industrial growth that has taken place has been predicated largely on the premise that someday these roads are to be upgraded. Chase Bag at Sibley, Allied Mills and Boise Cascade at Worthington, Tony Downs at St. James, Univac at Jackson, McQuay, Inc. at Spirit Lake—these are just a few new industries that have recently moved to the country and are served by these three roads. How many more would there be if road building promises were road building realities?

If this region is to grow, it must be given the tools with which to work. Highways are one of the major ones.

If government is serious about reversing rural migration, then let government get serious about building economic development highways. If this takes diversion of funds now being spent in urban areas where people are fighting road construction, then let the diversion begin. It's one way of making everyone happy.

Harry Heltzer, chairman of the International Road Federation and a 3-M executive from Minnesota, says, "As you talk to people who work in rural communities where industry has moved its plants, you discover many of them are farm people who would have had to uproot completely and move into a larger city if industry had not come to them. If we are people oriented as well as construction oriented, we'll serve best by doing what we know best—building arteries of the nation. We have an obligation to fulfill, both to city dwellers pressured by too many neighbors and the young men and women who prefer to remain in smaller communities if it will offer them the opportunity to develop themselves."

Or listen to Secretary of Transportation John Volpe who described the economic growth centers program of the federal aid highway act of 1970 as "designed to show that areas with a potential for economic growth can be substantially aided by highway improvements."

Mr. Secretary, we don't need more test programs to prove the point. We need broad federal and state commitment to get on with the job we all know needs doing.

Now, let's talk about railroads. It never seemed to me that one could move goods cheaper by investing in a \$25,000 truck, fueling it with diesel carrying a tax of seven and one-quarter cents a gallon, hiring a \$5 per hour driver, and running it on \$200 tires than one can do by rail.

The fact that this is so is an indictment of someone and proof positive that something is wrong somewhere in the system.

Railroads say they can't compete despite the fact that one "driver" can operate loco-

motive controls to transport as much as 100 truckloads, and that one diesel engine can move weight a dozen times more efficiently than can 100 separate truck motors.

The railroad's solution has been to consolidate depots, abandon branch lines and withdraw service. It's happening throughout our region on both sides of the state line with distressing and increasing frequency. It doesn't make sense.

Just last month, the Minnesota Public Service Commission approved consolidations which closed depots at Adrian, Brewster, Heron Lake, Slayton, Mountain Lake, Jeffers, and Westbrook.

The railroad claimed it would save \$270,000 annually. If this is so, those depot agents were the highest paid people around, for it is obvious the railroad never invested any money in physical equipment for the seven stations.

Ron Anderson, chairman of the commission, said, "The estimated annual savings by the railroad could help avoid the possibility of branch line abandonments by reducing the cost of operation on each branch line." He might have added it also reduced the chances of making a profit by making it just that much harder to do business with the line.

Maybe the decision will result in extended life for the branch lines, but we don't think so. The record indicates a firm desire on the part of the railroads to abandon branch lines just as quickly as they can do so. Ask the people at Champion Homes in Slayton who had to battle to get a spur into their new mobile home plant and who even today face the threat of abandonment even though they use the railroad extensively and need it for continued growth.

Take note also of the fact that three of the most recently closed stations were not branch line, but main line stations. At Brewster, the depot is across the road from a major elevator, but the railroad's inability to provide adequate service and its rate structure makes it better business to ship by truck, resulting in just that many more of the big rigs grinding up Highway 60 running parallel with the line.

Minnesota Commissioner of Agriculture Jon Wefald, in speaking recently about one of the newest abandonment applications by the Northwestern and the Burlington Northern involving 20 communities, said, "These represent a continuation of a curious and extremely damaging policy—to deliberately sever vital economic and social lifelines of rural America." He went on to say the abandonment will deny the communities a balanced and competitive commercial transportation service, increase costs for transportation to farmers and small town businessmen, and unnecessarily shift a heavy freight volume to the public highways adding to the safety and maintenance problems. "We need improved transportation service, not more discontinuances, if rural America is to attract the industrial development it needs for growth," Wefald concluded. We add our fervent "Amen".

Rails, in theory, are the most efficient method of moving bulk cargoes over land. The fact they aren't could well be due to a combination of unfair governmental regulations, archaic work rules and unwillingness by management to really work at the business of running the railroads.

If tariff regulations put rails at an unfair competitive advantage, change them.

If management is siphoning off rail profits to subsidize other activities of conglomerate rail companies, then let us have legislation to force railroads to fulfill their function, for they are in reality quasi-public utilities.

And work rules need to be changed. Right now, the minimum train crew is made up of an engineer, fireman, brakeman, and con-

ductor even on branch lines where the number of men in the train crew sometimes exceeds the number of freight cars in the train.

Where rail lines are carrying numerous trains this may be justified, but it is simply ridiculous on branch lines where there is not another single bit of traffic to pose a hazard. Four men doing the work of one is a luxury we can no longer tolerate where branch line profit potential is small. It is time to split the work rules between the branch lines and the main lines since there no longer is any resemblance between them.

Freight rates also work to our disadvantage and need to be adjusted if the outstate areas of Iowa and Minnesota are to compete successfully. We find it necessary to pay too much for the miles that lie between us and our markets, and this factor alone is powerful persuasion for industry to remain in the cities.

We think government has a legitimate interest in seeing to it that outstate areas can compete on an equal basis even if this entails a federal transportation subsidy to equalize competition between plants in rural areas and those in cities.

Much the same is true when it comes to air travel. We already pay for the miles, but under the present system we also pay more per mile for a lower standard of service than do people elsewhere.

It costs us almost as much to fly by North Central or by one of the third level carriers in our region to Des Moines or Minneapolis as it does to fly first class from either city to Chicago.

It is impossible for commerce to exist in any reasonable volume in outstate areas without air travel because the distances are too great and the time lost in travel is too high. So again, government has a legitimate reason, if it is serious about equalizing growth and reversing rural migration, to subsidize air travel on commercial carriers to a greater extent than it now does.

One way of doing this and achieving a second goal as well, is to make more extensive use of third level and scheduled carriers for hauling of mail to urban centers. Postal contracts could go a long way toward improving the economic base upon which air service rests and could make a major improvement in postal service too, something that is also of major concern to outstate areas.

In recent years, bus lines have begun cutting back on service in much the same way the rails did a few years back. They are scheduling more express buses—bypassing the smaller towns—an action that indicates closing down of small town bus depots is soon to follow to save money.

Express buses would look like a good idea, unless you happen to live in a small town where you can watch the rigs roll by without stopping for you to get on.

The bus companies say maintaining small town depots is unprofitable. This may be, and again there may be an answer to a dual problem in utilizing the buses more for the carrying of mail. Most northwest Iowa and southwestern Minnesota towns have only a single mail dispatch daily, but intelligent use of aircraft and bus departures could boost this to several times a day in many cases. All that is needed to accomplish it is willingness to break from the chains of tradition.

Our leaders these days are increasingly calling for establishment of a stay at home policy equally as effective as the "Go West, Young Man" policy was a hundred years ago. We heartily agree and say flatly that a transportation policy which makes possible the rapid flow of people and goods and which places urban and rural people on somewhat of an equal basis is one major way of accomplishing it.

INTERNATIONAL BOOK YEAR

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. REID. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD an editorial from Publisher's Weekly in support of the designation of this new year as "International Book Year."

We all know the value of reading—but sometimes we forget the affects of the absence of reading, the number of children and others throughout the world who simply do not have book stores, or libraries, or family books, at their fingertips. And we forget that there are hundreds of thousands of people on this planet who have never had the opportunity to learn to read.

I think that people have a basic right to read; I think that International Book Year should remind us that Dr. James Allen, one of the most distinguished educators of our time, dedicated a good part of his life to this concept; we must do more to make the "Right to Read" a reality, not a dream. And we must do a lot more to see that public libraries are readily available in cities and towns across this country and the world.

At least, the designation of 1972 as International Book Year will remind us of the jobs we face. At best, it will help us do them. The editorial I am inserting below brings this issue to the fore, and clearly and succinctly directs our attention to the importance of International Book Year:

INTERNATIONAL BOOK YEAR: WHAT'S THE POINT?

Probably no one would argue that the UNESCO-sponsored International Book Year, 1972, isn't a Good Thing. But we suspect that there are not a few in the book business who will go further than agree that, yes, it is a Good Thing, and will pay it a pious obeisance and then forget about it. And there are doubtless others who will ask, rightly, "What is it good for?"

We suggest that IBY is good for as much as the book industry and the libraries and other allies of the book are able to make of it.

The function of any UNESCO-backed "year" is to stimulate, to catalyze, to focus—to bring concerted awareness and action to bear all at once upon a major problem. In the areas of reading development, functional literacy, book distribution, accessibility to printed information, protection of the freedom of writers and the livelihood of the authors and disseminators of books, there are enormous tasks to be done. What IBY can do is to turn a brighter spotlight on some of these areas. More, it provides a recognized occasion to bring people together for intensive action upon them.

The U.S. IBY Secretariat (provided by the National Book Committee) is trying to make plain that, through the use of Book Year occasion, 1972 can afford a practical opportunity to get certain things done or well begun. This is precisely what has happened over the years through the stimulus of National Library Week. NLW from the beginning has provided a reason for organizing committees all over the U.S.A. to carry out library support programs and the promotion of reading. More and more people have become involved; this is a crucial point, for, as a consequence, more and more legislators, public officials and business executives or

just plain citizens have been influenced to act upon book and library development.

Now a fresh and complementary stimulus is timely, and IBY provides it. IBY's thrust is by no means entirely international. It also has a vigorous domestic emphasis in every participating country. In the U.S.A., a major emphasis is upon the National Right-to-Read program, the USOE-backed effort to attack the terrible blight of functional illiteracy in this country. Americans are beginning to realize that many people read so poorly that their ability to exist effectively in a technological society is impaired. The U.S. Secretariat for IBY lists this and other American problems in its new handbook: "Reading disabilities in all segments of the population and for all age groups, children, young adults and adults; insufficient attention to the development of the reading habit; inadequate 'outreach' library programs for all segments of the community including the exceptional, the disadvantaged and those whose mother tongue is not English; and lack of a cooperative sharing of library, community and educational resources."

Internationally, IBY should inspire stronger, more cooperative work towards library development, better supplies of books and educational materials and the introduction of modern methods of production and distribution. It should give extra thrust to such plans as Franklin Book Programs' growing emphasis on educational materials production in developing countries; on the talks among university presses about forming an international association; on the desire of many publishers and writers to tap the scholarly resources of relatively little-translated languages. Back on the domestic front, the IBY focus could conceivably help get a copyright revision bill over the final hump; it might even help bring about, for the first time, systematic and sustained attention to the deficiencies in book distribution.

With enough imagination and with the energy of numerous task forces, IBY may turn out to be "good for" a great deal.

THE INDIA-PAKISTAN WAR

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, the much-publicized birth of Bangladesh last month, in the midst of the war between India and Pakistan, was another major victory for the Communist forces now building on the subcontinent of Asia. Replete with all the usual subrosa overtones of Marxist subversion and geopolitical intrigue, the tragic fall of Dacca to the Bengali Mukti Bahini terrorists—and the subsequent recognition of the rebel leadership of Bangladesh by India and Bhutan—was a clearcut signal to the world that the Red takeover of East Pakistan was at last a fait accompli.

After 9 months of open revolutionary activities against the military government of President Yahya Khan, and 2 full weeks of military skirmishes in the field, 75 million people in the beleaguered eastern portion of the Republic of Pakistan were "liberated." The leaders who actively resisted this vicious "liberation" process, sponsored by India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and carried out by the Bengali Mukti Bahini terrorists, were tortured and then liquidated without

mercy in many cases before the very eyes of American representatives of the "liberal" media, which conveyed the impression that they were justifiable acts of war. As the slaughter of unarmed men, women, and children continued in Pakistan, several prominent Senators called enthusiastically for American recognition of Bangladesh.

All the while, waiting patiently on the sidelines for the outcome—after supplying weapons and technical assistance to both sides—Red China and the Soviet Union were consolidating their gains. It was another classic example of the cruel Marxist strategy of "divide and conquer."

While one of the causes of the strife now racking India and Pakistan is probably the painful memory of almost five centuries of bloodshed arising from racial and religious intolerance, there is far more to the present situation than just another religious war between Indian Hindus and Pakistani Moslems. It is evident that the roots of this problem actually go back more than half a century to 1920 when the fiery leader of the Indian National Congress, Mahatma Gandhi, launched his murderous campaign of "civil disobedience" and revolutionary agitation against the 150-year-old British rule.

By 1947, two portions of northern India were carved out to constitute the new nation of Pakistan. The new nation emerged as a geographical wonder, a two-part country—West and East—separated by more than 1,000 miles of Indian territory and by differences in language, culture, and life styles. It was an ideal setup for future manipulations, as its promoters well knew.

There then followed 2 years of incredible horror in which hundreds of thousands—perhaps millions—were wantonly slaughtered as Communist agents provocateurs whipped their hapless victims into an emotional frenzy. In the ensuing riots, as Asian Communists followed specific directives from Moscow calling for open revolution in India—utilizing a Red tactic known as "pressure from above and pressure from below"—terrified Hindus sought sanctuary under Indian rule and Moslems fled India seeking refuge under the Pakistani flag.

Then in 1965 came the bitter war over possession of Kashmir in northern India resulting in the division of that state into two separate parts. By 1970 the Soviet Union had openly come to the aid of the Socialist government of India while the Red Chinese sided with Pakistan. While the leaders of these four nations were in mutual collusion, the peoples of their respective countries were apparently never even taken into consideration.

Finally, in August 1971, after the United States had extended billions of American dollars in foreign aid to help India, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi signed a 20-year "friendship" pact with the U.S.S.R. For the Soviets had given India over \$1 billion worth of aid as well, theirs in the form of tanks, submarines, fighter-bombers, and surface-to-air missiles. In the interim, forced by an arms embargo on U.S. weapons and assistance, Pakistani President Yahya Khan had

signed a new economic and technical agreement with the Red Chinese and received four interceptor squadrons of Mig-12's, 225 medium tanks, AK-47 rifles, machineguns, and a \$25 million arms factory complex outside Dacca. Elsewhere in East Pakistan, an army of Bengali guerrillas trained in Red China had seized large areas of the countryside while hordes of pro-Soviet rabble-rousers, aided by India, agitated among the populace for Bangladesh—an "independent" Bengal nation.

Thus, when a violent Communist-led revolt broke out in East Pakistan last March 25, headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, no one was really surprised—least of all Red China and the Soviet Union. This was the final spark that paved the way for the takeover of that unfortunate people. And Indira Gandhi sealed their fate this month with an outright grant to the Bangladesh rebels of \$33 million.

GIUSEPPE PREZZOLINI CELEBRATES 90TH BIRTHDAY

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to honor Giuseppe Prezzolini, professor emeritus of Columbia University, on the occasion of his 90th birthday.

A rare example of a self-taught man, Prezzolini was born in Perugia on January 27, 1882, into a family of cultural and literary interests. His formal education ended early when he found teachers and textbooks too shallow.

From 1903 to 1907, which critics have considered as a period of transition from positivism to idealism, Prezzolini collaborated with Papini on the "Leonardo," one of the more important literary and philosophical periodicals of the century. During this time he began his quest of God by studying mysticism under the influence of Bergson, James, and Saint Augustine, a quest which has never ended as can be seen by one of his latest books, "Dio E Un Rischio," published in 1969.

It was in December 1908 that Prezzolini founded "La Voce," a new review to which he dedicated his energy and talent. Its credo was action and its writers had an awareness of social and spiritual issues that enlisted the support of the best minds of Italy—men who differed not only in character but in political and philosophical thought. It counted among its contributors Croce and Gentile, Papini and Soffici, Mussolini and Amendola, Campana and Saba, Slataper and Serra, Palazzeschi and Rebora, Boine and Jahier, Salvemini and Murri—considered eminent figures in the Italy of that day and later.

The effect that "La Voce" had on Italian culture was felt in all its fields: in literature, music, art, philosophy, and politics. Thus was Italian culture integrated into the life of the nation. It as-

sumed a true significance not only in relation to the arts and literature, but on a moral plane as well.

In 1910 Prezzolini founded the "Libreria della Voce," a publishing house which made known not only some of the best works of the younger generation of Italian writers, but also some of the best European writers of that period.

When Italy entered World War I, Prezzolini enlisted, and had ample opportunity to witness the ineptitude of old generals and the lack of preparation of the troops, and criticized his country whose Government was responsible for the defeat of Caporetto. After the war he reactivated the "Libreria della Voce" until, in 1925, he went to Paris to direct the Literary and Information Department of the Bureau for Intellectual Cooperation founded by the League of Nations. He left it in 1930 to come to Columbia University where he taught for over 20 years until his retirement.

In his book *Amici* (Vallecchi, 1922, p. 8), Prezzolini says of himself:

I am not a writer, I have no originality as a philosopher, and I mistrust those who should like to do over the universe. But it seems that I possess a certain clarity of ideas, the capacity to grasp the character of a man or of a movement, the strength of soul to refuse to be seduced by friendships or to be upset by hatreds in evaluating merits and in measuring defects. At a certain point in my life, having buried the romantic turmoils and aspirations, I decided to become the "useful man" for others; to clarify certain ideas to Italians, to indicate their inferiorities in order to overcome them, to characterize foreign people and foreign movements, to translate from different languages, to reveal promising young men, to point out hidden greatness; that is what one calls work of culture. It is very much like building ditches, plowing the soil, planting trees, pruning, sowing, weeding, trimming, and all the operations of a good agriculturalist. Yes, I have always wanted to be useful. I don't say I have always succeeded, but that was my intention. I have always put myself at the service of a man who needed to be known, of an idea that needed conquering, of a propaganda that needed dissemination. This was the principal character of the *Voce*, but it is in a way the character of all my works.

Intellectual stimulation, moral integrity and the spiritual values exemplified in his own life were characteristic of Prezzolini's teaching, not only at Columbia, but throughout his life, for he is a born educator as his readers and friends know. His writings, whether scholarly or journalistic, are delightful because of his clear, precise, well-balanced style. He has a great variety of interests, and his pen ranges from German mysticism to an erudite history of spaghetti, with biography, criticism, philosophy, scholarship, reportage, allegory, religion, and psychology filling the gap.

Since 1962, Prezzolini has been living in Europe and now resides in Lugano, Switzerland. Not only do new books of his appear every year, but his articles are syndicated in three Italian dailies. As a teacher, lecturer, editor, publisher, journalist, and author, Prezzolini has worked indefatigably to spread, enhance and enrich Italian culture.

In July 1971, in recognition of his contribution to Italian culture, President Saragat bestowed on him the Italian

Government's highest honor which he accepted also in the name of his associates of the "Voce" and as marking the end of his being considered for 20 years anti-Fascist by the Fascists and in the following 20 years a Fascist by the anti-Fascists.

It is now generally conceded that Prezzolini is no "ideolog," but a dispassionate observer of man.

The writer, Cesare Angelini, calls "La Voce":

The review that has created the new Italian poetry. Whether one says Rebora or Campana, Cardarelli or Serra, Papini or Soffici, DeRobertis or anyone else, he still says "La Voce," he still says, Prezzolini.

MASS TRANSIT: A SUCCESS IN IOWA CITY

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, transportation has become a major problem for many city dwellers throughout our Nation. The tremendous increase in automobile traffic has snarled our streets and caused considerable congestion on city thoroughfares. Parking has become almost nonexistent in many communities. To overcome this dilemma many people have urged development and improvement of mass transit systems.

A striking example of the role mass transit can play in curbing our urban traffic crises is illustrated by the success of the city of Iowa City in my congressional district. When the private bus firm expired in September of 1971, Iowa City entered the transit business. With the help of Federal aid, new buses were purchased and fares were reduced from 25 to 15 cents. Increased service was also employed. The public acceptance of such service was overwhelming; ridership increased from 1,900 per day to over 4,800. Such enthusiasm over an efficient, clean, and reasonably priced system demonstrates the public's need, in fact their desire, to have mass transit systems they can depend on and afford.

This instance of mass transit's success serves to further the cause of similar systems in other cities. In this age of increased congestion on our roads and highways we should profit from the example of Iowa City. Surely, many Americans would relish the idea of such a system in their community. We should proceed toward making urban transit systems more enjoyable to ride and economically more acceptable.

I urge Federal, State, and local governments to take note; to not only continue subsidies for modernizing mass transit, but to increase those subsidies. I, for one, would enjoy the opportunity to rid our streets of unnecessary traffic jams and, at the same time, improve mobility within the community.

I am not however, the only one to be impressed with the success of Iowa City's bus system. A recent editorial in the Des Moines Register noted with pride their

achievements, and wished such successful a problem on Des Moines and other cities. I share that editorial with you:

IOWA CITY BUS SUCCESS

Iowa City has learned that its splendid new municipal-transit system will require a \$110,000 subsidy next year instead of the \$70,000 budgeted—because "business is so good we can't afford it," as City Manager Frank Smiley told the City Council last week.

That half-jesting remark sums up the dilemma. Iowa City went into the transit business on Sept. 1 after the private bus firm expired. With federal aid, it bought new, air-conditioned buses, reduced the fare from 25 cents to 15 and increased service.

The city had hoped to attract 3,200 riders a day instead of the 1,900 who had been riding previously. Daily volume of 3,200 at the old fare would have met expenses. At the 15-cent fare each rider receives a small subsidy. The aim was to serve the community and to reduce traffic congestion. Instead of 3,200 riders, however, there have been about 4,800 a day, and ridership is heading for 5,000—much more than double what it had been.

Although the subsidy for each rider may decrease somewhat with larger volume, the total deficit will be greater than expected. Part of the problem is miscalculation of several kinds of expenses when the system was on the drawing board last summer, but part of it is success: more overtime is being paid to drivers than had been planned.

The measures of the new bus operation is not the temporary embarrassment of the deficit, but the amazing increase in public acceptance. New routes are being demanded. There is danger that if some additional schedules are not provided, overloaded buses will be passing up prospective riders.

This needed expansion is imperiled by the problem of finding another \$40,000 for operating expenses at the present level. But after such an encouraging start, Iowa City surely will find the means to maintain momentum. Benefits from the "subsidy" may be intangible at first, but it would be surprising if they don't ultimately show up in the municipal ledgers. We wish Des Moines were faced with Iowa City's kind of transit "problem" instead of the kind it has.

OUTSTANDING SERVICE OF J. GORDON BOWERS TO HIS COMMUNITY

HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to bring to the attention of the Congress the tribute being paid to my constituent, Mr. J. Gordon Bowers of Ventura, Calif., by Ventura chapter, No. 31, of the International Footprint Association, Inc. The following is the presentation to be made to Mr. Bowers on January 28 at a testimonial dinner marking his 50th year of continuous service in the law enforcement field:

Ventura County Chapter 31 of the International Footprint Association, which is an organization of Peace Officers, business and professional men sympathetic toward the problems of law enforcement, will be honoring J. Gordon Bowers, Under-sheriff of Ventura County, on Friday, January 28, 1972 in Ventura, California.

J. Gordon Bowers completed 40 years of

service with the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department in 1961. During this time he was briefly assigned to the Corrections Department, then transferred to the Detective Division, where he worked his way through the ranks of Sergeant, Lieutenant, Captain, and Inspector. Retiring after serving as Chief of the Detective Division for 12 years.

Mr. Bowers was the first member of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department to graduate from the FBI Academy in 1947. Since July 1, 1961, Mr. Bowers has served as the Under-sheriff of Ventura County. His many contributions and accomplishments in the field of law enforcement are innumerable.

It is most fitting that the Footprinters honor this distinguished Peace Officer on his Golden Anniversary commemorating his 50 years of continuous service in law enforcement. It is the sincere hope of all our residents that he will continue to serve our community for many more years in his present office.

Ventura County Chapter 31 of the International Footprint Association has three times been honored as the 'Outstanding Community Service Chapter' in the United States. The Ventura County Chapter is the group that built and currently maintains the world's first mobile narcotic prevention exhibit. More than one million persons to date have viewed the Footprinter's exhibit since Governor Reagan dedicated this educational exhibit March 20, 1968.

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, this week the House of Representatives commemorates the independence of Ukraine and we send our words to those 47 million people held captive by the Soviet Union. Those words serve many purposes, among them keeping the spirit of hope alive for those captive people and reminding the people of the free world that we are indeed fortunate to be free.

This year our words expressed in the House of Representatives take on special meaning. The President of the United States will soon travel to China and to the Soviet Union in search of new areas of communication and understanding among the major powers. As we wish him well in that trip we must also remember those who suffer the daily frustrations of dictatorship—those who do not enjoy personal liberties sometimes taken for granted by those of us who live in the free world.

This is the 54th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine and I am pleased to join with my colleagues in this expression of support for captive people in all corners of the world. In particular, I want to urge that Congress act this year to create a Special Committee on the Captive Nations so that we will have a forum to consider all aspects of this problem. Other legislation has also been introduced to designate January 22 as Ukrainian Independence Day, to resurrect Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches in the U.S.S.R. and to oust United Nations representatives of the Ukraine and Byelorussia. I support these measures because

they are the most effective way to reaffirm our Nation's support for captive people who retain the hope of freedom.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE HONORABLE CHARLES J. INNES

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, Charlie Innes served as the counsel for the Massachusetts State Senate for 15 years, and his career devotion to the task of advising the legislative body on the complicated legal matters concerning legislation, represents a truly remarkable contribution to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. His life and work were guided by principles of fairness and non-partisanship, and it is this spirit for which he is most cherished by the people of Massachusetts who knew him. I submit, for the perusal of my colleagues, a fitting tribute to the late Charlie Innes, delivered by minority leader of the Massachusetts State Senate, John F. Parker.

The tribute follows:

REMARKS BY MINORITY LEADER, SENATOR JOHN F. PARKER, IN TRIBUTE TO THE LATE HONORABLE CHARLES J. INNES, SENATE COUNSEL, JANUARY 5, 1972

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to make a brief statement on the passing of the Honorable Charles J. Innes, Counsel for the Massachusetts State Senate for many years.

Mr. President:

There is a certain emptiness in this Chamber today as we assemble for the 1972 session—the 182nd session since Thomas Cushing called the original Senate to order, under the Constitution in 1780.

The emptiness I note, and I am certain is felt by others, is not the absence of any member of this Senate—but rather an emptiness because of the absence of a man, affectionately known as the 41st member of this branch, the Honorable Charles John Innes, distinguished as a member of this body for a number of years, but more distinguished as the life and breath of this Senate as its counsel for fifteen of the most difficult years of its history.

For more than 40 years, Charlie Innes had been part of the political and governmental life of the City of Boston and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Graduated from Harvard College and with a law degree from Boston University, Charlie Innes began his government work as an Assistant Corporation Counsel for the City of Boston in 1927. He served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives for 10 years and was a member of the State Senate here for 14 more years, rising in position to Republican Floor Leader on two separate occasions.

In 1956, Charles Innes was appointed Counsel to the Senate, a position he held until his death a few short weeks ago.

How does one pay tribute to a man like Charlie Innes? It is difficult, for he was no man for accolades, glory, praise, attention, or whatever. Charlie Innes was what men ought to be who serve in public life. "Do what you have to do, damn the torpedoes, and the hell with the public relations!"

Long before he assumed the vital job of Senate Counsel, Charlie Innes was known in the Senate as a man who read every bill. Those who opposed him in debate had better be ready. No flowery orator, no spellbinding,

flamboyant word merchant, Innes nevertheless was a match for any Senator in the Chamber. As former President John E. Powers, one of his great antagonists when both served as leaders of this Senate, would say, "If you debate Charlie Innes, be prepared. He knows every period and comma in the bill, and he will kill you with facts."

Charlie Innes had a single-minded intensity and devotion to his job as a member of the General Court, both in the House and in the Senate. Hard work, conscientious application and a respect for the Constitutions of this Commonwealth and the nation, were his hallmarks as a member and an associate of this Legislative body.

Long hours meant little to Charlie Innes. Whenever we were in session, no matter the hour, he was here. Long after we had gone home, he immersed himself in the issues that were his final responsibility as Senate Counsel. How many late hours have we seen the lights burning in his office, after we have piled amendment upon amendment to bills on the floor, mishmashing legislation, and violating everything imaginable, including the Constitution, and then leaving it for him to untangle.

From 1956, when he became Senate Counsel, until his final days, Charlie Innes saw the number of bills and petitions rise in the General Court from 3,029 to more than 8,500 in 1971.

It is little wonder the burden became so great, and the bulging briefcase went home with Charlie many nights and over weekends when he could have rested.

In this Senate, Charlie Innes cultivated a reputation for being right and fair. He played no favorites. Though a Republican of long years of devotion and practice, Charlie Innes carried out his duties as a dedicated non-partisan. Possessed of a keen legal mind, he advised both parties on delicate matters of legislation with impartial honesty. In the sometimes "jungle fighting" that has been part of this Senate, Innes more than once had been asked to compromise on legislation. To his credit, he stood against the pressures, and for this, he made new and more indelible marks of integrity and appreciation from those who admire the man who stands against what he knows to be wrong.

The former President of this Senate, the Honorable Maurice A. Donahue, put Charlie Innes' qualifications on the line as well as anyone I know. At this rostrum one day, a member of the Senate tried to force through a patently unconstitutional measure. It was a torrid session at the rostrum. Finally, down came the gravel as President Donahue shouted at his angry colleague, "Chuckie says the bill is unconstitutional, and that's that!"

And so it was, not a victory for Charlie Innes, but a victory for the people—one of ever-so-many victories for the people because this quiet man had the courage to call the balls and strikes as they were and not as some Senator wanted them called.

To properly and rightfully eulogize a man like Charlie Innes is to reflect on almost 40 years of public life—and speak of an able man who understood friendship; whose word was his bond; whose courage was stripped of vanity; and whose conviction was without brashness.

It is with a sense of profound respect and admiration that I speak of our 41st Senator, Charles Innes. I am humbly thankful for the time over almost 20 years in this Senate that I had known him, and worked with him, and learned from him.

To really eulogize Charlie J. Innes is to speak of a man skilled in the political process. He was a political man to whom this State House—what it stands for, its proud heritage, the Constitution, the statutes, the petitions, the bills, the amendments, the gigantic parliamentary struggles, and the friends he made along the way were the essence of life. He loved this Chamber. To him,

there was no other life beyond this Senate, but his devoted wife and family.

Charlie Innes was a public man who gave himself to the public's business, with character and dignity.

He was a man of courage and independence.

He was a man of great legal talent, enterprise, and skill.

He was a man, above all else, gifted in the art of government.

To have known Charlie Innes, as I did, was a distinct privilege. To have served with him was a personal honor. To pay him this final tribute is only fitting.

In the true analysis of Charlie Innes' capabilities and his work among us, it is unlikely that this Senate will ever again have a 41st member—for to have called Charles J. Innes the 41st member of this historic Senate was the highest tribute we could give a man.

LEADERSHIP OF MARINE CORPS TURNED OVER TO GENERAL CUSHMAN

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, last month on December 30 at the oldest post of the corps, Marine Barracks, Washington, D.C., the 24th Commandant of the Marine Corps, Gen. Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., handed over in a traditional ceremony the leadership of the corps to Gen. Robert E. Cushman, Jr. I include for the information of the Congress a letter from President Nixon and the remarks at the ceremony by Secretary of Defense Laird, Secretary of the Navy Chafee, General Chapman, and General Cushman:

A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES UPON RETIREMENT FROM ACTIVE SERVICE OF THE COMMANDANT OF MARINE CORPS, GEN. LEONARD F. CHAPMAN, JR.

At the conclusion of your most distinguished career, I wish to express my appreciation for your many years of dedicated service to our Nation.

During nearly four decades of active service your career has reflected the highest ideals of patriotism, professional competence and personal integrity. Through many diverse and challenging assignments in war and peace you have never wandered from those superb qualities of dedication and courage which so typify your exceptional Corps.

While serving as the Commandant of the Marine Corps during a most difficult period in our Nation's history, your professional and inspirational leadership have been of irredeemable value. From the battlefields of Vietnam to all other assignments where Marines have been represented, full testimony of your superb guidance has been clearly evident.

Although you are leaving the active duty rolls, I have no doubt that our legacy will continue to thrive in the ranks of your few good men.

We shall miss you.

Please accept my best personal wishes for a happy and rewarding future.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON.

REMARKS BY MELVIN R. LAIRD, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, AT CHANGE OF COMMAND OF THE MARINE CORPS, MARINE BARRACKS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Today we witness the departure of a great Commandant of the United States Marine

Corps—a man that I consider a very close personal friend, a key military advisor to me during these past three years and to President Nixon.

There is one term that was foremost in all of the deliberations and discussions about the United States Marine Corps during General Chapman's term of office—yes, during his over 36 years of service to the United States Marine Corps—and that term was professionalism. During all this period of time he strove to see that the United States Marine Corps exemplified the finest military professionalism of any unit in the United States military. He worked constantly to see that professionalism was the watchword of the Marine Corps. But he understood the challenges that face the United States of America as we maintain a strong national security posture and protect the safety of our people and work for enduring peace.

He took over as Commandant of the Marine Corps at a time when the Marines were heavily engaged in Vietnam. And during these past three years it has been his duty and his responsibility to witness the withdrawal of the United States Marine Corps from Vietnam and to maintain professionalism in the Corps as they withdrew from combat in Vietnam to the point where the Marine Corps today has been restored to its peacekeeping role as far as our country is concerned.

He is truly a statesman—a military statesman—a man who understands the importance of maintaining a strong military posture in the United States as we move into this important era of negotiations throughout the world—the importance of maintaining a strong Marine Corps.

General Chapman did not promise any of these Marines that are assembled here today a rose garden. But as Secretary of Defense I promised his lovely wife some roses on this occasion and I'd like to present them to her at this time.

We are starting a new period of service for the Commandant of the Marine Corps for the next four years. General Bob Cushman has had a great depth and breadth of experience—not only in the Marine Corps but in other assignments which he has been given by the President of the United States. The Marine Corps is truly in good hands as we turn over the responsibilities of Commandant of the United States Marine Corps, the next four years beginning on January 1, to General Cushman.

I congratulate General Cushman and Mrs. Cushman on this occasion of his taking over command of the United States Marine Corps. I congratulate you but I also charge you with the responsibility of maintaining that fine edge of professionalism which is evident in the Marine Corps today. This is your charge for the next four years—to maintain the fine edge of professionalism which is the United States Marine Corps as we look forward to the next four years when you have the responsibility for this outstanding military service.

REMARKS BY JOHN H. CHAFEE, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, AT CHANGE OF COMMAND OF THE MARINE CORPS, MARINE BARRACKS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Today is an occasion rich with sentiment, nostalgia and military significance, because for only the 25th time in its glorious 196 years of history, the Marine Corps receives a new Commandant.

The roll of great Commandants is a long and distinguished one—just to mention some of the names like Henderson and Lejeune, Holcomb and Vandergriff, Cates, Greene. And I feel absolutely certain that the gentleman who retires today as Commandant deserves to be in the first rank of those great Commandants.

Now, why do I say this?

He had broad experience before he came to the job in a multitude of difficult tasks.

He has a keen intelligence. He has ability demonstrated in every undertaking that he participated in.

But it seems to me that many Marines have those characteristics.

There are two particular characteristics of General Chapman I would like to single out that have stood out to me during the past three years I have had the privilege of working with him.

The first is—he never lost sight of the principal reason for the existence of the Marine Corps. And to that he devoted every bit of his energy. Namely, this is a fighting force prepared to move out and fight at a moment's notice across the seas—successfully on land and in the air. And those requirements have been met under General Chapman's tenure.

And he concentrated on them and adhered to what's best in the traditions of the Corps. But he did not let that be a reason for standing pat—because it's been done that way in the past, that's the way we do it in the future. That was not true of General Chapman. He stuck with what is best but he moved out in an innovative fashion. For instance, he was absolutely determined that the Blacks in the United States Marine Corps be truly part of the "Band of Brothers" and that every bit of discrimination be eliminated. And such has taken place under his leadership.

And so it is in other areas—innovativeness. . . . The Harrier and the OV-10, The Marine Corps Tactical Data System, The New Landing Vehicle. These are but a few illustrations of some of the new concepts that General Chapman developed and that have been developed under his guidance. And better BOQs, better BEQs, better living for the men. And he always was conscious of the fact that men are motivated to fight—some perhaps by love of Country, some perhaps by dedication to the task for which they are fighting—but most of all by a grim determination in the Marine Corps not to let down their fellow Marines. And so that great tradition of the Marines—reliance on each other, looking after each other—has been nurtured and fostered as it has in the past, it has been continued under General Chapman. So that every Marine is terribly conscious he must uphold the great traditions of the Marine Corps.

Now the second characteristic of General Chapman is what I call just plain old-fashioned character. Thoughtfulness, honesty, candor, bravery, loyalty. These are characteristics that all of us who have been associated with him—and that applies to every single man in the Marine Corps and everyone who has had the privilege of being associated with General Chapman—recognizes. He really epitomizes the very best of that term we call "gentleman." And it seems to me this Country is terribly fortunate to have had your services, General.

You have passed the torch now to General Cushman who comes to the task magnificently prepared. I have absolute confidence that he will continue on in the great tradition that has gone in the past. We all look forward to working with you, General, completely confident that the Marine Corps will continue its great traditions and movement forward under you.

REMARKS BY GEN. LEONARD F. CHAPMAN, JR.,
RETIRED COMMANDANT OF THE MARINE
CORPS, AT MARINE CORPS CHANGE OF COM-
MAND, MARINE BARRACKS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Almost exactly four years ago in this same room I was passed the battle color of the Corps by General Wallace M. Greene, Jr.—repeating a ceremony that has occurred for him some four years before that and back through many occasions over many years of the same kind.

Today I have the great honor and privilege of passing the battle color of the Corps to General Bob Cushman and with it, symbolically, the command of U.S. Marines.

I depart these four years as I began with tremendous admiration and respect for those fine American fighting men—U.S. Marines.

In these four years Marines have completed their part of a difficult and dangerous assignment in Vietnam in company with many, many other American fighting men from the Army, Navy, Air Force and Coast Guard—many of whom are still there. The Marines upon withdrawing have returned to our traditional duty and posture as a force in readiness for our country and in this process they have sustained, unchanged, if anything, improved, the heritage of our Corps, our traditions, our discipline, our professionalism and our combat readiness. I can only say to Marines here, Marines everywhere, and former Marines—you are the finest—you are United States Marines.

I want to take this opportunity also to pay tribute to some other great Americans with whom and for whom it has been my privilege to serve these last four years—our Commander-in-Chief, a brave and tremendous American; the Secretary of Defense, the Honorable Mel Laird, whom I am honored to call my friend; Secretary John Chafee, a tremendous American and former Marine and a great Secretary of the Navy; Admiral Tom Moorer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs; leaders of the other military services; and many other distinguished Americans—civilians and those in uniform—whom I call patriots—who are serving our country in a most difficult, divisive time—and doing it courageously, competently and selflessly. They deserve the thanks of the people of our country.

I say to General Bob Cushman as I pass to him the command of the Corps and our battle color. I have the greatest confidence in the future of the Corps under his leadership and with his wife, Audrey Cushman. I am confident—absolutely confident—that the standards, the professionalism, the quality, the progress, the combat readiness of the Corps will continue. I am confident of this because I have known Bob Cushman for many years. He is a great Marine—and he will be leading other great Marines.

And finally, I would like to take this opportunity to express my love, my appreciation, my pride in Emily, my wife—the first lady of the Corps these past four years—and who has served many other years as a Marine wife and mother. And she has ably represented all Marine wives and mothers in a most exemplary fashion—including the fact that both of her sons—our sons—served in Vietnam as combat infantry leaders—one of them twice. As Emily and I leave the active ranks of the Corps, we will continue to be—as we have always been, and will always be—two Marines, cherishing our Corps, and loving our great country, the United States of America.

REMARKS BY GEN. ROBERT E. CUSHMAN, JR.,
INCOMING COMMANDANT OF THE MARINE
CORPS, AT MARINE CORPS CHANGE OF COM-
MAND, MARINE BARRACKS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

I am deeply grateful and very proud indeed to be selected as Commandant of the Marine Corps and to embark upon my tour of duty.

I accept your charge, Mr. Secretary. We will maintain the professionalism of the Corps.

I am fully responsive to the oath which I just took with respect to loyalty and dedication and we shall continue to put our full energies into running the Marine Corps as it has been run.

I see my duty as being outward to the Commander-in-Chief, to the Secretary of Defense and to the Secretary of the Navy—to have a Corps which is ready to win in combat at any time, at any place. Our Corps must be ready to do this using the minimum of the taxpayer's dollars.

In addition, there is an inward duty which I feel to every Marine. Every Marine deserves to have the best training in the world. This

he shall have. I think that every Marine deserves to have held up to him the highest standards of professionalism—the highest ideals. I also believe that there must be amongst our Marines no discrimination. And I believe that the Marine who has problems, these should be taken care of by the Corps.

I would like to next say that whatever soldierly virtues I may have I owe to my mother who started me out on this road many years ago and who is here today. She has certainly taught me about hard work. And I would like to pay my love and respect to my wife, Audrey, who has worked beside me for 36 years of Marine Corps service. Without her I would not be standing here. She is truly a Marine and loves the Corps as much as I do.

I would also like to say, on behalf of all Marines, that we wish Emily and Chappie Godspeed and many years of health and happiness, because these are the two things that count in their richly deserved retirement.

As I take over the job, I would once again like to promise that the Corps will be kept lean and mean and we will take care of our own.

JOHN L. NUGENT 1906-72

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the city of Lincoln, Ill., lost a dedicated civic leader, and I a close friend, in the death on January 8, 1972, of John L. Nugent, longtime copublisher, with his wife Allyn, of the Lincoln Courier.

A native of Jamaica in the British West Indies, Mr. Nugent was educated in private schools in France and England. He met the former Allyn V. Carpenter, who then was owner of the Courier, in Paris, and they were married in London in 1930. The Nugents returned to Lincoln and published the Courier until its sale to William V. Joy in 1968. In 1946 they received an award from the New York Museum of Science and Industry as publishers of "America's foremost small-town daily newspaper."

Mr. Nugent was a vigorous worker for the betterment of Lincoln and Logan County, at one time serving as president of the Lincoln Chamber of Commerce. I include Mr. Nugent's obituary from the January 10 issue of the Lincoln Courier, a resolution adopted by the Lincoln City Council, and a tribute by Mayor Edward M. Malerich of Lincoln.

[From the Lincoln (Ill.) Courier,
Jan. 10, 1972]

FUNERAL SERVICES TUESDAY FOR JOHN NUGENT,
RETIRED COPUBLISHER OF THE COURIER

Funeral services for John L. Nugent, retired Courier co-publisher, will be Tuesday afternoon at Holland and Barry Funeral Home. His death occurred Saturday afternoon.

Visitation at the funeral home will be at 2 p.m. preceding the funeral service at 3 p.m. Rector Laurence Larson of Trinity Episcopal church will be in charge of the last rites with cremation to follow at Fairlawn Crematory in Decatur.

Mr. Nugent was born March 2, 1906, in Manderville, Jamaica, British West Indies, the son of Harry and Meg Nugent.

He and the former Allyn V. Carpenter, who then owned and published the Courier for many years and who survives, were mar-

ried in London, England, July 20, 1940. They had met in Paris.

Upon their return to the United States, they resided in Chicago for three years, during which time they placed the Courier in the hands of a manager. Returning then to Lincoln, the Nugents published the Courier until July 1, 1968.

Two sisters also survive—Mrs. J. H. (Mary) Cottrell of Oxon, England; and Mrs. R. H. Margot Oland of Halifax, Nova Scotia. The latter resides in Blue Wing, a seaside mansion. Mr. Nugent was preceded in death by a brother, Laud.

The deceased received his education in private schools in England and France and for a time served as a customer relations executive for a bank in Paris.

He suffered a heart seizure at his home, 227 Third st., and when resuscitation efforts failed was rushed to Abraham Lincoln Memorial Hospital. He was pronounced dead on arrival at 4:05 p.m.

Mr. and Mrs. Nugent retired from a long and active life in the newspaper field when they sold the Lincoln Evening Courier to William V. Joy, owner of the Centralia (Ill.) Sentinel. Since, the Courier publisher has been James L. Fetgatter, who is also business manager of the Centralia daily. When the paper changed hands, the name was changed to Lincoln Courier.

The newspaper home at Pulaski and McLean streets was built from a number of smaller business buildings, which were purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Nugent.

Mr. Nugent took an active part in the civic and community life of Lincoln during his newspaper career. He served as president of the Chamber of Commerce of Lincoln—had been a member of Lincoln lodge 914, B.P.O. Elks, since Oct. 6, 1943. He was also a member of the Elks National Foundation (a grand lodge scholarship program).

One of the highlights in the professional life of Mr. and Mrs. Nugent came in January, 1946, when they received an award as publishers of "America's foremost small town daily newspaper."

The honor was bestowed by the New York Museum of Science and Industry and the certificate of honor still hangs in the Courier building business office.

Both the publishers and their newspaper received widespread recognition and publicity after the honor was bestowed.

Mr. and Mrs. Nugent traveled widely, both in this country and abroad. The former's hobby was dogs—he loved the animals and always had them about him. He was often seen in downtown Lincoln before his illness with his pet poodle, Barney.

In a statement in the Evening Courier of Aug. 26, 1953, on the eve of the City of Lincoln centennial, Mr. and Mrs. Nugent set forth guidelines for their publishing philosophy—to which they hued until retiring. The statement follows—

"We take pride in being a part in seeing that people are kept informed. We will continue to challenge the community in its welfare drives, in relation to the exercise of the ballot and in relation to its needs. While appreciating what we have, we must not forget what we should have.

"It is our mission to bring the world to your doorstep—for either a hurried glance, a leisurely perusal, or a concentrated study. We shall chronicle who was born, who died, and who was married. We will predict the weather, provide results of sports contests, and in various other ways offer a varied reading menu for your information and entertainment.

"Nor will we relent in assisting the development of Logan County in civic, economic, educational, religious, social and cultural progress in the days before us. In this way, we shall do our part to promote better life and better living for the people of this great community."

[Resolution adopted by the Lincoln City Council, Jan. 17, 1972]

"Whereas, John L. Nugent, retired co-publisher of The Lincoln Evening Courier departed this life Jan. 8, 1972; and

"Whereas, from 1933 to July 1, 1968, John L. Nugent, as co-publisher of The Lincoln Evening Courier, made numerous contributions to the betterment of the citizens of Lincoln and the surrounding community; and

"Whereas, the members of the City Council wish, by these presents, to recognize these invaluable contributions of John L. Nugent to the progressive growth and development of the city and county during his newspaper career, and further wish to express their sincere sympathy to his wife and family in this time of sorrow.

"Now, therefore, be it firmly resolved by the city council of the City of Lincoln, Ill., that John L. Nugent be long remembered, along with his wife, Allyne V. Nugent, as co-publishers of America's foremost small town daily newspaper, and for the civic and community progress achieved by and through his efforts, and that the sincere sympathy of the City Council is hereby conveyed to his wife, Allyne V. Nugent, and his family in his passing; and that the original of this resolution shall be presented to his wife, Allyne V. Nugent, and a copy thereof shall be spread upon the official records of this City."

MAYOR VOICES APPRECIATION

As mayor of the city of Lincoln, I would like to speak a word in appreciation of the contributions to our civic and community life which were made by the late John L. Nugent.

As co-publisher of the Lincoln Courier, with his wife, Allyne, he for many years through the newspaper, made no few contributions to a better life for the citizens of Lincoln. Further, he did his bit for the progress of our growing city.

As president of the Chamber of Commerce he was one of the leaders of our business and professional men and through this organization, helped our city onward and upward. The Courier has always stood for community progress and development, not only stood, but put a sturdy shoulder to the wheel.

For the citizens of Lincoln, may I speak words of sympathy for Mrs. Nugent in her bereavement.

Yours sincerely,

EDWARD M. MALERICH.

IN SEARCH OF LEADERSHIP

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, it is much in vogue today to talk about what is wrong with our country. It will be even more so as this election year proceeds toward its November drama. There is little to be gained by my repeating in this small space the long list of the Nation's woes, both because they are all too familiar and because I view them as symptomatic of a more fundamental problem—a void in political leadership.

Let us, before we are caught up in campaign rhetoric, reflect more deeply than we have in the past on the nature of political leadership. An understanding of this force can, I believe, provide us with a standard against which we may measure 1972's multitude of candidates, issues, promises, and demands.

Simply put, leadership is providing inspiration and motivation for others. It involves the setting of goals that groups of people can jointly aspire to and work toward. Leadership is the ability to make people look beyond today and join together in working for tomorrow.

People can and do look for leadership from many sources—the church, the school, the sports, and entertainment world. Some types of leadership have real staying power, such as that of the Reverend Billy Graham for his followers, while some leadership is as fluid and unstable as women's fashions.

One source to which people naturally look for leadership is the holder of high public office and, most particularly, the chief executive officers of the Nation, State, or city. Such leadership is challenged and harassed by the subleaders of a proliferation of philosophically oriented groups of extreme conservatives, extreme liberals; minority interest groups of blacks and Chicanos; women liberation fronts; youth groups. Also there are the issue oriented groups interested solely in their special fields, as consumerism, antiwar action, the environment, et cetera. Leadership in these movements is single purposed in a sense. It tends to be adversary in approach and thus can be deliberately divisive and highly controversial. But the executive leader cannot indulge the luxury of this straightforward and simple approach. He must both lead and converge interests.

Such a leader must not only share the awareness and concern which cause diverse movements but also he must match his sensibilities with words and deeds which will inspire and unite the people in a common effort. The needs in "words and deeds" need emphasis. Without action of a relevant and meaningful kind, words become mere sloganeering.

Our expectations have been met on some scale, in some degree, but clearly, leadership in this most important area of public life is more an exception than a rule. The present administration is not exceptional. The President has stated repeatedly that he wants "to bring us together." We have heard this slogan over and over again for the last 3 years—and to no avail. We must understand what is now most obvious, that a rhetoric of unity is not the stuff of leadership.

The President was a peace candidate and promised "an Asian war fought by Asians." We now experience the most massive bombing of North Vietnam since the Tet offensive. Clearly, a rhetoric of peace is not the stuff of leadership.

The President was a "Law and Order" candidate and promised repeatedly a return to domestic serenity. The crime rate continues its rise and drug abuse threatens all areas of American life. A rhetoric of tranquility is not the stuff of leadership, nor is the rhetoric of economic prosperity or racial harmony or credibility.

If slogans will not unify and direct a nation, what will? The answers can be drawn from the lives of political leaders from American history. The great leaders of this Nation and all other countries have been those who set grand but achievable goals toward which people

could strive. At times, the goal was the conquering of a threatening foreign enemy; at other times, it was the expansion or revival of the domestic economy. We must study these historical cases and ask, what makes them examples of successful leadership? What lessons are to be learned from these cases? I suggest a partial answer.

First of all, the goals set for the Nation, in each case, captured the imagination of the people. President Franklin Roosevelt set the tone of the drive to restore prosperity with the words, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." Such words as these inspire and give confidence to a despairing people.

True leaders share their vision and allow a nation to feel again the excitement of pioneering, the satisfaction of invention, the willingness to see beyond the mountain. Great leaders provide the stuff that dreams are made of and stoke the energies to realize them.

The second lesson of history is that these goals were measurable. President Kennedy said that we would put a man on the moon by the end of the decade. Success or failure was clear, and each year we could all mark the progress toward that goal.

Finally, the announced goal must involve the mobilization of human talents and physical resources. A leader is one who sets goals that will bring together the ideas and skills of many people and will put in motion the development and application of our physical and technological skills.

For a nation such as ours with a great number of people with far-flung borders no small efforts will do. You cannot challenge or motivate our vast talents and great resources by puny projects and penny-ante funding. A powerful people must engage in undertakings that match their strength and tap the full range of their abilities. This is the hallmark of real progress. Unless a people feels informed about and involved in their nation's progress, they have no trust in its destiny or in its leadership, and each man goes his own way.

I think that this is the situation now, where few feel that their voices are heard, that they are working in concert with their fellows toward something valuable, or, for that matter, that it makes any difference. Today, each man is an island.

The American people have always responded to leaders when imaginative, measurable, and involving goals have been enunciated. I have no doubt that we are ready to respond again—not to slogans or wishes slipped under closed doors, but to direct and realistic requests upon our imaginations and energies.

COMMUNITY CLUBS DAY IN THE CALUMET REGION

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding communities in the district which I am proud to represent is the village of Lansing, Ill. The mayor of

that community is Mr. Jack McNary, one of the outstanding public officials serving municipal government throughout the State of Illinois. Therefore, I am especially pleased to insert into the RECORD a proclamation issued by Mayor McNary designating January 11, 1972, as Community Clubs Day in the Calumet region:

COMMUNITY CLUBS DAY IN THE CALUMET REGION

Whereas, the women of the Calumet Region are constantly striving through private means to further the cultural, civil and charitable aims of our great city; and

Whereas, the furtherance of these aims requires long and dedicated work, and money to finance worthwhile projects; and

Whereas, Radio Station WLNR has realized this need, and will attempt to aid women's organizations through Community Clubs awards;

Now, therefore, I, Jack O. McNary, Mayor of Lansing, in cooperation with Radio Station WLNR do hereby designate January 11, 1972, as: "Community Clubs Day in the Calumet Region," and call upon all citizens to fully support the civic, cultural and charitable women's organizations in the Calumet Region.

In witness whereof, I hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the City of Lansing this 4th day of January, 1972.

JACK O. McNARY,
Mayor.

DEFENSE COST RISE BECAUSE OF MILITARY GADGETRY

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that the Defense budget for next year will rise as much as \$5 billion in terms of new total obligational authority and \$1 billion in terms of new budgetary authority. While many of us are still searching for the elusive Vietnam peace dividend as the war supposedly winds down, defense costs continue to rise rapidly. Part of the reason for this increase, I believe, is the military's insistence on weighing down much of our weaponry with unnecessary gadgets.

Our allies, as well as the Soviet Union, are able to build cheaper and, often, more reliable weapons than the United States. For instance, the Soviet Union could build one of its Mig-21 fighters at American prices with American labor for \$1.1 million. By comparison, the Navy's new F-14 will cost at least \$16 million. Thus, the Soviet Union, even at American prices, could outproduce the United States by 15 to 1. While I am not convinced that the Mig is a better airplane than the F-14, I am sure that the F-14 is not 15 times better than the Mig-21.

It is my fear that, unless the United States begins building simple, cheap, and reliable weapons, that we may be bankrupting the Treasury in the name of national defense. As a result, I have called upon Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird to initiate a major Pentagon study in order to find ways to curb the military's insistence on goldplating most of our new weapon systems. It is my belief that the Department of Defense could, and must, find ways to build simple, reliable,

and cheap new weapon systems. My letter to Secretary Laird follows:

JANUARY 5, 1971.

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD,
Secretary of Defense, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. LAIRD: It is my understanding that next year's defense budget will include a huge increase in defense spending that will total at least \$4 billion.

It is my fear that our defense costs are skyrocketing upward because we weigh down our defenses with unnecessary electronics and weaponry. All of our major allies who have an inventory of weapons similar to our own build cheaper and oftentimes more reliable weapons. Even the Soviet Union is able to turn out ships, and planes at a considerably lower cost. It appears to me that American defense costs are so much higher because our generals and admirals insist on loading down our ships and planes with a lot of gadgetry that is of marginal military value.

To be more specific, the cost of the F-4B in the late fifties was a little more than \$3 million. Our next generation of aircraft will cost considerably more. Current estimates indicate that the Air Force's new F-15 will cost approximately \$9 million and the F-14 is expected to cost at least \$16 million. Many knowledgeable individuals fear that the ultimate cost of the F-14 may rise as high as \$20 million per copy.

In shipbuilding the problem exists in escort vessels as well as air craft carriers. Our latest generation of destroyer escort, the DE-1052, costs approximately \$34 million on a per copy program unit cost basis. The DD-963 at present estimates will cost at least \$90 million, and again many knowledgeable individuals fear that the cost will eventually exceed \$100 million. In hearings conducted on the CVAN-70 before a Joint House and Senate Armed Services Committee, the cost of the Eisenhower (CVAN-69) for fiscal 1970 was estimated at \$510 million. It has been reported that the ultimate cost of the CVAN-70, if it is approved this year, will be in the neighborhood of \$1 billion.

The Russians, on the other hand, could produce their MIG-21 at American prices and with American labor for about \$1.1 million according to recent testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee. The Russians can outclass this country by producing 15 of their MIG-21's for the same cost of one of our new F-14's. While the F-14 may be a better airplane than the Russian MIG, it is surely not fifteen times better.

It is my belief that unless the United States begins to build cheaper, reliable and simple weapons we will face the possibility of bankrupting the Treasury in the name of national defense.

In view of these developments I am requesting that you initiate a major department-wide review to determine ways to produce simple, reliable weapons before we price ourselves completely out of the market.

I am sorry to say that because of the goldplating in our weapons system development programs, it is my belief that these huge increases in defense spending do very little to really improve our national security.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

LES ASPIN,
Member of Congress.

CICAR'S NOAA-CARIB, A NEW EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, last year I called to the attention of our colleagues

in the House a project entitled CICAR, cooperative investigation of the Caribbean and adjacent regions. The United States is one of 15 countries participating in this project sponsored by the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission of UNESCO to conduct a comprehensive, scientific investigation of the Caribbean on a cooperative, international basis. CICAR field work was begun in 1970 and will conclude its research this year.

One of the goals of the CICAR program is to promote the education and training of marine scientists in the Latin American and Caribbean countries. The coordinator for U.S. participation in CICAR, Dr. Harris B. Stewart, Jr., Director of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's Atlantic Oceanographic and Meteorological Laboratories in Miami, felt that progress in this area was less than it could be.

On Dr. Stewart's recommendation, a special program, NOAA-CARIB, has been approved by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration as a part of the CICAR program. NOAA-CARIB has two major objectives—to provide opportunities for education and training at sea for CICAR-country nationals and to contribute to the overall CICAR scientific program.

A recent article by Dr. Stewart entitled "CICAR's NOAA-CARIB, a New Experiment in International Scientific Cooperation," further explains the need for and objectives of this program. I commend Dr. Stewart's article to the attention of our colleagues:

CICAR'S NOAA-CARIB, A NEW EXPERIMENT
IN INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION
(By Harris B. Stewart, Jr.)

The Cooperative Investigation of the Caribbean and Adjacent Regions (CICAR) is now in the third year of the field phase as a 15-nation scientific inquiry into the marine biology, physical oceanography, fisheries, marine geology and geophysics, and meteorology of the Caribbean Sea and its adjacent regions, including the Gulf of Mexico. Although the results are not yet completely in, it appears that a good deal of new information has been developed on all phases of the operation to date.

One of the stated aims of the CICAR program and its sponsor, the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission of UNESCO, is to foster the education and training of marine scientists in the Latin American and Caribbean countries. Unlike the exploratory and scientific phases of CICAR which have moved along successfully, the international education and training phase has received a good deal of lip service, but actual training of scientists on ships of other countries has been less than the initiators of CICAR had hoped. Certainly it has been much less than those countries that need such education and training had hoped. There has been the quasi-synoptic CICAR Survey Month-I in August of last year in which ships of several countries worked together on a well coordinated program of physical and biological measurements, but generally it was Mexicans on the Mexican ship, Venezuelans on the Venezuelan ship, United States scientists on the United States ships, and so on. There have been, of course, some exceptions. U.S. scientists have been on Mexican and Brazilian ships, and Colombian oceanographers have been aboard U.S. ships, and there are other examples; but any research ship is usually full when it sails. Its projects are planned well in advance by the persons who will be aboard, and usually there is neither

bunk space nor project time for foreign investigators. His status is therefore that of visitor or observer at best; and because there is only one or perhaps two bunks available, the foreign country usually sends a senior person for prestige purposes, one who does not need the training at sea anyway. The end result has been that there have been few opportunities on CICAR ships to date for the education and training of those Latin American and Caribbean nationals who need it most—the younger scientists, university faculty and staff, and, most importantly, students.

We in the United States know well how hard it is to come by financial support for oceanographic research at sea, and consequently, we tend to load our own ships with as many of our own scientists and students as possible, so that we can get the most out of our ship-operation dollar—a perfectly understandable approach. However, all of the other CICAR countries have considerably less in the way of facilities and research ships than we do, and it is equally understandable that they look to the larger countries, particularly the United States, for help. At the CICAR International Coordination Group meetings in Washington in 1969, in Mexico City in 1970, and in Trinidad and Tobago in 1971, the Colombian, Venezuelan, Mexican and Jamaican delegations, as well as the delegation from Trinidad and Tobago and others were eloquent in their pleas for assistance within the CICAR framework. They did not ask for expensive facilities or new ships, they primarily wanted basic oceanographic equipment and the opportunity to have their people get scientific experience at sea as part of the education and training program of their own countries. The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) worked out a scheme whereby an oceanographic instrument specialist, Gilbert Jaffe, Director of the NOAA National Oceanographic Instrumentation Center, visited some of the CICAR countries and recommended to AID what instruments they most required. Funds have been made available, and some badly needed instrumentation will go to several of the CICAR countries. The University of Rhode Island has provided some excess gear to the University of the West Indies on Trinidad, and the NOAA National Ocean Survey has provided a shallow-water echo sounder to the Mexican R/V URIBE on loan. These instruments have been of considerable help, but the pressing need for education and training at sea is still unmet.

It was primarily to meet this need that the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) conceived the idea of NOAA-CARIB. Although the "CARIB" part of the expedition title can be considered as being derived either from the name of the sea or from the ancestral inhabitants of the area, it can also stand for Cicar Area Research and Instruction Breakthrough. Actually, the concept does represent a very real "breakthrough" in the running of international cooperative expeditions.

Briefly, the rationale was this: Because the overall CICAR scientific framework has already been set, why should all United States vessels taking part carry out only those aspects of the CICAR program that U. S. scientists are interested in? Why would it not be possible to work with the CICAR National Coordinators in several of the CICAR countries to develop joint research projects that would reflect primarily the marine research interests of each of the countries concerned? We would then put six or eight scientists from CICAR country "X" aboard a U.S. oceanographic research ship to work with their U.S. counterparts in carrying out marine research projects that had the highest priority for country "X". At the end of the project, lasting about a week, the ship would put into a major port of country "X" and make a one-day training and demonstration cruise on which the ship would carry as many students, faculty, administrators and poli-

ticians who might also need educating, local press representatives, etc., as the ship could accommodate for one day. On this one-day trip, those scientists from country "X" who had been aboard for the previous week, would act as the instructors for the one-day participants. Not only would they speak the language, but they would also by then know the ship and its capabilities, would be more familiar with local training needs, and could tailor the teaching accordingly. As a by-product, they would also enhance their own prestige locally by being in a position of obvious importance on a large foreign research vessel. If properly planned, such an operation could also contribute valuable research information.

With this as the basic framework for NOAA-CARIB, the idea was circulated within NOAA in hopes of identifying a ship that could be used for such a program. The idea was well received, and shiptime aboard the NOAA Ship *Discoverer* was allotted to this program by NOAA's Atlantic Oceanographic and Meteorological Laboratories in Miami from the research time these labs had received. The scheduled time includes the 72 days between October 5th when the ship will sail from Miami, and December 15th when she returns. The present itinerary will take the *Discoverer* from Miami to Veracruz, Mexico; Kingston, Jamaica; San Juan, Puerto Rico; Port of Spain, Trinidad; Cumana, Venezuela; Cartagena, Colombia; and back to Miami. The plan is that some seven to ten scientists from each country will join the ship at the port prior to the port stop in their own country and will carry out their own projects aboard enroute to their own port for the one-day trip. Several NOAA projects will also be carried out en route.

Planning is already well along for NOAA-CARIB, and the contact in each of the six countries to be visited has been identified. If marine scientists in any of these countries have projects that they would like to have considered, they should submit their plans to their local NOAA-CARIB representative. Names and addresses are listed below. The October phase of the operation coincides with CICAR Survey Month-III, a third quasi-synoptic survey; and, wherever possible, the standard CICAR sections that have been established throughout the region will be occupied for physical and biological observations.

NOAA-CARIB thus has two main goals; to provide opportunities for education and training at sea for CICAR country nationals and to contribute to the overall CICAR scientific program. Secondary objectives are to do some CICAR-related work that NOAA is interested in and to provide through scientist-to-scientist contacts, the mechanisms for continuing cooperative oceanographic activities in the Caribbean long after the formal CICAR program has terminated.

As the details of the various projects take shape, it is NOAA's intention to report them in this publication, so that all involved in Caribbean marine research will be informed.

Senior United States oceanographers who might wish to participate in a teaching capacity aboard the *Discoverer* during one or more legs of NOAA-CARIB, should have extensive sea experience and preferably, but not necessarily, a working knowledge of Spanish. For those who can pay their own way to and from the ship, limited positions are still available for marine fisheries specialists, marine biologists, physical oceanographers, marine geologists and geophysicists, and marine meteorologists. Since marine chemistry is not taught at most universities in the CICAR area, it is not now planned to have aboard, any specialists in marine chemistry. Those who are interested and who will qualify should write directly to U.S. National Coordinator for CICAR, NOAA Atlantic Oceanographic and Meteorological Laboratories, 901 South Miami Avenue, Miami, Florida 33130.

In Mexico, those who wish to propose sci-

entific projects to be carried out aboard the Discoverer between Miami and Veracruz in early October of 1972, should submit their plans to Dr. Agustin Ayala Castanares, Instituto de Biologia, U.N.A.M. Apartado Postal 70-233, Mexico 20 DF, Mexico.

In Jamaica, plans for proposed projects should be submitted to Dr. Edward Robinson, University of the West Indies, Department of Geology and Geography, Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica.

In Puerto Rico, proposed projects should be submitted to Dr. Rolf Juhl, Department of Agriculture, Santurce, Puerto Rico 00936.

In Trinidad and Tobago, proposals for research work aboard the Discoverer should be submitted to Dr. J. Kenny, Department of Biological Sciences, University of West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago.

In Venezuela, Dr. Luis E. Herrera is the NOAA-CARIB coordinator, and proposals from Venezuela should be addressed to Dr. Herrera at Instituto Oceanografico, Cumana, Venezuela.

In Colombia, proposals for projects aboard the Discoverer for late November and early December should be submitted to Capt. Juan Pablo Rairan Hernandez, Comision Colombiana de Oceanografia, Bogota, Colombia, Apartado Aereo 28466.

NOAA-CARIB should make a good wind-up cruise for the Cooperative Investigation of the Caribbean and Adjacent Regions and should pave the way for future cooperation in marine science in the Caribbean.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND PENAL SYSTEMS

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague and fellow Floridian, CLAUDE PEPPER, recently delivered the commencement address to the University of Florida College of Law and his address was a poignant appraisal of the criminal justice system in the United States.

Congressman PEPPER is uniquely suited to comment on the criminal justice and penal systems in this country in view of his services as chairman of the Select Committee on Crime and his legal training at the Harvard College of Law, as well as law school teaching experience at the University of Arkansas College of Law.

I insert in the RECORD the excellent speech given by Mr. PEPPER:

CONGRESSMAN CLAUDE PEPPER'S SPEECH

Dean Julian, Reverend Clergy, Members of the Faculty, Distinguished Guests upon the platform, Members of the Graduating Class, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I thank you very much, Dean Julian, for your very generous and kind words of introduction. I often say that one who has been in politics as long as I have is grateful if the introducer is just kind to him—he doesn't have to be generous as you were, Dean, in your introduction. I'm always happy to come to this campus and to be a part of this distinguished university. Now, all the more so, since, at the homecoming before the last one, I was honored by being made an honorary alumnus of this great university. I happily recall, also, that I had the privilege to be down here with a group from Washington when this great Holland center in which we meet was dedicated, in the company of the then and, although we didn't know it at the time, the future Chief Justice of the United States.

I greet this distinguished class and welcome you into one of the greatest of the professions, that of the law. You must, of course, know, however, that the lawyer has not always occupied the most distinguished position in the opinion of our fellow-citizens. I recall an incident attributed to Dr. Samuel Johnson; that he was on one occasion dining in his favorite restaurant with a friend when a certain gentleman passed near his table. The friend said: "Do you know who that man is?" Dr. Johnson replied: "I do not like to speak ill of any man, but I am informed that he is a lawyer." And, of course, you've heard the old one that the judge came into court one day and just as he arrived at his bench the two opposing lawyers were addressing each other in very violent language, each pointing his finger in the other's face. One said to the other: "You're an unmitigated liar!" The other one said: "You're an unprincipled scoundrel!" and the judge said: "Counsel now having identified each other, we'll call the witnesses."

You members of the profession have learned already and will, of course, learn more fully hereafter, that in spite of all our long efforts we have not been able entirely to eliminate self-help from the conduct of our fellow-citizens. I heard an example of that recently—a truck driver who stopped early one morning at a roadside restaurant for his breakfast. He had just sat down to his breakfast of bacon and eggs, buttered toast and coffee when three of these black, leather-jacketed motorcycle toughs stroll'd into the dining room, walked up behind him, and observed his breakfast. One of them just reached over and picked up his coffee and drank it. The truck driver looked at him but didn't say anything. The other one reached over and picked up a handful of his bacon. He looked at him but didn't say anything. The other fellow reached down and picked up a piece of his toast. He looked at him but didn't say anything.

The motorcycle toughs walked on over to a nearby table and, in a loud and arrogant voice, called to the waitress to bring them coffee. They sat down. The truck driver got up quietly, walked over to the cashier, paid his check and left. In a little while, the motorcycle toughs finished their coffee and one got up, walked over to the cashier, and in a very arrogant manner said: "Did you see what happened there awhile ago?" She said: "Yes, sir." He said: "That fellow wasn't much of a man, was he?" She said: "No, sir, he wasn't much of a truck driver, either. He just ran over and flattened three motorcycles as he drove off out there awhile ago."

I should like to speak to you a bit today about the criminal justice system of our country and whether it is meeting the needs of our time. Up until what we call, on the continent at least, the age of enlightenment, the criminal law was a very barbaric and brutal institution. Defendants had few rights recognized in courts; judges were arbitrary, if not capricious, and sometimes inhuman almost in the sentences that they imposed. Parliaments were the most cruel and barbarous; disemboweling and mayhem of the most odious character was a common occurrence. Capital offenses reached at one time in England 220, including the death sentence for the stealing of a few shillings of value in property. So, there came a time, as I said, accredited to the 18th century, when enlightened minds began to revolt at the barbarities and brutalities and the inadequacies of the criminal law system of that time.

The first to speak out in a most eloquent and moving way was Montesquieu, the great social philosopher, who reviewed the inadequacies and brutalities of the system and called for revision in the attitude toward the criminal law and the person charged with a crime and pleaded for the recognition in the courts of certain human rights which should be enjoyed and protected by those who were charged with the commission of a crime. He had a very eloquent and able ally in Voltaire,

who crusaded with all the vigor and vehemence of his eloquent voice, against many of the cruelties and the inadequacies of his day, particularly in France. But another man from Italy, named Beccaria, was the first to formulate what might be called the concept of the modern system for the administration of justice. He pleaded for the appropriateness of the sentence imposed upon the convicted criminals to the crime committed and that the system of law under which the defendant should be committed should attend upon him with such fairness that he had a reasonable opportunity to exculpate himself if not guilty; that tortured confessions should no longer be a part of the system of justice. Well, this Beccaria raised his voice in such a persuasive manner that he was heard in England by Bentham and Romilly and in the American colonies by John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. And then he was given support in England by a man named John Howard, who wrote about and criticized and examined the prison systems of the day, which were inhuman and certainly very cruel and barbaric institutions. And so there came into the consciousness of Europe, England, and the colonies of America, an awareness of the necessity of a reexamination of the criminal justice system of the day. Besides, as brutalities had increased, crime had not diminished. And they began to consider what could be done that would impose justice upon the offender who was found to be guilty and, at the same time, protect society by deterrence, if possible, against the repetition of such offenses.

It was largely in the United States the idea developed that instead of capital offenses being so numerous and prevalent that we should have a system of incarceration—a penal system where people should be confined—and it was thought that that confinement would be an adequate punishment of the individuals; that it would not only rehabilitate them but deter them when they were released and others, by their example, from the commission of comparable or similar crimes. And so, in the intervening years, we have been resorting primarily less and less to capital punishment and now it is in suspense throughout the country. We have in some of the prisons of today eliminated corporal punishment of the offenders, the convicted ones, and the courts only recently have taken great strides in the protection of the constitutional rights of persons in prisons. Some courts have held that due process must be observed in the punishment of persons in penal institutions.

There are many people who think that our United States Supreme Court has gone too far in the recognition of the rights of the individual, the right of the individual not to be the victim of unlawful searches and seizures, the right of the individual not to be forced to plead his case or respond to inquiry and interrogation by officers of the law without having the presence of counsel chosen or properly delegated to him, without having to be a witness against himself in one form or another; and in many other respects to be given the cloak of protection which he has previously not known. So that, if you were examining our present system, no doubt in the eyes of Montesquieu, Voltaire, or Beccaria, or some of those early reformers, and they found the rights of the individual so properly, so thoroughly, so extensively protected as they are today, they would think that we had reached the culmination of that state of the law to which they had for so long and so diligently looked forward.

And, yet, what do we find? What are the results of the system that we have today? Well, I'm Chairman of the Committee on Crime of the House of Representatives and we have looked into a good many of the penal institutions of this country, one of which was Attica where 43 people were killed in violent attacks between the authorities and the inmates including eight to nine hostages.

Here, at nearby Raiford in February of this year, the guards and the authorities of the institution felt it necessary to shoot from a distance of 30 yards, as was testified to before our Committee the other day, into a group of 1,300 inmates located on an athletic field, who refused, as the authorities said, to go back to their cells. Seventy-five were wounded; one was shot in the eye; another received a shot that pierced his elbow and X-rays showed that there was a 38-caliber bullet in the pelvis of another one of the inmates who was among the victims of that shooting. In all parts of the country, today, prisons are tinderboxes that may burst out into a new confrontation or conflagration at any time.

As I said, the courts are beginning more and more to look into the processes by which governance and discipline are imposed upon the inmates and judicial authority is becoming more and more inquisitive as to the whole correctional system of the country. Public bodies, national, state, and local, are evidencing increasing concern about what to do about the problem. And, yet, crime goes on apace. Crime is up 144% from 1960 to 1970. Violent crime is up 126% from 1960 to 1970; property crime up 147% from '60 to '70; murder and non-negligent manslaughter up 56% from '60 to '70. We find that forcible rape is up 9%, robbery up 86%, aggravated assault up 92%, burglary up 130%, auto theft 150%, and the like.

And so the question that concerns the public today and must concern the members of this graduating class as they assume the mantle of members of the Bar is: What can we do about this problem of crime and what, if anything, should be done to reform or to revise the system of criminal law upon which we rely today—not only for the fair treatment of the one accused of crime, but for the security and the protection of the citizenry of the land and let me address myself, in just a few minutes, to that problem.

The basic problem that we face in discussing this matter can pretty well be revealed in looking at who are the inmates of the penal institutions of our country today. I'll just give you two—Attica and Raiford. At Attica, 8% were there for murder, 17% for manslaughter, and the like, but 89% had prior adult criminal records. Almost nine out of ten had criminal records before they were there. Fifty-eight percent, almost 60%, had previously been in a Federal or State Prison. We had five witnesses the other day before a committee of which I was a member. One of them had been in prison five times before the one in which he was incarcerated at the time. He was in his sixth institution, the other three were in their fourth, and another one in his third penal institution. I repeat, at Attica almost 60% had previously been in a Federal or State Prison. Now this is a figure that I think might be significantly noted. At Attica, 80% of the inmates did not graduate from high school and I talked, going around among the inmates, to many who had been participants in the violence that occurred there who had only gotten through the fifth grade in our educational system.

Now, let's take Raiford, here, in our own Florida. The average age of the inmate at Raiford is 24 years, so, generally today, the crime problem is a problem of the youth of this country. Sixty-one percent—and these figures that I've given you were given to our Committee last week in Washington by Mr. Louie Wainwright, who is head of the Correctional Institutions of Florida—sixty-one percent of the people at Raiford, as he said, are culturally and/or economically disadvantaged. Sixty-one percent are first offenders. Mind you, now, nearly two-thirds of the people confined at Raiford are first offenders and are with the worst criminals in Florida. By the way, I saw at Attica a young man, 19 years of age, white, married, confined as a juvenile delinquent. I wondered whether or not that boy would be a better

criminal in terms of technique or a better citizen when he came out of Attica. Perhaps it's conditions like that that alerted Attorney Mitchell to describe the prison systems of this country as a national shame and President Nixon to describe our penal institutions as colleges of crime.

In Raiford, 80% had less than high school educations. Forty percent had less than ninth grade educations. Seventy-two percent were habitually unemployed or underemployed. Forty percent almost had no marketable job skills. Fifty-one percent were black, incidentally—although the percentage has slightly increased—there were four of 598 guards who were black. Forty-nine percent of the population was white. One out of five of the inmates had a drug-related problem.

Over here, at Dade City in that area we have a very distinguished Circuit Judge named Richard Kelly, who testified before our Committee in Washington last week. Judge Kelly went into Raiford in the evening and spent a day there going through the various portions of that institution, as he had visited other institutions of the country. He felt it was helpful to him as a judge in the imposition of sentences upon persons convicted of crimes to know something about the institutions to which he committed these convicted fellows. He told a touching story of many instances that he observed there. One was of a boy, small in stature, standing in a cage in white coveralls, his hands and the front of his coveralls covered with blood, crying like a baby—just having mutilated his sex organ by his own hand. The Judge said he approached that boy and tried to speak to him and the boy didn't seem to understand what it was all about or what the Judge was talking about in the conversation that he endeavored to have with him.

He told of other cases of comparable pathetic character. So what do we do? What do we do as lawyers? What do we do as members of society? What do we do as courts about this question of crime? Well, in the first place, obviously, the prison system, however excellent it is, can hardly atone for all of the inadequacies and the deficiencies of our society, of the failures of our social or educational system. But they can be helpful if they have to take the refuse of our society. At least at this time we might make a determined effort to try to save those people, not only to save those people from themselves, but to save our fellow-citizens from those people when eventually about 99% of them are, at long last, returned to society. As a matter of fact, while the Chief Justice of the United States said three out of every four of the inmates of our penal institutions come back to prison after committing more crimes once they are released. A more moderate figure, given by the Department of Justice, is two out of three (66%) are arrested within six years and brought back into the penal system after they are once released.

And so our society is failing in preventing the type of people who drift into the courts, commit the crimes in general. We are failing in the adequacy of our disposition of those people in the court system itself; and we are failing in the correctional institutions which take them in for incarceration for the lack of a better manner in which to deal with them.

Now, what do we do? As I say, obviously, if you could start in the lower grades of the public schools to try to straighten the significantly twisted life of a child, you might save a life that he would later take. You might save the taxpayers \$5,000 a year for the care of that individual in a penal institution. They tell me you can detect in early childhood people who have an antisocial attitude, an ill capacity to adapt themselves to their environment in the proper manner. Well, now, if that child had an ear defect or a speech defect, or an eye defect, federal and state funds would help correct that deficiency. But if he has a personality deficiency, if he has an incapacity to adapt himself

properly to his environment and live an honorable and proper life, we don't do anything about that. In the first place, we don't know much about it and in the second place we are hesitant to attempt to do very much about it.

But getting to the court system, most of those who have experience and knowledge in juvenile justice attest that probably the juvenile should never go to the adult penal institutions at all. They should never even go to a statewide or large juvenile correctional institution because there they learn more about crime. We had a case in New York in our hearing on heroin where a 17-year-old boy was confined in a Federal prison for a few months. While he was there, he became friendly with one of the racketeers in the heroin traffic from New York and, when the boy got out, the gangster in New York had him come to New York and in a little bit the boy was making \$6,000 a week making a round trip between New York and Chicago carrying heroin without putting up any money whatsoever. He had made a very valuable contact in prison as a lad 17 years of age.

And so the juvenile justice system must devise smaller institutions, must devise a way in the community whereby the boy or the girl who falls afoul of the law can be treated, can be given another opportunity, can be put under proper supervision, proper probation. I wonder if we should not have more foster parents and if a lot of these young fellows might not be touched and properly led by a high school hero in the athletic world, college athletes whom they admire, or people who can somehow command their respect and get them to follow their leadership.

Well, anyway, if we could just stop the juvenile justice system from the failures that it has today, we could save 50% of the people who later wind up in the penal institutions of the country. And the second thing, when the judges today have the responsibility of imposing sentence, it's generally agreed (many of you will be judges in later years) that it's desirable to have national seminars so the judges may counsel with one another so there will not be quite the variations there are in the punishments meted out in the courts today. And, as a matter of fact, many wonder if it would not be desirable for a judge after a person has been convicted in his court to sentence that individual to a maximum term of years and allow proper parole authorities at the state or federal level working constantly in contact with that individual to determine when it's proper from the point of view of the individual and safe from the viewpoint of society for that individual to be turned out again to be a free individual in the social order.

They tell me now that where you have sentences of zero up to five years in the Florida parole system they almost invariably require the individual to stay the five years rather than, as the judge apparently intended, from zero up to five years. In the case of alcoholics, generally it is agreed now that they should not be sent to prison. They should be treated as medical cases. Obviously, of course, the same applies in the case of drug addicts. And, yet, one of five of the people in Raiford, as Mr. Wainwright says, are there because of drug addiction. So, our Committee and many other authorities in the country today are trying to find the kind of a drug that would be effective to counteract heroin and any dangerous drug addiction and to provide for proper treatment facilities in every community which will, perhaps, save these individuals before they ever get into prison.

Another possible innovation is to put more people on probation before they are sentenced to a penal institution by the courts. Duly selected convicted persons could be assigned to employment in the community where they were convicted, allowed to work, allowed to support their family, under proper supervi-

sion and probation, living in a small care center, or in a small institution, not in one of the infamous county jails which generally dot the country today. Meanwhile, that individual will be saving the state from paying \$5,000 a year for his care at Raiford. It would be saving the state from providing welfare to that individual's family, perhaps, and that money which is earned by that individual could be partially employed in repaying the man from whom he stole the TV set, or whose automobile he stole and wrecked, or the other property owner who suffered from his crime or criminal conduct.

So, today, it seems to me the foremost thought is that the courts of the country should give utmost thought to what to do with people before they put them in a penal institution. Then, briefly, what do you do with them when you get them into an institution? Well, in the first place, at Attica, it's one of these old-type fortress institutions like our Raiford over here nearby. Mr. Wainwright says at Raiford they are inordinately overcrowded. So are they at Attica. They have 2,200 convicts at Attica. They have over 3,000 confined here at Raiford. All of the modern penal authorities say that you cannot effectively discipline and properly handle that number of inmates at any one single institution. So, the type of institution in which they are to be confined must be radically changed from the type that we have today. They could be broken down into smaller institutions. Instead of being located in a relatively rural area like Attica and Raiford, more of them should be put in Jacksonville and Tampa and Miami and Pensacola and Orlando where there will be job opportunities for those that are worthy of work release permits and where guards better qualified will more often be available; where the families of the individuals can come more frequently to visit them; and where they'll be nearer to the homes from which they came.

Yes, of course, all of that costs a great deal of money and that requires the cooperation of the federal, the state, and the local government. In addition to that, there must, of course, be a raising of the standards of the correctional personnel. Now I'm not one to condemn the correctional personnel in the prison institutions of this country. They are the lowest paid almost of our public servants. They are having to see, day after day, acts of defiance and acts of breach of discipline and they are powerless to do anything about it. They see professors and teachers and other people come in very much better paid than they are to work with the inmates and, naturally, there is a measure of resentment on their part against others working shorter hours, having much better working conditions, less danger, less burdens to bear, receiving far more compensation than they receive. Too often we've accepted as the correctional man—the guard—any individual who came along. Most of them had no previous training whatsoever. All they know how to do is to try to hold the people together in the places where they are supposed to be confined; try to provide a measure of discipline that's determined by their superior officer.

So, they've got to be upgraded, better trained, and better paid and given more desirable working conditions if they are going to be able to do a better job. And, of course, we have got to experiment with various programs that will permit release of these individuals confined in penal institutions. The state of South Carolina has had a very encouraging experiment. They've allowed a number of people whom they found to be responsible to go out and get employment in the cities round about the small institutions where they stay at night, to which they return in the evening, and those people are paying the state of South Carolina for their keep, they are contributing to the support of their families, they are paying Federal In-

come Taxes, they are receiving decent wages in private employment and they will have a job when they eventually get out. And that, of course, seems to be the kind of approach that is more desirable in dealing with these people in the future. Unhappily, there are people in penal institutions who are mentally deficient, who are morally incorrigible, who are utterly incorrigible for deficiencies that we know not how to explain. They constitute a separate and unfortunate group. I doubt very seriously if many of these people should ever be allowed to return to a free society. They need not be brutalized, they need not be treated with barbarity, but it is not safe for society to enjoy their companionship in a free order of free men.

But, on the other hand, a great many of our prison inmates—perhaps the majority—are capable of rehabilitation and our problem is how to do that. Today, when an inmate goes into a prison, by the conviction of the court he loses his citizenship. He loses his voting rights. He is no longer an elector under the laws of Florida and, too, in most of the other states. When he comes out, it's been testified to by Mr. Wainwright, there's 63 jobs under the state of Florida which he's ineligible to perform because he's an ex-felon.

I heard a man on a panel discussion in Philadelphia a little bit ago, who had been a barber in a penal institution, say that when he got out he tried to become a barber but he couldn't become a barber because he wasn't a citizen and he couldn't get a license. In Florida, to become a beautician or a barber or any kind of a professional person, you, of course, have to be a citizen and you have to take an examination and get the proper certification and authority. So, it may well be that you, in the future law-making process of this country or of this state should consider whether you gain any advantage by depriving a man convicted of a crime of his citizenship or, if you do deprive him of it while he's incarcerated, would it not be desirable to restore him to full opportunity of citizenship once he is properly released from that institution? As it is today, under the Federal and the State system, a long lag may well intervene between the time of his release and the time that he gets the restoration of his citizenship by either the President or the Governor, as the case may be.

One other thing, would it not be wise for the communities of this country, for the public institutions, churches, the schools, the chambers of commerce, the business groups of the land to consider their concern about a job being available for that man or that woman properly released from the correctional institution who comes back into society? Generally speaking, the institution does nothing but give them \$30 or \$40 and a suit of clothes and bid them good-bye. The guard opens the gates and the released man goes out. Somebody may meet them or somebody may not meet them.

When I was walking through Attica a bit ago, talking to a good many of the inmates in the cells, I remember saying to two or three of them: "Look here, when you get in a place like this, behind these 30 feet walls, behind these huge bars, when you go through experiences that you undergo here, when once you get out, why in the name of goodness do you ever want to come back to a place like this?" Two or three of these fellows dropped their heads and said: "Well, I don't know. You know, it's not as easy as you might think when we get out. Most of us don't have any education much, most of us don't know how to do anything that will gain anything much in the market of the land. When we get out many of us have already been estranged from our families. We don't have any friends much on the outside because we haven't had any contact with them and, up until now, very few institutions have even allowed inmates to write

letters." Some of the institutions are now making telephone calls possible. They said: "We are isolated. Therefore, when we get out nobody seems to care very much. When we look for a job, they ask us if we've ever been convicted of a felony and if we don't tell them 'yes', they'll find it out anyway and most people don't want to hire somebody that's been in the penitentiary. We don't have many good people that are welcoming us on the outside and the tendency is to get lonely and to look up some of the old pals with whom we were associated when we go into trouble and, if we don't watch out, in a little while we are right back where we were again."

Now there may be a measure of social responsibility for what that man does or doesn't do thereafter, as well as a responsibility of his own. I'm not excusing any man's poverty or his disease unless he's mentally incompetent for the commission of crime, but we do know that most of the inmates of these institutions come from the underprivileged class. Whether we like it or not, we are going to have to pay for those deficiencies. And, yet, I must tell you one illustration to reveal the public attitude that you too often will find when you speak about improving our penal institutions.

When I got back from Attica, I was talking to a man who is in my law office in Miami Beach who makes a good income. He said: "Tell me about Attica." I told him a little bit about it and I said the Federal Government is going to have to help the states to correct these institutions to make them more rehabilitative in character, more effective in their functioning. "Oh," he said, "you're going to put it on the taxpayer then again, are you?" Well, now, my fellow-citizens, we are going to have to pay it either as citizens who are the victims of crime or as taxpayers who try to prevent crime or deter the commission of it again. It's just a question of which method we prefer.

Crime is costing this country billions and billions of dollars a year. In the drug traffic alone, the average drug addict, and there are 300,000 in the United States, steals or illegally gets possession of an average of \$50,000 worth of property a year. The people are paying whether they do it voluntarily or not.

And, so, I wanted to talk to you about these problems, although I'm sorry I've drawn them out, perhaps, too long. We are proud of the law and its growth. We are proud of its tender concern for the rights of the individual. We are proud of the social system and the political order which our forebears have handed down to us, which we have the responsibility to carry on to those of succeeding generations. But we have problems and you are coming into the leadership of a profession that is primarily concerned with these problems. You ladies and gentlemen will soon be in the State Legislature which has provided with such gross inadequacy for the meeting of so many of these problems. Some of you will soon be in the Congress which likewise, only lately, has begun to contribute this year a hundred million dollars, next year two hundred million dollars to the states and the local communities to try to better these conditions of which I've spoken. Some of you will soon be on the Bench.

I commend to you the example of Judge Kelly over in Dade City. When you become a judge it might be good experience for you before you begin to send people to prison to go look at the prison to which you are going to send them and to look at maybe what may be done to that individual before he goes or while he's there, or after he gets out. At any event, you're going to be Presidents of the Bar Associations, members of distinguished committee of the local and American Bar and, above all, you are going to be influential citizens in the communities in which you shall reside. And I would think,

therefore, that it might be well for you to concern yourselves primarily with a system which is the shield and the safeguard of you, your family, and your fellow-citizens to make it as effective, while humane, as it may possibly be as the instrument designed to accomplish that high purpose.

Now, just let me add this last personal word to you ladies and gentlemen. Beginning with this afternoon, you embark upon what we may call the voyage of life upon the sea of the future. I hope it's going to be a long and a very delightful voyage for each of you. If I may, I'd like to leave with you words that I've never forgotten which were delivered as a Phi Beta Kappa address, at the University of Alabama when I became a member in 1921, by a professor from the University of Richmond. I've long forgotten the name of the professor, but I'll never forget his words. He called them the fisherman's benediction, given by a Minister to the hardy voyagers of the Scandinavian countries as they were about to set out on their long and perilous voyages, and, if I may, I'll leave them with you.

"May the Lord bless thee and keep thee, grant thee favoring winds, a prosperous voyage, safe harbors, and stout hearts for the storms."

NOAA SCIENTISTS REVIEW CANNIKIN DATA

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I noted with interest a short Associated Press article in the January 20, 1972, New York Times, titled "A-Test Said to Yield Useful Quake Data." Rather than bringing the world to an end, it now seems that the Cannikin nuclear test should provide much useful information to those scientists and engineers engaged in studying the reactions of manmade structures to earthquakes.

A press release titled "NOAA Scientists Review Cannikin Data" by the Commerce Department's National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, released on January 20, 1972, was the basis for the news article. The release points out that—

Cannikin, the nuclear explosion detonated beneath the Aleutian island of Amchitka November 6, produced some of the most precise seismic data ever recorded for a tremor, natural or manmade.

Further on in the press release—page 7—we find the following:

Earthquake engineering data. Instruments set up at various distances from Cannikin's ground zero measured the dynamic response of the earth's surface to the shocks. The resulting body of information is unique in that it provides insights into some important aspects of what structures can expect from earthquakes in this magnitude range. It is the kind of information usually acquired from the catastrophe of a large natural earthquake in a populated area.

As a resident of the highly seismic area near Los Angeles, I am certainly pleased that we will not have to wait for a catastrophe to occur before we find out how to predict and design against earthquakes. With time we might even learn how to release accumulated earth strain before it gets big enough to release naturally as an earthquake.

As I read the press release, which appears below, I remembered all the purple prose rhetoric and blasphemy directed at those who wanted to conduct the test for national security reasons. We should all realize that the seismic data are pure profit.

Where, oh where, are those prophets of doom who castigated everyone from the President on down, who had the intestinal fortitude to go ahead with the Cannikin test as planned? It is still true that the empty barrel makes the most noise.

The article follows:

NOAA SCIENTISTS REVIEW CANNIKIN DATA

Cannikin, the nuclear explosion detonated beneath the Aleutian island of Amchitka November 6, produced some of the most precise seismic data ever recorded for a tremor, natural or manmade, the Commerce Department's National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration said today.

From seismic data obtained by instruments crowded around the Amchitka test site, and by instruments around the world, scientists portrait of the seismic nature of the Cannikin event. Although the full picture awaits thorough analysis of present data and data being gathered through the coming year, this seismic sketch of Cannikin has emerged.

THE MAIN SHOCK

Preliminary values obtained from recordings at Palmer Seismological Observatory showed a body-wave magnitude of 7.0 for Cannikin, and a surface-wave magnitude of 5.8. The cavity collapse 38 hours after the detonation caused a tremor with a body-wave magnitude of 4.8.

A revised estimate of the body-wave magnitude based on the average of values reported by 43 observatories world-wide is 6.8 for Cannikin and 5.7 for the surface-wave magnitude from the average of seven observatories.

Maximum transient vertical ground motion at the control point on Amchitka 22½ miles from ground zero amounted to eight centimeters (four up, four down), four-tenths of a centimeter at Adak Island, 190 miles to the west, and four one-hundredths of a centimeter at Anchorage, about 1350 miles to the east. Maximum transient horizontal motion at the control point was 11.8 centimeters (5.9 push, 5.9 pull) along a radius from the explosion. (One centimeter = .3937 inch.)

The Richter magnitude scale expresses absolute earthquake size as determined from amplitudes of seismic signals recorded on a seismograph. In this logarithmic system, magnitude 7 represents ten times the signal amplitude of magnitude 6, magnitude 6 ten times the signal amplitude of magnitude 5, and so on.

Body-wave magnitudes are obtained by measuring maximum amplitudes caused by seismic waves that travel deep through the planet's interior. Surface-wave magnitudes are obtained by measuring maximum displacements caused by waves which travel through the earth's shallow surface layers and arrive after the body waves.

Because underground explosions are a point source—not a regional source like a fault—they release less energy in the form of surface waves and always have a lower surface-wave than body-wave magnitude.

Also, explosions release most of their energy in a burst lasting only fractions of a second, as against periods of minutes in very large natural earthquakes. The latter appear to be a succession of earth-shaking ruptures, rather than a single event.

THE AFTERSHOCKS

A series of numerous aftershocks was recorded following the Cannikin detonation, and aftershock activity continued until the explosion-created underground cavity col-

lapsed 38 hours later. Most aftershocks appeared to be shallow, within a few miles of the surface, and close to ground zero. All aftershocks were less than body-wave magnitude 4—that is, all were less than one one-thousandth the amplitude of the main shock.

Cavity collapse appears to have terminated aftershock activity, just as it did in Milrow, the predecessor to Cannikin, which was about one megaton, detonated in 1969. This suggests that here, as in Milrow, the scale of the aftershock-generating mechanism at Amchitka is small enough to be completely relaxed by cavity collapse.

An interesting set of contrasts between natural and manmade earthquakes in the same area and magnitude range is provided by a magnitude 7¼ shock that occurred near Amchitka on February 4, 1965. This tremor generated more than 1,300 detectable aftershocks in a 450-mile-long zone which generally followed the trend of the Aleutian arc. Many of these were in the magnitude 6 class, one of which would release more energy than all of the Cannikin aftershocks combined.

EFFECTS ON NATURAL EARTHQUAKE ACTIVITY IN THE AMCHITKA REGION

It appears that global processes, and processes involving the entire Aleutian Island arc, are more important to earthquake activity here than such localized events as underground explosions.

Apparently, Cannikin, like Milrow, did not interact with the large-scale processes which control the region's major natural earthquake activity.

The emergent theory of plate tectonics holds that a spreading seafloor, constantly replenished by material rising from the earth's mantle through oceanic rift zones, drives large crustal plates.

Where these "floating" plates converge, as long as the western rim of the Americas, the oceanic plate thrusts under the continental plate. The high level of earthquake activity found in such zones is believed to be caused by stresses built up in the crustal material. When these stresses exceed the capacity of the supporting rocks, underground ruptures occur, releasing the energy of strain in the form of earthquake waves and dislocations along faults.

The Aleutian Island arc is a typical zone of convergence, and earthquake activity in the Amchitka Island region appears to be deeply rooted in the structural behavior of the entire arc and to global movements in general. Also, most of the natural earthquake activity occurs along a major thrust fault zone some tens of miles beneath the island; shallow earthquakes near Amchitka fall primarily where the oceanic plate begins its oblique downward thrust.

Measurements of stress (force) and strain (physical deformation) in Amchitka rocks also point to little or no serious interaction.

Cannikin strainmeter data taken at two sites, each six miles away from the shock, show the same general pattern—a sharp increase in stress levels during and immediately after the explosion, then relaxation. Permanent deformation six miles from the shock amounted to about one part in ten thousand—about six inches per mile. These were not symmetrical, but were larger toward the north and east than toward the northwest, suggesting that some faulting occurred near ground zero.

GEOMAGNETIC EFFECTS

To detect any quasi-static geomagnetic effects associated with the Cannikin event, four proton total-field magnetometers were placed in near-continuous operation for several months on Amchitka, one about 20 miles to the northwest, one about nine miles to the southeast, one at about two miles and one at about six miles from ground zero. Pre- and post-shot data were also taken at 200 locations across and along the White Alice fault, whose surface trace passes within six-tenths of a mile of ground zero.

Within 30 seconds after the detonation,

the instrument two miles away showed a 9-gamma increase in geomagnetic field strength. Within five hours this value decreased almost linearly to 7 gammas. No similar step-like change was observed when the crater collapsed. (Gammas are used in expressing the total intensity of the earth's magnetic field, which averages about 50,000 gammas.)

In the White Alice fault study area, centered about a mile from ground zero, difference between readings taken two days before and nine days after the test went from + 13 gammas in the fault block containing the shot to - 11 gammas northwesterly across the fault. Magnetic mapping shows this pattern repeating along the fault trace rather than distributing radially from the shot.

Initial interpretation strongly suggests magnetic detection of stress release within the shot-containing block, a stress increase across the fault, and a stress pattern consistent with a dislocation along the White Alice fault.

EFFECT ON GLOBAL EARTHQUAKE ACTIVITY

Apparently, Cannikin had no effect on earthquake activity elsewhere in the planet. According to NOAA's National Earthquake Information Center, the week preceding and the two weeks following Cannikin were unusually quiet, seismically speaking, with no magnitude 6½ class earthquakes anywhere in the world. (Magnitude 6½ and larger earthquakes trigger an alarm at the National Earthquake Information Center.)

The first natural earthquake to be located followed the Cannikin detonation by over four hours. It was centered over 5400 miles from Amchitka in the Suwa Sea region of Indonesia near the island of Timor. A slightly larger shock of magnitude 5.3 occurred 16 hours after Cannikin in the Central Pacific about 100 miles west of Ecuador. Other smaller shocks over the next 24 hours were located in Guatemala, northern Japan, off the Oregon coast (three earthquakes), the Leeward Islands in the Caribbean, the New Hebrides Islands in the South Pacific, and the North Atlantic Ocean.

Post-Cannikin tremors are part of the normal global seismic energy release and are not related to the test. Since approximately 5,000 epicenters are located annually, more than 13 earthquakes are located daily, on the average. Annually an average of 140 magnitude 6 and larger earthquakes occurs.

In order for the NEIC to locate an epicenter, the seismic waves from the earthquake must be reported by five or more observatories. The Center received reports from over 300 observatories recording the Cannikin event.

During the remainder of November, there were few large earthquakes. The first earthquake with magnitude larger than 6 occurred on November 20, in the Fiji Islands. On November 21, a major shock of magnitude approximately 7.0 occurred harmlessly in the Santa Cruz Islands in the South Pacific and, on November 24, a shock occurred off the east coast of Kamchatka with an approximate magnitude of 7.3. Kamchatka is the large Siberian peninsula at the west end of the Aleutian Island chain. No reports of damage have been received from any of these shocks, although the latter undoubtedly was strongly felt on Kamchatka.

SEISMIC SEA WAVE (TSUNAMI) ACTIVITY

NOAA's Honolulu-based Pacific Tsunami Warning System and the Regional Tsunami Warning System at Palmer, Alaska, watched the test very closely. Palmer Observatory continuously monitored incoming data from automated seismic and tide stations dispersed along the Aleutian chain and down into southeast Alaska for any evidence of abnormal wave activity.

Wave and other short-period water motions appear on a tide gage record, or mari-

gram, as small disturbances on the generally smooth curve of the rising and falling astronomic tides. The tsunami wave train set in motion by some large earthquakes is readily discernible as a set of wave motions that have longer periods than wind waves, but shorter periods than the ocean tides. This unique tsunami "fingerprint" is used to confirm the existence of a potentially hazardous wave after a major ocean-area earthquake has occurred.

After Cannikin, no wave activity was observed on tide gages that could be distinguished from surf action.

SIGNIFICANCE TO EARTH SCIENCES

Underground nuclear tests have provided earth scientists with a unique opportunity to study seismic events of known yield, origin, and time of occurrence, and have done much to advance the states of the various seismological arts.

Cannikin provided a source of energy—and information—that is unsurpassed. As one NOAA seismologist put it, "Everybody who had an instrument had it running for this one."

Scientists in the United States and in other nations used the seismic waves emanating from Amchitka as a "window" to the earth's interior. How well the experiment illuminated this hidden region will not be known for some time; but these probable results can be seen.

Island arc tectonics. The island arc structures which characterize trench-rise features in oceanic areas are highly seismic, intensely interesting to palaeogeologists and other geophysical historians—and poorly understood. Seismic and other geophysical data from Cannikin will do much to characterize one segment of the Aleutian Island arc in substantial detail, and provide important clues to the structure and behavior of similar geologic features elsewhere.

Aftershock causal mechanism. The clustered seismographs on Amchitka and nearby islands produced extremely clear records of Cannikin's aftershock activity. The test also provided a record of an entire aftershock sequence, permitting scientists to view the beginning, middle, and end of the series over a comparatively short period. NOAA seismologists expect to extract significant new information on the causal mechanisms of aftershocks, and hope to be able to apply that knowledge to an improved understanding of natural earthquake source mechanisms. Because this work might apply to natural earthquakes, it holds particular promise for scientists studying earthquake prediction and mitigation techniques.

Earthquake engineering data. Instruments set up at various distances from Cannikin's ground zero measured the dynamic response of the earth's surface to the shocks. The resulting body of information is unique in that it provides insights into some important aspects of what structures can expect from earthquakes in this magnitude range. It is the kind of information usually acquired from the catastrophe of a large natural earthquake in a populated area.

Plate tectonics and continental drift. Although the general scheme of plate tectonics is beginning to be well understood, the details of how and where the plates collide are not. The intensive data-gathering effort in the Aleutians is providing those details for this segment of the Aleutian Island arc (which marks the intersection of the Pacific and Bering crustal plates) and, by extension, for similar boundary zones elsewhere in the world.

FURTHER WORK IN THE ALEUTIANS

The Aleutian Seismic Program undertaken by what is now the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration was intensified in 1969, at the request of the Atomic Energy Commission, and is now conducted by the Earth Science Laboratories of NOAA's En-

vironmental Research Laboratories, headquartered in Boulder, Colo.

With the experiment concluded, the program now turns to a year of intensive data-gathering and analysis to assess what effects, if any, Cannikin had on the way stresses, strains, thrusting plates, and other processes interact to produce earthquakes in this highly seismic corner of America.

BRINGING LOCAL DRUG PROBLEMS INTO FOCUS

HON. RICHARDSON PREYER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. PREYER of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, in the last decade the problem of drug abuse has become one of monumental proportions and of great concern to everyone in the Nation. So much has been said and a great deal of work has been accomplished toward conquering this scourge that affects so many of our people, and our youth in particular. But we need to do more and I want to call to the attention of this body the efforts being made in this direction by the community of High Point, N.C., in my congressional district. The newspaper in this city, the High Point Enterprise, ran a series of articles in December 1971, on the problem of drug abuse in High Point. These articles were written by the paper's staff after talking over the problem with various people in the community who have experience in the field, including offenders. Following is an editorial from the Enterprise which is a synopsis of these articles and what the writers found to be the situation in their city. I want to commend the editor of this paper and the writers of this series of articles for their forthright efforts in presenting this information on the situation in High Point in a calm and reasonable manner.

I am also setting forth an article from the Enterprise which gives important information about North Carolina's new drug law which went into effect on January 1, 1972. This is a particular warning for our returning Vietnam veterans who may be addicts and turn to selling drugs to minors to finance their own habits. The North Carolina law provides a minimum penalty of 10 years in prison for those convicted of this offense.

The articles follow:

BRINGING LOCAL DRUG PROBLEM INTO FOCUS

The problem of drug abuse in High Point is in better focus as a result of the series of articles which appeared in The Enterprise last week. Written by members of the news staff, the articles brought together the thinking and the experience of police officers, school officials, counselors, young people, and doctors on whether High Point has a drug problem and how serious it may be.

Generally, there is agreement that High Point has a drug abuse problem. Opinions differ, however, on the extent of the problem. Yet, encouragingly, the response of those interviewed during the series was cautious. Answers to questions were based on facts and personal knowledge as much as possible. There is a lesson here for the community. In talking about a drug problem in High

Point, it is best to speak calmly from fact rather than hysterically from rumor.

Several conclusions emerge from the series. One is that drug abuse is not itself new. What is new about the problem today is the scope and the variety of the abuse. Almost every type of drug—the narcotic, the depressant, the stimulant, the hallucinogenic—is involved in the problem today. Second, drug abuse is not confined to any one group, either in age or income level. It is popularly identified as a problem among the young people, but, as the series pointed out, it exists in large measure as well among adults. Third, according to the information reported in the series, the buying and selling of drugs illegally in High Point does not appear to be part of any organized criminal activity in the city itself.

The problem of drug abuse in High Point is not as bad, then, as in some other cities. The community faces the need, nevertheless, of coming to grips with the problem and dealing with it honestly and realistically. Drug abuse is a national problem, and eventually will require action at the national and state levels, perhaps even a rewriting of laws and a change in legal attitudes toward some, if not all, of the drugs involved in the problem. Meanwhile, High Point is confronted with the problem of drug abuse now.

The series did not attempt to offer solutions to the problem. Its purpose was to define the problem and bring it into focus as much as possible. Understanding the problem is, of course, the first step in reaching the solution. The series indicates the solution will not be easy. The projected program of the newly-formed Drug Action Council is not a solution to the drug abuse problem; it is a program of rehabilitation to take people off drugs.

The solution to the drug abuse problem is for people not to use drugs at all. This will be hard to achieve, however, for what is involved in the abuse of drugs is a cultural conflict—an act of rebellion—within the individual, within the family, within the community. This is indicated in two articles in the series. One reported the interview with three high school girls who admitted using drugs; the other was the interview with Debby, the young woman who has traveled almost the entire route of drug abuse. These young people do not share the same values as the larger, "straight" community around them.

It is over this ground—over values and a sense of purpose in life—that the use of drugs or not is being fought. It will likely be a protracted conflict.

NEW DRUG LAW CONTAINS TRAPS FOR THE UNWARY

Remember the warnings that were issued last spring to youngsters planning to travel abroad for the summer? They were told, among other things, that they had better learn a few things about how foreign courts deal with drug users, that long-term prison sentences for the smallest drug possession offense had been experienced by the unwary. And there are some states in this nation, notably in the Southwest, which give courts little or no leeway in dealing most harshly in such cases.

The new drug law which went into effect in North Carolina on Jan. 1 is another on which there should be no misunderstanding. Offenses that have been dealt with on a wrist-slapping basis may prove to be far more serious.

This law was introduced and passed on the general hypothesis of easing up somewhat on the young, "innocent" user and clamping down on the pusher. That sort of description by its Mecklenburg sponsor greased the rails for its quick passage.

But like many such laws, it contains a hooker, and herein lies the need for the wariness. The law draws a sharp line at age 21. For instance, should a person over 21 be

convicted of distributing a narcotic drug to anyone under 21, the minimum punishment is 10 years in prison, with a maximum of life imprisonment. In view of the number of heroin-hooked GI's returning from Vietnam who, like many addicts, may turn to selling to finance their own habits, this could become a major section of the law, rather than minor.

This is not to say that we do not favor strict punishment for the pusher. We still believe that no one has offered a reasonable alternative to fear of prosecution and punishment as a deterrent to illicit drug traffic.

If people have any faith in the military's crackdown on drug use in Indochina, they will find the report of a psychiatrist sent over there by the Defense Department disturbing to say the least.

Dr. Norman Zinberg reported that the Army's zeal to wipe out heroin use had actually been counter-productive. "Soldiers who don't leave Vietnam immediately often return to heroin," he wrote. "Mainlining (direct injection into a vein) has increased since the crackdown."

Dr. Zinberg pointed out that, contrary to the U.S. drug scene, heroin use in Vietnam is a social activity among friends and not the habit of a deviant loner from a deprived urban background.

Their insertion back into a civilian society will not be easy.

And for those coming home to North Carolina, somebody needs to meet the plane with an explanation of the new drug laws in hand.

R. V. KRICKORIAN OF REX CHAINBELT LOOKS AT POLLUTION ABATEMENT

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. R. V. Krikorian, president of Rex Chainbelt Inc., Milwaukee, had some cogent remarks about pollution abatement problems in a speech delivered January 11 to the Financia! Executives Institute of Wisconsin. His talk follows:

POLLUTION ABATEMENT

(By R. V. Krikorian)

I am very pleased to have this opportunity to be with you this evening and to share with you some thoughts and experiences concerning a very lively and current problem. It is the problem of our ecology and the restoration of the environment in this nation. All of us are involved in this problem in a variety of capacities; as consumers, members of the community, and as taxpayers. Most of you here this evening are financial executives—you are therefore involved in a second capacity—you either have felt already or you soon will feel the pressures for change within the sphere of your businesses and the industries you serve. Increasingly, this pressure is the result of state and federal legislation which will certainly alter the way we do business and how we allocate our resources. As President of Rex, this has particular meaning for me. We have forty plant locations in this country and Canada, with 11,000 employees, producing products which serve nearly every major industry in the national economy. When changes take place which affect broad segments of any industry, we feel it quite readily at Rex. And, there will be changes.

Finally, the question of solving this nation's ecological problems is seen by Rex from even another point of view. We are one of the nation's leading producers of equip-

ment and systems to control and abate industrial and municipal water pollution. Not only must we keep our own house in order at Rex, but we must also allocate our manpower and financial resources to meet the increasing demand for new technology, new equipment and systems.

In 1969, 1970 and 1971 the Environmental Control Group at Rex was the fastest growing group in the company. I'm confident that in 1972 it will again out perform all other Rex divisions in sales growth.

Citizens of the State of Wisconsin both individual and corporate should be aware of the progressive attitude our state maintains concerning this problem. Our record is a good one. As early as 1876 Wisconsin created the State Board of Health with authority to advise Government officials with respect to drainage and disposal of sewage wastes. In 1905 the legislature required municipalities to submit plans for sewage systems to the State Board of Health for review and approval; probably the first certification program in the nation. In 1927 the Wisconsin Committee on Water Pollution was created.

1. In 1966, 5 years before federal government action, Wisconsin reorganized its pollution control agencies to meet rising public concern.

2. Wisconsin passed its own Water Pollution Control Act more than a year and one-half before similar action by the Federal Government. Our law became a model for the Federal law.

3. Wisconsin was one of only five states to provide funds for local sewage treatment plant construction under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1966.

4. In 1969 the voters of Wisconsin approved a unique bonding program known as ORAP 200. In 1971 grants of nearly \$35,000,000 were made under the program for construction at nearly 200 locations in the state.

5. Eighty-five percent of Wisconsin municipalities now provide secondary treatment for their wastewater. Few states can boast anything near that record.

6. Finally, in the state budget passed last month, the Division of Environmental Protection of the Department of Natural Resources was given authority to conduct a pollution inventory of the industries in the State of Wisconsin. This will take the form of a survey of industrial discharges and will provide the basis for broad programs of monitoring and surveillance. The bill provides for very substantial fines for non-compliance.

It is fair to say that Wisconsin is moving thoughtfully and rapidly to preserve the natural heritage of its waterways. In addition to the recreational values which we are seeking to preserve, our dependence on clean water for food processing, pulp and paper manufacture, farming and industrial manufacturing is very apparent.

In many parts of this nation, industry has been accused of being the chief villain in the current environmental crises. I don't think we in Wisconsin should be faulted for our efforts to date. It was in this state, after all, that most of the technology for treating dairy and canning wastes was developed. Food processing companies across the country have adopted the ridge and furrow and field irrigation systems for returning their nutrient rich wastewaters to the land. As a supplier of water pollution control equipment we can testify to the increasing concern, research and development and capital expenditures by the paper and pulp industry in this state for treatment systems. We have been instrumental in helping a number of them develop systems which both recycle most of the chemicals and water so essential in the paper-making process and which also produce usable by-products as a part of the treatment process.

The proposed Federal legislation presently before the House of Representatives will have

a significant impact on business operations in Wisconsin as elsewhere.

It provides, among other things, for up to 70% Federal funding of construction costs of municipal sewage treatment plants. Some of these new plants may be joint undertakings between the city and industry. This is a particularly attractive route for small communities with only one or two industrial operations.

The law directs the Federal Environmental Protection Agency to establish a system of user charges based on the character and volume of waste discharges. This seems to the lawmaker at least to be an equitable means of assessing heavy water users and those hitherto non-taxable institutions not reached under other forms of taxation.

Specific provisions in the law will direct the Federal Government to reimburse states, like Wisconsin, who underwrote the Federal portion of construction projects in the mid 1960's.

The law calls for an end to all waste discharged by 1985.

It seeks regional waste treatment management programs not circumscribed by political subdivisions and boundaries; a practical cost-benefit analysis; and the transfer of technology between industries.

It establishes a national system of monitoring and surveillance and directs the EPA to establish national performance standards in certain industries.

The law also sets limits on the discharge of toxic substances and establishes guidelines for pre-treatment of industrial wastes which are ultimately discharged into municipal sewer systems.

Finally, it provides for strict enforcement penalties and establishes guidelines for the filing of citizen suits in the Federal courts against specific polluters. I am sure that the law will undergo some modification before it is finally voted upon in the House of Representatives. It is clear that the Federal Government means business in the control of water pollution, and it is equally clear that all industries will be affected by this new legislation.

In February of 1970, Fortune Magazine surveyed the chief executives of the nation's 500 largest companies. The result of the survey clearly indicated that American businessmen thought the Federal Government, not the states, ought to establish national water quality standards, user service charges, and act as the chief agency of enforcement and compliance. That is our position at Rex. It is a gross waste of money and effort for businessmen on one side of a river to install expensive systems to control industrial discharges if their neighbors in another state on the opposite shore have a completely different set of standards, or none at all.

Recent statements by some national business associations would seem to indicate that American industry has somehow changed its mind. The general tenor of these statements has been to urge that the House of Representatives place more authority at the state and local levels and less on the Federal Government. In the current legislation now being considered, and which I have just described, Congress seems, however, to have responded to the attitudes evidenced a year ago. Careful consideration must be given by these national associations as to the content and tenor of their comments regarding Federal legislation. It is quite probable that many states will enact laws similar to that bill pending in the House. What the state legislatures do is likely to be dependent on the character of the final Federal bill.

It is also time to take renewed recognition of two nearly forgotten facts in America—first, that American industry by and large is very cognizant of their responsibility in environmental affairs, and second, that the cost of past and future improvements in these areas will have a direct impact on consumer prices and corporate profit performance.

On the first point let me point out that a \$75,000 fine for a water pollution violation is usually front page news—but it is more difficult to find reported just what American industry is spending to overcome that pollution. In 1971 an independent survey reports that American industry will spend over \$2.5 billion for pollution abatement installations. That's a 40% increase over 1970, and it will be far surpassed in 1972.

On the second point, the impact on consumer costs, we need look no further than north along the lake shore where we know that the proposed installation of cooling towers at Point Beach Nuclear Plant would add to the cost of electric power in SE Wisconsin. Sixty percent of the domestic plant facilities of Rex are located in the Milwaukee-Racine area. In 1971 we paid over \$1,200,000 for electric power for these locations. We are informed that the addition of these environmental protection systems to that power plant will increase the cost of electric power in SE Wisconsin by 10 to 15%. In our long-range planning and forecasting, such an increase is a very material event.

(Slide.)

Last month we moved most of our environmental control operations into a new plant in Waukesha shown here. The new plant, designed with the latest technology for material flow and manufacturing, greatly increases our manufacturing capacity and will enable us to better serve the needs of industries and cities around the world.

(Slide.)

Our experience in the design and manufacture of water pollution control equipment and systems spans more than half a century. We have more than 125 patents in this area.

Rex equipment operates today in more than 5,000 installations around the world. Forty-eight of the nation's 50 largest cities treat their sewage with Rex equipment. Here in Wisconsin, Rex equipment is at work in more than 400 communities and industries. We are continuing to allocate the largest segment of our research and development dollars in the field of environmental control.

We have established a separate Ecology Division staffed with Rex engineers and scientists to do advanced research and problem solving through use of Federal, state and local government grants and aimed at finding new and better ways to abate pollution. One very ambitious project, funded by Federal, state and local grants, is taking place in the Milwaukee-Racine area.

(Slide.)

At the point where Milwaukee's Hawley Road crosses the Menomonee River, engineers of the Rex Ecology Division constructed and have operated a pilot plant to treat the overflow from Milwaukee's combined storm and sanitary sewer system. During periods of heavy rain, the capacity of the sewage treatment plant is exceeded. As a consequence, raw untreated sewage and storm water is discharged directly into our rivers. There are 211 such discharge points in Milwaukee County. 1300 communities across the country have a similar problem. If no effective alternative is found, Milwaukee and other communities as well will have to install a dual pipe system at enormous cost to the taxpayer. Rex engineers have designed a compact treatment system using sequential screening, dissolved air flotation and chemical input to treat the overflow. We call it the Rex "satellite treatment plant. These plants have been able to remove up to 85% of the solids from the water before discharging into the Milwaukee River.

(Slide.)

This is the flow diagram of the Satellite Plant. The overflow enters from the right hand side and the treatment process begins first with a series of bar and sequential drum screens. Next the effluent is passed into a large holding tank where dissolved air floats the remaining solids to the surface. These are skimmed off and collected in a

separate compartment. In the large tank there is finally an input of chemicals so that when the overflow is finally discharged it is undoubtedly much cleaner than the river it goes into.

This technology also will be employed in Racine Wisconsin through installation of a series of satellite plants located on the banks of the Root River. An additional benefit will be developed in Racine. The project also involves analyzing the Root River before our treatment plants go on stream. Similar analyses taken during the periods in which our equipment is operating will provide important information on the validity of the water quality standards established by the state for the Root River.

(Slides.)

We serve both the municipal and the industrial markets. Here is a typical industrial installation for treating acid mine drainage at Republic Steel's coal mining operation at West Newton, Pennsylvania. In order to neutralize the ferrous iron content in the wastewater, the water is first chemically treated and then subjected to high velocity aeration through the use of Rex Oxy-Treat aerators to form a stable ferric iron precipitate.

(Slide.)

Following aeration, the treated water is transferred to the settling basin or to a settling lagoon.

(Slide.)

This is an aerial view of an aeration lagoon at the Weyerhaeuser mill in Plymouth, North Carolina. The rapid surface aeration provided by these units speeds up the biological treatment of the paper mill waste.

(Slide.)

Under construction here is the largest nuclear power plant in the world—at Brown's Ferry, Alabama—a part of the Tennessee Valley Authority System. Rex is supplying 18 traveling water screens to this facility.

(Slide.)

These screens filter out all of the water required to cool and condense the excess steam from the high pressure turbine generators. The screens are self-cleaning.

(Slide.)

Here is a view of a complete water conditioning system to provide boiler feed water for Amoco Chemical Company, Texas City, Texas. It has a capacity of 2,000 gallons per minute—or 3 million gallons per day. We have two other similar installations in the area. These systems are engineered and produced through our American Water Softener Division near Philadelphia.

(Slide.)

Santee, California, is a desert community located near San Diego. This is part of their sewage treatment plant. For most of the years of its existence, Santee was an arid community. The high cost of fresh water necessary for industry and residential uses precluded the city fathers from providing the badly needed water recreational areas for residents. At the same time, officials of the community were under orders to discontinue their practice of dumping the effluent from their sewage treatment plant out into the desert. As a result of some far-sighted planning and experimenting, Santee has solved both of these problems. The community is now known as the town that "launders" its sewage, and it does it so well that extensive boating, swimming, and fishing areas are available in this once arid community. This process involves three stages of treatment:

(Slide.)

Primary and secondary treatment remove 90-95 percent of the suspended solids. There remains the critical tertiary or third stage treatment. This is a picture of a Rex third stage reactor at the Santee plant. This Rex equipment removes the residual pollutants and nutrients and produces a nearly clear effluent.

(Slide.)

The Rex reactor and associated equipment delivers samples of the effluent to a labora-

tory within the complex where it is continually—

(Slide.)

Monitored by technicians to assure its relative purity and safety to humans and aquatic life. Following the third stage treatment, the effluent is aerated in a series of large ponds, chlorinated and discharged for use—

(Slide.)

In a network of swimming pools—

(Slide.)

Boating lagoons—and—

(Slide.)

Picnic areas.

Late last year, authorities at Santee water district announced that the reclaimed wastewater from this treatment process is now being used for agricultural irrigation. An Associated Press story appearing in the Milwaukee Journal in November, 1970 quoted a spokesman for the district as saying that such commercial use of reclaimed wastewater was a technical and economical milestone—and that the water was of a better quality than ground water from wells in the area. The cost of the water is less than 1/2 the cost of Colorado River water previously piped into Santee.

(Slide.)

I believe Wisconsin has led the nation with enlightened legislation, regulation, and a meaningful approach to the solution of our pollution problems. Despite the concerns over current Federal legislation, I think the nation is on the way to making accelerated progress toward reversing environmental deterioration. One thing is very clear—we are only in the first inning and many real problems remain.

I am not sure that the general public really comprehends the economic and social costs of pollution or its abatement. Unrestrained environmental degradation is unacceptable and very costly. Unrestrained environmental improvement will also be extremely costly. In either case we are speaking of billions of dollars in expenditures. No one yet has come forth with anything like a complete cost/benefit analysis. Instead, pollution has been portrayed in many quarters as the messenger of doom with the only alternative a return to 18th century American life. The abatement of pollution without reference to the costs of potential human dislocations and changes could be equally erroneous. This concern, like all other such public issues, must resolve itself in a compromise; in owning up to past mistakes in judgment and practice and making firm resolve that these mistakes will be corrected in the years to come. We have started to make today's decisions with an eye on the future. I am an optimist. I think we will solve our pollution problems.

The need for realism in environmental policy making, as well as a recognition of the common commitments and goals involved, was eloquently described by President Nixon in his message to Congress last August transmitting the second annual report of the Council on Environmental Quality. I quote:

"[W]e should not expect environmental miracles. Our efforts will be more effective if we approach the challenge of the environment with a strong sense of realism. We should not be surprised or disheartened, for example, if some problems grow even more acute in the immediate future.

"We must recognize that the goal of a cleaner environment will not be achieved by rhetoric or moral dedication alone. It will not be cheap or easy and the costs will have to be borne by each citizen, consumer, and taxpayer. How clean is clean enough can only be answered in terms of how much we are willing to pay and how soon we seek success. The effects of such decisions on our domestic economic concerns—jobs, prices, foreign competition—require explicit and rigorous analyses to permit us to maintain a healthy economy while we seek a healthy en-

vironment. It is essential that we have both. It is simplistic to seek ecological perfection at the cost of bankrupting the very taxpaying enterprises which must pay for the social advances the nation seeks.

"We must develop a realistic sense of what it will cost to achieve our national environmental goals and choose a specific level of goal with an understanding of its costs and benefits. One of the strengths of the accompanying report, in my view, is that it sets out—clearly and candidly—both the costs and the benefits of environmental protection as they are now understood.

"The work of environmental improvement is a task for all our people. It should unite all elements of our society—of all political persuasions and all economic levels—in a great common commitment to a great common goal. The achievement of that goal will challenge the creativity of our science and technology, the enterprise and adaptability of our industry, the responsiveness and sense of balance of our political and legal institutions, and the resourcefulness and the capacity of this country to honor those human values upon which the quality of our national life must ultimately depend."

I share the President's views.

CHALLENGES: WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON AGING

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, when the White House Conference on Aging met in Washington from November 28 to December 2, the delegates issued a strong challenge to the Nation, a challenge to commit our resources and our abilities to solve the problems facing our senior citizens.

We have failed to provide adequate health care to the more than 20 million senior citizens across the United States. Medicare is too limited and must be expanded. There is a shocking lack of medical knowledge about aging and the care of the elderly. Senior citizens in the inner city and in rural areas find medical care inaccessible.

Housing? We have not built sufficient quality housing for our senior citizens.

Income? Social security benefits are too low to assure our senior citizens a decent standard of living in a time of inflation and economic upheaval.

Education? Why has the United States virtually ignored education programs for senior citizens?

What have we done to attack the special difficulties facing the poor in minority groups: black, Spanish speaking, American Indian?

There is the challenge to Congress and the President.

The National Council of Senior Citizens has prepared a summary of the report of the White House Conference on Aging which I am pleased to share with my colleagues:

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE REPORT A CHALLENGE FOR THE SEVENTIES INCOME

Income adequacy.—The immediate goal for older people is total cash income in accordance with the American standard of living.

We therefore recommend adoption now, as

the minimum standard of income, the intermediate budget for an elderly couple prepared by the (U.S. Labor Department) Bureau of Labor Statistics, averaging about \$4,500 a year nationally as of Spring, 1970.

For single individuals, the minimum income should be sufficient to maintain the same standard of living as for couples (no less than 75 per cent of the couple's budget).

For the elderly handicapped with higher living expenses, the budget should be appropriately adjusted.

Floor of income.—The basic floor of income for older people should be provided through a combination of payments from the Social Security system and payments from Federal general tax revenues.

In addition, there should be a supplementary payment system, based on an income test, to bring substandard incomes up to the minimum, financed entirely from Federal Government general revenues and included in a single check paid by the Social Security Administration.

Widow's benefits.—Increasing numbers of women without dependent children who have not been regularly employed are becoming widowed before age 60. We recommend that they be eligible to receive widow's benefits starting at age 50 to help fill the income gap until they are eligible at a later age to receive their Social Security benefit.

Liberalizing the retirement test.—The exempt amount of earnings under the Social Security retirement test should be increased to not less than \$3,000 a year (adjusted periodically to changes in the general level of wages).

The offset formula of \$1 reduction in benefits for each \$2 of earnings should apply to all earnings in excess of the exempt amount.

Eliminating the test entirely would cost an additional \$3 billion, and there are more urgent needs to which this sum could be applied than paying Social Security benefits to persons who are still employed at more than the exempt levels.

Private pensions.—Social Security benefits provide a basic protection which should continue to be improved but which can be augmented through private pension plans.

The Federal Government should take action to encourage broader coverage under private pension plans and ensure receipt of benefits by workers and their survivors. It should require early vesting and/or portability, survivor benefits, and complete disclosure to beneficiaries of eligibility and benefit provisions of the plans. In addition, Federal requirements should assure fiduciary responsibility, minimum funding requirements and protection, through reinsurance and other measures, of the promised benefits.

Remission of property taxes.—It is desirable that older persons be enabled to live in their own homes.

States and localities should be encouraged to remit part or all of the residential property taxes on housing occupied by older persons as owners or tenants who qualify on the basis of an appropriate measure of income and assets. Remission is to be achieved by Federal grants to States and State grants to local taxing authorities to compensate for reduced revenues.

Meeting health needs.—This nation can never attain a reasonable goal of income security so long as heavy and unpredictable health costs threaten incomes of the aged.

Priority consideration should be given to the establishment of a comprehensive national health security program which would include the aged as well as the rest of the population. Financing the program solely through wage and payroll taxes and contributions from Federal general revenues would ensure that health care expenses would be a shared responsibility of the government, employers and individuals. There should be no deductibles, co-payments, or co-insurance.

Until such a system is established, the

benefits of Medicare-Medicaid should be increased immediately to include, at a minimum, out-of-hospital drugs; care of the eyes, ears, teeth, and feet (including eyeglasses, hearing aids, dentures, etc.); and improved services for long-term care and expanded and broadened services in the home and other alternatives to institutional care. Here, too, there should be no deductibles, co-payments, or co-insurance.

Government should assume responsibility for assuring an adequate supply of health manpower and essential facilities and for improving the organization and delivery of health services.

A special committee of the House of Representatives should be established which will devote its attention to all social and economic problems of the aged, including income, health, housing, and other needs areas reflected in the organization of this Conference.

Our nation has the resources to effectively carry out the proposals made by this Section, provided there is a re-ordering of national priorities.

HEALTH

Health care for the aging must be provided as an integral part of a coordinated system that assures comprehensive health services to the total population, but immediate and special consideration and emphasis must be given problems of, and services for, the aging.

A comprehensive health care plan for all persons should be legislated and financed through a National Health Plan.

Medicare should be expanded

Pending the achievement of such a National Health Plan, the complete range of health care services for the elderly must be provided by expanding the legislation and financing of Medicare.

Such expanded financing should be accomplished by use of Social Security trust funds and a greatly expanded use of Federal revenues.

Such expansion of Medicare should include elimination of deductibles, co-insurance and co-payments, and all provisions discriminatory to the mentally ill as well as the establishment of the same ages for Medicare and Social Security benefit eligibility.

Both the immediate expansion of the current program and a future National Health Plan should provide for a public/private partnership in the delivery of services and for Federal financing and quality controls in order to assure uniform benefits and uniform application of the standards of quality.

Centralized responsibility for standards and control over health facilities and services must be combined with protection, for the patient and provider, from arbitrary, capricious, and varied application and interpretation of existing as well as new standards. To be comprehensive and systematic, this health care must provide:

- Assessment of health;
- Education to preserve health;
- Appropriate preventive and outreach services;
- All physical, mental, social and supportive services necessary to maintain or restore health;
- Rehabilitation, health maintenance and long-term care when disability occurs.

Community and consumer participation in the planning and delivery of such a system of services will tend to assure the responsiveness of the system to locally defined community need and the appropriate use of health manpower, facilities, and financing.

Information on all aspects of aging (including physical, mental and other aspects) should be included in educational courses at all levels. The elderly should be among those recruited, trained and utilized in carrying out these programs.

Special attention to research

Development of specialists in the care of the elderly should receive emphasis, especially with a view to providing professional and other health personnel selected and trained to give compassionate and expert care to the aged.

Emphasis should be placed on funding direct services for the elderly but not to the exclusion of research and education. Research findings now available should be assembled, coordinated and incorporated into service programs.

Specific attention should be given to increasing funds available for basic as well as operational research with a strong suggestion that a Gerontological Institute be established within the National Institutes of Health to provide essential coordination of training and research activities in the area of aging.

A center for aging should be established in the National Institute of Mental Health to meet the responsibilities for more research and training in the field of mental health of the elderly.

The President and Congress should authorize the appointment of a Commission on Aging, including a Committee on Mental Health of the Elderly, comprised of representatives from concerned Federal agencies, national organizations, Congress, the judiciary, and private citizens to study, evaluate, and recommend a comprehensive set of policies for the Federal Government, the States, and local communities to pursue in this vital area.

Legal protection for elderly

Congress should appoint a nationwide interdisciplinary committee to determine the scope and type of *intervention procedures* and *protective services* that would clearly protect the rights of the individual with health, mental health, and emotional problems requiring care. The rights of the patient's immediate family and other close associates should be considered.

This committee should include representatives of the religious, civil rights, civil liberties, legal, health and social services communities. Congress should appropriate sufficient funds to assure an in-depth study of all aspects of the individual's rights in relation to his needs for health services and the administration of the patient's affairs until he can resume normal life.

Intervention procedures and protective services also should assure for elderly individuals their rights of self-determination in their use of health facilities and services.

In order to promote and encourage the establishment of ombudsman services (informal adjudication of public complaints), a nationwide interdisciplinary committee, or other suitable means, should be used to study and define the functions and roles of ombudsmen as separate and distinct, conceptually and in practice, from other protective services and from consumer participation in health care services and other matters affecting the elderly.

Some other urgent health concerns include: preventive dental health measures to slow or halt chronic dental disease; special health education programs for disadvantaged minorities, ethnic groups, residents of rural areas and other special groups; immediate steps to control spiraling costs of health services; transportation improvements with specific attention to the elderly and disabled; improved Federal inter-agency collaboration in health care.

HOUSING

Funds to support a massive and varied housing program and mechanisms for assuring appropriate services are essential to the well-being of the nation's elderly.

A decent and safe living environment is an inherent right of all elderly citizens.

It should become an actuality at the earliest possible time. A fixed proportion of all

government funds—Federal, State and local—allocated to housing and related services should be earmarked for housing for the elderly.

Production of 120,000 units a year of housing for the elderly should be undertaken. (Production of housing units for the elderly averaged 37,000 a year over the last 10 years.)

A variety of living arrangements should be made available to meet the changing needs of the elderly including residentially oriented settings for those who need differing levels of assistance. There should be housing for independent living with recreational and activity programs within easy access, congregate housing with food and personal services provided, facilities with medical and homemaker service as well as food service, and long-term care facilities for the chronically ill.

The Federal and State Governments should provide mechanisms to make possible property tax relief for the elderly home owner or renter.

At least 25 per cent of all elderly housing should be reserved for the elderly poor—those with incomes at or below the poverty level.

Federal agencies dealing with housing for the elderly should establish multi-disciplinary teams (made up of architects, engineers, medical personnel, gerontologists and other experts) to formulate guidelines for architectural standards based on the needs of the elderly. These teams should have authority to review and approve innovative housing proposals.

The Federal Government should encourage preservation of neighborhoods of special character through rehabilitation and/or selective replacement of substandard dwellings with new dwellings, permitting the elderly of the area to remain in a familiar environment.

Rent supplements should go up

The Federal rent supplement program should be enlarged and eligibility for participation in the program expanded.

Financial incentives should be available to families providing housing and related care in their own homes or in appropriate accommodations for elderly relatives.

Interest-free, non-amortized loans should be available to elderly home owners to help them meet home maintenance costs, the amount of the loan to be related to income with repayment required only upon the property.

Competent service to the elderly in the area of housing requires sound research widely disseminated and utilized. Such research should cover the physical, psychological and social aspects of housing in relation to the needs of the elderly.

Housing funds impounded by the Administration should be released, and the highly effective Section 202 of the Federal Housing Act—with its special guidelines related to space, design, construction and particularly favorably financing—should be restored. (Section 202 has become a dead letter under the Nixon Administration.)

EMPLOYMENT/RETIREMENT

The income floor for older Americans should be the U.S. Labor Department's intermediate level budget for an elderly couple, which averaged \$4,500 a year nationally as of the Spring of 1970.

Pending achievement of that goal, however, Social Security benefits should be raised 25 per cent and the minimum Social Security benefit, now \$70 a month, should be increased to \$150 a month.

The limitation on what a Social Security recipient may earn without reduction of Social Security benefits should be \$5,000 a year. This limit (known as the Social Security retirement test) is now \$1,680 a year.

It is the responsibility of the Government to provide meaningful and socially needed employment opportunities for those older

persons willing and able to work if all other programs fail to produce such employment.

Chronological age should not be the sole criterion for retirement. A flexible policy should be adopted that is based on the worker's desires and needs and upon his or her physical or mental capacity. Programs must be made available that provide employment opportunities after age 65.

Employers should be encouraged to adopt innovative policies such as gradual or trial retirement.

Unfortunately, however, existing policies fail to protect the worker who is forced to retire prematurely or who is unprotected by a private pension plan.

New national policies and publicly and privately supported programs are needed to help workers who are forced to retire before the normal retirement age because of health problems or job displacement caused by technological changes or jobs requiring early retirement.

New programs should as a rule be run by existing agencies that have responsibility for dealing with these problems.

There should be created by the Federal Government a continuously funded program specially designed to maintain economic security for middle-aged and older workers during their period of transition from prematurely forced retirement into suitable employment or retirement. During this period, a major objective should be to retrain and educate the unemployed to assure reemployability or to assist in mobilizing resources to assure a meaningful retirement.

All workers should be guaranteed a retirement income adequate to maintain a decent standard of living above the poverty level. Legislation must be enacted as soon as possible requiring early vesting, adequate funding and portability of pensions and to provide Federal insurance for pensions.

The age 65 limit of liability under the Federal law forbidding age discrimination in employment should be removed. The law should be extended to cover employees in both the public and private sectors (it now applies only to the private sector). If older workers are to benefit from this law, it must be enforced with greater vigor.

NUTRITION

An estimated one-third to one-half the health problems of the elderly are believed to be related to nutrition.

The Federal Government should assume responsibility for making adequate nutrition available to all elderly persons in the U.S. and possessions.

A minimum income (at least \$3,000 a year for a single person and \$4,500 a year for a couple) must be available to all elderly.

The equivalent of the national school lunch program should be established for senior citizens. This should not be limited to persons with low incomes.

All U.S. Department of Agriculture surplus commodities should be fully available to the proposed senior lunch program on the same basis as to school lunch programs.

Funding should cover adequate staff, food, supplies, equipment and transportation services.

Elderly men and women should be employed insofar as possible under the senior lunch program.

Educational, counseling and recreational opportunities should be made part of this program.

Low income Social Security recipients should be eligible for self-certification for food stamps or public assistance cash grants (as part of nutrition services).

The Federal Government should provide the major portion of funds for action programs to rehabilitate the malnourished and prevent malnutrition among those approaching old age.

There should be established and strictly enforced high standards with specific regulations for food and nutrition services pro-

vided by institutions and agencies that receive Federal funds either directly or indirectly.

Nutrition services and nutrition counseling should be included in all publicly financed health delivery systems, including Medicare (the health insurance program for the elderly) and Medicaid (the health care system for the needy at all age levels), health maintenance organizations, home health services, extended care facilities (nursing homes), and preventive health care programs.

It is the responsibility of the Federal Government to establish and enforce such standards as are necessary to insure the safety and wholesomeness of the national food supply as well as improve nutritive value of food.

Particular attention should be given both nutrition and ingredient labeling of food products as a means of achieving consumer understanding.

TRANSPORTATION

The Federal Government should increase support for transportation facilities for all users, with special consideration for the needs of the elderly, the handicapped, rural residents, the poor and young people.

Congress should convert the U.S. Highway Trust Fund (which finances construction of the U.S. interstate highway network) into a General Transportation Fund. A portion of the proposed General Transportation Fund should be made available for development of new and improving existing transportation services for the elderly.

Publicly owned passenger vehicles, operated by Federal, regional, State, county or city agencies, should be made available interchangeably among these agencies for provision of transportation to senior citizens, especially the disadvantaged elderly. Area clearinghouses should be set up so all local transportation resources are used efficiently to meet the transportation needs of the elderly.

Nationwide driver's licensing standards should be established that do not discriminate against the elderly solely on a basis of chronological age.

There should be Federal and/or State legislation to forbid insurers from increasing auto insurance premiums or cancelling auto insurance policies solely on a basis of age.

Exploration of the concept of no-fault insurance (which aims to avoid the high cost of litigation of car accident claims) and the possibility of government-operated insurance programs should be encouraged. Efforts underway in various States to develop better insurance programs should also be encouraged.

EDUCATION

Educational opportunities must be afforded all older persons, with special efforts being made to reach those who, because of low income, poor health, or other reasons, are less likely to respond voluntarily.

Public expenditures for education of older persons must be increased so they bear a direct relation to the proportion of older persons within the population.

Available facilities, manpower and funds should be used for educational programs designed and offered on the basis of the assessed needs and interests of older persons.

There should be special emphasis on instruction to help older persons understand issues, procedures and action in regard to political processes to enable them to more effectively meet their needs as individuals or as members of a group.

Pre-retirement programs should be provided those approaching retirement age to help them achieve greater satisfaction and fulfillment in later years. Pre-retirement education must be the primary responsibility of the public education sector working in cooperation with relevant community organizations in industry, labor, government, voluntary service and private associations.

Primary responsibility for initiation, sup-

port and conduct of educational programs for older persons must be vested in the existing educational system—Federal, State and local—with active participation and cooperation of specialized agencies.

EDUCATION FOR THE AGING

A Division of Education for the Aging should be established in the U.S. Office of Education to launch supportive educational services for the elderly. Similarly, all State Departments of Education should assign full-time responsibility to key staff members for development and implementation of educational programs for the aging.

To implement educational policies growing out of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging, the U.S. Administration on Aging should be accorded the status of an independent agency within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as provided for in the Older Americans Act of 1965.

Educational opportunities should include basic, continuing vocational education and training for cultural enrichment and more successful adjustment to conditions associated with the process of aging.

PLANNING

Planning in behalf of the aged stems from the basic values of society. These values are translated into goals, objectives and priorities. As planning for aging proceeds, it will be necessary to address these values and priorities.

In planning the allocation of resources, the aged are entitled to and should receive a fair share of the national wealth. This should be accomplished by a reordering of priorities at all levels to increase the commitment of national resources to human needs.

Planning must involve inputs from many segments and sectors of our society. To be effective, it must be comprehensive and coordinated.

The planning efforts of government should continue to be the basic means through which the nation plans for aging. There should be opportunity for significant involvement by the non-governmental sector and by consumers in the decision making process.

A separate entity should be created within the Executive Office of the President through legislation and charged with responsibility for comprehensive planning and advocacy in the area of aging.

This agency should have resources (e.g., authority, funds, staff) adequate to its responsibility. The Administration on Aging should be retained within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare but should be made an independent agency within the Department, reporting directly to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

There should be planning activities in the area of aging at the Federal, State and local levels of government, and these should be related to each other. The State and local planning activities in the area of aging should receive financial support from the Federal Government.

There must be bridges linking those who plan programs, those who administer them and the public which supports them.

Planning must be closely related to the budget process. Planning information should be regularly provided elected and other public officials who have a direct role in the budgeting process and in providing public funds for planning.

Planning in the area of aging should be based upon experience and expertise of specialists in aging with total involvement of the elderly, including racial and ethnic minority groups.

This involvement should be guaranteed at the Federal, State and local levels of government. Age alone should not be the ruling factor in planning in the area of aging. Middle-aged and young persons, who in the normal course of events will one day be elderly, should be included.

Planning must never be used as an excuse

for inaction. The need for action should not conflict with the need for long-range planning.

RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION

Coping with the problems of aging requires understanding of the difficulties the elderly face as well as the nature of the aging process in its various bio-medical and social-behavioral dimensions.

There has been a long history of neglect by the government and by society of responsibility toward the elderly. Funding for immediate and long-range programs to improve the quality of life for older Americans has been inadequate. Nor has there been an adequate administrative structure to advocate, coordinate, implement and administer research programs involving aging and the aged.

A National Institute of Gerontology should be established immediately to support and conduct research and training in bio-medical and social-behavioral aspects of aging.

Congress should increase substantially funds for research, training and demonstration. Federal support of research and training in departments or schools within universities and separate research agencies should be continued, and multi-disciplinary (requiring services of experts in many professions) and multi-institutional programs should be fostered.

Funds for research, training and demonstration programs in the area of aging should be allocated so that aging and the aged in racial and ethnic minority groups are represented in ratios not less than their proportion to the total population.

High priority should be given recruitment and training of capable women and the representation of such women on bodies which have responsibility for allocation of training and research funds.

The U.S. Administration on Aging or another appropriate clearinghouse should be allocated adequate resource for collecting and disseminating current research findings in the field of the aging and for making these findings relevant and available to the public.

Better procedures should be developed within the Federal Government to assure the continued operation of those Federally funded demonstration projects which have been proven successful after evaluation.

TRAINING

There should be increased Federal support for training programs in the area of aging and at the same time an acceleration of financial support for programs in this area by States, private foundations and private citizens who can afford to contribute to such programs. All programs providing services for the elderly should receive funds earmarked for training personnel.

Funds for recruitment and support of personnel to be trained in providing services to the elderly should be allocated without regard to age or sex of applicants.

Recruiting of personnel for service in the area of aging should be related to job opportunities.

Emphasis should be placed on development of community college level certificate and degree programs by vocational and technical institutes. Teacher training programs should stress positive concepts regarding the aging process for incorporation into elementary and secondary school curricula.

There should be an adequately funded National Institute of Gerontology to take the leadership in training and research in the area of aging. A substantial portion of the funds allocated to the proposed Institute should be reserved for training in the area of aging.

A national data bank and information retrieval system similar to the Education Research Information Center should be established to make available research knowledge and curriculum materials to all train-

ing, research and demonstration programs in the area of aging.

Congress should reorder national priorities to assure adequate funds for human needs.

There is an urgent need for personnel trained to deal with and committed to solving problems in the area of aging.

In considering training requirements for services to the older population, it must be borne in mind that adequate income and sufficient health services are basic necessities.

There is an urgent need for a minimum income level that will lift all older people out of poverty. There is likewise an urgent need for a massive expansion of programs which will provide employment opportunities for the elderly in constructive activities.

At present, there is little formal training or education in the field of aging.

Retired persons, mature adults, students making career choices, volunteers at all age levels, and members of minority groups must be recruited and trained to work in the area of aging.

Training should be conducted in appropriate settings both within and outside educational institutions.

Such training should be part of a national plan administered by a new Federal agency for aging that is adequately financed and with power to coordinate all Federally supported training programs in the area of aging.

Innovative and experimental efforts in training within the area of aging should be encouraged.

RETIREMENT ROLES AND ACTIVITIES

Twenty million Americans age 65 or over represent a great national resource. Given the opportunity and motivation, they can make a valuable contribution to our society.

Programs at the Federal, State and local levels of government that provide opportunity for community service by older persons should be strengthened and expanded.

Mechanisms should be developed for continuing the work of successful demonstration programs until such programs become self-sustaining (if approved upon valuation).

Older persons should be further isolated. Attention must be paid to making opportunities for community service available to all older men and women.

Since older persons have special needs, public programs specifically designed for the elderly should receive categorical (special) support so the elderly need not compete for services, activities and facilities intended for the general population.

Public policy should promote opportunities for greater involvement of older people in community and civic affairs and their participation in formulation of goals and policies on their own behalf as a basis for making the transition from work to leisure roles. Society should re-appraise the current sequence of student/worker/retiree by promoting flexibility in social roles.

The Federal Government should develop models for a network of supportive services for all elderly citizens. Implementation should be the ultimate responsibility of the local community. However, Federal funds should be provided for such services. The availability of services should be made known through a program of public information.

It should be the responsibility of the Federal Government, in cooperation with other levels of government, to provide funds for the establishment, construction and operation of community oriented multi-service centers for older citizens. Industry, labor, religious organizations and other voluntary groups should assist in the planning and implementation of such centers.

In order to encourage older Americans to remain active, Social Security recipients should be allowed unlimited earnings without reduction of Social Security benefits.

Recognizing that many problems of aging are the problems of all Americans, there should be a reordering of national priorities.

Our nation will be judged on how well the needs of our people are served.

The President and Congress should order the restructuring of the U.S. Administration on Aging to make it a visible, effective advocate agency for the elderly at the highest level of government directly related to the Executive Office of the President.

The lives of Americans will be enriched as the nation provides opportunities for developing and using the untapped resources of the elderly.

FACILITIES, PROGRAMS, SERVICES

Tax funds should be more equitably allocated to maximize the likelihood that older persons will continue to live independently and to help assure that older persons will have a choice of living arrangements.

To achieve this, a full range of supportive community services, public and private, must be adequately financed.

Public funds must be allocated in sufficient magnitude to assure such quality institutional care, from minimal to maximal, as may be needed at various stages in an older person's life.

The level and quality of care and services shall be provided without regard to source of payment.

Services to older people should be provided through a combination of governmental, private non-profit and commercial agencies. The Federal Government should be responsible for financing a minimum floor for all services.

These services may be procured from private non-profit and/or commercial sources at the election of local and State governments.

All age groups should be involved in the determination of policies and standards for facilities and services for the older population and older persons themselves certainly must have a role.

Qualifications other than age should be the determining factors in staff employment in facilities and programs for the elderly, but special efforts should be made to use older persons in staffing such facilities and programs.

Older persons should be served by an integrated system, sharing equitably with other age groups those facilities, programs and services suitable and appropriate to the needs of the general population, but the elderly should also have the benefit of specialized facilities, programs and services based on their distinctive needs.

Age alone may be an appropriate criterion in establishing policy for certain programs, such as eligibility for Social Security retirement benefits and property tax relief. It is an inappropriate criterion when used to discriminate against the elderly in determining eligibility for insurance, employment and credit, for example.

Quality standards a must

Federal legislation should provide minimum quality standards and guidelines to insure uniform services and care for the elderly in all Federally-administered programs.

Such standards and guidelines shall clearly specify requirements regarding staff qualifications and training and the quality of facilities, programs and services.

Government financed legal services shall be available to older persons in all communities.

While the need for greatly expanded facilities, programs and services is urgent, services are not a substitute for sufficient income to maintain independent living in dignity and health. Older persons require no less than the moderate standard of living defined by the U.S. Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics. No limit should be placed on earnings of Social Security beneficiaries.

A central consumer agency should be established at the Federal level to better coordinate and strengthen the powers and responsibilities of existing Federal agencies engaged

in consumer protection to ensure that the interests of elderly consumers are better served.

Police protection of the elderly should become a top priority. A portion of Federal funds for the prevention of crime allocated to the States or local communities should be earmarked for this purpose. Particular attention should be paid to the needs of minority groups.

Cooperation between young people and older people should be encouraged at various levels of community life. Young people can gain knowledge of the process of aging and become involved with elderly people through the education system, national youth organizations, and volunteer roles.

Delegates from every part of our Nation call upon the President to end the United States involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. We are acutely aware of the human costs resulting from that tragic war including war-related spiraling inflation and the unfortunate waste of our resources in so-called defense appropriations. We declare urgently and simply: The War Must Stop!

GOVERNMENT AND NONGOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

Society has grown so increasingly complex and interdependent that no individual person or agency can provide for the needs of people through independent efforts.

The time has come to develop and support an organizational force which will lead to strong reforms and action whereby every older person in our land will be enabled to live out his or her life in decency, dignity and with a sense of personal worth.

A central office on aging should be established in the office of the Chief Executive with responsibility for coordinating all programs and activities dealing with the aging, fostering coordination between governmental and non-governmental programs directly and indirectly engaged in the provision of services, and for planning, monitoring and evaluating services and programs.

This agency should be given the authority, finances and full-time staff needed to formulate and administer policy. It should be assisted by an advisory council and should be required to make an accurate and comprehensive annual report on its progress in resolving problems and meeting goals.

This White House level office should have enough prestige and resources to assure that it will encourage the development of parallel units at the State and community levels.

Governmental responsibility, particularly for providing funds and establishing standards, must be emphasized if the necessary facilities and services are to be made available to older people. The delivery of services should make maximum use of voluntary and private organizations which can meet the standards established by government in consultation with consumers and the providers of service.

Basic facilities and services should be available to all older people as a matter of right. Those in need should be entitled to special consideration.

All efforts to meet the needs of older people, whether by governmental or private and voluntary agencies, should be consistent with: (a) the First Amendment freedoms of association and expression; (b) the right to participate in government-sponsored programs free from religious, racial, ethnic and age discrimination; and (c) protection of one's person and property, particularly in institutional settings.

A special committee on the aging should be established in the U.S. House of Representatives, functioning in a comparable role to that of the U.S. Senate Special Committee on Aging.

National priorities must be recorded so as to allocate a greater share of our nation's resources to meet the needs of its older citizens.

Means should be found for proper follow-up of the recommendations of this White House Conference on Aging which also would extend beyond the announced follow-up year of 1972.

SPIRITUAL WELL-BEING

Since man is a whole being with inter-related and inter-dependent needs, religious organizations should be actively concerned with man's spiritual, personal and social needs.

Religious organizations must be aware of agencies and services, other than their own, which can provide helpful ministry to older persons. Other organizations designed for the benefit of older persons should develop as a part of their services channels to persons or agencies that can relate to spiritual problems.

Religious bodies should exercise a strong advocacy role in meeting the needs of the elderly, working for programs, both public and private, that contribute to the well-being of the elderly and protect them from those who would victimize and demean them.

Religious bodies should work together with the elderly and coordinate their efforts with other groups to assert and affirm the rights of the elderly. Religious bodies and other private groups should make it their concern to rally the support of the entire community for broad-based programs for the aged through multi-purpose community centers.

Religious bodies and government should affirm the right to, and reverence for, life and recognize the individual's right to die with dignity.

Licensing agencies in the States should require that institutions caring for the aged provide adequate chaplain services.

The Government should provide financial assistance for training clergy, professional workers and volunteers to develop special understanding and competency in satisfying the spiritual needs of the aging.

THE ELDERLY CONSUMER

Today's changing marketplace has become increasingly complex and impersonal. Because of these characteristics and other factors relating to the elderly, such as low, fixed income, limited mobility and poor health, a significant number of the elderly have difficulty as consumers.

Action must be taken at the Federal, State and local levels of government to see that the rights of all consumers are protected and that particular problems that relate to the elderly consumer receive prompt and appropriate attention.

Consumers, including elderly consumers, are entitled to:

An independent consumer agency with "authority to serve as an advocate for the consumer, both as an individual and as a class, in proceedings before Federal agencies, officials, and courts."

An independent consumer product safety agency with "undiluted responsibility for preventing consumers from being exposed to unsafe goods, drugs, cosmetics and other consumer products"

Health insurance legislation "requiring more stringent regulations regarding private health insurance"

Passage of laws at the Federal and/or State level providing for no-fault automobile insurance to replace the present inadequate auto reparations system

Consumers are also entitled to:

A model law to regulate hearing aids, physical therapeutic devices and appliances;

Unit pricing "in print that is easily read and understood" and open-code dating of packaged goods;

A ban on laws forbidding the advertising of prescription drug prices;

A 3-day cooling off period to cancel a consumer purchase contract;

Abolition of laws permitting the holder of a promissory note or other credit instrument to escape contractual responsibility for the

safety or performance of merchandise by transferring the promissory note or other credit instrument to another holder (often described in legal terms as the holder in due course);

Reform of land sales regulations.

The Food and Drug Administration should require all food manufacturers to give specific identification of contents and caloric count on labels of consumer products.

RURAL OLDER PEOPLE

A broad program to develop passenger transportation systems in rural areas should be undertaken such as those financed by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity (the anti-poverty agency), the Appalachian Regional Commission and others.

Older persons in rural and farm communities should be provided legal and protective services in order to assure adequate assistance in all matters involving possible encroachment on their rights.

Community service employment programs for older persons should be expanded to serve every rural community.

There should be an adequate across-the-board Social Security increase and in the future automatic Social Security increases geared to increases in the cost of living.

There should, in addition, be an income floor related to the U.S. Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics estimate of the income needed by a retired couple for an adequate level of living.

The amount a Social Security recipient may earn without reduction of Social Security benefits should be increased.

Home repair program needed

Legislation establishing and funding a major home repair program for older people in rural areas should be enacted and a major new housing program must be developed to meet the needs of the rural elderly.

In the design of a national health service delivery system which provides for facilities, personnel, and payment for services, the unique characteristics of rural areas must be considered and special delivery systems developed.

Transportation, outreach, and home care services should be integral with all health services in rural areas. Use of mobile health units for multi-phasic (health) screening should be greatly expanded.

Health and nutrition education programs should be greatly expanded. Public health, vocational education, extension services, and other such community action programs have demonstrated that poor nutrition practices are a major health problem for the rural elderly.

THE ELDERLY POOR

There should be an income floor in the Social Security and adult assistance programs to provide older persons an income equal to the intermediate standard of living as defined by the U.S. Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS).

This would provide (as of Spring, 1970, latest available figure) at least \$2,316 a year for a single older person and \$4,489 for a couple headed by someone 60 years or older. These minimums should be guaranteed through immediate amendment of the Social Security Act (Title II) and through the Adult Assistance provisions of Title XX of (House-passed) House Resolution one (H.R. 1, now pending in Congress).

Not later than 1974, the minimum income for Social Security and Adult Assistance beneficiaries should be upgraded to provide the elderly with the so-called "comfortable level" standard of living established by BLS. This would provide (as of Spring, 1970) at least \$3,403 for a single older person and \$7,114 for an elderly couple.

To meet the increased financial burden of these recommendations, Federal general revenues should be utilized to supplement employer and employee contributions (taxes) under the Social Security Act, and Adult As-

istance programs should be taken over by the Federal Government.

Private pension plans should contain provisions for vesting (guarantee of the right to a pension) after the first years of employment, for guaranteed portability of pension benefits (assuring that earned benefits remain intact when an employee changes employers), and for Federal insurance protection against loss of pension benefits. Pension entitlement and protection should be spelled out to all employees under a "truth in pension" Federal statute.

There should be a senior emergency employment act providing a million full-time or part-time jobs for persons age 55 or over who can work and wish to work.

There must be early adoption of a national health care system available to all—the young, middle-aged and elderly—with a full range of health services financed out of payroll taxes and Federal general revenues with no additional billing to the patient for these services.

Meantime, the income and service restrictions imposed on Medicaid and the shifting of the cost of Medicare onto the backs of the elderly through ceilings on length of benefit periods, increases in deductibles, increases in Part B (doctor care) premiums are serious factors that limit health care for the elderly and the poor.

The time has come to eliminate the hodgepodge of partial health care programs. Medicaid and Medicare systems should be reformed now through the merger of these programs with a Federally administered system covering all persons 65 and older.

Where the homes and apartments of older persons are now adequate or capable of renovation, the course of action is clear. Every effort must be made to assure that the elderly have a decent place to live in neighborhoods of their choice. To achieve these goals, it should be the policy of the United States to assure:

The reduction of property taxes for lower income elderly home owners, with proportionate remissions for those older people who rent;

The greatly expanded promotion of grants and low- or no-interest loans by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to renovate unsuitable housing wherever such housing is located.

Expansion of the rent supplement program, specially directed to the elderly, is urgently needed.

Urban renewal and other development programs should be designed so that residences and natural neighborhoods are renewed, not bulldozed. Those involved, including the elderly poor, should participate in planning such developments.

THE SPANISH-SPEAKING ELDERLY

Spanish-speaking delegates called on local, State and Federal governments to provide special considerations for the senior citizens of Hispanic ancestry.

Every Cabinet-level department was called upon to give priority to programs and related services to meet the needs of the Spanish speaking senior citizens, taking into consideration cultural and family relationships of this ethnic group.

The delegates called for all action to cover both urban and rural areas.

Migrant farmworkers have special problems and special needs which require special consideration in the comprehensive plans for senior citizens, the Spanish speaking delegates pointed out.

The need for bilingual and bicultural staffs to administer programs and services was emphasized.

Delegates requested that public information on programs, services and aid for citizens also be made available in the Spanish language.

LEGAL AID AND THE URBAN AGED

The Federal Government (through the Office of Economic Opportunity or any suc-

cessor legal service agency providing funds for legal services to the poor) should set aside a minimum of \$10 million immediately to be used for special legal services for the elderly. Future funding should be at least proportionate to the percentage of needy elderly to the total poor.

The Federal Government (through the Office of Economic Opportunity) or any successor legal service agency, should establish a special center dealing with legal rights of the elderly comparable to centers relating to health, housing, consumer and migrant problems.

Elderly laymen should be trained as paid legal aides to operate programs in which these aides can act as advocates for the elderly before administrative agencies.

Legislation to establish a legal services agency to assume the responsibilities of the Office of Economic Opportunity relating to legal services should assure that the elderly are represented on the agency's board of directors in approximate proportion to their percentage of the total poor.

The elderly should be provided competent attorneys at no charge in all proceedings relating to civil commitment, conservatorships, and other proceedings brought to restrict their freedom or other legal rights.

The States should adopt legislation providing public guardians, conservators, and administrators without cost to the elderly who cannot afford from modest assets to pay for their services.

LONG-TERM CARE FOR OLDER PEOPLE

Long-term institutional care aspects of Medicaid (the Federal-State health program for the needy) should be completely Federalized. Funding should come from Federal general revenues. A uniform minimum level of benefits should be established on a national level.

Payment to institutional providers of long-term care should be made on such a basis as to cover the cost of providing that care and, in the case of proprietary facilities, allow a fair return on investment.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare should change the primary emphasis in nursing home inspections (involving nursing homes receiving Federal funds) from physical plant standards to direct patient care.

A national policy on long-term care needs must have mechanisms for being implemented and financed.

Supplementary resources need to be allocated for alternate care (care other than in nursing homes or institutions).

There is need for a change in national priorities so some of our resources are shifted from defense, foreign assistance and exploration of space to the needs of our elderly citizens, especially in the area of long-term care.

Any national health insurance program which is adopted should meet the needs of those who require catastrophic care, long-term physical and mental health care and social services both within and outside of institutions.

SPECIAL CONCERNS SESSION ON OLDER BLACKS

Black delegates to the White House Conference on Aging unanimously voted for a wide-ranging series of recommendations designed to offset the special problems of older Black Americans which grow out of racism and poverty.

Submitted as the beginning of a "national policy for the black aged," the recommendations ranged from a guaranteed annual income of \$6,000 (\$9,000 for couples) and lower age and work requirements for Social Security purposes to issues of health, nutrition, housing transportation, and employment.

"God knows all poor people should have the right to a decent income, but people who have been deprived and underpaid all through the decades have earned a right to

an immediate remedy," said Dr. Benjamin Mays, President-Emeritus, Morehouse College, and President of the Atlanta Board of Education, who presided at the session.

Speakers outlined the plight of the one and a half million black aged in the country during a four-hour morning session, which followed two other sessions held during the Conference. The recommendations will be included in the Conference report.

Dr. Robert Hill, Associate Research Director for the National Urban League, in a profile of the black aged noted that the group comprises eight per cent of the 20 million persons 65 years and over (61 per cent residing in the South) and has a median income of \$3,222. The life expectancy for black men declined a full year (from 61.1 to 60.1) between 1960 and 1968, while that for white men has remained about the same (67.5).

Dr. Hill quoted a survey conducted by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare which stated that two-thirds of the black elderly are not benefiting from doctor bill coverage under Medicare because they cannot afford the premiums.

The black delegates called for massive improvements in the Social Security system, replacement of the present welfare system with a more humane method of helping the poor, infirm and elderly, a greatly expanded program of Federal support for housing for the elderly and expansion of Medicare health insurance benefits for those age 65 or over (to be financed by Federal general revenue).

The delegates were urged by Congressman John Conyers (D., Mich.) to confront Congress as well as the White House with their demands.

SENIORS DEMAND END OF VIETNAM WAR

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The war in Southeast Asia must stop, President Nixon was told by delegates to the 1971 White House Conference on Aging here.

"Delegates from every part of our nation call upon the President to end U.S. involvement in the war in Southeast Asia," the anti-war resolution declared, adding:

We declare urgently and simply: "The War Must Stop!"

The anti-war resolution was presented by the White House Conference Section on Facilities, Programs and Services. Dr. Ellen Winston, retired Commissioner of the U.S. Welfare Administration (now Assistance Payments Administration), presided over this Conference section.

OFFSHORE OIL LEASES, THE OIL IMPORT QUOTA SYSTEM, AND THE TRANS-ALASKA PIPELINE

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, last Friday my legislative assistant, Peter Gruenstein, testified for me at hearings held in Boston by the Massachusetts Special Commission on Marine Boundaries and Resources. The testimony concerned the interrelationship of proposed offshore oil leasing off the east coast and our other oil policies, particularly the oil import quota system and the proposed trans-Alaska pipeline.

I believe that too often specific decisions concerning the development and use of our energy resources are made in isolation. This is especially true in the case of our oil policies. I hope the testimony that follows is useful to my colleagues who are interested in our oil

policies and, particularly, in the offshore leasing issue.

The statement follows:

TESTIMONY OF PETER GRUENSTEIN, LEGISLATIVE AIDE TO CONGRESSMAN LES ASPIN OF WISCONSIN, BEFORE THE SPECIAL COMMISSION ON MARINE BOUNDARIES AND RESOURCES, FRIDAY, JAN. 21, 1972

Mr. Chairman, it is a privilege for me to appear before the Commission today. These are important hearings and I believe they can do much to inform the public not only of the offshore drilling issue but of the federal government's basic oil policies. That information is important because it is impossible to evaluate any offshore drilling proposal without also understanding the broader context in which that proposal is made.

I would like to limit my testimony today to two basic points which are central prerequisites to the understanding of any specific proposal involving the production, development or use of oil. The first point is that our present oil policies are essentially irrational. The second point is that rational decisions concerning energy development and use will not be made until we develop a comprehensive and long-range energy policy.

Because of the complexity of the energy issue, and because of the oil industry's truly remarkable public relations network, Congress and the press have been far too timid in the past in publicly analyzing our oil policies for the American people. The result of this timidity has been a federal oil policy which costs the American people billions of dollars each year, but gives them precious little in return. I can think of no other government policy where so many give so much to so few and get so little in return.

I

I would like to focus today on only one of several major government oil subsidies, but the one that costs the consumer the most and makes the least amount of sense: the oil import quota system. The quota system is designed to severely limit the import of petroleum products into America, and by thus lowering the supply to increase the price of oil, thus promoting the exploration and development of domestic oil supplies, so that in a national emergency where our foreign supplies of oil were cut off, domestic supplies would be sufficient to see us through. So the rationale goes.

There are several things wrong with this justification of the oil import quota system, which costs American consumers at least \$6.5 billion each year. The first thing is that the vast majority of our imported oil presently comes from friendly and stable nations such as Canada, Mexico and Venezuela. At present, we depend on Mideast nations to fill only about 5% of our total domestic oil needs. It is, of course, important for the United States to develop its domestic oil potential. But that needs to be put into the proper perspective: abolition of the oil import quota system would in no appreciable way adversely affect our national security.

In fact, the import quota system is something of a fraud; it is not even effectively accomplishing what it is supposedly designed to do. To truly insure the national security in the most unlikely event that we were without adequate sources of foreign oil, it is not sufficient to simply encourage exploration for domestic oil. It is also necessary to insure that after the oil is discovered, a sufficient amount of it is kept on hand to be used in a genuine national crisis. The import quota system may, at least under certain conditions, encourage the rapid exploration of oil. But it also encourages the rapid marketing and consumption of oil. In other words, we are presently depleting our own domestic sources of oil at a much faster rate than we would if the import quota system were not in effect. This has led a former energy policy advisor to President Nixon to describe the import quota

system quite aptly as "a drain America first policy." If a free market system existed, however, we would be importing far more of the foreign oil presently available to us. In short, if insuring national security is our purpose, it makes much more sense to use as much of the foreign oil while it is available to us, and save as much of our domestic oil as necessary for when (and if) we truly need it—that is, when our foreign sources of oil dry up.

Several quite feasible and clearly superior alternatives to the import quota system have been proposed. (1) Senator Proxmire has introduced a bill that would provide the proper incentives necessary for getting the oil companies to explore for oil without marketing some of it. This kind of limited incentive would be effective and could be instituted at minimum cost.

(2) A national defense petroleum reserve system, proposed in the House by the Massachusetts Congressmen Silvio Conte and Michael Harrington, would keep a one year oil supply in reserve within the U.S. for use in a national emergency. This proposal would accomplish at least what the import quota system does and would save billions of dollars to consumers.

(3) We could also import reserve oil into the country and store it underground for use in a national emergency. This too would cost far less than the present import quota system.

(4) A tariff could be substituted for the present quota system as proposed by the Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Control. This would also be a far more rational and less costly way of promoting the nation's security needs.

The greatest contribution this Commission could make through these hearings might very possibly be in helping to inform the public how much this strange, contrived oil import quota system costs them each year. How many people, or congressmen for that matter, know what the import quota system costs an average family? For instance, that the average family of four in Massachusetts pays \$140 each year in unnecessarily high fuel costs, or that a family in Wisconsin pays \$108 extra per year. These are typical of the extra costs that families in other Eastern and Midwest states pay as a direct result of the oil import quota system.

The relationship between the quota system and offshore oil leases is, of course, quite direct and substantial. Interior Department officials tell us that offshore oil drilling leases off the East Coast are necessary to supply the East Coast's growing energy needs. They do not tell us that if the import quota system were abolished, which could be done by the stroke of a presidential pen, there would be absolutely no need for this drilling for a very long time to come. They would prefer to discuss their offshore drilling proposal without having the assumptions and policies challenged on which that proposal is based. They ask for the American people's faith that they will act in the public interest, yet their basic oil policies are clearly anti-public.

Not only does the quota system have a direct bearing on the offshore drilling proposal, but so do seemingly obscure and distant issues such as the trans-Alaska pipeline. There is a great deal of oil up in Alaska's North Slope. In fact, the North Slope contains at least half of the present oil reserves in the lower-48 states, as well as a huge amount of natural gas reserves. The Alaska pipeline proposal, which the Interior Department will approve within the next month, will have the oil shipped by pipeline from Alaska's North Slope to the southern, ice-free port of Valdez. From there, the oil will be shipped primarily to the West Coast, for consumption there. It is also likely that some of this badly needed oil will be shipped to foreign countries, such as Japan.

The basic alternative to the Alaska pipeline is a trans-Canadian line which would terminate in the Midwest. A connecting link

to the East Coast could supply eastern consumers with over a million barrels per day of badly needed, low sulfur fuel.

Moreover, it makes both environmental and economic sense to pipe the oil through Canada. The Canadian pipeline would avoid the use of super-tankers in treacherous waters and would not run through the worst earthquake zones in North America—with the risk of pipeline rupture—as would the 780-mile trans-Alaska line.

Economically, a Canadian pipeline would take the oil to the East and Midwest, where the demand is greatest and the price of oil highest. The chart shows the current price of oil in the East, Midwest and West Coast. As you will note, the present price of oil in the East is 90c higher than in the West, although the price of oil on the two coasts should be almost exactly the same. But the Interior Department is going to allow the Alaskan oil to be shipped to the West Coast rather than to the East and Midwest. Why? Because, for a variety of reasons, that is where the oil companies want it to go.

WHERE SHOULD THE ALASKAN OIL GO?

Prices per barrel	West coast	Midwest	East coast
Prices now.....	\$3.17	\$3.82	\$4.07
Prices if Alaska pipeline is built.....	2.40	3.82	4.07
Prices if Canadian pipeline is built.....	3.17	3.40	3.60

¹ Prices in the Midwest should normally be 20 cents per barrel higher than the west or east coast because of increased transportation costs.

² This assumes that half the oil from the north slope—1,000,000 barrels per day—would be shipped to the east coast.

III

Thus, we have seen how just two government oil programs—the quota system and the Alaska pipeline—can have a direct and radical effect on the alleged necessity for the offshore leasing program. Dozens of other policies and decisions, too numerous even to mention, have had a similar effect. If one thing is clear it is that the lack of national energy-environmental policy works against the consumer it allows essentially anti-public decisions to be made and rationalized in isolation, which are irrational when viewed in the broader context of our long-range energy needs and supplies.

I would like to conclude by quoting in part from a somewhat surprising editorial in the January 1972 issue of a pro-oil industry magazine called *Offshore*:

It seems that now is the time to formulate such an environmental policy, and it should be done by a group composed of government, industry, and environmentalists.

Could these groups with such diverse aims agree? It would be possible only if all groups were willing to reason together. That doesn't seem to be asking too much. . . .

A single policy could result from such a meeting, one that would meet the most stringent requirements of all sides.

Instead of determining the "alternatives" at each lease hearing, wouldn't it make better sense to determine these possibilities once and for all? Wouldn't it be better if certain guidelines could be established? And then, at individual lease environmental hearings, specific problems could be discussed and better handled.

In short, we need a national environmental policy. And unless we get it, there can only be numerous delays in offshore development, wasted time and money, a loss of future energy supplies and a growing frustration on the part of everyone.

THE SECOND 6-MONTHS: A LEGISLATIVE RECORD, JULY-JANUARY

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, in keeping with my policy of providing detailed information to my constituents in the Third District of Kentucky, I am inserting in the RECORD the following summary of my legislative activities during the final 6 months of the first session of the 92d Congress:

THE SECOND 6-MONTHS: A LEGISLATIVE RECORD, JULY-JANUARY

1. THE ECONOMY—EFFORTS TO CURB INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Certainly the most urgent task confronting Congress during the second six months of the first session dealt with legislation designed to implement the domestic and international economic initiatives announced by President Nixon in his momentous address to the nation on August 15.

Though I felt the President should have acted sooner, I generally supported him in his fight to curb inflation, to provide jobs for the unemployed by reviving the ailing domestic economy and to strengthen our international trading position.

One of the first pieces of this legislation—and one of the most important—was the Tax Reform Bill. In October, the House passed this bill which provided for \$15.8 billion in personal and business tax relief designed to stimulate the economy. The Senate passed a differing version, and the legislation went to a House-Senate conference. A compromise version of the Revenue Act cleared conference and was signed into law by President Nixon on December 10.

Also in October, and not without some regret, I supported the President's move to postpone a scheduled federal employees' pay raise for six months. This vote was in keeping with the spirit of the wage-price controls and occurred before guidelines had been issued by the Pay Board. In December, however, as part of a bill extending the President's economic stabilization powers, the federal pay raise was allowed to take effect on schedule since it fell within the guidelines the Pay Board had issued by them.

Another factor in America's economic dilemma was the worsening imbalance between export and import trade. In July, I voted to stimulate American export sales through the Export-Expansion Finance Act raising the ceiling on loans and guarantees by the Export-Import Bank.

Economically, Americans were hard hit in 1971. Inflation reduced the purchasing power of working Americans. At the same time, the number of people without jobs had, by year's end, reached 5.2 million, an increase of 2.3 million in just two years. Over 6 per cent of the nation's "job-seeking" workers were idle.

Congress acted on three fronts to ease the unemployment crisis: It passed a \$2.25 billion Emergency Employment Act to create badly needed public service jobs; an Accelerated Public Works bill to create construction jobs; and it extended federal unemployment compensation benefits.

In June, President Nixon vetoed the Public Works bill which had been adopted in order to stimulate public works employment and to extend the life of the Appalachian Regional Commission, which has helped so much to revitalize the economy of Eastern Kentucky.

Congress responded in July by passing a compromise measure, providing \$500 million for new construction jobs and extending the Appalachian Regional Development Act

through 1975. This bill was signed into law by the President on August 5.

In August, I voted to expedite a \$1 billion appropriation to get the Emergency Employment Act off to an immediate start. Louisville and Jefferson County already have received job-creating grants totalling \$2,709,900 under this act. This program, which gives preference to Vietnam veterans, is designed to create permanent jobs in such important areas as health, education, sanitation and environmental control.

For those still unable to find work, I voted in December for a 13-week extension of federal unemployment benefits to take effect after state benefits have been exhausted.

In other votes related to the health of our economy, I voted against the \$250 million federal loan guarantee for Lockheed and against an additional \$58.5 million payment to Boeing to terminate the cancelled SST program. It is my belief that economic stability will not be achieved through governmental "props" for commercial projects and corporations that are unable to pay their own way.

The government's money, in my opinion, can better be spent—and jobs created—in such priority areas as urban mass transit and environmental enhancement. Housing is another vital priority, and in October I voted for legislation to provide mortgage money for new homes in rural communities.

2. CONSUMER PROTECTION

The Consumer Federation of America recently announced that it had rated my voting record during the first session of the 92d Congress as 100 per cent in support of the consumer. This rating was based on eight "key" votes analyzed by the federation.

The most important votes came in October on a bill passed by the House—but not yet taken up by the Senate—which would create for the first time a full-fledged federal Consumer Protection Agency. I not only supported this bill enthusiastically, but I also voted for a strengthening amendment which would have greatly broadened the powers of the proposed Consumer Protection Agency. Unfortunately, this amendment was defeated.

I also voted—in July—to support the appropriation bill which provided \$1.4 million for the President's Office of Consumer Affairs and the Consumer Products Information Coordination Center.

3. ELECTION REFORM

Congress has now completed action on the first major federal election reform bill since 1925. This long-overdue legislation, which I supported when it gained House passage in November, sets limits on expenditures for campaign advertising in federal election campaigns.

Another important election reform was embodied in the Revenue Act, which became law in December. Under this act, a tax credit or a deduction can be claimed for political contributions not exceeding \$100. This provision is to encourage small donations from many citizens, thus broadening the base of political financing and lessening the influence of wealthy special interests.

4. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND CONSERVATION

Our endangered environment drew considerable legislative attention during the second half of the first session of the 92d Congress.

Although the underground nuclear explosion on Amchitka Island last November fortunately seems to have had only limited adverse effects, I remain disturbed that reports of certain governmental agencies recommending against the test were withheld from public consideration.

In late July, I voted unsuccessfully to strike funds for the Amchitka project—called Cannikin—from a Public Works appropriation bill. And in early August, prior to the test, I joined with a number of my

colleagues in a Federal Court lawsuit seeking full disclosure of all reports pertaining to Cannikin.

Another environmental concern in which I took great interest was the passage in September of a much-needed Marine Protection Act prohibiting the dumping of chemical and biological warfare agents and radioactive wastes. It also bans the unregulated dumping of other waste materials into oceans, coastal waters or the Great Lakes. This bill is now in a House-Senate conference and should become law shortly.

I also voted to prevent a delay in the funding of Washington's "Metro" subway system which, when completed, should do much to cut down on automotive air pollution and relieve traffic congestion in the nation's Capital and its surrounding area.

Legislation to comprehensively regulate the use of pesticides also was passed in the latter months of the session. I would have preferred a tougher bill and I supported strengthening amendments which were defeated. However, this bill represents a significant step forward.

In the area of wildlife conservation: I supported a resolution seeking a 10-year moratorium on the killing of whales, porpoises and dolphins; a bill setting penalties for shooting wildlife from an aircraft; and a bill to protect and manage the herds of free-roaming wild horses and burros on our western plains. I voted to delay action on the Marine Mammal Protection Act in order to give conservationists more time to push for improvements in this very important legislation.

I also supported the continuation and expansion of the Interior Department's salt water conversion program, which includes purification of chemically contaminated water through the desalinization process.

I supported the creation of a Joint Congressional Committee on the Environment, and I voted for a \$2.3 million appropriation for the President's Council on Environmental Quality. I opposed an appropriation to fund the controversial Dickey-Lincoln hydro-electric project in eastern Maine, which is opposed by environmentalists in that state.

5. HEALTH CARE

The critical demand for action to meet the nation's present and future medical manpower needs was answered by prompt House action in July on three important bills: the \$2.9 billion Health Manpower Act providing scholarships and loans for medical students and health technicians; the accompanying \$855 million Nurses Training Assistance Act; and the Veterans Administration Medical School Assistance Act. Together, these bills will do much to alleviate the present national health-manpower shortage, which is estimated to amount to 50,000 doctors, 250,000 allied health professionals and 150,000 nurses.

Other health measures which have drawn my support in recent months include two of particular significance to Kentucky. One was the Cooperative Animal Disease Control Act, passed by the House in October, establishing an international mechanism for prevention of livestock epidemics such as the outbreak of equine encephalomyelitis which killed more than one thousand horses in the United States in 1970. The other was a resolution, passed in July, to insure the continued operation of the Lexington, Kentucky, narcotics rehabilitation hospital under the U.S. Public Health Service.

Probably the most dramatic piece of health legislation was the \$1.5 billion National Cancer Attack Act, which was passed by the House in November and since has become law. I was a co-sponsor of this important bill.

On a less successful note, I supported an amendment to the Health, Education and Welfare appropriation bill in July which would have added \$200 million for community mental health and other vital medical programs. However, the House rejected this amendment.

6. PUBLIC SAFETY AND THE DRUG PROBLEM

In the interest of highway safety, I voted against a bill to increase the allowable width of trucks and buses on our Interstate Highways. This bill passed the House, however, and is now before the Senate.

Because of the disturbing involvement of youths in serious crimes, I favored legislation to establish an Institute for Continuing Studies of Juvenile Justice. However, this bill was sidetracked on a procedural vote.

The relationship between drug addiction and crime seriously concerns me. In recent months I have voted to support narcotics rehabilitation programs in our correctional institutions and to provide similar services at Veterans Administration hospitals. I also voted to amend the Narcotic Rehabilitation Act to include methadone programs which, while not the final answer, provide a means for breaking the dependency upon heroin and, in some cases, lead the way to total withdrawal from drug-dependence.

7. EDUCATION

In keeping with my belief in a general approach to educational aid—one which aims to establish a high quality educational system for all students—I supported the Higher Education Act as reported by the House Committee on Education and Labor. As a committee member, I played an active role in shaping the final form of this important bill.

When it came to the House floor in October, I opposed an amendment which would have deleted the "general institutional aid" section of the bill. The House defeated this amendment which had been proposed by those favoring the Senate-passed version of the bill. The Senate, in my opinion, placed too much emphasis on categorical awards—called "cost of education" grants—which are based on the number of students enrolled under federal assistance programs. The Senate version would distribute federal aid less evenly, placing private colleges at a disadvantage in relation to public institutions.

I also objected to—and voted against—the inclusion of a \$1.5 billion desegregation aid authorization for elementary and secondary schools as a part of the Higher Education Act. I do not think it belongs in this bill.

One of the most important sections of the Higher Education Act, to my way of thinking, is the one which would create a Bureau of Occupational Education within the U.S. Office of Education. Vocational and career training have for too long a time been the stepchildren of the educational system. This type of education is just as important as academic education.

The Higher Education bill is now in the hands of a House-Senate conference committee to which I have been appointed. There are many serious differences to be resolved, and the fate and final form of the bill, at this point, remain uncertain.

8. CHILD CARE AND PUBLIC AID

One of the big legislative breakthroughs of the first session was the final enactment on December 7th of legislation authorizing the creation of comprehensive day-care programs which initially would have served one million pre-school children and would have enabled countless indigent mothers to seek gainful employment. Just two days later, however, President Nixon struck down this bill with a veto. While this bill was not perfect, there is an urgent need for this type of legislation, and I hope Congress will consider this subject again in the near future.

Since the child care program had been included as part of the bill extending the Office of Economic Opportunity's activities, many other important anti-poverty programs also were affected by the veto. Among them was the creation of an independent, non-profit Legal Services Corporation for the poor. During the coming months, my Edu-

cation and Labor Committee will have to rebuild the anti-poverty bill and try to salvage as much of the program as possible.

On a happier note, the passage of a strongly-worded Congressional resolution in October apparently forced the Nixon Administration to back down on its threatened cutback of the school lunch program for needy children. This resolution originated in my committee.

In November, the House passed and sent to the Senate a bill to extend federal benefits for two more years for coalminers disabled by black lung disease. This legislation, which I supported both in committee and on the floor, also seeks to establish fairer standards for diagnosing this deadly occupational ailment and to provide additional benefits to the widows and surviving children of black lung victims—many of them Kentuckians.

9. CIVIL LIBERTIES

There were a number of controversial issues raised during the final months of 1971 which touched upon basic Constitutional principles in the area of civil liberties.

In July, I voted to approve reasonable new restrictions on the mailing and distribution of obscene materials. I voted against a proposed contempt citation of CBS for its "Selling of the Pentagon" program because the committee investigating the network failed to prove that it needed the "out-takes" which CBS refused to surrender. I also supported an unsuccessful effort to check the unwarranted expansion of the scope of the anachronistic Subversive Activities Control Board.

In September, I enthusiastically backed a bill—which is now law—to prohibit the establishment of emergency detention camps. I also supported a fair and balanced amendment to the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, which would allow employers to be taken to court over discrimination complaints but would not subject them to compliance with administrative "cease and desist" orders.

In October, I voted for a proposed Constitutional amendment guaranteeing Equal Rights for Women. This measure passed the House and is now before the Senate. I also supported a landmark bill to reimburse Alaskan natives for long-standing territorial claims.

In November, I voted against the controversial "school prayer" amendment. This vote involved a most painful decision for me since my family and I personally place the highest value on prayer. However, I feel that no governmental agency has the right to tell me—or to tell any citizen—how to pray, when to pray and what words to say. This would have been the end result of the passage of the Prayer Amendment, and this is why I opposed it.

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND DEFENSE

Although the ground war in Vietnam continues to slowly wind down, no date has yet been set for total withdrawal, and there is no release date in sight for our prisoners of war. In the meantime, the air war in Southeast Asia goes on and the down-pilots swell the ranks of POWs.

During the last six months of 1971, the House rejected the so-called "Mansfield Amendment"—to set a time certain for ending the hostilities and gaining release of our prisoners—several times. I consistently supported the Mansfield proposal and several similar measures. A close vote occurred on October 19 when the Mansfield proposition failed on a procedural vote by just 23 votes. Switches by only 13 members would have made the difference.

Finally, on December 17—the day Congress adjourned—a last ditch effort to force inclusion of the Mansfield Amendment as part of the Foreign Aid bill met defeat on the House floor 130 to 101. Symbolically, that was the

House's last recorded vote of the first session of the 92d Congress.

The session ended without final passage of a foreign aid appropriation, but "continuing resolutions" were adopted to keep the program going and final legislative agreement was reached early in the second session.

Other useful bills which Congress passed and I supported provided for: extending the life of the Peace Corps; liberalizing benefits for veterans and their survivors; authorizing improved housing facilities for our military bases; and, a two-year extension of the draft law, accompanied by a \$2.4 billion military pay raise intended to attract volunteers and to test the validity of the Volunteer Army concept.

NIXON CALLS FOR INCREASED FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF THE U.N.

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States has now come to Congress asking for an increase in U.S. contributions to the United Nations operations. He continues his successful charade of speaking one way and acting another.

Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States continues to successfully delude the American people into thinking that he places their interests before all others. Richard M. Nixon continues to pose as a conservative American while leading this country further and further down the path to absolute socialism and eventual one-world government.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the President's attitude toward the United Nations Organization—an organization which, on the face of it, exists primarily as a Communist debating society. Every evidence was given that the President and his administration would support cuts in the U.S. financial support of this world agency. The President himself criticized the display following the admittance of Red China; he has, in his last two addresses to the Congress, stated that it is time for America to tend to its problems at home, emphasizing that the rest of the world must bear its proper share of the load.

The budget that the President recently submitted to the Congress belies this position and shows the President for what he really is, an advocate and strong supporter of the United Nations and what it stands for, one-world government.

The truth stands out in the budget—the President of the United States has come to this Congress requesting an increase of \$7.686 million over the 1972 outlay to the United Nations. Furthermore, his budget message contains an increase of \$27.697 million for international organizations and conferences over and above the expected outlay for this purpose for fiscal year 1972.

The figures themselves are startling. The President of the United States has, even after the United Nations members thumbed their noses at our country, requested this Congress to appropriate \$63.998 million for the UNO alone during the fiscal year 1973. He has asked that this Congress appropriate American

tax dollars in the amount of \$180.724 million for international organizations and conferences. Rounded off, this figure to \$64 million for the U.N. alone and \$181 million total for the international organizations and conferences.

Mr. Speaker, I would remind our colleagues who have been led to believe reducing the size of the American contribution to the UNO is the answer have been betrayed. The President has committed his administration to an increase in this appropriation, continuing to pour American money into international cesspool of world communism, the U.N., an organization that exists solely and simply as a world Communist debating society.

I would remind our colleagues of discharge petition No. 10, which lies waiting at the Speaker's desk. Support of this petition would give the House a chance to vote on H.R. 2632, to rescind and revoke U.S. membership in the United Nations and its related agencies. I am con-

vinced that such a vote would show once and for all the power of the people in America and would remove this cancer from our shores.

I include a related excerpt from the budget for fiscal year 1973 and a copy of H.R. 2632 in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Budget for 1973]

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES: FEDERAL FUNDS AND GENERAL AND SPECIAL FUNDS—CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary to meet annual obligations of membership in international multilateral organizations, pursuant to treaties, conventions, or specific Acts of Congress, [\$152,864,000] \$180,900,000. (United Nations and affiliated agencies—(1) 22 U.S.C. 287-287e; (2) 22 U.S.C. 287m-287t; (3) T.I.A.S. 1591; (4) 22 U.S.C. 290-290e; (5) 22 U.S.C. 279-279d; (6) 22 U.S.C. 271-272b; (7) T.I.A.S. 6267; (8) T.I.A.S. 2052; T.I.A.S. 5947; (9) T.I.A.S. 4044; (10) 22 U.S.C. 2021-2026; Inter-American organizations—(1) T.S. 978; (2) T.S. 987; Protocol

to the Convention ratified by the United States, November 3, 1959; (3) 22 U.S.C. 273; Public Law 91-340, approved July 17, 1970; (4) 22 U.S.C. 280j-280k; Public Law 91-553, approved December 16, 1970; (5) T.S. 714; (6) T.I.A.S. 2361; regional organizations—(1) 22 U.S.C. 280-280c; Public Law 91-632, approved December 31, 1970; (2) 22 U.S.C. 1928; 22 U.S.C. 2388-2390; (3) 22 U.S.C. 1928a-1928d; (4) T.I.A.S. 3170; 22 U.S.C. 2388-2390; (5) 22 U.S.C. 1896b; (6) T.I.A.S. 4891; 22 U.S.C. 2388-2390; other international organizations—(1) 22 U.S.C. 276-276c-1; (2) T.S. 536; (3) 22 U.S.C. 269f; (4) 22 U.S.C. 269h; (5) T.S. 378; T.S. 673; (6) 22 U.S.C. 274; (7) International Hydrographic Convention, ratification advised by the Senate May 13, 1968; (8) International Wheat Agreement, 1971, ratification advised by the Senate July 12, 1971; (9) T.I.A.S. 6584; (10) 22 U.S.C. 269g-1; (11) 22 U.S.C. 269g-1; (12) T.I.A.S. 6150; (13) T.I.A.S. 6548; (14) Customs Cooperation Council Convention, ratification advised by the Senate October 4, 1968; (15) Public Law 91-243, approved May 9, 1970; General—22 U.S.C. 262b; Department of State Appropriation Act, 1972.)

PROGRAM AND FINANCING

[In thousands of dollars]

	1971 actual	1972 estimate	1973 estimate		1971 actual	1972 estimate	1973 estimate
Program by activities:				Other international organizations:			
United Nations and affiliated agencies:				Interparliamentary Union.....	27	29	33
United Nations.....	50,379	56,312	63,998	International Bureau of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.....	1	1	1
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.....	10,531	12,018	12,018	International Bureau for the Protection of Intellectual Property.....	15	15	15
International Civil Aviation Organization.....	3,848	4,236	4,495	International Bureau for the Publication of Customs Tariffs.....	17	19	20
World Health Organization.....	21,681	23,741	26,342	International Bureau of Weights and Measures.....	75	86	99
Food and Agriculture Organization.....	10,083	10,083	12,151	International Council of Scientific Unions.....	97	97	97
International Labor Organization.....	3,759	8,709	8,709	International Hydrographic Organization.....	16	18	18
International Telecommunication Union.....	703	810	967	International Wheat Council.....	33	39	42
World Meteorological Organization.....	775	775	943	International Coffee Organization.....	230	254	290
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization.....	112	116	152	International Institute for the Unification of Private Law.....	8	9	12
International Atomic Energy Agency.....	3,672	3,977	4,883	Hague Conference on Private International Law.....	11	12	12
Subtotal.....	105,543	112,068	134,658	Maintenance of Certain Lights in the Red Sea.....	4	4	4
Inter-American organizations:				International Bureau of Exhibitions.....	12	7	7
Inter-American Indian Institute.....	62	62	62	Customs Cooperation Council.....	259	342	385
Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences.....	2,695	2,960	3,197	International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property.....		70	70
Pan American Institute of Geography and History.....	151	151	151	Subtotal.....	805	905	1,008
Pan American Railway Congress Association.....	5	15	15	Total obligations.....	145,247	156,738	184,779
Pan American Health Organization.....	9,263	10,437	11,313	Financing:			
Organization of American States.....	16,030	18,780	20,768	Receipts and reimbursements from: Non-Federal sources: Deduction of loan repayment by U.N. from U.S. contribution, as authorized (22 U.S.C. 2871):			
Subtotal.....	28,206	32,405	35,506	Loan repayment.....	-2,744	-2,745	-2,805
Regional organizations:				Interest collected.....	-1,184	-1,129	-1,074
South Pacific Commission.....	199	215	248	Budget authority (appropriation).....	141,319	152,864	180,900
North Atlantic Treaty Organization.....	5,161	5,315	6,415	Relation of obligations to outlays:			
North Atlantic Assembly.....	60	73	80	Obligations incurred, net.....	141,319	152,864	180,800
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.....	310	396	453	Obligated balance, start of year.....	5,747	6,379	4,067
Colombo Plan Council for Technical Cooperation.....	8	9	9	Obligated balance, end of year.....	-6,379	-4,067	-4,243
Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.....	4,955	5,352	6,402	Adjustments in expired accounts.....	-20	-2,149	
Subtotal.....	10,693	11,360	13,607	Outlays.....	140,668	153,027	180,724

H.R. 2632

(A bill to rescind and revoke membership of the United States in the United Nations and the specialized agencies thereof, and for other purposes)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the effective date of this Act the ratification by the Senate of the United States on July 28, 1945, of the United Nations Charter, making the United States a member of the United Nations, be, and said ratification hereby is, rescinded, revoked, and held for naught; and all Acts and parts of Acts designed and intended to perfect and carry out such membership of the United States in the United Nations are hereby repealed.

Sec. 2. That from and after the effective date of this Act all Acts and parts of Acts designed and intended to make the United States a member of the specialized agencies

of the United Nations, or any of them, are hereby repealed; and all executive agreements, international undertakings and understandings, however characterized and named, designed, and intended to make the United States a member of the specialized agencies of the United Nations are hereby rescinded, revoked, and held for naught.

Sec. 3. That from and after the effective date of this Act any and all appropriations for defraying the cost of the membership of the United States in the United Nations or in specialized agencies thereof are hereby rescinded and revoked; and any unexpended and unencumbered balances of any such appropriations shall be covered into the general fund of the Treasury of the United States.

Sec. 4. That the International Organizations Immunities Act of December 29, 1945 (59 Stat. 669; title 22, secs. 288 to 288f U.S.C.), be and it is repealed; and any and all Executive orders extending or granting

immunities, benefits, and privileges under said Act of December 29, 1945, are hereby rescinded, revoked, and held for naught.

Sec. 5. This Act may be cited as the "International Organizations Rescission Act of 1969".

PRESIDENT NIXON IS KEEPING HIS WORD

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, last week the President of the United States withdrew an additional 4,400 soldiers from Vietnam.

On January 20, 1969, there were 532,500 Americans enduring the perils of an Asian war. Today, there are 143,700 Americans in Vietnam who are planning to come home.

Mr. Speaker, President Nixon is keeping his word.

AMERICAN WORKERS SUFFER SERIOUS POLLUTION PROBLEMS AT THEIR JOBS

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 is now more than a year old. Congress has a right to know what we have to show for this landmark legislation which covers the health and safety of 57 million workers in 4.1 million workplaces.

An excellent article in Environmental Action by Franklin Wallick reports that "the workplace environment is the invisible issue which is gradually coming to the forefront of scientific and governmental consciousness," but the article criticizes "the Federal Government's limphanded way of taking this new law to the American workers."

Few of the technological breakthroughs used to reduce and eliminate outdoor pollution have been applied to the place where people work. The workplace environment is not exclusively a factory environment. Many office workers suffer from poor ventilation. There are special environmental hazards which every employed person suffers and which the law was designed to identify and remove so that all workers during their working life would experience neither impaired health or shortened life as a result of those exposures.

I include the Environmental Action article on the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1960 at this point in the RECORD:

[From Environment Action, Jan. 8, 1972]

FACTORY POLLUTION: IT DOESN'T ALL GO UP THE CHIMNEY

(By Franklin Wallick)

The most neglected environment—and the most polluted—is the workplace environment where 80 million working Americans spend up to one-half their waking hours. Like American poverty in the 1960s, the workplace environment is the invisible issue which is gradually coming to the forefront of scientific and governmental consciousness.

The data is sparse, but what little is known is enough to startle even the most hardened observer. Noise, dust, chemicals, gases, fumes, vapors, laser beams, radiation, toxic metals, heat and cold stress—these are the raw generic names given to a vast, pervasive kind of pollution which will tax the best efforts of government and environmentalists during this decade and beyond.

A U.S. Public Health Service study among one million workers in the Chicago area in 1968 found that 46 percent were exposed to "serious and urgent" health hazards. Even more significant, a U.S. Department of Labor survey two years later found that the "health and safety hazards" ranked as the number

two complaint in a scale of 19 sources of discontent.

In response to these perils and the mounting worker discontent, four environmental groups, led by Environmental Action, added environmental input into congressional deliberation on the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970. Late in the year, a comprehensive bill was passed and enacted into law. But what happened after that? Unfortunately, not much. The tough language written into the legislation has disappeared into the government bureaucracy, and only the most superficial implementation of that law has occurred.

For instance, most worker complaints coming to the Department of Labor are health complaints relating to noise, dust and fumes. But the Occupational Safety and Health Administration has only 23 industrial hygienists to follow up on these health complaints, or one for every 2.5 million workers covered under the act. It is now a well-established part of the occupational folklore that we have more fish and game wardens in the nation than we have occupation health specialists to identify environmental problems at the American workplace.

The new law applies to 57 million workers in 4.1 million workplaces. At the present rate of inspection it will take 284 years to inspect every workplace. The annual budget for the federal law comes to roughly \$50 million, or 25 cents per citizen. As a measure of comparison, the Nixon administration asked Congress for four times more for the supersonic transport than for worker safety and health. There are currently 1200 sky marshals guarding commercial jet aircraft, but by mid-1972 only 500 federal inspectors will be on the job guarding workers.

Most of the health hazards which can endanger a person's health or shorten his life are difficult to identify. The technical jargon is often too much for a lay person to fathom. Such institutions as the National Safety Council or the American National Standards Institute (ANSI), which are supposed to enlighten working people, often keep them in the dark with concepts and standards which only a highly-trained person can understand.

For instance, the noise standard of 90 decibels for an average of eight hours in a single working day is a standard which is blithely accepted by industry, by the National Safety and by ANSI. It is designed to keep corporate America happy, but it condemns a predictable percentage of the working population to occupational deafness. Heart and respiratory troubles and mental distress also affect workers exposed to noise pollution on the job. A safe working level ought to be no more than 75 decibels, but the American worker today is condemned to a standard of 90 which permits "excursions" (an unfortunate word) of 115 decibels for 15 minutes. Worse still, noise pollution is rarely measured at the workplace so the probability is that most noisy jobs exceeds even the unsafe noise level of 90 decibels.

The fight of Carl Carlson, safety chairman of the United Automobile Workers Local 6, to get a union noise meter on the factory premises is a classic story of how workplace noise pollution requires the skills and tools of the environmental movement. Carlson, who works in the Melrose Park plant of International Harvester, persuaded his local to spend \$350 for a noise meter. After the meter was purchased, however, he was informed that he would be fired if he brought it into the factory. Finally, after negotiations, the union won the right to use its meter but only if the company's meter was either not working or not available.

Rough estimates show that 20 million American workers work at dangerous noise levels. But little has been done by industry, by government, or by the unions to mobilize

the technical and engineering skills required to reduce and eliminate noise pollution at the workplace. What is true of noise is often true of other workplace pollution problems—little of it is properly identified, little is monitored, and little is eliminated. It is a ghastly jungle, compounded by the proliferation of new technological processes for which human health effects are little understood.

Slowly, the American medical profession is beginning to venture into the workplace environment in an effort to determine exactly how dangerous it really is. In some cases, information is being uncovered through the use of union death benefit records which are frequently a good source of epidemiological information. In one study, the American Cancer Society is using 60,000 death certificates from the Printing Pressmen's Union to trace possible links to cancer or any other disease.

At the Mount Sinal School of Medicine, Dr. Irving J. Selkoff has completed a study which shows that among 230 textile factory workers exposed to asbestos between 1941 and 1946, workers are dying of lung cancer at five times the expected rate. Such studies are rare. Dr. Hawley Wells, the crusading young West Virginia doctor who made black lung a household word, believes that the most important section of the new job safety and health law is the right of the federal government to enter the workplace and make research studies of this kind. In the case of asbestos exposures, the high incidence of cancer frequently occurs 20 and 30 years after exposure. What is needed in the meantime are more animal test studies and the compilation of more research data.

The basic worker exposure data is today contained in a book called *Documentation for Threshold Limit Values*, published by the American Conference of Governmental Industrial Hygienists (ACGIH). Despite its name, ACGIH is not an official agency, even though its criteria are frequently written into law. The Threshold Limit Values (or TLVs, as they are commonly called) are many times less stringent for workers at their jobs than the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) criteria for community health standards. Workers are allowed to breathe 50 parts per million (ppm) of carbon monoxide (it was 100 ppm until very recently), though EPA's general carbon monoxide standard for a 24-hour period is eight ppm, and never more than 35 ppm for a single day in any year. In other words, a worker is permitted to take in more than five times the carbon monoxide every day on his job than a person walking up and down the sidewalk outside a workplace.

Fortunately, the environmental awareness of the American worker is on the rise. This is due partly to pressure from younger workers who, like their college counterparts, are less authoritarian, smarter, and less willing to accept bad conditions an older generation fatalistically accepted as inevitable.

During the long General Motors strike in 1970, one of the hottest issues in resolving many local agreements was the company's use of gasoline-powered lift trucks. The workers bitterly complained about the unpleasant fumes from the trucks and asked for electric-powered ones. Although the real threat to their health came from odorless, colorless carbon monoxide, the implication was clear—the GM workers wanted clean air at their workplace. And, in a growing number of situations, they are getting it by their constant pressure for a clean workplace environment.

The United Steelworkers of America recently won a workmen's compensation award for a Pennsylvania worker who developed a lung disorder after being exposed to unsafe coke ovens. The United Rubber Workers in

Eau Claire, Wisconsin, won \$1 million in workmen's compensation when it was found that an unsafe chemical caused lung disorders. The early symptoms had been colds and pneumonia, but a University of Wisconsin research team made a scientific determination that chemicals used on the job had caused lung damage. Such breakthroughs are still rare, but they are increasing as workers find the political and legislative tools to protect their workplace environment.

Complaint Number One filed by the federal government under the new Occupational Safety and Health Act was for unsafe levels of mercury vapors at the Moundsville, West Virginia, plant of the Allied Chemical Corporation. The crusading Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers of America pushed the case and sought an "imminent danger" citation against Allied Chemical, but had to settle for a "serious danger," a lesser complaint. A government official, illustrating some of the primitive thinking in the federal government at this stage, told the union he wished he had been confronted with a more visible danger, such as a "boiler explosion," rather than "mercury vapors."

The federal government's limp-handed way of taking this new law to the American workers has condemned millions of workers to an early death, certainly to impaired health. Many workers are still in the dark about the existence of the law. The government's radio and television spot announcements are not affirmative statements about a worker's right to a safe and healthful workplace. There is still no government poster which explains a worker's right to work at no more than 90 decibels. There is no national toll-free phone number which workers can call at any time of day for information from trained scientific counselors on helping them guard their workplace from environmental hazards. The skills of the American scientific and engineering community have not been called together to chart a path toward safer, healthier workplace conditions. The implementation of the law has been dominated by industry-oriented personnel who have tried to do the minimum required of them and the consequences are enough to make the American worker more cynical, more frustrated and more bitter. The Nixon administration's 1970 report on blue collar blues, incidentally, did not even mention worker safety and health.

Few unions today appreciate the depths of feeling workers have about the workplace environment. In a large part, this comes from fatalism—a feeling there is not much any person can do. Yet the nation did not shrink from space exploration when three men died on the launching pad; the best technical skills were employed to make space exploration safer. Many of the techniques used to monitor space travel could be used at the workplace, if the nation made a commitment to do so. Nor is it the union's task alone to do this—only one out of four workers covered by the new law are union members and only the federal government can act on the behalf of non-union workers.

The environmental outreries about such issues as the Alaskan pipeline, DDT, and the plight of the redwoods all seem slightly out of balance when we realize how many people today go to their jobs to earn a living in places which are far more polluted than conventional environmental targets. Only two environmental books, Melvin Benarde's *Our Precarious Habitat* and Environmental Action's *Earth Tool Kit*, have addressed themselves to on-the-job pollution. Ballantine Books, however, has a new series of books scheduled on asbestos, enzymes, toxic metals, and radiation which will provide inspirational and technical backup on the workplace environment.

Although the workplace environment has been given far less attention than other environments, the field is beginning to receive much more investigation, as students, pro-

fessors and professionals begin to assist workers and unions in unearthing the dangers that surround them. Last summer, the Alliance for Labor Action, a group jointly set up by the United Auto Workers and the Teamsters Union, sponsored a series of projects which showed that young environmentalists can do. A law student prepared a booklet describing how workers can use the law, while two other students compiled a directory of dangerous chemicals and a tactical series of case studies. In St. Louis, an intern worked directly with a local union in setting up a safety and health hazard identification program, while in Boston a student team made technical services available to a large group of unions in that area. Meanwhile, another student made a detailed study of the implementation of the Occupational Safety and Health Act itself.

Many students with an environmental knack are often rebuffed by union clannishness and indifference, but workers tend to be wary of students "slumming." Union people want students to help them solve workplace environmental problems, provided they have skill and competence. To acquire that skill is not the difficult job it might seem. There is danger in building false expectations among workers well aware of dust, noise, and dirt on the job, but who are baffled by what can be done about it. A worker-student alliance which attacks these problems realistically can emerge from the new workplace environmental awareness of the 1970s.

The Scientists Committee on Occupational Health has prepared a training course for workers. It is a 13-week pilot course for para-professionals in occupational health conducted by young professionals at Rutgers University and represents the first time that scientists have designed a training program for working people in this neglected subject matter. The Medical Committee for Human Rights, born in the civil rights and antiwar struggles of the 1960s, is now directing much of its resources toward worker safety and health. The black lung movement is today well-organized and vocal. Some books are in the works, including a Nader expose of government and union shortcomings. Ray Davidson's book, *Peril on the Job*, is a tough critique of the chemical industry, which abounds with environmental problems—some 100,000 chemical compounds with untested human health effects are concentrated here. An "Industrial Hazards" workbook is available for \$5 a copy from the OCAW, 1126 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, and it is the best single document for beginners.

There is a place for the energy and ideas of all kinds—lawyers, economists, architects, chemists, engineers and doctors—to join the workplace environment movement. It has been handicapped by lack of vision, stale concepts and fatalism—but this is rapidly changing.

A new day with a new breed of American worker is at hand. There is no better ally for the concerned environmentalist than a worker seeking a way out of a polluted workplace, where pollution can only be attacked by the same methods being used to eradicate outdoors pollution. The few breakthroughs which have occurred and are mentioned here are but samples of a wider attack upon grimy and dangerous work which must be overcome if human labor is to be civilized.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks:

"How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,600 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

A MERIT AWARD

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to announce that the city of Philadelphia has been presented again with a merit award from the American City magazine.

The award for outstanding achievement in urban administration honors Philadelphia's innovative neighborhood swimming pool program of 1971 in which some 646,000 persons participated.

I think most Philadelphians will agree with me when I say that the availability of these summer pools alleviated potential summer tensions which could have resulted from hot weather, crowded conditions, and the lack of any recreational facilities.

Indeed, I have been told that the pools were so popular that thousands of children and adults enjoyed them day and night.

Philadelphia received the award in 1963 for its clean blocks program and in 1968 for its neighborhood parks program.

Mr. Speaker, the announcement of this award follows:

A MERIT AWARD

Philadelphia has received a Merit Award from the American City Magazine for outstanding achievement in urban administration in 1971 for its innovative neighborhood swimming pool program. Some 646,000 persons took advantage of the pools last summer.

Philadelphia is one of 12 municipal governments throughout the United States to be cited by this prestigious national management and engineering publication for noteworthy accomplishments in urban administration.

The City introduced its neighborhood swimming pool program as part of its Better Break effort last summer to provide more recreation and cultural activities for its almost two million residents.

Recreation Commissioner Robert W. Crawford said that there were 21 neighborhood pools operating throughout the city at playgrounds. They were established to make it easier for residents who live considerable distances from recreation center pools to enjoy swimming only a short walk from their homes.

He added that swimmers came dressed to swim at these pools since locker room facilities were not available, and said 646,726 Philadelphians took advantage of the neighborhood pool program in 1971.

The pools are 45 foot by 75 foot, have a swimming depth of two to five feet with one to two foot wading side areas for small children and cost considerably less to build than a permanent pool at a recreation center.

Philadelphia previously won two awards for outstanding achievement in urban administration from The American City Magazine. In 1963, the City was cited for its multi-award-winning Clean Blocks Program

involving 400,000 Philadelphians on 3200 Clean Blocks in neighborhood clean-up and beautification projects; and in 1968 for its Neighborhood Parks Program, which transformed 100 once-littered lots into attractive and recreational type areas.

WEEKLY REPORTS TO NINTH
DISTRICT RESIDENTS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the texts of two of my weekly reports to Ninth District of Indiana residents. My January 10 newsletter concerns food contamination and my January 17 newsletter concerns revaluation of the dollar:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman LEE HAMILTON)

JANUARY 17, 1972.

Recently, I settled down in front of the television cameras expecting a few routine questions about the work of the Congress. The commentator asked, instead, "Congressman, just what effect will the devaluation of the U.S. dollar have on the average American?" It was not an easy question to answer in the space of 30 seconds, or in the space of a typewritten page, but I've been asked the question so often, I'll give it a try.

The quick answer is that "devaluation" refers only to the international, not the domestic, value of the dollar, and there is no direct impact on domestic prices in the U.S. The devaluation will make U.S. exports cheaper for foreigners to buy, and imports to this country more expensive. The U.S. economy as a whole will not be greatly affected, since trade accounts for only about 4 percent of the country's gross national product.

Devaluation of the dollar means the official price of gold will rise. It will now take more American dollars to buy an ounce of gold. The entire effect of increasing the price of gold from \$35 to \$38 an ounce is on the international value of the dollar in terms of other currencies, and not on its domestic purchasing power. It will take more dollars to buy the same amount of marks, francs or yen. There will be no effect on domestic prices, but some imported goods such as automobiles, television sets and cameras will be more expensive here at home. Conversely, American exports will become cheaper abroad.

The devaluation was designed to slow the rapid increase in U.S. imports and spur our exports and thus improve the Nation's balance of international payments, which has been running at a deficit for 18 of the last 20 years. If the trade balance is not restored, the day could come when foreigners refuse to accept dollars at all. This, of course, would be disastrous for the economy.

Among the major effects of the devaluation will be:

1. Jobs. Over a period of time, probably several years, devaluation is expected to expand trade, spur the American economy, and create more jobs, perhaps as many as 500,000. Devaluation will help industries which export goods, including American agriculture, and those which face competition from imported products, such as the shoe industry. Precise predictions are difficult, however, because many other factors are involved, such as quotas and trade agreements.

Devaluation may hurt workers who are involved in industries which import products. A mechanic who specializes in servicing for-

sign cars may find his job opportunities shrinking, and retailers specializing in imports may find their profits falling off as prices in the U.S. go higher and people become more reluctant to buy.

2. Improved Trade. By slowing the rapid increase in imports and spurring U.S. exports, the Nation's balance of trade and balance of payments will improve. A combined realignment of some 14 percent—an 8 percent decrease in the value of the dollar abroad, and an average 6 percent increase in the value of foreign currencies—will add an estimated \$9 to \$10 billion to our trade balance over the next few years.

3. Tourism and International Business. American tourists abroad and American businessmen engaged in international business will notice that the dollar won't go as far as it used to. Vacations will be more expensive. Seeing Paris on \$5 a day, will become Paris on \$5.70 a day.

Devaluation of the dollar and revaluation of other currencies will not solve all of the international monetary problems.

Formidable problems lie ahead, and many details must be negotiated. Devaluation is an important first step, however, towards the elimination of trade barriers and the eventual restructuring of the world's monetary system.

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman LEE HAMILTON)

JANUARY 10, 1972.

The public has been shaken in recent months by food contamination reports. Each new report of contamination brings a renewed and more insistent demand from the public for more adequate inspection and control of the food producing and processing industry.

Ominously, authorities report that last summer's episodes with poisonous botulism in canned soups, mercury in swordfish and dangerous chemical compounds in poultry are not unusual cases, but only examples of long-standing and widespread problems in efforts to insure the wholesomeness of food products for Americans.

There were 355 food recalls and 267 seizures in 1970 by the Food and Drug Administration's Bureau of Foods, but these actions covered only a fraction of the existing violations.

Some 25,000 reports of food poisoning are received by the Federal Center for Disease Control each year, but public health authorities say the total number of food poisoning cases is probably closer to 10 million incidents annually. Of the recorded 25,000 incidents, they say about 2,500 each year are the fault of the canners, processors and other food factories.

Food and Drug Administration officials report that the major reason most of the violations in the commercial processing industry are not found is because only about 250 food inspectors must cover 30,000 processing plants and another 30,000 facilities such as grain elevators and food warehouses. Moreover, with grocery stores stocking over 32,000 different products, the task of inspection is formidable. It is estimated that a food plant is inspected on the average of only once every seven years. By comparison, the Agriculture Department employs some 8,000 meat inspectors and stations one or more of them in every slaughterhouse and meat processing plant.

The public's concern, and that of Congress, is focusing on two areas of food production or processing: (1) contamination of canned or processed foodstuffs, and (2) chemical additives.

Food poisoning or contaminations can be curtailed by an expanded inspection force. The FDA estimates that it would need another 1,800 inspectors and \$33 million in order to insure the annual inspection of every food plant.

With the newer, automated plants using quality control equipment, and with strict inspection of slaughterhouse operations, progress is being made toward safer canned and processed food.

Chemical additives, particularly in meat products, cause special concern. Chemicals to shorten the growing time of cattle, hogs and poultry and to produce disease-free animals are widely used. The use of chemicals enables industry to keep up with the public's increasing demand for meat at reasonable prices. About 80 percent of the meat, milk and eggs consumed in the U.S. comes from animals who fed upon medicated feed during part or all of their lives.

We have accepted the approach that new chemicals are presumed safe until proved hazardous. In some instances, such as the cyclamate case, questionable chemicals have appeared in foods in quantity before they have been recognized as being dangerous. The FDA had formed a special task force to study the use of 11 antibiotics used to prevent disease and promote growth in meat-producing animals.

In response to the public's increasing concern, the Congress is considering a number of proposals, including: (1) upgrading inspection procedures, (2) creation of a new, independent food inspection agency, (3) requiring all new food processing plants to meet minimum standards before they are allowed to begin operations, (4) giving the federal agencies the power to order a recall (only the courts can do so now), and (5) requiring a food processor to notify an inspection agency when it discovers a problem with its products.

Food contamination scares are not over, and may occur even more frequently, and efforts to insure the wholesomeness of food will be increased.

AMERICA'S FUTURE GROWTH RE-
QUIRES TIGHTENING THE BELT

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, with this new year of 1972, with Congress rolling on fresh momentum, let us start to build future prosperity. We can lay the groundwork with a bill I have just submitted.

This bill will provide for a balanced budget by Congress. It simply states that the Secretary of the Treasury will tell Congress in January how much revenue we can anticipate for this year. Then this figure will be the maximum spending limit to cover all congressional appropriations during the year.

This requires sacrifice. It requires courage. But America's future is that important to all of us.

We have some great financial brains in this Government. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury, is a financial genius. Burns of the Federal Reserve is one of the most capable economists in the history of our country.

But we in Congress have the basic responsibility on finance. We can balance the budget and provide the only answer to America for this inflation trend. Inflation is bad now, but if we do not act in 1972 we will see geometric inflation spiral up through the seventies.

When I am in Dallas visiting my district, I always get a commonsense view-

point from the neighbors. Douglas Goodheart suggested I read a splendid article published last month.

Yesterday I got a copy from the Congressional Library of the Commercial and Financial Chronicle of December 16, 1971. Last night I read this excellent report by G. C. Wiegand, who is a professor of economics at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale, Ill.

Wiegand comes from the land of Lincoln and his basic theories make sense to me. It is a long story and you should read it all. But I have taken some of the key paragraphs to stimulate your logic.

In 1956, when nobody seemed to question the soundness of the dollar, and America was still the dominant economic and military power, a well-known Swiss economist-financier, Felix Somary, warned that:

A crisis in America could be prevented only if the government . . . finds the courage to express and act on its convictions. This, in the democracies of our time, seems to me no longer possible . . . The governments are but obedient slaves of the "inflationists" [and] . . . the inflation is veiling the fact that America is living above its means.

America is by far the most productive, the richest, and militarily probably still the strongest nation in the world. Less than 6 percent of the people of the world live in the United States, yet these 6 percent produce and consume about 30 percent of the world's goods and service—a few years ago it was still 35 percent.

The huge deficits in the Federal budget and the balance of payments, and the decay of the dollar, are merely the manifestations of a deep-seated cultural crisis.

Millions claim to see ahead only the choice between a cataclysmic destruction of the world in an atomic war, and the gradual death through the poisoning of the environment. There is no calamity—physical, social or intellectual—which is not likely to overtake us. Given this mood of the "Age of Anxiety," it is not surprising that modern man lives for today rather than builds for tomorrow.

America became the richest and most powerful nation of the world not because of vast natural resources, but because the people had the will to succeed, to subdue the continent and turn it into a land of plenty. Probably more important was the social philosophy of Puritanism. God did not send man to this earth to "enjoy life," but to make this imperfect world a better place. As man cleared the land, he acted as "the hand of God." The Puritans did not advocate a life of poverty, but they regarded waste and luxuries as incompatible with the serious business of life. Economic success is no longer regarded as a sign of right moral attitudes, but of questionable business practices, exploitation and corruption. Ralph Nader has taken the place of Horatio Alger.

The changed attitude toward work, consumption, and wealth, has had profound economic consequences. The doctrine of "underconsumption" has become an integral part of the socio-economic creed of the American people. All ills can supposedly be cured by in-

creasing the purchasing power in the hands of the masses.

Actually, inflation produces unemployment. Since 1950, America has lost some 800,000 jobs in part because American industry has migrated abroad, largely because of the steadily rising cost of production in America, and greater growth opportunities overseas. America lost probably another 600,000 to 800,000 jobs, because in many fields American industry is no longer competitive with foreign-made goods. Rising prices have not only undermined the dollar, but have added to the chronic unemployment. More important, the inflation has weakened—as inflations usually do—the social fabric of the Nation.

The situation changed suddenly in 1969 and 1970. The cost of living rose by 11.7 percent and the wages in manufacturing industries by only 11.8 percent; and millions of Americans suffer a decline in their real income.

Who was to blame? "Big Business" and "monopolistic restraints?" But corporate income declined from \$49.9 billion in 1966 to \$44 billion in 1970 in current dollars, and by fully 26 percent in constant dollars.

For 20 years wages have risen more rapidly than productivity. In 1969, for example, the employment cost rose 8 percent, and in 1970 10 percent, while productivity actually declined slightly in 1969, and rose by only 2 percent in 1970.

Consequently, a responsive government leadership without sound economic principles was not present to stand up against the popular demands of the modern culture.

Since 1960 alone, the tax burden of the average American has risen from \$709 to \$1,385. In 1961, the Federal tax take amounted to \$131 billion, and that of the State and local governments to \$41 billion. Just 10 years later, Federal taxes had risen to about \$213 billion, and those of State and local governments were approaching \$100 billion, and all levels of government were running deeper and deeper into debt.

Between 1960 and 1970, the total number of employed rose by 19 percent; the number of government employees by 50 percent. In 1929, 6.4 percent of the total labor force were on the public payroll; 1950, 10.2 percent; 1970, 16.1 percent. And these totals do not include the military. Unless the American people can curb the jungle growth of the bureaucracy, there is little hope for halting the inflation and for revitalizing the economy.

Since 1950, the corporate debt has increased by 350 percent, from \$167 to \$750 billion, while the real GNP grew by only about 100 percent.

On the eve of the great depression in 1929, consumer debts amounted to about 13 percent of annual retail sales. At present, they amount to about 35 percent.

America would not be confronted with the present crisis, if Washington had not created for 20 years, a fool's paradise by increasing the supply of credit about twice as fast as the economy increased the supply of goods.

Far more important than the difference between foreign and domestic pro-

duction cost, is the fact that the supply of money in the United States increased much faster than the output of goods and services, thus creating an artificial affluence and pushing the public into buying foreign goods.

American defense expenditures are materially smaller—in relation to the GNP—than Russia's, and have been declining steadily. They amounted to 50 percent of the 1959-60 Federal budget; 41 percent in 1969-70; and only about 34 percent in the current fiscal year. During World War II military expenditures absorbed 42 percent of the GNP; during the Korean war 13 percent; in 1968 despite the Vietnam war only 9.5 percent; and they are now down to about 7.6 percent. One-sided disarmament does not assure a "generation of peace."

But Congress, the news media and the public have chosen to close their eyes to this danger.

For years, American experts have complained—and rightly so—that European defense expenditures are obviously too low in face of the potential Russian threat.

If allowance is made for the declining purchasing power of the dollar, defense funds have actually been cut by about 23 percent in 4 years. Moreover, due to the large pay increases for military personnel, the money left for military hardware and research has been reduced even more severely.

Of the 1,200 passenger trains operating in 1951, only 150 are left, and even though many freight trains have to run more slowly because of defective equipment, the number of major wrecks has increased sharply.

At present, the railroads need \$30 billion to buy badly needed equipment and pay for urgently needed repairs, but with the wage cost rising steadily and a heavy debt burden, profits are inadequate to attract additional equity capital. For 20 years the American consumer has enjoyed below-cost freight rates, and local governments have been able to extract billions in taxes from the railroads, but at the cost of a progressive deterioration of the system.

Ten years ago, American powerplants had an excess capacity of 32 percent to take care of peak loads. Since then the reserve capacity has declined to 16 percent resulting in periodic brown—and black-outs, and there is talk of an impending "power crisis." As a result of the rapidly rising standard of living, the demand for electric power doubles every 10 years, but the country has failed to provide for the necessary increase in productive capacity.

Twenty years ago, oil production sufficed to cover domestic needs and allow for small exports. Today, America is a net oil importer, and oil and natural gas consumption is increasing more rapidly than new oil and gas fields are developed in the United States and Canada, so that the country is becoming increasingly dependent upon imports from overseas, which could be threatened in case of war. Yet the Tax Reform Act of 1969 reduced the incentive to drill for more oil within the United States.

Until a few years ago, America held a

dominant position in the air—both in the construction of planes and the operation of airlines. Today, most of the major plane manufacturers are in financial difficulties, and some of the major airlines suffer huge losses.

America is confronted by a serious crisis. In the midst of inflationary affluence it has lost its faith in the ideals of the past, and has, as yet, found no new faith by which the country can regain its position in the world. The margin between success and failure is always narrow. In dollar terms, it will take about \$400 billion of additional investments over the next 10 years—a reduction of less than 4 percent in private and public consumption—to restore American economic and military strength.

Not all aspects of Puritanisms were pleasant, but its basic social philosophy—honest work and frugality—made it possible for America to rise, within half a century, from the level of an underdeveloped colonial country to the greatest power of the 20th century. The modern consumer culture can easily destroy the country in less than half a century. Few great nations in history have remained No. 1 for more than 100-200 years.

POET COLUM RETURNS TO NATIVE COUNTRY

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, Padraic Colum was laid to rest in his native Ireland, amid the tribute of Irish literary and government figures he richly deserved. This sensitive poet and literary genius, who died in Enfield, Conn., on January 11, has returned to the land which nurtured him and on which he lavished a graceful and distinctive admiration.

An Irish columnist for a Dublin newspaper described Padraic Colum's final journey home. For the interest of my colleagues, the account, as it appeared in this morning's edition of the Hartford Courant, follows:

POET COLUM RETURNS TO NATIVE COUNTRY

An Irish writer has sent to The Courant an account of the final rites for Padraic Colum, the Irish poet who died in Enfield recently and who was taken back to his native land for burial.

A Courant photograph of Colum on his 90th birthday, which he celebrated shortly before he died, was reprinted by Desmond Rushe, a columnist for the Irish Independent, a Dublin newspaper. In a tribute to the poet, Rushe expressed his indignation toward the American Irish Foundation for waiting almost to the end of Colum's life before paying him tribute and contributing \$2,500 to him. Rushe said Colum told him four years ago that he had to leave Ireland for a lecture tour of the United States because he needed the money.

The description of the funeral for Padraic Colum follows:

Irish poet Padraic Colum "moved thro' the fair" for the last time yesterday when the 90-year-old poet who died in Connecticut was brought back to his native Dublin to be

buried with the pomp and ceremony due to his status as one of Ireland's great figures. He was hosted by all the Irish literary and government officials. In Beechwood Church, John Montague read in his beautiful poet's voice during the Requiem Mass extracts from Colum's "Blackbird," "Sojourner" and "The Fourteenth Station."

The cortege then passed through many parts of Dublin City associated with Colum's friend, James Joyce, out along the sea coast where the waves lashed high and foaming to the beautiful cemetery of St. Fintan's, in Howth where he now lies under a Celtic cross with his beloved wife Mary. Behind them rises Shelmartin Hill where the great Cromlech to Aldeen, wife of Oscar, son of Olsin, son of Finn, is situated.

Samuel Ferguson's lines from his poem "Aldeen's Grave" seemed appropriate to the location:

They heaved the stone; they heap'd the cairn:

Said Ossian, in a queenly grave
We leave her, 'mong her fields of fern,
Between the cliff and wave.

The cliff behind stands clear and bare.
And bare, above, the heathery steep
Scales the clear heaven's expanse, to where
The Danann Druids sleep.

A fine oration was delivered at the gravesite by Irish writer Benedict Kiely. Mr. Edmund L. Krockalis from Enfield, Conn., a friend of Colum's for the last 25 years, also spoke. Mr. Krockalis and his wife Jeanne were with Colum for his last hours and accompanied his remains to Ireland.

Colum's spirit now looks down over the whole of Dublin Bay and City and in A. E.'s words:

"The Giant came back to his mountain."

SUPPORT OF A STRONG PEACE CORPS

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, under the continuing resolution for foreign aid, Peace Corps is funded at \$72 million. This is somewhat more than that \$68 million authorized by the House, but considerably less than what I think it should be. There is still time for the Congress to provide the full authorized amount of \$77.2 million since the Senate has not yet acted. I am encouraging my colleagues on the other side of the Hill to bring out a Peace Corps budget at the \$77.2 million level, and urge my colleagues in the House to sustain that amount when the bill is taken to conference.

Unless Congress restores these funds, the Peace Corps will have to carry out plans it has made to bring home approximately one-half of its current force of 8,000 volunteers.

Cuts in the Peace Corps would be serious at any time, but they are particularly ironic right now when there is a heightened interest and enthusiasm for the Peace Corps and volunteer applications have jumped from some 19,000 last year to more than 26,000 this year. Volunteers are working in the field at the invitation of 55 countries around the world, and they continue to play an extremely important role in promoting de-

velopment of international understanding.

Many of us have considered the congressional approval of the Peace Corps to be routine, but it was not until with some disenchantment of other foreign aid programs that the Peace Corps was so devastatingly cut. I find that the Peace Corps has earned the admiration of young and old throughout this country and around the world, and that rather than reduce their operating budget the Congress should be taking every step to increase the funds available for this important program.

CONGRESSMAN ANNUNZIO INTRODUCES LEGISLATION DESIGNATING THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO HOME AS NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, the American struggle for independence beckoned many zealous defenders of liberty to our land. Polish patriots were foremost among their numbers, and one of the most outstanding of the Polish patriots was Thaddeus Kosciuszko. Kosciuszko contributed a much-needed scientific knowledge of military engineering and an unalloyed and unwavering enthusiasm for the cause of freedom. By virtue of his military education and experience, Kosciuszko proved to be an invaluable asset to the struggling young Colonies.

Thaddeus Kosciuszko had a special longing for freedom for all men. During his own childhood and as a youth, he had watched as his beloved Poland slowly sank beneath the heels of encroaching Russians, Prussians, Turks, and Austrians. As a youth at the Warsaw Cadet School he had witnessed freedom-loving Polish senators being sent into Russian bondage. By the time he had reached manhood, Kosciuszko's Poland had already suffered the indignity of partition. The young man looked elsewhere to join the battle for freedom.

Fired by the dream of American independence, Kosciuszko, well educated and eager to serve, arrived in Philadelphia in 1776, at a time when America was still alone in the insurrection, and when she had just given to the world her Declaration of Independence. Kosciuszko was among the ablest and most idealistic volunteers to reach America from Europe. He was a professional soldier rather than a professional adventurer. He linked his career to the American cause as result of deeply held democratic convictions rather than from the motives of self-advancement or vain glory.

In the spring of 1777, after receiving a commission as a colonel from the Continental Congress, Kosciuszko joined the Northern Army where his ability as an engineer was of invaluable use in the campaign against Burgoyne. His ability to build almost impenetrable fortifica-

tions and his able judgment in the choice of battlegrounds contributed much to the final defeat of Burgoyne's forces.

The fortification of the heights of West Point was Kosciuszko's most important undertaking in America. To maintain West Point meant to command the Hudson, and in the words of General Washington:

The Hudson River was indispensably essential to preserve the communication between the Eastern, Middle, and Southern States.

In the midst of difficulties similar to those of Valley Forge, Kosciuszko labored for over 2 years, and within that time made West Point impregnable. "Kosciuszko's merit lies in this," wrote General Armstrong:

That he gave the fortifications such strength that they frightened the enemy from all temptation of even trying to take the Highlands.

In 1780, Kosciuszko was appointed Chief Engineer of the Army of the South. Remaining there until the end of the war, he was regarded "as one of the most useful and best liked among his comrades in arms."

But as soon as American independence was won, Kosciuszko set sail for Europe. There he spent his remaining years fighting in vain for the freedom of his beloved Poland. The aid which he had extended to the American colonies was a gift which this country could never really repay. Even the reward, in terms of land grants in Ohio, which a grateful America bestowed upon Kosciuszko was ordered sold in his will so that the freedom of Negro slaves could be bought.

In our time we have the opportunity to honor this great man. The bill which I am introducing today would set aside the home in which Kosciuszko resided at 301 Pine Street in Philadelphia as a national historic site. By this act, we say publicly that the selfless spirit of a very great man shall never be forgotten by a grateful America. I urge each of my colleagues to join me in paying this long overdue tribute to Thaddeus Kosciuszko.

PETER BERTOGLIO—A FINE AND GOOD AMERICAN

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, on many occasions I have come before the House to single out individuals, institutions, or branches of Government that have had impact on us in one way or another. I have criticized some, praised few, and often walk away with the feeling that no one listened or really cared. Today is an exception. I do not rise to criticize, but to praise. Although I speak about a particular man that remains virtually anonymous to every Member of this Congress, I speak about the kind of man that is known to every one of us. Jacqueline Kennedy talked about this kind of man in May of 1964. She said:

John Kennedy believed so strongly that one's aim should not just be the most comfortable life possible but that we should all do something to right the wrongs we see and not just complain about them. We owe that to our Country, and our Country will suffer if we don't serve her. He believed that one man can make a difference, and that every man should try.

Mr. Speaker, I walk away today with the knowledge that my remarks will be heard by someone out there who deserves to hear them. Hopefully, they will strike a responsible chord in the hearts of my colleagues, for they all know men similar to the one I single out.

Mr. Speaker, Peter Bertoglio is an American, born in Butte, Mont., in the year 1910. Peter Bertoglio is also Italian, a product of a great heritage—one that he respected and loved. Peter went to public school in Oakland, Calif., received his B.S. degree at the University of California and went on to achieve his masters at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. With a career in mechanical and petroleum engineering, Mr. Bertoglio served the Standard Oil Co. of California for several years, then began his own business in the sanitation and waste disposal business. In his professional capacity he served the bay region on several environmental panels during a time when the rest of the country was hardly concerned about the problem.

But, Mr. Speaker, his greatest service was rendered as part of the Order of Sons of Italy in America. He joined the organization back in 1932, and quickly worked his way to important positions of responsibility. He won the respect of his fellow Sons of Italy and was eventually selected as grand venerable in Oakland, Calif., in 1953, by acclamation. Again, in 1955 he was selected to lead and again it was by acclamation.

For many men, Mr. Speaker, the success of raising a family of three children with his wife Victoria, the realization of success in business life and the winning of the respect of your fellow men would be enough. It would be time to stop and rest on your laurels. Not Peter Bertoglio.

Now, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Bertoglio is serving his country as secretarial assistant to the Secretary of Transportation for the western region of the United States.

But, amid all the honors and success, we need not look for what Peter Bertoglio considers his best works. It is evident in the dedication he devoted to them. As supreme venerable, Peter was a part of a new immigration bill that revised the old quota system. When passed, he was invited by then-President Lyndon Johnson, to witness the signing ceremony. In 1967, he put his efforts behind the first national community-service birth defects program which has now emerged as an important part of the Sons' annual program. During his years of service he championed both the conditioning of the body and the mind. It was Peter Bertoglio who worked for the beginnings of a scholarship program. It was he who served as the first president of the order's athletic commission.

The list of activities goes on and on. Mr. Speaker, Peter Bertoglio is held, in the words of another great Sons of Italy leader, Grand Venerable Joseph Billeci:

In the highest esteem and is deeply appreciated for all he has done for, and contributed to, our welfare.

One final note must be made about this man, Mr. Speaker. In a time when our country has witnessed protest over the war, women's rights, and sectional discrimination, in a time when many proud Italians stood and shouted their protest of the way they were depicted, in a time when men shouted for the change they could not help make, Peter Bertoglio worked quietly, fashioning changes that have produced a better life and way of living for all those around him.

I am proud, Mr. Speaker, to recognize this great man, along with those who already know, in San Francisco next month. Peter J. Bertoglio has done wonderful things for his country and his associates. He has begun the process of making his mark on our consciousness and I have every reason to believe he will continue to do so as he steps forward to greater responsibilities and challenges.

ENDING THE WEST COAST DOCK STRIKE

HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced proposed legislation in the U.S. House of Representatives to set up procedures to bring the prolonged west coast dock strike to an end. This legislation comes as a result of close work with the Department of Labor and its enactment has been proposed and urged by President Nixon. Similar legislation was introduced in the Senate by Senators PACKWOOD and JAVITS. It is my earnest hope that it will receive strong bipartisan support in the House, and indeed that other Representatives of both parties will proceed to introduce this identical legislation.

No representative of the people who recognizes the tremendous positive impact of this Nation's labor unions and the value of free collective bargaining could call for such legislation without some regret. I believe all of us in Congress hope the strike will end even before this special legislation can be passed.

Nevertheless, because the strike has already lasted far too long; because the situation is completely out of the control of the people who are being hurt; and because its consequences on a recently improving Oregon economy are most severe, I am convinced this strike has to be stopped immediately and that this is the only effective way to do it. Thousands of jobs in allied industries are at stake. Farm markets are threatened with permanent injury and loss. Businesses, large and small, are already in serious difficulty.

I am hopeful that this legislation will progress swiftly through Congress and result in the immediate opening of all Oregon and west coast ports.

PRESCHOOL CHILD DEVELOPMENT

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, research in preschool child development is in its early infancy stage. Some interesting work is presently being done in Milwaukee, Wis., and in Little Rock, Ark.

To provide Members with current information on these projects, I submit two articles for printing in the RECORD. The first is from the January 14, 1972, issue of the Louisville Courier-Journal and the second is from the January 9, 1972, issue of Parade magazine.

EDUCATION OF INFANTS HOLDS PROMISE

(By Dorothy Rich)

(Note.—The writer trains teachers and parents as director of the Home and School Institute and is a panel member of the National Leadership Training Institute in Early Childhood Education.)

WASHINGTON.—Five years ago in an old-fashioned, abandoned schoolhouse in a seedy section of Milwaukee, a unique educational experiment began. A classroom of infants—all 3 to 6 months old, all coming from backgrounds that would normally produce academic failure—began studying arithmetic, reading and language readiness.

The idea was to find out whether providing all the experiences for normal intellectual development at the dawn of a child's life could guarantee later achievement despite severe environmental disadvantages.

LEARNING BEGINS EARLY

With the infants, the emphasis is on individual attention and care. The feeling is that preparation for the three Rs starts in the cradle. Constant speech is used with them and they get much more personal attention than they would be able to get at home.

The last decade has seen an upsurge in preschool education, including Head Start and Sesame Street. Such programs usually start work with children around 3 years old. That's too late. Some educators now argue that by 3 a child can be educationally deprived for life. So a new American educational dream is being born: It's called infant education, or intervention in infancy.

Compensatory education programs at the upper grades appear to be failing. Infant education holds out the promise of affecting these children in the most teachable time of their lives.

It is estimated that almost 5 million Americans, mostly from poor and minority areas, are "retarded"—intellectually, not neurologically. Experts say this intellectual retardation starts in the cradle.

The Infant Education Center in Milwaukee headed by University of Wisconsin researcher Rick Heber set out to test whether, by starting work in infancy, mental retardation can be prevented.

So far his results are excellent. This is especially hopeful because Heber deliberately chose to work with the highest-risk children, these youngsters who in all probability were headed for retardation.

IQ LINKED TO MOTHERS

Heber knew that children of mothers with IQs less than 80 show lower IQ scores as they grow older. Mothers' and children's IQ are linked. In fact, says Heber, connection is the most distinguishing characteristic among the mentally retarded.

Five years ago Heber and his staff searched Milwaukee for these high-risk babies. To

qualify for the experimental and control groups, mothers had to test below 75 IQ and have a 6-year-old child and new baby. Twenty families were selected for the experiment and 20 for the control groups. In order to have a more homogeneous research design, Heber chose only black families.

But the project's early population survey indicated that there is no IQ difference between the races. "Dull white parents," said Heber, "produce dull white children."

Another survey finding: It is a small group of ghetto families who produce a large number of slow children. Retardation is not randomly distributed among the poor. Rather it is confined to those families, both black and white, who have low IQ parents and lots of children.

Right now, the experimental group of these high-risk children (the oldest are now 5) is scoring 36 IQ points higher than the control group and showing far better language, skills and personality traits.

In that old schoolhouse in Milwaukee, 25 children are being put through a highly structured, full-day, year-round academic program.

Up to 15 months of age, each infant works with one teacher all day long.

Unless you see the program in action, it would be easy to imagine the structure as a lock-step, grim setting. What I saw, however, were lively, highly verbal children laughing, moving, working. The classrooms were old but bright, adorned with typical preschool art work. Knots of tiny children were clustered about teachers who were unabashedly pushing academic subjects.

In one corner a group was playing a math game invented by the teacher. The children were throwing dice and counting the number of dots. In another corner a teacher was using pictures to develop reading readiness. The oldest children, the 5 year olds, were near the blackboard, reading a list of words with obvious enjoyment, strongly urged on by the teacher. Then they started dictating stories using these words. I didn't see any technological teaching aids, just teachers working with children in the tried and true old-fashioned way.

CURRICULUM NOT SET

The curriculum has evolved as the children have grown older. Heber and staff are not committed to any particular educational doctrine.

Improved language development is a prime goal of the program. The teachers and the children are talking as they do all their work.

The curriculum, to some extent, may be changing by accident, but the teachers, by deliberate choice of the project planners, are not really teachers. Except for project supervisor Carolyn Hoffman, who holds an M.A. in behavioral sciences, the teachers are local people, mostly mothers who have been trained on the job.

The ratio of teacher to child is exceptionally low: one staff member for every five children. The most children any teacher has to work with each day is 10.

Next year the oldest children go off to regular school, to first grades in schools outside the ghetto. Will their fantastic IQ gain and language abilities hold? Supervisor Hoffman and project researcher Howard Garber believe that tale won't be told until the end of third grade.

The crucial question is: After five years of intensive work, can they now make it on their own? The parents have not been coached to provide ongoing educational support.

Results from the other early intervention studies have not been rosy, once intensive tutoring stopped. Earl Schaefer's pioneering infant education research project at Catholic University home-tutored disadvantaged boys from 15 months to their third birthdays.

Language again was the key. Strong IQ gains were shown right after the tutoring stopped: 106 for the tutored boys, 89 for the control group. At age 4, the tutored boys came down to 100, control was 90. At 5, the control group advanced a bit.

MOTHERS MUST TUTOR

Schaefer feels strongly now that the IQ regression in his and other projects provides evidence of the need for continuing parental involvement in children's education. He saw that the control group mothers on their own began working more with their children while the tutored boys' mothers, used to having others work with their children, did not carry forward the work themselves.

IQ score regression is reported by other early intervention projects: Susan Gray at Peabody Teachers College in Nashville produced great changes in IQ but after it was over, down came the scores. The same is true for the work of Betty Caldwell at Syracuse Children's Center.

Some of the projects that have actively involved parents have produced encouraging results. David Weikart in Ypsilanti, Mich., has worked with parents weekly on how to support their child's tutoring. A 30-point mean IQ gain was effected in one year. Weikart believes that mother support of a program is absolutely essential to its success.

This business of measuring success and failure in early education, as in the later grades, is a thorny problem. The IQ tests have been repeatedly attacked for their limitations. Henry Dyer of Educational Testing Service, considered the nation's leading test expert, states unequivocally, "Intelligence can be taught."

Infant education is coming on so strong because it holds the promise of teaching intelligence. Educational research is revealing that intelligence. Educational research is revealing that intellectual levels and language differences, the crucial areas measured by the IQ tests, are determined very, very early.

Burton White of Harvard points to the 10-to-18-months period. Though others believe the dates are still undetermined, the consensus is that a child's learning is an ever-evolving process which becomes measurable only with the acquisition of language skills. Unless corrected, disadvantages take hold earlier than was previously thought.

Though it's really generally agreed that the best place for a preschool child is with an ideal mother in an ideal home, 1 out of 3 mothers of preschool children is no longer at home but out working. There's no guarantee these mothers and homes would have been ideal anyway. Traditionally, however, the mother has prepared a child for school, not just with shoes but with the attitudes and skills for school success. A growing number of mothers are no longer home, both because of hard economic necessity or just the desire to be out in the world. It's unlikely they will go back to the kitchen. Someone or something has to intervene to do the job good mothers do. And less than ideal mothers at home need help as well.

This spring, the federal government will launch a national home start program—an earlier Head Start aimed at helping parents become better advocates for and educators of their own children.

It's not yet proven that this new version of the American educational dream will produce the fulfillment ideally hoped for each child.

If, however, it is shown by Heber and others that mental retardation can be prevented, then the fault will lie not in the genes or the stars, but in ourselves. And with characteristic American optimism in human know-how, there is hope that infant education will work where other programs have failed.

A PIONEERING DAY-CARE PROGRAM: HOW MUCH CAN A 6-MONTH INFANT LEARN IN SCHOOL?

(By Ted Irwin)

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.—A day-care center in Little Rock has come up with the revolutionary idea of using the time that small children are left in its custody to educate them, rather than wasting it in aimless activities.

This concept of early, continuous, away-from-home education for youngsters starting almost in infancy is attracting deep interest elsewhere and, if it spreads, could change the face of American education.

Unlike many other day-care centers, which are merely places where working mothers park their toddlers all day and pick them up at night, Little Rock's Kramer School, a renovated structure in a mixed black-and-white neighborhood, is a hive of purposeful activity where three-year-olds learn numbers and four-year-olds explore basic math concepts. And all the while the building also functions as a regular elementary school through the sixth grade.

FIRST YEARS CRITICAL

"Ours is a new kind of educational delivery system," says Dr. Bettye Caldwell, the petite redhead educator in charge of the Center for Early Development, which runs the innovative Kramer project. "The first few years of life are critical for normal development as a human being. In this process, day care should not be separated from education. We're striving for a setup which can be adopted or adapted in other communities through the nation."

So important do educational authorities regard the Little Rock experiment that the Office of Child Development is investing \$2 million in it, and the participants include the State Department of Education, the Little Rock school system, and the University of Arkansas.

Central to the project, initiated by Bettye Caldwell two years ago, is the conviction that it is not only possible but essential to give formal education to very young children whose mothers are separated from them all day. By providing instruction in the same building where they'll later be enrolled as elementary school pupils, the program gives them a running start on their formal education.

"An early enrichment program can't touch the lives of children in a significant way unless it's linked to public education," says Bettye, who is the wife of a surgeon. "Only in the public schools can you reach a large number of day-care children, and give them educational continuity, starting with infancy. Like this, there is no danger of a child losing out later, as some children in other programs have lost their early gains."

For the day-care children, school starts early at the center—at 7 a.m., two hours before the regular elementary grade children arrive. Their parents drop them off on the way to their jobs. Care starts at the age of six months, with very small children spending their day in the "Baby House," a maple-paneled structure with playpens, cribs, a feeding table, playground equipment, and even a diaper-changing room. Teachers and aides are on hand to blow bubbles and play games.

REWARD SYSTEM

Special rooms are reserved for three-, four-, and five-year-olds, where learning begins in earnest. Teaching techniques are adapted to age groups. Three-year-olds, for instance, learn numbers by being handed small dolls and taught to give back one, two, and three at a time. A successful performance brings a feeling of pride and a special snack for reward. Children six and over go to the school's regular classes, their day-care blended in imperceptibly with education.

One of the center's most intriguing rooms is the "Learning Library," where special equipment has been installed to help slow learners. A projector flashes letters, numbers and geometric patterns for the child to identify or copy. The latest in audiovisual apparatus helps speed up language proficiency and development. Activities go right on for these youngsters after the regular school pupils leave at 3:15, with the children remaining until their parents pick them up at 5 p.m.

"Most day-care centers," says Bettye Caldwell, "look at their function from the standpoint of the mother's benefit—relieving them from custodial care of their children during working hours. We look at it from the standpoint of the child's enrichment. Our day care actually strengthens the bonds between mothers and children. In many cases, we take enough of a load off a mother so that she can be more loving, more patient, and take more time to play with the child. Separation during the day can heighten the enjoyment and appreciation of each other when they are together. The quality of the relationship is improved."

Dr. Caldwell, herself the mother of 13-year-old twins and a professor at the University of Arkansas, says the day-care program emphasizes emotional stability, mental health, and mutual understanding, as well as academic subjects. The result is improved behavior and a warm attitude toward school. One three-year-old named Billy, who threw temper tantrums regularly when he first came, has now turned into a creative and constructive leader of other small fry at the Center. Eighteen-month Janice, pale, underweight, and unsmiling, seemed destined to be retarded, like her older brother. At the Center, before long she was laughing, verbalizing, clapping her hands to music.

It's the same story for older day-care children who attend regular classes at the Kramer School. Says 11-year-old Tommy, the product of a broken home: "Every one treats me like an animal except the people here at school." Says nine-year-old Martha: "In my old school you couldn't even stand up without being yelled at."

Parents are delighted with the results they have observed in their youngsters. Says Mrs. Pauline Trotter: "If my two-year-old daughter Paula were left with a baby-sitter, she'd be kept in front of the TV all day, scared to move. At the Center she's learning to play with others." Mrs. Vivian Runyon, mother of six, is so happy with the Center that she's returned to the neighborhood just to be near it, after moving away for a while.

"I thought no one could take care of my kids like I could," she explains. "But I'm amazed at how much Rodney, who's only two, was able to learn at the Center. I'm sure that my older boys would be better students today if they had been in the program when they were very young." Adds a waitress with two youngsters at the Center: "My kids are getting a lot better start in life than I or my husband ever did."

The effect on the children also is measurable in objective tests. After one year at the Center, day-care pre-schoolers registered a gain of 12 I.Q. points as compared to 2 points for a control group on the outside. On achievement tests involving language and numbers concepts, Center children gained 16 scaled points more than other youngsters. In a test that involved associating spoken words with pictures, day-care four-year-olds outscored a control group in the same age range.

With results like these—and with an estimated 6 million pre-school children with working mothers in the U.S.—it's no wonder that education and child psychologists from all over the country, and some from countries like Brazil, Israel, Taiwan and Ghana, have been flocking to Little Rock to see the Center for Early Development in action.

ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE

One of these visiting experts, Prof. Joan Costello of Yale's Child Study Center, sums up the prevalent feeling this way: "This is one of the most exciting educational demonstrations going on in the country today. In this combination of day care and school, elementary grade pupils have a chance to learn about little children and parenthood. The day-care children were deeply interested in what they were doing and learning a lot. What impressed me is that it is a happy place. I see the Kramer program as potentially a model for the schools of the future."

To Bettye Caldwell, the promise of her day-care venture extends far beyond proficiency in schoolwork.

SOCIAL AWARENESS STRESSED

"Before a child leaves us we hope he will have acquired a love of learning and be able to meet all later school experiences," she says. "But we want him also to have made substantial progress toward becoming a responsible citizen. We must think big about what kind of children we want to have in the next generation, about which kind of human characteristics will stand them in good stead in this rapidly changing world. Early child care, such as is being practiced at this Center, can be a powerful instrument of influencing the quality of life."

QUESTION OF AMNESTY

HON. K. GUNN McKAY

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. McKAY. Mr. Speaker, because of the interest expressed in legislation introduced in the other body, I have frequently been asked my views on what should become of those who illegally avoided the draft.

Raising the question of amnesty for draft resisters at this time is certainly premature. The war goes on, and those who might consider avoiding their responsibility to serve their country should not be encouraged by any suggestion that they might do so with impunity. In dealing with amnesty we must also bear in mind that 55,000 young men have lost their lives in Vietnam, and several hundred thousand more have accepted military service as an obligation of citizenship. I believe it would be unfair to these young men if we were to extend amnesty unconditionally to those who have illegally avoided their obligations.

But we must also consider this: some 70,000 young men who preferred exile to military service in Vietnam are to be denied permanently the opportunity to return to American soil. For those of us who love this country, this prohibition is one of the most serious punishments imaginable. Although this predicament was a matter of conscious choice for these people, nonetheless I believe a conscientious lawmaker should explore every just alternative before acquiescing in a result so serious for so many.

Most of us share a religious heritage which teaches us that no one is beyond redemption. Repentance and forgiveness have a special significance to us in a religious sense, and we should make every effort to apply principles we are taught in our churches to all aspects of our lives.

It is for this reason that I have been unwilling to close the door unconditionally to any consideration of the conditions under which we might allow these young people to return. To be so inflexible would be irresponsible.

I do not now favor any of the legislation currently pending on this subject. I do not even favor considering the matter at this time, and I would never favor a solution which would not keep faith with those who have accepted the responsibilities of citizenship. But I do not believe we should limit our alternatives for future action by intemperate reactions to pending legislation.

METHADONE MAINTENANCE

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to comment on one of our most pressing national problems—the misuse of drugs. Heroin addiction is taking its toll in the United States in terms of lives and money lost. In recent years, over 1,000 New Yorkers have died annually due to heroin overdoses or impure heroin. It is estimated that \$16,000 to \$30,000 a year is stolen by the average addict, in order to support his habit. Items that cannot be accurately priced include large sums of money kicked back to organized crime, terror to the public, the suffering of parents and close friends, and the value of the human lives that are wasted.

Methadone has been hailed by many as a partial answer to the heroin problem. This synthetically produced substitute—which is itself addictive—does not by any means resolve drug dependence. But it does to a large extent remove economic factors which cause the widespread crime in our country today.

As our researchers continue the frustrating search for total solutions, existing methadone maintenance programs should be strictly supervised in order to assure that only those addicts who do not respond to more conventional medical and psychiatric treatment are admitted. In addition, methadone should be made available only to those hospitals and clinics which dispense drugs under tightly monitored conditions—thus putting an end to the supply of methadone currently making its way into black market channels.

I would now like, Mr. Speaker, to praise Mr. Leonard Victor of the Long Island Daily Press for his continuing efforts in the field of drug education. Mr. Victor, whom I respect greatly both as an outstanding journalist and as a close friend, has been in the forefront in the battle to remedy the social ills currently plaguing our society. If the scourge of narcotics abuse is to be wiped out, it will be due in great part to the noble efforts of such men as Leonard Victor.

It is with great pride, Mr. Speaker,

that I submit for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the attached series of articles, written by Mr. Victor, on the subject of methadone. The series is entitled "Methadone: Cost and Delay."

The articles follow:

METHADONE: COST AND DELAY—A LONG LINE OF ADDICTS STILL WAIT FOR TREATMENT

(By Leonard Victor)

(Heroin use is still rising alarmingly in all four Long Island counties, especially among the younger age groups. Press national-award winning writer Leonard Victor looks at a still experimental answer to the problem, methadone maintenance. The first article in a series tells of the cost of methadone maintenance programs as compared to the burdens society must bear when a heroin addict is on the loose committing crimes to feed his habit.)

Numbers can be boring, but not the ones that follow.

They concern your wallet, your home, your loved ones and in too many tragic cases, yours or another human's life.

Methadone maintenance—putting an ex-heroin addict on a carefully regulated daily dose of the drug which, though addictive, quells the urge for heroin—is still considered an experiment.

But six years after its first mass use, it represents the best presently known way to get large numbers of junkies who want to "kick" their habit back into the main stream of normal society.

In as little as four weeks after getting on a well-run clinic program, many men and women go back to work, school or to taking care of their families.

Not everyone succeeds on methadone maintenance, but no other extant program has as swift or high a "track record." The methadone patient, as things stand now, must take his daily dose forever, just like the diabetic on insulin.

The cost of keeping a former hard core addict heroin-free by the work of a properly run clinic varies from a low of \$1,200 per year each in Suffolk to an average of \$1,600 in Nassau, Queens and Brooklyn.

That's quite a contrast with what a junkie on the loose, in a hospital or jail costs the public. The figures that follow are conservative, based on such sources as the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and local agencies. In each case, experts in the field have called the following estimates "low to average."

Jail or detention (90 days a year at the Nassau Jail rate of \$19.38 per day), \$1,744.

Theft to support heroin habit, based on Federal Bureau of Narcotics national figure of \$300 stolen per day, estimate 100 days of theft per year, \$30,000.

Average of 10 days in hospital for drug-related illness, such as abscesses, hepatitis at \$90 per day, \$900.

Narcotics police costs. Take your own guess. A simple arrest by one of Long Island's hundreds of narcotics police could cost you no more than \$50. But another case might take 6 months of surveillance, time for grand jury presentation, an arresting strike force and much time in court. So we put a very low "guess number" as an average, \$200.

Court costs—another impossible figure. A prisoner may plead guilty immediately, another may fight a case and make appeals consuming weeks of expensive court time. Again a conservative guess, \$300.

Probation figures are clear cut. It costs \$900 per year for an expert senior probation officer in Nassau, for example, to keep tabs on a paroled heroin addict. Average time, 2 years, \$1,800.

There are a multitude of other costs to John Q. Public built into the curse of heroin addiction: Welfare payments to addicts unable to work; income tax lost as addicts don't work or pay when they do work and a host of

other secondary tributes heroin levies on society.

But let's add up this list of costs, \$34,944. Then contrast the average yearly cost for methadone help in a clinic, \$1,500.

The figure stays frightening even if you use another set of admittedly ultra-conservative numbers. They were worked out by Dr. Mel Rosen, past president of the Suffolk Medical Society, professor at the Stony Brook Medical School, family practitioner and current chairman of the Suffolk Medical Society's Narcotics Committee.

Basing his work on a study done by Dr. Paul Cushman at the St. Luke's Hospital methadone center in Manhattan that was published last July in the New York State Journal of Medicine, he comes up with an annual cost to society per addict of \$18,945. A major factor in the lower figures is that the ex-addicts interviewed for the study admitted far less stealing than the accepted federal figure.

Dr. Rosen did his computations to show the cost of clinics needed in Suffolk to treat 1,000 patients.

Why 1,000? Total arrests for heroin in Suffolk last year were 1,028, according to Bob Cummings, head of the County Police Narcotics Squad. An old, established police rule of thumb is that there are five times as many addicts as the number arrested.

So, there is at least, 5,000-plus addicts in Suffolk.

There were 1,061 heroin arrests in Nassau last year. Again, at least 5,000 addicts in the county. Many police believe more.

There were 3,320 heroin arrests in Queens last year.

Brooklyn heroin arrests in '70: 9,350.

Which means there are at least 72,000 heroin users on Long Island.

Inspector James Henderson, head of the Nassau Police Narcotics Squad, adds a frightening note to the statistics. He says that "the continuing increase of heroin use is alarming and the age of the average user is getting younger."

In 1968, he points out only 16 per cent of narcotic arrests were for heroin.

Just two years later, in '70, the number soared to 27.6 per cent of all drug arrests in Nassau.

His opposite numbers in New York and Suffolk agree that the use of "H" is still going up and the user's ages down.

All are in favor of increasing the number of methadone maintenance clinics.

Deputy Chief Inspector Jules Sachson, who heads the NYC Police Narcotics Squad, says simply that "a man or woman on a methadone program isn't stealing to pay for a heroin habit. Instead of being a burden to society, the ex-addict is an asset."

Nassau's narcotics squad boss, Inspector Henderson, has some reservations about the fact that the methadone user is still on an addictive drug, though one that doesn't produce a "high" or impair functions when given in proper medical doses.

But he calls it "the best we've got against this plague and its use is showing good results." He adds that "we seldom see those in a program back under arrest."

Cummings, head of Suffolk's Narcotics squad, calls methadone treatment "a blessing that cuts crime." Like Commissioner Barry, head of the Suffolk Police, he is for expansion of methadone clinics.

The commissioner points out that use of the heroin-blocking drug is "just plain dollars and cents common sense."

In adding up the cost of an addict's habit earlier in this article, there were several things that couldn't be "priced."

They're the vast sums of money fed back to organized crime by addicts who are drug pushers to support their own "habit."

They're the terror to the public, the agony to the addict's loved ones and the value of the human lives lost.

THE LONG WAIT FOR HELP—MONTHS GO BY BEFORE AN ADDICT CAN GET METHADONE

(By Leonard Victor)

(Methadone is a still-controversial addictive drug which is being used increasingly to block heroin addicts from their drug habit. In this second of a series, the number of clinics on Long Island, their operation and their biggest single problem is explored.)

Thousands of people are on pitifully long waiting lists for admission to methadone treatment programs in Queens.

These men and women are largely those who honestly want to "get the monkey off their backs." They're the ones who have had enough of the heroin merry-go-round.

They want to stop stealing to pay for their ever-growing habit, be rid of the illness that comes when they can't get "the stuff."

They want to end a nightmarish round that inevitably leads to hospitals, courts and jail terms.

Queens is being picked as an example for all Long Island because a strenuous effort is being made in the county to deal with a problem growing faster than it can be solved.

Last year, there was only one methadone maintenance center in Queens, run by Beth Israel Hospital's pioneering program, at the Triboro Hospital in Jamaica.

Now there are seven more Health Services Administration clinics in Queens—and all are full. The Beth Israel program, expanded from 100 to 200 patients, has 500 on its waiting list. Waiting time: About 6 months.

LI Jewish Hospital's methadone clinic has an 8 month waiting time and is expected to be expanded soon.

Why? Turning a hard-core addict back into a responsible useful member of the community isn't just a matter of giving him or her a daily dose of methadone dissolved in orange juice.

There's a lot more to it than that.

Dr. Vincent P. Dole of the Rockefeller Institute discovered many years ago that a drug called methadone, synthesized by the Germans during WW II as a substitute for unobtainable morphine, blocked an addict's craving for heroin.

He found more. The synthetic, administered in the right dosage, blocked that addict from getting his euphoric "high" even if he maintained heroin into a vein.

Let's follow part of the path of a patient lucky enough to be told to "come in for help," at a typical clinic like Beth Israel in Queens.

First, there has to be complete medical examinations. Addicts are malnourished, prone to disease and dental problems.

Besides the body, there's the mind. The patient must be talked to, perhaps for long hours, to make sure he's not psychotic or potentially psychotic, not subject to acts of violence.

Does the man need a job, is he so unskilled that he needs vocational training? Can things be patched up with a wife or other loved ones?

Can a college be convinced the student who dropped or was thrown out is "clean" and anxious to get back to his studies?

Get the idea? There's more, much more and it doesn't stop after that first deep look into the patient's life and his future hopes and needs.

As this goes on, the medical side of the team is slowly finding out what minimum dose of methadone will keep the patient on "the straight path."

For many weeks, sometimes months, the patient must come to the clinic in Jamaica—open from 7 a.m. to 7:30 p.m.—for the daily drug dose, taken on the spot under the vigilant eye of an expert nurse or a doctor.

And urine specimens must be taken regularly too. Lab analysis of them shows whether the patient has been fooling around with other narcotics, a potentially deadly experiment for the ex-addict.

Through the months and years, counselors talk regularly, by the hour if needed, with the patients. No man or woman goes through life without hitting rough spots, like the loss of a job.

In time, most patients aren't required to come in every day, after they've proved that it is safe to give them their pre-mixed doses on a two or three times a week basis.

But the patients have to earn that right by consistently proving themselves decent members of society.

The clinic faces a fantastic list of patient's problems such as helping those who can't work and need welfare aid.

All this adds up to a large staff of dedicated people plus lots of time and effort.

The result: The clogged pipeline in clinic after clinic. Those who are "in" get help, those who aren't stay in the morass of the drug sub-culture unless they can find a physician who will put them on a "holding dose."

This is a lower than standard maintenance level that keeps many patients out of trouble until they can get into a full-scale program like those at Mary Immaculate or Jamaica Hospitals—both with too-many-months-long waiting lists.

Elsewhere on Long Island, Brooklyn has the lion's share of clinics, 14 but still with typically too-long waiting lists because they have the highest number of addicts.

Nassau has only one county methadone center, located on the grounds of the Nassau Medical Center but run by their drug commission. Nassau's anti-drug fighters differ from the other three counties by a strong belief in complete abstinence rather than methadone maintenance.

Their one methadone unit was recently enlarged and will shortly be able to handle 200 patients. Dr. Victoria Sears, the Nassau commission's director of medical treatment, says they have only 100 on their waiting list "because of our extremely rigid screening techniques."

However several Queens methadone clinic heads have told The Press—while asking that their names be withheld—that they have high numbers of Nassau residents using phony Queens addresses, such as those of friends or relatives, among their patients.

Nassau has one other clinic at the voluntary Long Beach Memorial Hospital. Covering a local radius of 50,000 people, it handles 125 ex-addicts in a clinic program and has a waiting list.

In Suffolk, there is one county methadone clinic in Bay Shore, with another one in Huntington Station due to open in a few days.

The Bay Shore unit handles 130 patients. It has a waiting list of 250 men and women, which the executive director of the Suffolk Narcotics Commission, Larry Kennedy, candidly labels an "artificial number."

He calls it that because, as he says, "more people don't register because they know how hopelessly long the waiting list is."

Kennedy says the new Huntington Station walk-in clinic for ex-addicts will handle 200 patients. And he predicts sadly that "we'll be full and have a waiting list by the time we are running a month."

The Suffolk drug fighters asked for \$2 million in the upcoming budget to up their total for the geographically spread-out county to 8 clinics.

They got \$500,000. But Kennedy says that he's not overly disappointed. He believes John V. N. Klein, chairman of the county legislature and the members of the legislature itself "understand the problem."

Chairman Klein confirms this. He says that "I am sure we can raise the initial budget grant for methadone clinics and that our legislators will provide needed supplemental funds for expansion during the year. You can't build six more clinics and staff them all at once."

Both Nassau and Suffolk are engaged in preliminary but serious negotiations with voluntary hospitals that will hopefully lead to the setting up of clinics under contract to the county narcotics commission.

But Kennedy faces an odd problem in Suffolk. If and when he gets the funds for a much-needed walk-in methadone clinic in Riverhead, he is also going to have to get a bus to pick up patients all along the length of the two claw-like easternmost tips of the Island!

METHADONE CENTER-IN-WAITING—PERFECT SITE, ALL EQUIPPED, JUST READY FOR THE TAKING

(By Leonard Victor)

(This third article in a series about methadone clinics to take addicts off heroin use explores the "why" of the shortage. The lack of clinics literally tells men and women, "Sorry, you'll have to keep on being a burglar, street criminal, dope pusher or prostitute for another six months or more until we have space for you.")

The Press learned a year ago last September, before the elections, that a made-to-order location for both an in-patient and out-patient methadone treatment center was waiting close to the Nassau-Queens borderline.

It was—and still is—space available at the towering Medical Center of Creedmoor Hospital, so familiar to motorists who travel the nearby Grand Central Parkway.

Thanks to modern administration and modern medicine, the hospital population was halved from 6,000 to little more than 3,000, leaving empty space in Creedmoor's most modern building.

The free area includes an entire 100-bed ward floor, equipped and ready to use with just a little housekeeping. It has ward beds, private patient rooms, two dining rooms, a galley and even the double-locked safes needed to hold drugs like methadone.

On the ground floor of Creedmoor's most modern building, there is a large area, with telephones still connected. Consisting of a big waiting room and a string of small and medium-sized offices. It was being used as storage space.

It would have taken little more than two weeks to turn this area into an ideal walk-in methadone center for ex-addicts who didn't need the medical detoxification, treatment and buildup the upper floor could supply.

There was one more thrilling facet to the setup.

Creedmoor's updated methods that moved patients out of the hospital, returning them to society, supports them by regular visits to a ring of 11 satellite clinics all over Queens.

Those clinics, top Creedmoor officials felt, could easily be used as nearer-home clinics for ex-addicts who had passed successfully through the first and second stages of being successfully stabilized on methadone, both medically and with their personal problems.

They reasoned logically that the satellite clinic therapists could easily be trained and supplemented with a part-time doctor and para-medical professionals in the walk-in clinic field.

Beyond this, the Brooklyn Catholic Diocese, which also runs mental health clinics in Queens, and Aftercare, a city agency, both said they could help.

Approval for the idea came promptly from both the Nassau and Queens Medical Societies and their Narcotics Committees.

Thus, almost magically, there was an already built facility discovered available.

What's more, with the satellite clinics extant in Queens, which the Nassau Narcotics Commission could match in their county, this new facility was a rarity—an "unplugged methadone pipe line."

Conservative estimates were that within a year, the complex could be easily handling more than 1,000 patients from the million

nearly Queens and Nassau residents who could easily reach Creedmoor and then more easily the area clinics.

It is known that one extremely prominent political figure was so impressed by the concept that he personally brought the series of Press stories about it to Gov. Rockefeller in Albany.

The governor promised him the treatment center, so badly needed to help western Nassau and Eastern Queens residents, would be opened swiftly.

Creedmoor's Medical service director, Dr. Louis Soletsky, worked out a starting budget. He forwarded it through the State Mental Hygiene Department's upper echelons, which passed it to the state's Narcotic Addiction Control Commission, the agency responsible for apportioning funds for anti-addiction projects.

Election time came and went.

Nothing happened—not a nickel has been appropriated to this minute.

A hospital spokesman says "space is still available for the project, but we just didn't get the funds to start it."

He adds that the hospital and its outlying clinics are having their own problems of understaffing because of the state's job freeze.

A Narcotics Addiction Commission spokesman last week laid the blame for the lack of funds at the feet of the State Legislature, claiming "they failed to appropriate the funds."

Dr. Philip Kaufman speaks bitterly about the Creedmoor failure with the voice of many physicians. Besides being chairman of the Queens Medical Society Narcotics Committee Advisory Force, he holds many other time-consuming voluntary jobs, jobs resulting from the battle he started waging against narcotics at all social levels more than 11 years ago—when it was neither understood or "fashionable."

He said with a bite to his normally gentle voice, "They can find millions to fix up roads, but nothing to repair devastated human lives. How is it they had the millions for the Cross-Bay unit, but not a penny for a much better facility?"

He was referring to the shut-down private hospital in Howard Beach that the State Narcotics Addiction Control Commission bought for \$4 million to treat addicts, each for a 6-week period.

An NACC spokesman told a Press reporter that alterations had cost \$690,000, but later revised the figure upward to \$1.6 million.

Some \$600,000 of that was for a gymnasium that wasn't complete when the unit was shut down for lack of funds after 14 months of operation.

The 240 employees treated some 1,700 patients during that period.

Adding a conservative \$1 million for the unobtainable salary figures of the 240 medical, nurse, paramedical and general help, it cost \$3,888 for each patient's 6-week stay.

The now-shuttered Cross-Bay unit was part of a massive program mounted by Gov. Rockefeller in recent years, estimated to have cost more than \$360 million, which experts have labelled "a dismal failure."

Many agency heads speak bluntly about the state's well-ballyhooed program that failed at such tremendous cost, but most still have to seek the drizzle of funds still available, so they don't want their names used.

One exception is Dr. Melville G. Rosen, chairman of the Suffolk Medical Society's Drug Abuse Task Force. He says that "most of the state's money went down the drain, with no real results, no matter how well-intentioned the program was."

And he points now to neighboring Nassau, which asked the state for \$900,000 to expand their work this year—and got only \$300,000.

The doctor, incidentally calls Suffolk Police estimates of 5,000 heroin users in the coun-

ty "too low." He feels that more than 8,000 would be closer to the right number.

The executive director of Suffolk's drug program, Larry Kennedy, comes right to the point: "What bothers me is cyclical funding depending on whether or not it is an election year.

"We get promises of state aid and then 'bingo' the funds evaporate and the burden falls back on the local area already being ripped by rising real estate taxes. We were told last year that \$50 million would be available for our kind of work.

"Just try and find any of it now."

Far to the west in Manhattan, Graham S. Finney, Commissioner of New York City's Addiction Services Agency, had somewhat similar feelings.

Talking of the folding of state facilities like the Cross-Bay treatment center and the sharp drop in funds allocated, he says that "the governor, who in the past has made many promises in the addict field, must take charge in assuring continuity of new efforts."

Finney warns: "The state administration must not allow brand new anti-drug programs to be cancelled after a single year. If legislation isn't passed these programs will indeed die a needless death."

The city agency head also faults the federal government "for contributing less than 10 per cent of the cost of our efforts in the treatment and prevention fields."

The city, he points out, got so frustrated over lack of federal action that it has invested \$650,000 in basic research to develop drugs that would be addiction antagonists.

"This \$650,000," he adds, "is money that the city can't afford and the federal government should clearly be spending."

Larry Kennedy has one more thing to say about the much-reduced long-term state criminal or voluntary sheltered residence program.

"Between Nassau and Suffolk," he explains, "we can statistically commit exactly 1.4 women a month for help. God help us if we're ever faced with committing a percentage point of a human being more."

OBJECTIVE: HELP THE ADDICT—LEADER IN THE FIGHT CAN'T GET A LICENSE FOR METHADONE

(By Leonard Victor)

Methadone maintenance (holding a patient on a dose of the synthetic drug that blocks his craving for heroin) has become one of the best currently known mass methods for treating the junkie. Private physicians willing to fight the still-growing epidemic have been blocked from helping by stringent federal and state laws about the use of methadone. In a startling new development, it now appears that the Federal Drug Administration may be close to making methadone as common an MD's prescription drug as penicillin. This article starts an exploration of what this would mean for the addict wanting to "kick the habit" and the general practitioner willing to help.)

The possible change of methadone from a strictly controlled experimental drug to a standard prescription medicine may be the end—or beginning—of Dr. Philip Kaufman's troubles.

The soft-spoken, humanistic family doctor with more than 32 years of practice behind him is chairman of the Queens Medical Society's Narcotics Committee.

He started fighting addiction at all social levels when he practiced in Astoria 11 years ago, but he hasn't been able to get an FDA license to use methadone for maintenance despite these other credentials:

Founder and chairman of the Medical Society's Drug Hot Line, which gives expert advice to addicts, their parents or others who care about them.

Narcotics advisor to Queens District Attorney Thomas Mackell.

Chairman of the Boulevard Hospital experimental laboratory for the detection of (narcotic) abuse drugs.

That laboratory, incidentally, was set up by a grant from International Telephone and Telegraph, obtained by the Queens DA, and made an actuality by Dr. Mandel Weinstein, chief surgeon of Boulevard, who arranged for technicians to staff it free of cost.

Dr. Kaufman has many titles denoting devoted work that adds many selflessly unpaid hours to his busy day as a family doctor.

Why wouldn't the FDA give an eminently qualified man like him a license to aid addicts?

In his case, it is almost impossible to say, because he had the knowledge of the addict, contacts with outside agencies that could help.

Besides, he had three nurses available if needed during his special hours dedicated to aiding ex-addicts and two psychologists in his office.

One is his son-in-law, the other a man who has worked with him for 15 years, even before the doctor began helping Father W. L. Damon Pitcaithly in the start-up of a program that became the respected Samaritan Half-Way Society for ex-addicts.

The FDA's caution can be understood where many other well-meaning but less-schooled doctors are concerned. It is now little more than six years since the first mass treatment program was set up at Beth Israel Hospital in Manhattan.

There was much to be learned (as detailed earlier in this series) about patient's reactions and other needs besides a daily dose of the methadone that kept them from crimes to pay for their drug habit.

Now Beth Israel has an astonishingly high success record, nearing the 5,000 patient mark, monitored continuously with eagle eyes by a distinguished study group affiliated with the Columbia Medical University. There is no question about the program's success with all types of addicts, including even schizophrenics.

Dr. Kaufman's literally agonized cry over the past few years has been, "Let's get these kids and adults off the street, let's stop them from committing crimes."

He wanted and wants the right to maintain patients on methadone, just as the Beth Israel program, the following Health Service Agency of New York City walk-in clinics and independent ones have done.

Those clinics have grown fantastically in the past year. Where Queens had one, there are now eight.

But all eight have a "clogged pipeline." Typically, when they reach their capacity of about 200 patients, they must helplessly cut off their waiting list at 500 more.

Incidentally, call Dr. Kaufman for help any time you want to, but don't visit him. He can try and refer you, give you the best advice, but he has his own waiting list.

And it's a long list although the current strict laws allow him to give ex-addicts only limited help.

There are two things he can legally do:

Detoxify an addict—which he will do only after talking to him or her over the phone and getting details. And don't try to "con" him. He's heard every addict's lie in the book!

Maintain an addict on what Dr. Ray Trussel, director of Beth-Israel Hospital calls "a holding pattern," a lower dose than that a clinic might stabilize the patient permanently on.

And he can only do that if the patient has a verified letter that he or she has been accepted and is on the waiting line for a regular clinic program.

The doctor doesn't think that's enough and he has the firm, positive backing of both Queens and Nassau Medical Societies.

Both organizations have voted in favor of letting the general practitioner get fully

involved in the battle against the still-burgeoning heroin epidemic.

Neither Suffolk or Brooklyn's medical societies, unlike the state society which took a "let-the-doctor-help" stand this year, have gone fully on the record.

But the Suffolk group is working actively on the problem on many fronts, from education to urging the county and voluntary hospitals to setup more methadone walk-in clinics than the present two county-run clinics.

And the Brooklyn medical group's president, Dr. Ralph Schwartz, says that "doctors should do everything they can to help." This while admitting his organization is still searching for a firm decision on the best way of attacking the problem.

The problems facing Dr. Kaufman when and if the FDA does make methadone "just another drug" are manifold.

Few know it but medical societies like the Queens group try to do their own policing.

This means that the busy Astoria MD and the members of his committee will have to be on the lookout for commercial clinics like the one in Manhattan which traded bucks for methadone.

The FDA shut it down, but not before it had an unexamined, unsupervised clientele of 2,200.

The city absorbed 1,700 methadone patients via the Health Service Agency. But it had to commandeer an unused ferryboat as a "holding clinic" for 500 more.

Besides the giant operation, there are other woes that face the almost totally decent medical profession:

The unscrupulous individual doctor who would let his nurse hand out methadone prescriptions over the desk just in return for cash.

The inept doctor, who out of compassion takes on ex-addict patients who are among the most vivid liars, connivers and chiselers in medical history. (Any competent physician can learn the pharmacology and medical treatment of an ex-addict from a book. But only the words of experts can teach him the psychology of the former junkie—and perhaps only time can teach him the former heroin user's true psychological attitude.)

And on the fence is the searing question: "Will methadone, also an addicting drug, become too easy to get?" For methadone when taken in heavier than medically prescribed doses, can produce its own lethal "high."

Tack on one more question that's worrying the doctors themselves. How many more burglaries and robberies—usually backed by guns—will they face once addicts realize they have to keep a supply of potentially "kick-producing" methadone in their offices?

As the law stands now, a private doctor or at least his experienced nurse, must watch as the former heroin user drinks his daily dose on the spot—in the office.

And, as the state's Health Department law now stands, the private doctor must give the dose seven days a week. Clinics don't have to follow that rule.

And whether some people believe it or not, doctors are not made of steel. They're flesh and blood and many won't lend a hand in the anti-heroin fight if they can't have Sunday off with their families.

Except, of course, for real emergencies.

A FAMILY DOCTOR'S RX FOR METHADONE ILLS (By Leonard Victor)

(From Brooklyn to Suffolk, the concerned agencies—even Nassau which believes strongly in total abstinence programs—are trying to establish more in-patient, walk-in clinics and holding units for heroin addicts wanting methadone maintenance. The problem: Each time a new clinic opens, it fills quickly with patients and latecomers must wait, wait in torment, torture and usually committing crimes to support their heroin habit—until there is an opening for them. This last article

in a series explores some ways to "unplug the methadone clinic pipeline.")

A Suffolk family doctor may have come up with a way to "unplug" filled-up methadone maintenance clinics.

Dr. Melville G. Rosen of Deer Park, past president of both Suffolk's Medical Society and its Academy of General Practice, says: "We're looking at this thing backwards."

"A patient gets a letter now that certifies that he's on the waiting list for a clinic methadone maintenance program—and I've had them from as far away as Manhattan.

"We, the general medical profession, are asked to take this stranger in and keep him on a 'holding dose' of methadone until he can get into the clinic maybe six or more months from now. That's ridiculous.

"Instead, the clinic should check him out first with their experts who have had years of daily experience in the field. Then, whether it is only for temporary maintenance or long-term aid, we know the patient is probably suitable for office treatment."

Dr. Rosen handles few ex-addicts but as chairman of the Suffolk Medical Society's Drug Abuse Committee and a member of the county's Narcotics Commission, has deep experience in the field. He may not need this type of service as much as some other doctors.

But medical men from Manhattan to Suffolk say he's right.

Dr. Robert Newman, director of New York City's Health Services Administration's far-flung and still-growing network of methadone clinics, agrees enthusiastically.

Independently, he's talked to both local and state groups about a similar idea. He says it has been received with hearty approval.

Strangely, though they don't know each other, both MDs have the same two ideas behind this "let-the-specialists-evaluate-them-first" idea:

The family doctor should always have instant access to a methadone specialist on the phone if something unusual comes up.

There must be a well-staffed clinic to which the private doctor has close ties—and to which he can immediately send back the patient for problems of an extremely special nature.

How long would initial screening, testing and stabilization of a methadone dosage take, compared to letting patients stay in who now "plug the pipeline" for years?

You can get as many answers as there are experts in the field.

That's because of the newness of this treatment system and because, as with cancer or alcoholism, there is no "average patient."

At one extreme, a Beth Israel expert says that one third of the patients could be turned over to a family doctor in six months, more in a year and some—never.

But an equally eminent physician pointed out that the central—and pioneering Bernstein Institute at Beth Israel—gets the worst hard core addicts. He opted for 25 per cent that could be turned over in "a month or two among average patients."

The vigorous young director of the Long Island Jewish Hospital's methadone clinic, Dr. Richard Blum, used 50 per cent as the number that could be put in a family doctor's hands after six months.

"Don't forget," he warned, "that there's a lot of ancillary service, a lot of hand-holding to be done during that time."

Dr. Leonard Brahen wears two very responsible hats.

He's the long-time chairman of the Nassau Medical Society's Narcotics Committee and education and research director of the same county's drug-fighting commission.

He's all for Dr. Rosen's idea of screening patients first and then putting them into the family MD's hands, the hands of a man he calls "most skilled in the use of drugs."

But he brings up a point that has been a

thorn, mentioned again and again by both doctors and police during the survey for this series.

"If we don't have a state-wide registry of ex-addicts," he warns, "there will be patients 'hitting' many doctors at the same time, not to stay clean, but to 'score' with a drug that also gives a high in large enough quantities."

This, he stipulates, calls for on-the-spot inspection and doses "until we are sure the patient isn't fooling around."

Methadone is a drug that can be fatal to the non-user in quantities which are normal maintenance doses for a stabilized ex-addict.

That's one of the reasons Graham S. Finney, commissioner of New York City's Addiction Service Agency (the fund-finding and disbursing half of the Mayor's Narcotic Task Force) says that "the maintenance by private doctors is good but must be approached cautiously."

This fear of wide-spread availability of addictive methadone is among reasons why Dr. Vincent P. Dole, the discoverer of methadone blockage against heroin, worries about its use by the private medical sector.

But a year ago last summer, both he and Dr. Raymond Trussell, head of the country's biggest methadone maintenance program, both told this reporter that the overloaded pipeline needed help from the typical MD "at the back end as well as for 'holding'."

And just a few weeks ago, Dr. Trussell again, reiterated that the waiting line was growing too long and that the entire medical profession should be encouraged to learn more about the problem and help.

He, Commissioner Finney and Dr. Newman would prefer large clinic-type holding units. But economics in a series of debt-ridden counties, the "big city" and the state preclude their rapid expansion.

There's an ambivalence to police feelings about methadone too.

Narcotic squads' experience across the length of Long Island has convinced them that the maintenance system works better and faster—as far as curbing addict's crimes—than any other mode.

But more and more loose "meth" has been showing up on all the drug markets in Long Island's four counties.

Some police blame this on only one source, the now-closed West Side Manhattan clinic where methadone was dispensed so freely.

Other narco specialists are afraid of what will happen when the drug is "legalized" by the Federal Drug Administration, which is expected shortly in light of its obvious treatment success.

So methadone is regarded, both by top medical experts and police, as a two-edge sword, that can be used for either suicide or saving surgery.

Because of this, an ad hoc committee headed by Dr. Trussell and made up of other experts such as Dr. Dole and Commissioner Finney, has completed a stiff set of rules they've forwarded to the state's Health Council.

Their advisory suggestions call for an end to prescriptions by private doctors, except those who have affiliations with a recognized clinic. This parallels the close connection envisioned by Dr. Melville in his plan for "unplugging" the methadone plan.

One single registry listing all methadone patients, so a wily addict could not get into more than one program. The Rockefeller Institute already has such a registry, capable of handling 100,000 names, which is used by Beth Israel.

But such a registry might become a function of the State Health Department.

Special, colored prescription blanks, numbered and handled in duplicate for an extra record.

Other stringent steps suggested by the committee include tight inventory control of methadone as supplied by the wholesaler, clinic inspections to make sure they're adhering to the rules.

They also seek availability of prompt hospitalization as needed.

Asked about giving physicians the training to handle ex-addicts, Dr. Trussell said that "we're doing it now at Beth Israel—and willing to do more."

But he said he wasn't sure yet that the pioneering hospital could send teaching team as far as Nassau or Suffolk if asked but that the Queens unit at Triboro Hospital was available.

A State Health Department spokesman said the committee guidelines were "only advisory, but we wouldn't have sought advice from such an eminent group unless we hope to use most or all of it."

The same spokesman denied flatly that there had been any pressure to keep pharmacists from supplying methadone to doctors. There have been some complaints that local druggists refused to honor MD's requests for the drug.

In all this welter, one promising note is emerging.

Many doctors, administering methadone cautiously in their private practices, and some more formal experimental groups have reported a degree of success with weaning patients off this also addictive drug.

The best results have been with younger addicts.

One MD, who must remain nameless, tells how he slowly reduced his few patients' dosage, month by month, until they were taking placebos, fake pills.

When he judged it safe, this man—who does not charge methadone patients except for their urinalysis lab fees—tossed the records across the desk at the ex-addict.

Then he told him or her, "You haven't been on anything but sugar pills for a long time. Read your record. Then don't come back unless, God forbid, you really have something wrong, like a broken arm or pneumonia.

"Go find a fresh way to try suicide, like skiing."

Methadone is no cure-all. But the only other method that works reasonably well is the sheltered residence like Samaritan Half-Way's homes in Queens and upstate.

And they too are clogged pipelines, taking much time to cure the mess it took heroin so long to make out of normal people.

This ending is a synthesis of many dedicated medical men's words: "Until we get something better, methadone is the fastest, surest way we know to get more men and women back to housework, school or a job. Give us something better and we'll switch in a second.

"But until you get it, don't strangle us with federal or state laws that don't let us fight a frightful epidemic."

This series started with numbers, the average cost of \$1,500 a year across Long Island for treating an ex-addict as opposed to more than 20 times that which he costs society while on heroin.

Let its finale be a somber little number: There were 16 people who died either from bad heroin or a heroin overdose just in Suffolk last year.

FULTON RELIEVED, PLEASED WITH RESTORATION OF EDUCATION FUNDS

HON. RICHARD H. FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, it is with great relief that I bring to my colleagues' attention the full restoration of title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act funds to 15 States, including Ten-

nessee, which last November had an education financing lifeline slashed in midstream.

Thanks to provisions of the Supplemental Appropriation Act of 1972, more than \$32 million withheld from these States due to decreased numbers of low-income—or otherwise educationally disadvantaged—children and/or lessened per pupil expenditures now will be granted. Tennessee's return of "exorcised" funds equals more than \$3.1 million, bringing the State's fiscal year 1972 ESEA title I funding earmarked for local education uses to almost \$36.3 million. My district, Nashville-Davidson County, can expect a restoration receipt of \$147,861, with its fiscal year 1972 ESEA title I funding level set at \$1,721,937.

In November, when these reduced education funding levels were announced, I stated for the RECORD:

That any child should ever have his education threatened, that any school district or state agency should be forced to cut back for the "public good" of another district or state agency is, in my opinion, action opposed to the "public good."

I am pleased to note that after 2 months of doubt, we have evidence that what is good for the public in this matter is also good for the people of Tennessee and 14 sister States.

SAVE THE PEACE CORPS

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have just received a most thoughtful and eloquent appeal from a constituent who is concerned about the financial plight of the Peace Corps. This particular constituent, Mr. Alan Wernicke of Lena, Ill., is especially qualified to comment on this subject, having just returned from service with the Peace Corps in Kenya. I share Mr. Wernicke's concern that the Peace Corps may be forced to bring home half of its 8,000 volunteers in the field and completely shut down its operations in some 15 countries under the terms of the existing continuing resolution, which sets Peace Corps spending at \$72 million. This situation can be avoided if the Senate approves the full authorized amount of \$77.2 million as part of the fiscal 1972 foreign assistance appropriation bill and this figure is upheld in conference. It is my genuine hope that this will be the case.

Mr. Wernicke makes a number of cogent arguments against the Peace Corps budget cuts and views these from the standpoint of the volunteers in the field and in training, the host countries involved, and the American taxpayer, all of whom have a considerable investment in the ongoing programs of the agency. I include the full text of Mr. Wernicke's letter at this point in the RECORD and commend it to the reading of my colleagues. I also include two editorials which recently appeared in the Wash-

ington Post and the Evening Star, both of which urge restoration of Peace Corps funds.

The material follows:

LENA, ILL.,
January 19, 1972.

Congressman JOHN B. ANDERSON,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ANDERSON: I am writing to urge your support for the Peace Corps budget request which will be before Congress in the new session of 1972. As a former volunteer to Kenya who returned home in November, 1971, I am alarmed by the series of budget cuts, real and threatened, which have been hanging over the organization in recent months. I fear that unless action is taken to give the Peace Corps adequate funds, a significant reduction in its operations will be necessary. And in my opinion that step would be a mistake.

I have found the recent history of Peace Corps financing to be a rather interesting one. There is, of course, the immediate fact that the Peace Corps budget has been decreasing throughout the past decade, despite the program's continued effectiveness abroad. However, in fiscal year 1971, on a budget of \$85 million, the Peace Corps was able to place 5,000 new volunteers into the field while maintaining several thousand already serving abroad. In fiscal 1972, in response to the President's call for reduced Federal spending, the Peace Corps requested a budget of \$82.2 million. Because of efficiencies developed within the organization, however, it was found that the \$82.2 million would permit the Peace Corps to expand its operations to a total of 8,500 volunteers and enroll 5,800 trainees.

But for some reason these efficiencies were not welcomed by the Congress. By continuing resolution the ceiling on Peace Corps spending was placed at 77.2 million—\$5.0 million less than the original request and \$7.8 million below the figure of fiscal 1971. I understand that while this belt-tightening was being absorbed by the organization, Congress decided to make a further budget cut. In December, 1971, Congress voted by continuing resolution to set the ceiling on Peace Corps spending at \$72.0 million. This figure represents a cut of 12.4% from the original budget request, and a reduction of 15.3% from the previous fiscal year.

If such reductions in budget are typical of all government agencies, then one might begin to think that true thrift is returning to public spending. But I doubt that this is actually the case. And I can only wonder at the reason for the Peace Corps being singled out for the spending axe while other programs, some less known and quite a bit more expensive, continue to be financed at current or expanded levels.

Indeed, I find it hard to understand the Congress' attitude toward the Peace Corps attempts at cutting the budget itself. Surely, any organization that is able to expand its operations on less money should be rewarded. Certainly, it should not be penalized by an even smaller budget than requested.

I was recently informed that the Peace Corps is preparing a contingency plan in the event that the resolution on a \$72.0 million ceiling is extended beyond its termination date, 22 February, 1972. The points of this plan include the following:

- (a) the recall of nearly 4,000 of the 8,000 volunteers now in service before the completion of their 2-year assignments.
- (b) the withdrawal of Peace Corps activities from 15 or more of the present 55 countries.
- (c) the cancellation of training plans and the postponement or cancellation of the projects of 2400 volunteers scheduled to enter the Peace Corps before the end of June, 1972.
- (d) the reduction of staff in the U.S. and abroad, for the second time this fiscal year.

I think the implementation of this plan would represent a serious curtailment of the Peace Corps program and could only do irreparable damage to an idea that appeals to a broad section of the American public. But specifically, I think the following points deserve consideration:

(1) A good share of the Peace Corps budget goes for the training of volunteers for living/working overseas for two years. The fact that the training period usually lasts three months and includes intensive language, cross-cultural and technical studies is an indication of how concerned Peace Corps is about placing well-prepared volunteers abroad. To bring volunteers home short of their 2-year stay would be a waste of American money. It may be fine and good to cut budgets so as to save the taxpayer's money. But by the same token money already spent should try to bring as great a return as possible. The investment Peace Corps has made in its intensive training of volunteers now in the field would surely have a low return if these people were brought home after only 6, 12, or 18 months of service abroad.

(2) It has been Peace Corps policy in recent years to involve post-country governments as much as possible in the financing of the Peace Corps program. In some countries, such as Kenya, the foreign government is taking onto its shoulders some of the expenses of training. In addition many of the costs of maintaining volunteers on their jobs, such as housing and transport, are borne by the host country. Thus it should be noted that foreign governments have an investment in the Peace Corps program as well. And the withdrawal of volunteers short of their two-year commitments would represent a waste of resources for the foreign governments. Needless to say, developing countries can ill-afford such a waste of money.

(3) From the volunteer's point of view withdrawal can only be a very frustrating experience. It usually takes six months to a year of work in a foreign country before a volunteer knows the culture, the people, and the problems well enough to make solid contributions. Withdrawal of a volunteer in the middle of his tour could very well be removing him from the job at the very time he is reaching greatest effectiveness. Not only would the individual's frustration be great, but one could also expect a certain amount of antagonism from the host country government and people.

(4) There has been considerable speculation on the exact nature of American foreign policy under the Nixon Administration. The phrase "low profile" has been tossed around quite a bit, although its definition has not always been clear to me. However, as America is disengaging from the war in Asia and demanding more of its allies in Europe, the developing world may have cause to wonder if the "low profile" will soon have meaning for them. Specifically, they may wonder if American technical assistance programs, of which the Peace Corps is one, may soon go by the wayside. I think a withdrawal of volunteers from some countries, complete cancellation of the program in others would be an alarming signal to the developing world that America is entering another isolationist phase of its history. The Peace Corps has worked hard to develop trust and respect both at home and abroad. The curtailment of the program might be just the beginning of the end of the Peace Corps idea, despite its proven success.

(5) In many colleges and universities across the country special Peace Corps Intern Training Programs are now underway. The purpose of these programs is to prepare prospective Peace Corps Volunteers through college credit courses for future service abroad. In many respects the individuals in these programs are volunteers-in-training, receiving specialized instruction in certain job categories as well as the geography, politics, cul-

ture, and language of the country they fully expect to be assigned to in coming months. Having experienced the anxiety and anticipation of one Peace Corps training program I feel it would be a senseless waste of time and effort if cancellation due to lack of financing should prevent these trainees from following through to Peace Corps service. In short, it would be like priming a pump that you have no intention of getting water from.

(6) The reduction of the Peace Corps staff in the U.S. might be seen by some people as a means of saving money and eliminating bodies from the bureaucracy. But cuts in staff abroad I think could have detrimental effects upon the work of volunteers in the field. The current agricultural director of Peace Corps/Kenya has over 80 working volunteers under him throughout the country. In addition, each year he must play a major role in the training of new volunteer groups. Limitations of time and geography prevent the man from helping the volunteers with their needs as much as he would like. Before the 15% staff cut in 1971 he was able to delegate some work to assistants; but that cut combined with the projected one will surely stretch staff resources dangerously thin. The result will be that agricultural volunteers in Kenya may lack the staff support they need to function effectively.

It is strange that the financial difficulties facing the organization should occur at a time when the Peace Corps is enjoying wide popularity. President Nixon has continued to express support for the Peace Corps in his statements and speeches. Applications for the Peace Corps in 1971 were the highest in five years. And the organization has been used as the basis for the expanded volunteer agency, ACTION.

I wish to urge your support for either the original \$82.2 million budget or at least the earlier spending ceiling of \$77.2 million. The \$72.0 million figure is simply inadequate and will force a significant curtailment of the whole program.

I will be grateful for whatever attention you can give this matter.

Sincerely,

ALAN WEERNICKE.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 2, 1972]
MONEY FOR THE PEACE CORPS

In the past when news came that the Peace Corps was "in trouble," it usually meant a host country had ordered out a group of volunteers, or that an incident had occurred in a back-country village, or that the volunteers were disenchanted with U.S. foreign policy. It was mostly something happening abroad. Now, the Peace Corps is in trouble and the problem is at home.

Congress may be on the mischievous way to cutting the Peace Corps budget substantially. Last June, the President asked for \$82 million as an authorization for the coming year. This in itself was disappointing, \$82 million being a low request. But the situation is even worse. The Peace Corps was authorized to spend at the \$82 million rate for the first half of the fiscal year and has already spent roughly \$47 million. However, the House has provided for only \$68 million for the year. Thus if the House figure is sustained, the Peace Corps would have only about \$21 million left for the rest of the year.

Peace Corps officials have had no choice but to face the dollar reality. A freeze has been ordered through June 30 on extending invitations to join the Peace Corps. Worse, plans exist for bringing home up to 4,000 volunteers by April, meaning the United States will break agreements with 55 nations where Peace Corps volunteers now work. An unsettling paradox is thus created. Many in Congress who see as sacred the many military and trade agreements between this country and others now care little whether this agreement for peaceful social change will be

threatened. Moreover, the agreement will be broken at the village level where many of the Peace Corps volunteers live and work. Diplomats in embassies understand how agreements must be "altered," but what about the Peruvian teacher or the Indian farmer who sees his Peace Corps volunteer pulled out?

The Peace Corps has been one foreign commitment in which the country has taken near-unanimous pride. America still has large numbers of idealists who see the Peace Corps as both a means of service to others and enrichment to oneself. The agency reports that applicants are now on the upswing, following a sharp slide in the first two years of the Nixon administration, instead of gutting the program, you would think that Congress would want to strengthen it.

The Senate has yet to appropriate funds for this year. It will soon meet on this matter and it is hoped that a funding level of \$77 million—the full amount that can be legally appropriated at this time—will be agreed on and that that amount will prevail in the Senate-House conference. Anything less would mean dark days ahead for one of the nation's brightest experiments in peaceful social change.

[From the Washington Star, Jan. 21, 1972]
PEACE CORPS CRISIS

How dismaying it is that the Peace Corps, having reached a point of high effectiveness and popularity, is threatened with suffocation because of congressional fumbling and bickering over a small amount of money. There is still time to rescue the Corps from a downfall that would be both costly and shameful, but that time is running very short.

The dilemma is all too familiar. Last month, the Peace Corps appropriation was among the unfinished business as the first session of this Congress was ending. So in the stampede to get out of town, Congress assured that the agency would be kept alive—at least until February 22—by hurriedly passing a continuing resolution for funding. But it approved much less than the bare minimum needed to keep the program going on its present scale. Nor was that an oversight, for it is the Corps' bad fortune that the House Appropriations subcommittee to which it must appeal is headed by Representative Otto Passman of Louisiana. A man of great power and few words, he commented at a hearing on the agency's budget: "If I had to meet my Maker in three minutes and the last decision the Good Lord would let me make . . . it would be to abolish the Peace Corps."

That sentiment is in sharp contrast with the thinking of a great majority of Americans. Surveys indicate that hardly any other program rates as high with the public as the Peace Corps. It's still regarded as a beacon of this country's idealism and altruism, shining in a cynical world. Last year alone, applications from volunteers increased 41 percent, and its services seem to be appreciated more than ever by underdeveloped countries. There will be widespread and bitter disappointment if it is snuffed out or reduced to a mere remnant.

At least the latter is definitely in prospect. Corps Director Joseph Blatchford says that under the new, reduced funding he may have to bring home 4,000 of the agency's 8,000 volunteers who are abroad. That may mean pulling out of 15 countries and cutting the activities in 40 others. And thereby the Corps quite possibly would be on its way to oblivion. The disillusionment of the many dedicated Americans who have volunteered for it, or who plan to, would be boundless.

It would be warranted, too, because only a trivial amount of money is at stake, when measured against the nation's total foreign outlay. President Nixon asked for an \$82.2 million Peace Corps budget for 1972, which

would permit a modest expansion. Both the House and Senate authorized \$77.2 million, which Corps officials say is the rockbottom amount needed to keep the program operative as it now stands. But, after much delay, the House appropriated only \$68 million, while the Senate became paralyzed over foreign affairs just before the recess and left everything in mid-air. Finally the Corps got authority to continue functioning until next month on the basis of a \$72 million budget. The trouble is that it had been spending for several months on the basis of a larger authorization, and hence is in desperate straits.

The responsibility for rescue, quite obviously, is the Senate's. It should speedily pass an appropriation that will prevent any reduction of the Corps' activities, and insist on that amount in a House-Senate conference.

SECRETARY BUTZ AND THE AMERICAN FARMER

HON. BOB BERGLAND

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. BERGLAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues the following article from the PKM News which is published by the PKM Electric Cooperative in Warren, Minn. The questions concerning Secretary Butz, raised by the author Bob Graham, were raised long before the Secretary of Agriculture publicly revealed his attitude toward the American farmer. In light of the Secretary's recent action, Mr. Graham's evaluation seems most appropriate:

[From the PKM News December 1971]

FARMERS NEED FARMER AT HELM OF AGRICULTURE

(By Bob Graham)

It seems incredible—but apparently in all this vast land of ours there is not one single, solitary practicing farmer who is qualified to be Secretary of Agriculture. Always the mantle of leadership for a department, which by its very name implies a responsibility to promote the interest of farms and farming, is passed to a professor or a politician.

But now in the appointment of Earl Butz to this most important post we have really reached the end of the line. For we have in him, all rolled in one, a politically oriented professor with food processing industry ties.

Don't get me wrong. This is not to say that Earl Butz is a dishonest man; but one cannot overlook or overemphasize the import of past affiliations.

It's about like appointing the wolf to guard the sheep. The wolf may be perfectly honest in its belief that it should make its living by eating sheep; but needless to say this is awfully hard on the sheep.

There are those who counsel a wait and see attitude, who hope that through some blinding revelation akin to that of sinners when they first get religion, Mr. Butz has shed a lifetime philosophy that says the small farmer is "kaput". I doubt this for he is a product of Purdue, a long time citadel of "big biz" interests.

True, there may be a lull before the storm. For '72 is an election year and politicians hesitate to rock the boat during such perilous times. But after that?

Thus, we may expect, as one columnist suggests, that a billion dollars will be spent to prop prices next year so as to quiet discontent down on the farm; or stated another way, to properly prepare farmers for the voting booth.

The really sad thing about the whole situation is that farmers seem to have no real alternative; for both major parties treat him to the same routine of promising much every fourth year and delivering little thereafter.

But as stated in the beginning, it would be a step in the right direction if at least for once some party could put up with the idea of placing an honest to goodness farmer at the helm of things. At least then farmers would know there was someone in charge who realized that there is more to the job of farming than farming itself; that people and families and their welfare should be included in the equation when determining what is right or wrong for them and for America.

On Monday, Secretary Butz testified before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry on the grain reserves bill and its accompanying amendment to raise the price support loan rate on wheat and feed grains. Mr. Speaker, that testimony revealed the Secretary's total lack of understanding of the agricultural crisis in America and illustrated the need to have a Secretary of Agriculture who will work for the family farmer's best interest.

Secretary Butz began his testimony by saying that the combined program of higher loan rates and insulated grain reserves "would turn the clock back several years." I submit that it is Mr. Butz' outdated philosophy that "would turn the clock back," back to the disastrous days of Ezra Taft Benson.

The former professor further misled our distinguished colleagues in the Senate by claiming that 50 percent of the 1971 corn crop that will be sold has passed out of the hands of the farmer and that the proposed legislation would only be a windfall for grain buyers and processors. Since we seldom see more than one-third of any corn crop actually sold in central markets, the Secretary must have meant one-sixth of the total 1971 crop. With the high production it could be up to only one-eighth of the 1971 crop. It would represent only a small portion of the total. Mr. Speaker, this legislation cannot be fairly denounced as a windfall. It provides desperately needed help to the American family farmer.

Mr. Butz also claims that the reserves and loan rate increase would cause a decline in our exports. I must remind the Secretary that last year our exports broke all records, \$7.8 billion, at prices higher than those provided by our bill.

The Secretary accused the House of Representatives of "negating" the establishment of reserves by our "hastily adopted amendment" to increase the price support loan rate. Mr. Speaker, this House carefully considered the loan rate provision for 6 months and by including it in the reserves bill has acknowledged that it is essential to provide meaningful aid to the family farmer and insure the success of the entire program.

Last year the administration ignored the advice of experts and encouraged our farmers to overproduce corn to offset a corn blight threat which did not materialize. The result was a disaster for farmers who must rely on this crop for a major portion of their income. In his testimony, Secretary Butz seemed to hope that the growers of soybeans will suffer the same fate. He expressed the fear that our legislation will prevent the

overproduction of soybeans. This from a man who claims a desire to help the family farmer? If he wants more beans let him raise the price support loan rate on this crop to a reasonable \$2.75 per bushel, not ask the American farmer to suffer an additional and gigantic loss of income.

Professor Butz also expressed concern over the \$2 billion price tag of this program. By doing so he totally ignores the simple fact that the major bulk of these funds goes toward loans, secured loans, which will be returned to the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Finally Mr. Speaker, Secretary Butz boldly claims that the present policy of this administration is working. We must ask the Secretary: "Working for whom?" His former agribusiness colleagues? The corporate conglomerates? Certainly not for the family farmer. The only aid he is getting from the current policy is an additional push to drive him off of his land. That is not the kind of help he needs, Mr. Speaker.

As Mr. Graham states in his article farmers need a farmer at the helm of the Department of Agriculture. Secretary Butz cannot understand or chooses to ignore what is really happening in rural America.

CHARLES TAI TONG TOM, PATRIARCH OF RESPECTED HAWAII FAMILY CELEBRATES 91ST BIRTHDAY

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, when a man's birthday dinner attracts 1,500 persons, it is a good sign of the high esteem in which the man is held. This was vividly illustrated earlier this month, when Mr. Charles Tai Tong Tom of Honolulu celebrated his 91st birthday.

Mr. Tom, patriarch of a family which includes nine children, 30 grandchildren and 19 great grandchildren, was honored by that many guests as a man who tried and succeeded, according to one of his sons, to "maintain the Chinese tradition of filial piety." He was an astute restaurateur in Hawaii and saw to it that each of his children received an adequate education.

His venerable life is described more fully in a timely article from the Honolulu Advertiser, which I include at this point in the RECORD by way of congratulating Mr. Tom and commending his scions for honoring him as they did.

The article follows:

PATRIARCH C. T. T. TOM HONORED

Charles Tai Tong Tom, retired restaurateur and patriarch of nine children, 30 grandchildren and 19 great-grandchildren, was honored by his family on his 91st birthday with a dinner at the Hilton Hawaiian Village's Coral Ballroom last night.

A similar dinner was held in 1962 on Mr. Tom's 81st birthday. At that time 1,200 guests attended. Last night's nine-course Chinese dinner saw the guest list escalate to 1,500 persons.

The venerable father sat in a high-backed chair and welcomed guests in the ballroom's

reception hall. He was dressed in a dark suit and bedecked with carnations, malle and coin leis.

"The biggest contribution my father made was to hold the family together, to make it very close knit," said one of his sons, Albert Q. Y. Tom, who alternated with his brother, James, and seven sisters in helping their father welcome guests.

"He tried to maintain the Chinese tradition of filial piety," said the younger Tom, president of Sunn, Low, Tom and Hara Inc., a Honolulu firm of environmental consulting engineers. He was voted "Engineer of the Year" in 1971 by the Hawaii Society of Professional Engineers.

Brother James is an accountant with the Los Angeles Parks Board.

Albert recalled his father as a "businessman" with a succession of restaurants on Oahu.

"He operated one down at Pearl Harbor, another in Damon Tract near the airport, then in Kaawa and Walmea when they were constructing the road around the island in the 1920s. He also had a grocery operation at Hickam Field for a while."

He said his father financed college education for the two boys and one daughter, and the other six girls all finished high school.

Every one in the family—"except a grandson who is at Stanford and had to go back for the Rose Bowl Parade"—attended the dinner last night.

Dr. K. S. Tom, in a dinner speech, said "Uncle Charles Tom, at this stage of your life you can, as Confucius says, 'Follow your heart's desire without transgressing.'"

JERRY FRIEDHEIM DISCUSSES OUR NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

HON. DURWALD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, recently the city of Joplin, Mo., located in the Missouri Seventh Congressional District I am proud to represent, played host to a national security seminar.

Six briefing officers from the Industrial College of the Armed Services presented 18 different lectures during the seminars opening week. They covered the wide spectrum of our national security in relation to the rest of the world.

One of the highlights of the seminar was an address by Mr. Jerry W. Friedheim, principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense—Public Affairs.

Mr. Friedheim, a former resident of the city and staff member of the Seventh Congressional District office, discussed our new national security strategy as set forth in the Nixon doctrine and our 1970's strategy of realistic deterrence.

I offer herewith the remarks of Mr. Friedheim for the enlightenment of all:

ADDRESS BY MR. JERRY W. FRIEDHEIM

I very much appreciate the invitation to be here as you conclude this National Security Seminar. As a Defense official, I appreciate also the fact that you invited here the military and Foreign Service scholars from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces.

As you know, this Seminar is especially designed to bring training to Reserve members of the Armed Forces who do not have an immediate opportunity to attend formal classes at a Service School.

This is just one example of the increasing

importance we attach to having ready and well-trained men and women in our National Guard and Reserve forces, particularly during this time when our active military forces are decreasing in size by a million men and when our reliance on the draft is being phased out.

I also am pleased that you citizens here in Joplin have welcomed to the Seminar members of the general public—and a great many students.

I hope you are prepared, though, to hear a few complaints.

Because, while most people will applaud your interest in our national security, your Ozark hospitality and your openness; some will complain that neither the Seminar group, nor I, should be here—and that, even if we are, the public should not be permitted in.

The complainers seem to feel that it is quite all right, for example, for me to hold a daily, on-the-record press conference at the Pentagon or to report to newsmen in Washington or New York, but they do not agree with me that I have an equal responsibility to accept, when my other duties permit, invitations to talk with newsmen and citizens in Joplin, or Fresno or Austin or New Haven—all places I have been on this job.

The complainers seem to feel it is quite all right for the members of the Industrial College faculty to present lectures and receive questions in Washington; but they would not allow these men to travel temporarily outside Washington to make the same sort of classes available this year to Reservists and citizens in such cities as Utica, Bakersfield, Duluth and Biloxi.

You may recall that two years ago there was a Senate discussion about whether or not the public should be allowed to attend these Seminars. And, you may recall that just about a year ago, on a national TV show, an erroneous charge was made that these seminars present military men speaking illegally on foreign policy.

I have always wondered why that TV show did not say—although its producers knew, just as you know—that a Foreign Service Officer is a member of this Seminar team and that the views expressed by this team are fully coordinated with and representative of the policies of both the Department of Defense and the Department of State.

So there are worriers and complainers and critics—some constructive, some not. They worry that you are being militarized and misled and manipulated by what they contend is a somehow sinister Seminar. They give you a good deal less credit than I do for common sense, skepticism and independent thoughtfulness. They seem to say, that only in Washington are people wise enough and reliable enough to participate in the affairs of their country.

Now, as you very well know not all wisdom resides in Washington. And, I want to assure you that I am not apologizing to anyone for accepting invitations to visit not just large cities but small cities as well. I may be prejudiced, of course, about the vitality of smaller cities, because I went to Washington from a grass-roots part of our country; so did Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird—from Marshfield, Wisconsin; and so did President Nixon—from Whittier, California.

But, most of all I want you to know that the Department of Defense is proud of what this team, from this Armed Forces college, does. We respect their scholarship; and we respect their integrity; and fortunately so, too does the vast majority of our Congress, whose members often join in these seminars around the country.

Certainly, I will apologize to no one because you students and you of the public are free, by your own choice, to join your military-reservist friends here. We at the Department of Defense believe you have a right to be here. We believe that we have a responsibility to be open and on-the-record

with you; to answer your questions and to explain to the best of our ability what your government is doing and planning.

We do not demand that you believe anything you have heard. We open the entrance door; but don't bar the exit doors. We have found we can learn much from you; your advice and suggestions are needed and necessary. Your Seminar lecturers don't work for anybody but you. I work for you. Your Department of Defense is not somehow separate from you. It's yours.

We sometimes are called the Military-Industrial Complex—but we are much more. We are a Military-Civilian-Industrial-Union-Academic - Congressional - Scientific - Business - Research - Diplomatic - Medical - Educational-Retiree-Veterans sort of complex.

And, if that gets to sound like a rather National Complex—well it is. It's a nation united for national defense. It's big because the responsibilities of achieving and maintaining peace are big responsibilities.

Your defense servicemen are of America, not above America, they draw their strength from America's strength. We like it that way, and I am here today, because the Administration in which I serve feels strongly that we must talk to and listen to Americans everywhere in this nation.

Of course, the Commander-in-Chief has been talking with you, too. Yesterday we heard his State of the Union Address.

And Monday the President will present his budget for the next fiscal year—including his budget for national security needs. Those of you here will have added insight into the consequences of that budget because of your participation in this Seminar.

And, you will be interested, I know, in what our President decides to include in his budget request to Congress. He will include several new initiatives to ensure that our strategic deterrent remains adequate in the face of continuing momentum of Soviet weapons development and deployment. And, the President's new Defense budget will continue our priority on scientific research and will continue modernization of our Navy's fleet.

Secretary Laird stated in his 1971 Defense Report to Congress that it is our goal to provide national security and safety for our people in a realistic manner requiring annually no more than seven percent of the Gross National Product and needing no more than 2.5 million military men and women who are volunteers. As we achieve ever-increasing volunteerism, we will meet those spending and manpower goals again in 1972.

It has cost and will continue to cost a lot of money for national defense; but you should carefully note that our Defense budgets are now at a 20-year-low as a portion of the Federal budget and as a percentage of the Gross National Product. And our military manpower level is at a 20-year-low, also.

National defense—which used to take more Federal dollars than anything else—is now in second place behind Federal expenditures on human resource programs. But, even though that reordering of priorities has been accomplished, we must never allow our nation to become second best in national security strength; and you may be certain that the budget presented Monday will assure our strength.

It will provide both flexibility and a strong negotiating position for our delegation at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviets. It also will reflect savings from our terminating involvement in Vietnam.

As the President announced last week, there will be fewer than 69,000 U.S. servicemen and women left in South Vietnam by May first. That's 87-percent-fewer than the authorized Vietnam strength of 549,500 when President Nixon assumed office. U.S. air sorties are down 67 percent from their 1968 peaks, and, of course, costs and casualties are dramatically down, too. President Nixon has

reversed the Vietnam escalator from one going up to one going down.

In fact, although we will maintain a limited American presence in Vietnam until all our prisoners-of-war have been returned safely by the enemy, we really are able now to look Beyond Vietnam. We are able to have a new perspective on the world. We are able to anticipate a new era in world history and to respond to new realities.

You have heard already during your Seminar about the President's Foreign Policy for Peace and about the Nixon Doctrine. This Policy for Peace and this Nixon Doctrine are the foreign policy keystones for our nation's international future. They face up to reality, and point the way toward lasting peace in a period of history greatly changed from the 1950's and even from the 1960's.

The Nixon Doctrine, as you here know, strikes a balance between what America should do and what our friends can do. It allows us to do enough—without doing too much. It insures continuance of the U.S. nuclear shield. It says that we will keep our treaty commitments and participate with our friends in safeguarding world stability and progress—but not do everything ourselves.

The Nixon Doctrine says we will be involved but not overinvolved. It expects others to do more because others are now able to do more.

The Nixon Doctrine implements the three pillars of the President's Policy for Peace—"partnership, strength and a willingness to negotiate." And that Policy for Peace is supported also by the Defense Department's new National Security Strategy of Realistic Deterrence.

Our 1970's Strategy of Realistic Deterrence operates in the areas of "strength" and "partnership" which make "meaningful negotiation" possible. It is a positive strategy which emphasizes cooperation with our friends and allies around the world. It makes clear, however, that the U.S. will concentrate more on seapower and airpower, while looking to other nations to provide most of the manpower needed on the ground overseas.

In its simplest formulation, our new national security strategy seeks to steer a prudent, middle-course between the policy extremes of world policeman and a new isolationism. It seeks to foster great readiness on the part of others and greater regional defense cooperation.

We are asking other nations to do more than they have done in patrolling the beat in their own neighborhood; we are avoiding situations in which the United States is the only cop on the beat.

This new strategy was overdue when President Nixon assumed office. Our country had, for a quarter of a century, borne at great cost in lives and resources an overwhelming share of the burden of maintaining peace and deterrence. Many nations which had looked to us for protection in the past had come of age and reached a stage of development and strength which made them capable of assuming more of the burden that we had been carrying. They are now helping carry that burden, and they will be able to do even more.

This new strategy lessens the strain on our own country's resources. It puts within reach the day when the draft can be ended. It guards against future Vietnams. It lowers the threshold for possible involvement of U.S. forces in conflict. And, it brings greater collective strength by mustering the strengths of all nations who believe freedom is worth preserving.

It has led us already into a time of intensive negotiations and made possible the coming trips to China and Russia as our President continues his work as the world's leader for peace.

But, let's be very clear, now, about what our national security strategy is and what it

is not. It promotes a more equitable sharing of the free-world's defense burdens, but it does not mean a retreat to Fortress America.

We are not going to be the world's cop; but neither are we going to cop out on the world.

We are the Free World's leader, and will maintain that position while inviting other nations to share in an even more participatory leadership.

Let's remember that since World War Two America has preserved freedom and national independence in more than half the earth. We have prevented nuclear holocaust. We have helped restore Western Europe and Japan. We have helped friend and former-foe achieve prosperity, liberty and stability. We have sustained the United Nations.

We have led the way to a cease-fire in the Middle East. We have aided millions of refugees from natural disaster and war the world over.

We have offered the hand of friendship to the less fortunate in this world, if they will but take our hand.

We have led the way.

And, we intend to maintain our leadership, our strength, our partnership, and our willingness to negotiate. We recognize a new era in the world's history—an era in which the power relationships and the programs that developed after World War Two are no longer adequate nor relevant. We see a world in which neither Communism, nor anything else, is monolithic.

We intend to pursue a realistic national security policy that recognizes our own basic, national-self-interests. We do not regard it as essential to our security in the 1970's that we be everywhere and do everything and fight every battle and finance every bank in an effort to remake the world in our own self-image and to our own system of government.

We view our security requirements not with the sometimes two-dimensional visions of the past, but in terms of a many-faceted balance of power that can permit deterrence, and stability, and negotiation, and flexibility in a dynamic world.

We look forward to coming decades in which nuclear war and brushfire war involving powers are less likely—decades during which other great powers may seek, short of war, to limit—by their worldwide presence and influence—our access to the world's peoples and resources.

This matter of "access" and of "presence"—without war and in order to deter war—is fully accommodated by our Nixon Doctrine plans.

We expect that it will remain useful to world stability for the U.S. to maintain a military presence in Europe, in the Mediterranean area, and periodically in all the major oceans of the world. It is a case in point that, as we complete our withdrawal from South Vietnam, we are in transition from warfighting forces in Southeast Asia to Nixon Doctrine deterrent forces in that part of the world.

We are not abandoning the Pacific, nor are we abandoning Asia, but our coming Nixon Doctrine presence there will be primarily deterrent air and seapower forces that would, in the future, engage in combat and assist other nations only under the principles of our new strategy.

It does seem a little presumptuous, I suppose, for me to come here so briefly on the last day of this Seminar—during which you have discussed so much—and expound to you about what the future holds for America. I cannot pretend in these closing remarks to pull together neatly for you all your thoughts of the last two weeks. And, while I might claim to be either journalist or political-scientist—or a temporary bureaucrat—I certainly am no philosopher.

Let me simply point out that while tomorrow will be different, not everything will be changed.

One would make a good case, I think, for the unchanging nature over the centuries of man's relation with man. We humans relate to our neighbors and our neighboring-nations today in very much the same way that citizens of Rome responded to their neighbors—with love and fear, envy and pride, dedication and apathy, trust and trickery, cooperation and neglect.

The interaction of all these ancient, yet everlasting, human foibles generated the politics of the Roman Senator, the Oriental Emperor and the Egyptian Pharaoh just as such emotions affect the United States Congress and the United Nations Assembly—and just as they will generate the future's national and international relations.

We can hope, of course, that men will continually learn how to get along better slowly but surely. There is precedent, I think, for us to hope that improved education will lead to greater peace and prosperity.

At least some nations today do not resort to war as an instrument of national policy. Many societies feel a desire and a responsibility to assist others rather than to exploit others. Yet, even with this hope, I doubt that we can expect our future world to be free of tyrants, or of evil, or of the covetous and the selfish.

So, though we strive for perfection; let us not be blind to reality. Let us instead anticipate challenge and pursue progress.

And let us remember that the United States of America has operated for nearly 200 years as a constitutional government; that we have the world's oldest written constitution still firmly in force and effect.

America, in fact, is doing pretty well, thank you.

For nearly two centuries Americans have made workable—government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." With the consent of the governed we have established a republic—under God—which recognizes both liberty and reality. We have drawn upon our heritage of law to operate the most successful government ever conceived by man.

An America which has survived thus far certainly can and will survive much longer. The constitutional principles which have proved adequate to give order to 200 years of transition from carriages to space capsules—those principles are fully capable of bearing us safely into a future of underseas habitation and lunar cultivation.

There are those, of course, who already claim our constitutional democracy is out-of-date and out-of-touch. They tell us changing times demand changing principles, and that the concept of liberty vacillates like concepts of fashion. They think technological advances necessarily outmode historical values. They would have us believe that mere man cannot hope to control tomorrow.

They tell us we must fit our values to the future.

Not so.

This is not a time to bend principles to the future—not a time to sell America short.

What we must do is what Americans always have done—we must fashion the future to our values, we must provide tomorrow with principle.

Let the fainthearts, who say we cannot make it . . . let them come along for the ride; for it is going to be a wondrous ride, indeed.

Over the coming decades your government, with your participation and guidance, is going to create a climate for the most secure, most healthy, most prosperous existence ever known to man.

We are going to meet challenges and lick them.

We are going to face and deal with such things as tripled population, 100-year life spans, exotic life-saving drugs, uninjuring weapons, oceans farming, fusion power, robots, weather control, space exploitation, instant communication and a host of other modern miracles.

Tomorrow? It's worth waiting for.
 And America? America . . . she's doing very
 nicely, thank you.
 And she's worth everybody's best efforts!

SMALL TOWN LEADERS SPEAK OUT

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, this is the time for new beginnings, new resolves, and renewed efforts to deal with the manifold problems facing our Nation today. It is with sorrow that I face this new congressional session knowing that so little progress was made during the last year in dealing with the critical economic and community services problems plaguing Small Town, U.S.A.

The most notable change seems to be the increased attention the various committees of the House and the Senate have been giving the problems of "rural" America. While the residents of small towns, communities, and counties are grateful for any attention and aid they get, the narrow-focused attention on the outmoded term "rural" seems to be a continued denial that the problems with which we are concerned are national and should be dealt with in a national, overall situation context.

Today I resume sharing with my colleagues in the Congress testimony from the series of hearings on community development needs in the First Congressional District. The statements from Morris Bowman of Newport, Ark., Rex Watson of Piggott, Ark., Mayor Harold Parrish of McDougal, Ark., and Charles Ray Stephens of Diaz, Ark., complete those taken in connection with the hearing at Walnut Ridge.

I believe that what these small town leaders have to say will be of interest to the Members of the Congress.

The testimony follows:

TESTIMONY OF MORRIS BOWMAN

(Presented to Congressman WILLIAM V. ALEXANDER, October 23, 1971, at Walnut Ridge, Ark.)

I am Morris Bowman from Jackson County. My statement is brought in behalf of the elected officials of Jackson County and the Jackson County Development Council which I serve as chairman. We are grateful for this opportunity to present our problems. We appreciate your desire to learn of them and your willingness to work to alleviate them.

For more than 15 years Jackson County has suffered an out-migration of its citizens. They have been and still are looking for more and better job opportunities, more pleasant living conditions and more satisfying recreational opportunities. There are several projects and activities which we think could help keep our people in the county, thus relieving the pressures on our cities. I want to mention eight of them and comment briefly on each.

(1) Dust and mud proofing of county roads. The maturing generation of our citizens are no longer willing to live in the country where they must contend with dust in the summer and mud in the winter. Few people are willing to invest or pledge their life savings for a house located on a dirt road. But given reasonably good roads and

a few other advantages we believe our young people will want to remain in rural areas. To my knowledge we presently have no hard surfaced county roads.

(2) We urgently need more funds for water and sewer systems for small communities. Although some progress has been made in this area, the need is still great. For example, the small town of Jacksonport located just north of Newport, is an ideal homesite for people who work in or near Newport. We are told the Health Department will not approve this area for use of home septic tanks. It is imperative that this community be provided with a community sewer system if it is to keep its residents and attract others. Housing developers are anxious to build homes here if this problem can be solved. There are a dozen or more other sizable communities without central water and sewer systems.

(3) County wide pollution control for solid waste. Small rural communities and farm residents have no suitable location or means to dispose of normal trash collections. Rural roadsides and drainage ditches are being littered and blocked because of this problem. Individuals and small groups cannot afford the minimum of equipment required to provide community landfills for disposal purposes. Our County Development Council is studying this problem but financing to purchase or lease one or more bulldozers and pay for part time operators must be found.

(4) A nine foot channel for White River up to Newport. Grain elevator operators both large and small have expressed an interest in shipping grain produced in Jackson and surrounding counties by river barge if an adequate channel is provided. This saving in freight rates would accrue to the benefit of farmers and others in the county. Jackson County alone produces approximately 2 million bushels of rice and 5 million bushels of soybeans. The manufacturing industry in the county could be profitably served by river barge, also. This would add to the employment opportunities in the county.

(5) More recreational facilities, such as boat docks, launching ramps, swimming areas and picnic parks. Jackson County is blessed with two rivers and several lakes. These are almost totally undeveloped for recreational purposes. With a five day work week or less, with long week-ends, recreation becomes an important factor as to where people choose to live. Professional planning is sorely needed for these projects.

(6) County wide mosquito control. This is needed for health reasons as well as comfort of life. Individuals can and will do much of the work involved but planning and some public financing is needed if this is to be a workable project.

(7) A new county court house and jail facility. A recent survey by a qualified consulting firm pointed out the need for more and better office space for our county government. Our jail is antiquated and in poor physical condition. Both buildings are about 70 years old. A new facility could house all units of county government and the county jail.

(8) Area vocational and technical school. The Jackson County area has not as yet been able to secure such an institution. Obviously, such training is needed to qualify our people for jobs that are available but for which we do not have trained personnel. Plumbers, mechanics, secretaries, electricians and other skilled workers are in demand in all parts of the state.

Each of these needs which I have mentioned requires funding which is unavailable under present conditions. Our citizens have demonstrated their desire to progress by the approval of increased millages for our schools and other purposes. This has in many instances doubled the property taxes paid. Any substantial increase in our property tax would cause this tax to become regressive in nature

and the community would suffer thereby. We have the last few years approved bond issues for a library, city hall, several industrial factories and street and sewer projects. Our citizens seem ready to support improvements to the extent of their ability to pay. However, the projects which I have outlined cannot become a reality without long term bond issues and the help of the federal government.

A detailed study of the cost of the improvement projects mentioned has not been conducted. The total road improvements alone would approximate 3 to 5 millions of dollars and all the projects might approach 15 to 20 millions or more. We would welcome any help in both the planning and financing needed to carry forward these projects which are so vital to our economy.

PIGGOTT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
 Piggott, Ark., October 15, 1971.

HON. BILL ALEXANDER,
 House Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: At a time when the Nation is concerned with medical care for its people and the lack of physicians, particularly in small towns and rural areas, and the outward flow of people from these areas, we find that these are some of the most pressing problems of Piggott and Clay County. At present Clay County has one hospital, located at Piggott, staffed by three physicians and one surgeon, who owns it. There are only two other physicians in Clay County, one of whom is physically unable to practice except in his home. So the Piggott hospital must serve as medical headquarters for the entire county, as well as several towns in southeastern Missouri. Probably a conservative population figure would be 20,000 to 25,000 people. Recent figures show that the patient load of Piggott Hospital is almost 70% medicare patients, which gives some indication of the number of elderly people needing medical help in our area. To them the hospital is not a luxury of life, but a necessity to maintain life.

At present the hospital is only certified on a temporary basis because of needed renovations to comply with Medicare standards. The present owner, Dr. Gordon Duckworth, cannot make these needed improvements because he cannot obtain Federal aid since the hospital is privately owned. The City of Piggott has been approached by Dr. Duckworth with the proposal that the city buy the hospital and make the necessary repairs with Federal aid once it is publicly owned. The City is now in the process of negotiating with Dr. Duckworth on this proposal, wanting to provide necessary medical services to the people of Piggott and Clay County. Without Medicare certification the hospital would lose almost 70% of its finances, and, of course, would have to close. Our physicians would not stay in Piggott without hospital facilities, so our people would not only lose the hospital, but services of our physicians as well, further complicating the already serious lack of medical services.

Preliminary cost figures indicate it would take between \$400,000 and \$475,000 to purchase and renovate the hospital. Help must be forthcoming to enable this much needed project to be carried out. Plans have also been discussed to put satellite offices in nearby towns, if they desire and it can be worked out, to provide better medical services to the nearby areas now without physicians. Looking at it from a different viewpoint, but never-the-less an important one, we feel that adequate medical services are necessary to attract more industry to our area, and help stop the outward flow of people from our area. The hospital itself employs 78 people, and its loss would be a severe economic blow to our area for several reasons:

1. To provide adequate medical facilities for its people.

2. To provide adequate medical facilities for our physicians.

3. To provide jobs for 78 people, most of whom are skilled workers.

4. To help attract new industry for our area.

For these and other persons we urgently request your help on this most urgent matter, for without help we feel that we will lose our hospital, and this we cannot afford.

Thank you for inviting me to express to you our community needs, and any assistance you can give us will be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

REX WATSON,
President.

McDOUGAL, ARK.,
October 11, 1971.

HON. BILL ALEXANDER: The most urgent need for McDougal at this time, is a sewage system. Our source of financing would have to be in the form of a government grant, and a long term loan for the balance.

McDougal has not had a loan approved for housing in one year because of the fact the land formation will not permit the liquid waste to absorb, or as FHA put it, "The Percolation test will not permit."

McDougal is ideally located on highway 62, 13 miles from Corning, Arkansas, and 13 miles from Piggott, Arkansas. If McDougal could get a Sewage System I see no reason why the population growth should not grow by leaps and bounds.

McDougal could also use some housing for the low income and aged, approximately 20 units for low income, and 30 units for aged.

McDougal is also in the process of buying a Public Park, and would like to have some government assistance in planning and developing the park.

Blacktopping of highway 141 which connects with highway 90 from Boydsville, Arkansas to McDougal on highway 62 would be of great help to McDougal in the area, and traveling to and from work.

Industry, I am sure would help this area in community development, but if we can upgrade our community with sewage, roads, housing, then industry will seek us instead of us having to seek industry.

Sincerely,

HAROLD PARRISH,
Mayor.

OCTOBER 12, 1971.

HON. BILL ALEXANDER,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

The following is the report of Diaz, Arkansas.

I	
Streets	\$75,000
Sewer system	40,000
Fire protection	25,000
Improve existing water system	30,000
City planning	5,000
Parks and playgrounds	25,000
Storm drainage	35,000

II

The city is unable to finance these, but the attitude of the citizens is good. The tax for a city hall-fire station was by 20 to 0. Grants as well as loans need to be available.

Small towns need, if a loan, to have low payments with a balloon at the end, if the purpose of the loan is to stimulate and encourage development. This allows the development to materialize and assist in paying back the loan.

III

Good. The federal programs have helped greatly in the recent growth of Diaz, which has doubled and almost tripled under the F.H.A. water system and home loans.

CHARLES RAY STEPHENS.

Mr. Speaker, this is the 13th insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of testimony and other materials which I have gathered during my research into ways to assist community development in non-metropolitan areas. Other materials on this subject appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS, volume 117, part 25, pages 32740-32741; part 26, pages 34505-34506; part 27, pages 35409-35410 and 36133-36135; part 28, pages 37358-37361; part 29, pages 38121-38123; part 30, pages 39156-39158; November 11, pages E12076-E12079; November 17, pages E12314-E12316; December 3, pages E12986-E12988; December 9, pages E13260-E13262; and, December 15, pages E13535-E13538.

NEW JERSEY'S DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, New Jersey was one of the first States to establish a department of environmental protection and I am proud to report it has already become the major force in the effort to control pollution in our Nation's most urbanized State.

I am particularly interested in the department's efforts to establish a regional reclamation system utilizing 25 regional recycling centers.

Recently the Newark Star-Ledger published a well deserved analysis praising the department's energetic efforts.

[From the Newark Star-Ledger, Jan. 24, 1972]

A POTENT FORCE

Since its birth, appropriately enough, on Earth Day, 1970, the N.J. Department of Environmental Protection has been a potent, pioneering force in the campaign by concerned citizens and government to reverse the insidious pollution trend that has befouled our air and water and despoiled the land.

Under the rigorous direction of State Environmental Commissioner Richard J. Sullivan, the new department has carefully developed and successfully launched historic legislation to protect the Garden State from further deterioration of the environment by residential and industrial wastes and the noxious emissions from diesel-powered trucks and buses.

The environmental task is particularly difficult because there are more people, cars and chemical industrial complexes per square mile in New Jersey than in any other state.

As the most urbanized state in America, New Jersey is a unique environmental laboratory, where threatening pollution forces are at work everywhere.

Responding to the Garden State's awesome anti-pollution challenges, the environmental agency has moved simultaneously on these critical fronts: Control of man-made discharges into the air and water, and management of the state's staggering amounts of solid waste.

The Wetlands Act and the "Critical Lands" regulations are two innovations designed to protect the estuaries, marshes and marine life along the Jersey Shore and also those

lands where high water tables are threatened by septic tanks and cesspools.

New Jersey was the first state to adopt a Green Acres program (1961 and 1971), saving hundreds of thousands of acres of forests, natural areas and open space from encroachment or development.

It also established the first diesel code to control gross emissions from trucks and buses, resulting in the motor vehicle arrests of more than 1,600 violators of the new air pollution control law.

Regional secondary water treatment systems also are being built to eliminate the flushing of sewage and sludge into the ocean and rivers. This is a billion dollar program that began only two years ago but, when completed by the end of the decade, will bring about one of the most efficient state-wide water pollution control systems in the country.

In addition to its legislative programs, the environmental department has promoted remarkable citizens' response to local pollution problems. More than 110 municipal Conservation Commissions have been created throughout the state. These are citizen watchdogs on the community level, engaged in programs to improve their environment.

And, recently, Commissioner Sullivan announced that his department will select a regional reclamation system in 1972 to satisfy the demands of the hundreds of organizations and communities involved in the recycling of cans, bottles, papers and plastic containers. The regional project is intended to be the solution to the state's garbage crisis. At least 25 regional centers will be established in the next few years.

The job of cleaning up the environment is energetically under way in New Jersey, but it is an effort that warrants even greater cooperation and commitment from every citizen and company in the state if it is to remain effective.

OVERCROWDING AND UNDERFINANCING CONTINUE TO PLAGUE NATION'S MUSEUMS

HON. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, in Monday's edition of the Chicago Tribune, there appeared an article about the recent retirement of the director of the Chicago Art Institute. It is the story of the frustrating problems encountered by Charles Cunningham during his 5 1/2 years as the institute's chief administrator. The type of problems faced by Mr. Cunningham during his tenure are becoming increasingly more common in our country as the popularity of the arts increases at a phenomenal pace.

The problems of overcrowding and underfinancing are problems which currently plague museums nationwide. It was for this reason that my colleague from Indiana, Mr. BRADEMANS, and I first introduced the Museum Services Act during the first session of this Congress. It is our earnest hope that this legislation will be considered by the Congress during this session. For only through swift, decisive action by the members of this body will America's museums be able to continue the battle to preserve our Nation's historic art treasures.

I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point the article about the Chicago Art Institute as I feel that it would be of definite interest to Members of this body:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Jan. 24, 1972]
WHY CUNNINGHAM QUIT: A COMMENT ON ART MUSEUMS

(By Thomas Willis)

When Charles C. Cunningham abruptly resigned last Monday as director of the Art Institute, he gave persuasive reasons for his move. At 61, he was feeling pressured. His doctor had suggested a slowdown. The Institute's long-range fund-raising campaign, expected to last until 1979, made it "highly important that a younger man be involved in the total plan."

After five and one-half years of battling his job's demanding combination of social, administrative, and intellectual responsibilities, it was time to look around. A wealthy man, he could afford to switch to his first loves, research and teaching, and give more time to his family.

A friend put it more bluntly, "Charlie's finally had it up to here."

NAMES NO NAMES

You won't find Cunningham telling that to a suspicious reporter, tho. A slow-speaking New Englander with an Ivy League sense of fitness and diplomacy, he points no fingers and names no names.

But he will tell you some of his problems, if you pin him down: "Only about 15 per cent of my job has anything to do with art. The rest is administrative detail. We need to increase the museum's community services, but we haven't the money. The capital campaign makes no provision for acquisitions, but a museum is what it has. The administrative organizations, depending as it does on a complex of standing and advisory committees, produces 15 generals and no sergeants. Responsibility is inefficiently channeled."

But all of this is extracted with great difficulty from a man who would much rather be talking about the "intimate and highly personal communication between the art object and a viewer" and the necessity for everyone to understand that "a teacup is a work of art." It is clear even to an outsider that he likes paintings and people, not paperwork.

A BUSINESS DEAL

Some members of the Institute's governing board wish he had been a tougher administrator. "He's a great scholar and art historian," one of them told me, "but when you're in charge of an 8-million-dollar budget and nearly 600 employees, it becomes a business deal. Thirty or 40 years ago when it was a neat little package, the Institute sort of ran itself. Now there's the school, the Goodman Theater's new company as well as its drama school, the museum education department, increased security, the high cost of insurance, escalating salaries and, of course, Phase II. Certainly a director should know his stuff as an art man, but he's got to be a career administrator, too."

Cunningham's way is to hire the right curators, give them the responsibility to operate their own departments, and impress on them their responsibility to the museum at large. "Some men like to be included in everything," he explained. "I try to find dedicated men who like the day-to-day confrontation with art that a museum offers, and let them do the job. If there are disagreements in approach or philosophy, we try to talk them out."

LITTLE FRICTION SEEN

To suggest that there is very much friction between Cunningham and his board would probably be a mistake. As another friend observed, "Charlie is able to meet these people on their own level. He is much

smarter, almost as rich, and has a worldliness and aplomb about him which very few of the trustees can match."

The solidly built, clothes-conscious New Englander who wears the same tie to every exhibit opening is one of the best-liked men on the social and cultural scene. When news of his retirement came out last week, the nearly uniform response was: "What a nice man. Sorry he's leaving."

One well-known Michigan Avenue gallery owner noted that Cunningham had encouraged collecting, thus stimulating local business. Another noted that the Institute's moves toward developing community support for the visual arts during his tenure "have been nothing short of phenomenal."

STAFF IS SURPRISED

A museum curator, Jack V. Sewell, head of the Department of Oriental Art, said the staff was "dumbfounded" at news of the resignation and had no inkling of Cunningham's wish to quit. A second, James Speyer, whose department of 20th-Century painting has been criticized by some of the younger, non-establishment artists and dealers, categorically denied the existence of any tension or staff dissension.

Cunningham's tenure here has spanned a time of developing crisis for American museums. When he arrived in mid-1966, after 20 years as director of the Wadsworth Athenaeum in Hartford, Conn., the national museum attendance had skyrocketed to an estimated 200 million persons a year. During his first year, the Art Institute's counters recorded a record, still standing, of 2,516,280.

The financial picture that year, tho not as encouraging, was far from bleak. The treasurer reported current income at \$5,476,202, gifts and bequests from 4,280 sources totaling approximately \$1,940,000, and a small operating surplus of \$3,602.

CHANGE IN POLICY

By 1970-71, the last period for which figures are available, the situation was radically different. A discretionary "pay what you can" admissions policy, copied from New York City's Metropolitan Museum and put into effect Jan. 4, 1970, produced around \$185,000 in new money but was a major cause of plummeting attendance, a drop of nearly a million from the previous year.

The treasurer's report for that year included operating expenditures of \$9,151,610, nearly double the earlier amount, and the operating surplus of 1966-67 had become a \$578,615 deficit, a matter which the report said held "serious implications for the fiscal well-being" of the museum.

Except for the admission charge and attendance drop, this local situation is being repeated on a national scale. Trade journals, expensive national surveys, and the published annual reports of the individual organizations point to the scope and stature of the situation.

CROWDS ARE DIFFERENT

Across America, a new heterogeneous influx of spectators crowds our former "temples of art," spearheaded by throngs of children and their teachers and leavened by eager collectors anxious to acquire taste. Without adequate staff, museums have recruited volunteers, only to find that, as a visiting critic told a seminar recently, "like the 19th-Century fire brigades, they absolutely adore the lurid excitement of frequent conflagrations."

"So overwhelming is the stampede," this critic continued, "that those professionals who know how to put water on the blaze and save the treasures of the house can't get their hose untangled."

Cunningham would be the first to defend his volunteers, but he confirms that here, as elsewhere, it is the size and character of the new audience which has transformed the director's job. "We no longer can assume that

our visitors are in any sense a group. Some are sophisticated and cultivated repeaters," he says. "Others have only the slimmest resources and educational background. Our staff is simply too small to deal with them."

WORDS ARE SIMILAR

It is a statement remarkably similar to one in his first report to the Institute trustees at the close of the 1966-67 season. At that time, he called for "a broad study of how our museum can better serve the enormous crowds which now pass thru its doors. We must," he concluded, "reappraise our educational role and determine what we contribute to the lives of these millions of visitors."

He has been repeating this call for reappraisal and change ever since he arrived. To some, the results have been encouraging, and Leonard Pas, executive director of the Illinois Arts Council, believes that Cunningham has "finally brought the museum into the 20th Century" in terms of service to the larger community.

TRACE OF STIFFNESS

This necessity for deciding in favor of education and community involvement came up again and again in our conversations. Only once did a trace of stiffness creep in. It was not hostility, just the unexpected firmness of a man determined not to overstate the situation:

"But as the board president, Leigh Block, points out to me, these decisions have got to be made by the board, and if I'm not to be involved in it, it's not necessarily by business. I pointed out to him that I spent 38 years in the museum business and I'm always available to help."

It was an oblique and polite statement, but the sense of underlying frustration and discouragement was inescapable. At that moment I was certain I knew the main reason he quit. There simply was no way for him to do what he felt should be done.

TV STATION CANCELS SHOW— CONFLICT OF INTEREST?

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, the Republican National Committee's always interesting, always informative publication has come up with another interesting, informative story. The story involves a Washington NBC affiliated TV station, a show they were preparing for broadcast and the cancellation of the show because the producer was discovered to be an employee of the Muskie campaign organization. The young lady involved in the story, it might be added, is the daughter of Mr. Bryson Rash, who also works for station WRC and delivers their editorial comment.

The story follows:

[From Monday, Jan. 10, 1972]

TV STATION CANCELS SHOW ABOUT AGNEW
PRODUCED BY MUSKIE EMPLOYEE

The NBC affiliated television station in Washington, D.C. has canceled a show about Vice President Spiro Agnew two days before it was to be taped since the management felt there was a clear "conflict of interest," Monday has learned. The producer of the program works for Sen. Edmund Muskie's campaign organization.

The story is as follows:

When it was learned that the producer of "Off Campus," a WRC Channel 4 TV show

featuring young people talking about current affairs, had called the Republican National Committee in search of panel members for an upcoming show about the Vice President, *Monday* called the producer to offer assistance. The station told *Monday* that the producer, Miss Brennan Rash, was no longer with WRC but might be reached either at home or at Muskie for President Headquarters.

PRODUCER SEES NO CONFLICT

When *Monday* reached Miss Rash she confirmed that she was indeed a Muskie employee and had been Mrs. Muskie's advance woman for about two weeks. But the fact she was a Muskie employee and producing a show about the Vice President was not a conflict of interest, she told *Monday*. It "has nothing to do with it," she declared.

Miss Rash explained to *Monday* that she was a "free lance producer" for WRC, was no longer with the station and was producing the Agnew show as one of her last three shows; shows that had been in preparation before she took the job with Muskie. She said the Agnew show was being done with her boss' full knowledge that she had gone to work for Muskie in the meantime.

Later in the day Miss Rash called *Monday* back with the information that she had discussed the matter with her boss, Burton Bridgens, manager of the station's department of community affairs, and he had decided to cancel the show.

MANAGER SEES CONFLICT

Monday spoke with Bridgens and asked him why he had waited until two days before the show was to be taped to cancel it (and then only when *Monday* called matters to his attention) when he knew Miss Rash was the producer and that she had gone to work for Muskie about two weeks earlier. Bridgens replied that he probably should have done it earlier, that he had "other things on his mind" and that in his job he reviews only finished programs. He explained that because of Miss Rash's job with Muskie there was "a clear conflict of interest" but the show would "probably not have been approved" anyway. There are two safeguards to prevent such conflicts, he said—himself and a broadcast standards editor.

Bridgens said he appreciated *Monday* calling the matter to his attention as he would "anyone taking an interest in our programs."

THE FALLACY OF MINIMUM WAGE

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, legislation is pending which would increase the minimum wage to \$2 per hour. This would seem to be a dangerous move at a time when employment is at an approximate 94-percent level. To increase the minimum at this time, and extend the coverage, would undoubtedly result in freezing many deserving people out of work and add to the unemployment problem.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial report, dated January 19, 1972, by San Antonio's WOAI-TV, which contains some sound comments and pertinent food for thought. The editorial follows:

THE FALLACY OF MINIMUM WAGE

Unemployment is a national problem and its current level at 6% is too high . . . too many people willing and able to work cannot find jobs.

In the political arena the finger of guilt is always pointed at whoever is occupying the White House, but we suggest a good part of this problem has been created by the Congress.

The Congress, aware of an election year, is about to raise the minimum wage again. Some honestly believe this action will help the poor. Others do it simply for political gain.

But we submit that the continuous raising of the minimum wage forces employers to look to automation . . . to reduce the size of the work force. Sound business judgment prevents employers from hiring the unskilled and the untrained teenagers at rates that do not equate with productivity.

What is needed here is flexibility and adjustment in the minimum wage to allow employers to hire the maximum number of people. A federal scale could be adopted that would allow employers to pay less for teenagers and unskilled labor, while still requiring them to pay a higher minimum to semi-skilled and skilled workers.

This makes sense . . . it seems fair and just, so it probably will not happen!

PRAYER SERVICE FOR MISSISSIPPI GOVERNOR

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, when William Lowe Waller was inaugurated as Mississippi's new Governor on January 18 he set a precedent by holding a prayer service prior to the inaugural ceremonies. I hope the future Governors of my home State will continue the prayer service because I believe very deeply that all elected officials need the guidance and wisdom of the Supreme Being. I would like to share with my colleagues the remarks that were made by Governor Waller's preacher, Larry G. Rohrman, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Jackson, Miss. Reverend Rohrman shows a very keen insight into the daily problems of a person in public office. His remarks are as follows:

MESSAGE DELIVERED BY DR. LARRY G. ROHRMAN, PASTOR, FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, JACKSON, MISS., AT PRAYER SERVICE FOR GOV. WILLIAM LOWE WALLER, JANUARY 18, 1972, IN THE SANCTUARY OF FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, JACKSON

We have gathered here today for the purpose of prayer. This is a rather unusual, if not unique, way for a future governor to begin an inauguration day. At best, this day for him, is cluttered with untold responsibilities, speeches and physically exhausting appearances. But we are here at this hour for several reasons—the first of which is because the Wallers wanted it that way. It is just like them to want to start the day with God. It is a part of their upbringing—a part of their heritage. They probably would not have thought of doing otherwise. It is natural for them to be prayerfully thankful to God for the opportunity to serve their fellowman while at the same time to be reverently dependent upon God for strength equal to the responsibilities that He gives them to carry. You see, religion is not a Sunday affair with our new Governor; it is a way of life. He did not wait until he entered the political arena to begin his church attendance. Nor did he permit his victory or the responsibilities it brought to cool off his faithfulness. He has been, is now,

and I predict always will be loyal to his faith as well as to this church.

(Several weeks ago an amusing incident took place after our morning worship service. A lady stopped me and asked, "Wasn't that Bill Waller I saw taking up the collection in the balcony this morning?" "Yes, it was," I replied. "Well," she said, "it's not every church that has a Governor taking up the collection on Sunday morning." "Lady," I replied, "it's not every church that will trust a Governor to take up the collection on Sunday morning.")

His religious beliefs are not feigned or artificial, but they are genuine. He is a Christian example to his children and to the world. Perhaps his greatest asset is his faithful and loving wife who is a reservoir of spiritual stamina. Their wish, thank God, was to start the day with prayer.

A second reason for our being here at this hour is that the Scripture admonishes it. I Timothy 2:1-2 in the translation known as *The Living Bible* declares:

"Here are my directions: pray much for others; plead for God's mercy upon them; give thanks for all He is going to do for them.

Pray in this way for kings and all others who are in authority over us, or are in places of high responsibility, so that we can live in peace and quietness, spending our time in godly living and thinking much about the Lord."

In the third place, the problems of our day demand it. Our generation, more so than any before it, is faced by a decaying society. Our problems are great. Murder, theft, gluttony, cheating, hatred, looting, burning and revolution are only a few of the words which characterize our society. The strange paradox of material splendor and spiritual poverty is an accurate picture of the United States and even Mississippi in the 1970's. Our heads are full of knowledge, our stomachs full of food, but our hearts are grotesquely empty. We can send men to the moon, but we haven't the wherewithal to teach them to live peaceably on earth. We have discovered the secrets of the physical universe, but the complexity of the human soul has eluded our grasp. We, like lost children, grope in the darkness of depravity because the real force that lights the path to peace, harmony, tranquility, and even good government is almost nonexistent in our society. I speak of love. The Holy Book defines God as love. We will not find peace on earth until we have submitted to the Prince of Peace. There will never be the brotherhood of man until there is the Fatherhood of God. Education won't do it. Science won't do it. Environment won't do it. Not even government will do it. Only God can do it. You see, good government doesn't just happen—it is the product of good men who dare to engage in the pursuit of finding adequate solutions to the problems of all mankind. Good men are not produced by a good environment.

The reverse is true—good men produce a good environment. How long will it take us to learn that simple lesson? What we need is some changed men and they will change our world. Only God can change men. We are here today to pray for changed men.

In the fourth place, we are here because the perplexity of the job of being Governor of a state necessitates it. The attitude of the general public toward its leaders is one of the most puzzling problems I have ever witnessed. Mr. Waller, when you became Governor, the average citizen considers you to be public property. As you know, and so much more than do I, you no longer have a private life. Everything you do will fall under the scrutiny of a very cynical populace. The average man on the street corner of any country seat town will consider himself qualified to point out all of your shortcomings. You will be criticized no matter what you do. Lack of information on the part of your critics will not slow them down. Right, as you see it, will

become wrong as they tell it. They will make white black, and black white. There will be some difficult hours when you will be alone, except for God. Only in the sanctuary of your heart will there be privacy. Keep your heart pure or there will be no peace there either. Only your integrity will enable you to stand erect. As you have done in the past, resist the pressures that will relentlessly seek to make you compromise your convictions. The people have given you a trust—guard it with your life. After your task is completed and you pass the mantle of leadership on to another, be sure you do it with clean hands. Care not what men may say—it is God who is your judge. Never forget, however, it is also God who is your strength, your guide, your light and your Lord. Men are depraved and bent upon seeing your errors and finding your faults. God is seeking your strengths. May He give you wisdom that produces understanding. May your eyes see clearly the vision of what Mississippi could become. May your steadfast courage lead you to greater heights than even you could dream are possible.

My prayer for you is not that you will be strong with the power of state, but that you will be right in the sight of God.

I pray not that you will lead our State into financial prosperity if it costs us our spiritual integrity. Who cares how good the highways are if they lead to destruction.

I pray not that you will love popularity and fame, but that you will hate injustice.

Last of all, we are here because we want to be. Five times now our church has had one of its deacons serve as the highest official of our State. Longino, Noel, Whitfield and Barnett have gone before you. We know it is our obligation, it is our responsibility, it is our highest honor and happy joy to hold you up to God in prayer. We pledge to do that daily.

In closing, may I beg a personal privilege. Although you are my elder, my political leader, and my superior in every way, I wish to share with you a secret that is the most important factor in my life. Be sure to save some time to be alone with God. Others need appointments with you. But you need appointments with God. His word instructs you to "Be still and know that I am God." That pause for stillness and quiet will save many a step in the wrong direction. If you listen, He will speak. If you ask, He will give. If you knock, He will open the door unto you.

It is time now for you to go across the street and shoulder the responsibility. You must now accept the charge. As you go I bid you God's speed.

PERPETUATING THE DECEPTION ON THE POW ISSUE

HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, in this period of high emotionalism over the Vietnam war, and more particularly, the prisoner of war and missing in action issue, it is encouraging to see a more objective point of view as expressed in the column of Richard Wilson in the Evening Star of January 24, 1972.

Every Member of Congress and every American desires an end to the war and the release of the POW's.

When the issue is sheared of its political and emotional arguments, it is obvious to all that Hanoi is the stumbling block and not the President nor the U.S. negotiators.

PERPETUATING THE DECEPTION ON THE POW ISSUE

(By Richard Wilson)

A cruel deception is being perpetuated by heedless men that all President Nixon need do to secure the release of prisoners of war held in North Vietnam is to declare a specific date for complete withdrawal of all American forces.

The depth of this deception is emphasized in a response to questions submitted to the Hanoi government by the New York Times which the newspaper decided not to publish. The reasons leading to this decision are curious.

On Page 10 of its Friday edition under a headline saying "Hanoi's Cable to Times Cites Peace Aim," the Times gave this main reason for not publishing Hanoi's response to the questions submitted by its managing editor:

The response was no different than previous positions stated at the Paris peace negotiations by Hanoi's representatives and published at the time in the Times.

This excuse for not publishing Hanoi's response can be questioned for several reasons. First, the cable was an official statement direct from Hanoi and not filtered through the North Vietnamese delegation in Paris. Second, the Times, in an interview earlier with the head of the Communist delegation, had spread the impression that releasing prisoners of war could be separated from other issues at the Paris conference.

And, third, the Hanoi response might have helped to clear the minds of those who cultivate the deception that the prisoner of war question can be separated from North Vietnam's insistence that all troops must be withdrawn and the policy of Vietnamization be abandoned. The Times has often published, and makes a special point of publishing, important public documents. It confined itself in this case to publishing merely a summary of the exclusive statement it received from Hanoi, and did not relate this response to the questions it has asked except to say that none has been answered directly.

Nor, it was indicated, would the Times have done this much had it not been for the fact that the foreign broadcast information service of the Central Intelligence Agency had published in its weekly report the substance of the exchange in its regular function of monitoring Hanoi's public communications. The exchange between Hanoi and the Times managing editor thus became known to reporters covering the State Department.

Furthermore, a good many readers would conclude that the Hanoi response confirmed beyond any shadow of doubt the Nixon administration's claim that North Vietnam has flatly turned down a prisoner release in exchange for a firm withdrawal date. Sen. George McGovern, a candidate for president, has, in effect, called Nixon a liar for making that claim.

Aside from revealing the hazards of a newspaper trying to conduct or at least influence, foreign affairs, the incident of this unpublished document from Hanoi nails down hard what the Communist government will settle for. It will settle for the humiliation of the United States, complete renunciation of the Thieu government, and an end to all support for the elected government of South Vietnam. Then—maybe—it will release American prisoners of war.

The Times could have placed these facts in high relief by publishing its questions and Hanoi's cabled response, but it did not do so.

McGovern, and more recently Sen. Mike Mansfield, persist in the notion that it is all simple. Just announce a complete withdrawal and Hanoi will interpret that as letting the Thieu government go down the drain and promptly release the prisoners. The war will then be over.

Hanoi's cable makes it a lot clearer: President Nixon must pull totally out of Vietnam, stop backing the Nguyen Van Thieu bellicose clique and conform to all seven points of Hanoi's peace proposal, which would accomplish the complete humiliation of Nixon in his attempt to achieve a constructive end to the war.

Nixon tried, in his recent television interview, to open the door a little wider by intimating that the last troops would be withdrawn when the prisoners had been released, or concurrently. That little crack in the door might have widened to permit a view of compromises on both Hanoi's unaltered seven points and Nixon's commitment to Vietnamization and to the Thieu government.

But the door was slammed shut by Hanoi with a resounding whack loud enough, certainly, to be heard by all who pursue the simplification of prisoner repatriation in exchange for setting a final and total withdrawal date.

STRUGGLE WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, the struggle of the Crimean Tartars in the Soviet Union to retain their national heritage and to regain their national autonomy within the borders of their homeland is not well documented in the West. It is for this reason that I bring to the attention of my colleagues an article published in America—The Ukrainian Catholic Daily by a constituent of mine, Mr. Paul Nedwell, which provides information on some of the more recent developments in the efforts of the Crimean Tartars against the Soviet regime.

In addition I have found a published letter by Mr. Nedwell to the former U.N. Secretary General to provide a particularly meaningful insight into the type of violation of human decency inflicted by the Soviet authority on the people of the Ukraine.

I commend to my colleagues both of the following informative pieces:

[From America—the Ukrainian Catholic Daily, Nov. 18, 1971]

THE STRUGGLE OF THE CRIMEAN TARTARS CONTINUES

(By Paul Nedwell)

In that fateful year of 1944, the Crimean Tartars, whose ancestral homeland from time immemorial has been the Crimean peninsula, fell victim to Soviet genocide. In that year the entire Crimean population of 80,000 men, women and children was forcibly and savagely uprooted from their ancient homeland and deported to the Soviet Republics of Central Asia—many of the Crimean Tartars did not survive the long and treacherous journey into exile. But this is only one in a long line of acts of genocide visited upon the steadfast and courageous Crimean Tartar population of the Soviet Union by Moscow: during the twenty years of Soviet occupation of the Crimea up to the time of the German invasion in 1941, no less than 180,000 Crimean Tartars were liquidated or deported by the Soviet regime. But in spite of all the untold suffering and persecution they had to endure, and are still enduring, at the hands of Moscow, the Crimean Tartars have survived

as a people while in exile and are presently agitating for permission to return to their rightful homeland—the Crimea—and for restoration of their national autonomy within the borders of their ancestral homeland.

In recent years this struggle of the Crimean Tartars has increased in intensity, and not decreased to Moscow had hoped. Many Crimean Tartar youth have also joined in the struggle, after becoming painfully aware of the policy of genocide still being carried out against their own people by Soviet authorities.

Just recently the leaders of the Crimean Tartar movement to return to the Crimea have appealed to the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the Soviet Press and to all Communists in a written appeal, in which they demand permission for all Crimean Tartars to return to their rightful national homeland and for restoration of national autonomy to the Crimea. This appeal was accompanied by hundreds of thousands of individual letters and 163 different documents, on which were collected over three million signatures. On the written appeal to the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union there were 130,000 signatures; however, the problem of the Crimean Tartars was not even brought up at the Congress.

Much of the information available about this appeal from the leaders of the Crimean Tartar movement to return to the Crimea and about the present state of the Crimean Tartar movement is to be found in the 19th issue of the Russian-language samizdat publication "Chronicle of Current Events," which said issue has recently reached the West. Of great interest is the appeal itself, which is included in this issue of "Chronicle of Current Events."

"It is with great sorrow—we read in the appeal—that we must inform the 24th Congress that numerous letters from Crimean Tartars to higher Party and Soviet organs of authority within the past few years have remained unanswered, being wholly ignored by these organs of authority, although the law requires that they receive an answer. And worse than that, our affairs, which fall into the province of Party and judicial organs, are transformed into a problem of the security organs, and against this or people express their strongest protest.... The Crimean Tartar people judge this outrageous situation with anger...."

To this appeal the Crimean Tartar leaders attached documents which cover the facts pertaining to the violence and terror that has been meted out to their people by various Soviet organs of authority.

Non-Russian nationalism is one of the strongest forces at work today in the USSR, prison house of peoples and nations; and even such small, persecuted non-Russian peoples as the Crimean Tartars are not without their own inner strength and fortitude. Although presently forced to remain in exile, thousands of miles away from their ancestral homeland, the Crimean Tartars are struggling to preserve their own nationhood. And the courageous leaders of the Crimean Tartar movement to return to the Crimea, who have themselves gone through much personal suffering for the sake of their own people, still hold fast to their faith in a brighter future for their long-suffering people.

[From America—the Ukrainian Catholic Daily, Dec. 2, 1971]

OUR READERS REPORT

NOVEMBER 22, 1971.

United Nations Secretary General U THANT,
United Nations, United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: I would like to bring to your attention another case of unwarranted destruction by Soviet authorities in the Ukrainian SSR of Ukrainian memorials dear to the hearts of the Ukrainian people—the barbaric

destruction by Soviet authorities of military graves in and around the Ukrainian city of Lviv. Such contemptible action on the part of the Soviet authorities in the Ukrainian SSR, itself a member state of the United Nations, violates all established moral norms and might even be rightly construed as a violation of the human rights of the Ukrainian people, to whom these Ukrainian cemetery memorials are precious reminders of a glorious past. These Ukrainian cemetery memorials are also honored by the Ukrainian people as markers of the final resting places of valiant soldiers who fought for their beloved Ukrainian land in times past.

But the Soviet authorities have not satisfied themselves just with the crude destruction of Ukrainian cemetery memorials above the graves of former Ukrainian soldiers, they have even gone to the extreme of excavating some of these graves in order to destroy all traces of past Ukrainian glory. Disturbing news has recently reached the West that in the Ukrainian city of Lviv, at the Janivsky Cemetery, military graves are being dug up by persons responsible to the Soviet authorities on orders from these very same authorities. The Ukrainian citizenry of Lviv have turned to governmental and Party circles in Kiev, capital of the Ukrainian SSR, with an appeal to Soviet authorities to stop their wanton destruction of Ukrainian cemetery memorials and graves at the Lviv cemetery. The result of this mass action by the courageous citizenry of Lviv has been a cessation of further excavation, but there has not been one shred of assurance that the order of cessation is a permanent one.

Meanwhile, the desecration by Soviet authorities of Ukrainian cemetery memorials of former Ukrainian soldiers continues in other cemeteries throughout Ukraine. Many such memorial stones have been smashed to pieces and dashed to the ground by persons seemingly hateful towards every reminder of the glorious past of the Ukrainian people. Such action by the Soviet authorities in the Ukrainian SSR should not be allowed to go uncondemned among all people concerned with achieving true justice for all men throughout the world.

I appeal to you not to remain silent about this and all other violations of human decency in Ukraine and of the human and civil rights of the Ukrainian people by the Soviet authorities in the Ukrainian SSR and by the higher Soviet authorities in Moscow, who often order and condone such violations in Ukraine. The people of Lviv wholeheartedly desire an end to this official vandalism on the part of Moscow.

Respectfully yours,

PAUL NEDWELL.

HON. JAMES A. FARLEY

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, it is not often that a man becomes a legend during his own lifetime. However, all students of American politics have long recognized the momentous role the Honorable James A. Farley has played in shaping the destiny of our great Nation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to share with my colleagues a recent article concerning the legendary former distinguished Postmaster General, genial Jim Farley—a great leader, an honored statesman, and a revered American. The article, entitled "The

Story of a Native Son," was written by Louise Steneck, and appeared in the Nyack, N.Y., Journal-News.

The article follows:

[From the Journal-News, Dec. 13, 1971]

JAMES A. FARLEY

(By Louise Steneck)

Every weekday morning, James A. Farley dons an old-fashioned black suit and highly starched shirt, says goodbye to his maid and walks out the front door of his Waldorf Towers apartment into the rush of pedestrian traffic on New York's Park Avenue.

Stepping along with a brisk gait, he engineers his way through throngs of New York businessmen and secretaries on their way to work, brushes by groups of longhairs who congregate on the corners ("It's hard to find a barber these days," Farley grumbles, "they've all gone out of business."), through the heavy revolving doors of 515 Madison Ave. and up an ear-popping 18 floors to the offices of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., where he has been chairman of the board for more than 30 years.

Settling solidly behind a massive desk, Farley sits immobile except for the incessant motion of his yellowed fingers, and views with eyes dulled by cataracts the mementos of a half century of public life—here a picture of him in an ear-to-ear conference with Pope Pius XII, there with a smiling Madame Gandhi and everywhere with one or another of the seven U.S. Presidents he has known as personal friends.

At 83, Farley is one of the few remaining bastions of old school politics. He is a firm believer in loyalty to one's party—he's an Irish Catholic Democrat—and a staunch supporter of the 2-party system: "Don't talk to me about liberals—they are liberal only with their own views—they annoy me."

Although Farley is nationally known for his successful masterminding of FDR's 1932 and 1936 presidential campaigns and his service as U.S. Postmaster General and national Democratic committee chairman during that period, he is still a viable force within the party. His favor is courted by party hopefuls who recognize Farley's reputation as a political seer and his popularity with the news media. (Farley is the reporter's dream, possessing a remarkable memory of dates, places and names.)

Farley, however, claims to be only an interested political observer, having officially given up his political posts in 1940 soon after he broke with FDR over the third-term issue. Farley's name was placed in nomination for the presidency that year.

He became chairman of the board of Coca-Cola Export in 1941 and his contract has been renewed each year, although he reached retirement age almost two decades ago.

In his position as a soft-drink supersalesman, Farley continues to use tactics which won the favor of political bosses when he started his public career as the Stony Point, N.Y., town clerk in 1911.

He works long hours, especially for a man his age, and until recently often spent Saturday mornings in his office before attending football or baseball games later in the day. He attends an average of 120 banquets and at least as many luncheons a year, most of them sponsored by groups interested in foreign trade.

He visits about 30 countries a year for his company and always calls on the American ambassador at each stop and makes a point of introducing local Coke representatives to any available government officials—"It never hurts to know powerful people," Farley says.

A prolific letter writer, Farley learned early that nothing beats the personal touch—in getting votes or in keeping customers.

Since his wife's death in 1955 (she's "Bess, God bless her," to Farley) he has lived alone, but his three children call almost daily and

one or two of his 10 grandchildren accompany him on his trips abroad.

He still finds time to visit Grassy Point, N.Y., where he was raised by "poor but honest" parents, and spends long hours reminiscing with cronies about how playing good baseball for the Grassy Point Alphas helped him win the town clerk post in a Republican-Protestant town.

On Friday evenings, Farley may be found at the Biltmore Turkish baths, sweating unwanted pounds from his massive frame—he is 6-2 and weighs about 190 pounds.

Although Farley now claims to lead a hectic though not extraordinary life, the number one gladhandler of the Democratic party still keeps a keen eye on current political trends.

Looking to the 1972 presidential election, Farley thinks "bread and butter issues such as inflation and unemployment" will decide the outcome.

"The war in Vietnam is not going to be a serious campaign issue, although finding jobs for the boys coming home is going to compound Nixon's economic problems. If he does not solve these problems, and soon, he will be in a bad position when the voters go to the polls," Farley said.

Although Farley does not want to make any predictions (he has been remarkably accurate in the past), he does believe Sen. Edmund Muskie of Maine, Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington are "the most formidable candidates for the Democratic nomination."

"Muskie appears to be ahead in current polls," Farley noted, "but any of these three would be perfectly acceptable."

What about Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts?

"We must take Sen. Kennedy at his word that he will not be a candidate. I think it is a wise decision. He is a young man and has plenty of time," Farley noted.

Farley expressed scorn for New York City Mayor John V. Lindsay's obvious, if unstated, presidential campaign efforts.

"He won't get far at the convention," Farley predicted. "He deserted his own party, which put him where he is, and I don't expect he will be much more faithful to his new one. His campaign will reveal to people across the nation his failure in administering this city."

Leaning forward in his chair, Farley drove home his point. "Loyalty and honesty are the first requirements for a good politician. The party must always come before the individual."

"The Democratic party gave me what I have and it's been a good life."

VANDALS STRIPPING NATION BARE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we are properly concerned with the maintenance of public property as it relates to the total environment. In addition, we should emphasize the fundamental respect for public, as well as private, property which is the concerned's major trait.

An extremely penetrating, and necessarily sharp, column in the Suburban Life of January 13 by that publication's city editor, Dean Linton, very effectively calls our attention to the abuse of public and private property caused by deliberate and thoughtless vandalism.

The article follows:

VANDALS STRIPPING NATION BARE

(By Dean Linton)

It's a shame that today's architects and builders must be more concerned with the sturdy, vandal-free qualities of their public structures than in the aesthetic, cultural aspects.

A case in point is the new \$66.4 million Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C. Like swarms of locusts, thousands of tourists and concert-goers have been slowly picking the center apart, from lavatory seats to swatches of expensive red carpet.

In the first few months which the center has been open, its officials say the public has literally "ripped off" an astonishing array of items, from pieces of the wall fabric to crystal baubles and expensive Waterford wall fixtures.

Visitors appear to love the center so much that they are taking it home with them, light bulb by light bulb.

In addition to the extraordinary number of thefts, vandals have put out cigarets on the fabric-covered walls in the opera house, leaving holes in the design. Some of the plush, cushioned seats in the halls have been ripped, apparently by knives.

Center officials are planning to replace the stolen and vandalized items "with something less attractive but more durable."

It's not children committing these acts of vandalism and theft.

Authorities say the school children who come on tours are most respectful of the center.

"It's the adults we have to worry about," they say.

Some example these adults are showing the youth of America!

We don't have to travel as far as Washington to see examples of immaturity. Most public washrooms show the childish efforts of frustrated poets and artists, keeping maintenance personnel busy.

Elevated and train stations, bus stops, shopping malls and theaters are all targets of these creative degenerates.

How many newly painted water tanks, bridges, underpasses and signs have you seen stained with the numerals of the local high school class?

These community artists are well on their way to bigger and better things. Perhaps the John Hancock building will serve as their canvas tomorrow.

Souvenir hunters necessitated an around-the-clock police guard of Chicago's giant Christmas tree in the Civic Center plaza during the past holiday season, a time of peace and good will toward men.

Historical landmarks throughout the country, as well as national and state parks, would be picked clean in a few months if left unguarded, by the throngs of tourists seeking free samples of Americana.

What's the solution to this growing problem?

Obviously a greater pride in one's community and nation must be instilled in the citizenry, starting with mom and dad setting the example for their offspring in word and deed.

We must start someplace and where better than the family circle?

EDUCATION OF THE GIFTED AND TALENTED

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to a

recent event in Long Island that has national significance. On Tuesday morning, November 23, 1971, the Sands Point Country Day School-Fetsch Academy, a world-recognized center for the education of gifted children, installed as its provost and acting headmaster, Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie, the former chancellor of Long Island University and president of C. W. Post College.

This was indeed an inspiring occasion. The salute to the flag was led by the 4-year-old kindergarten children, bringing joy and inspiration to the hundreds of parents, students, friends of Dr. Hoxie and outstanding educators who attended the inaugural ceremony. The Most Reverend Dr. Benjamin C. Eckardt, archbishop of the Free Protestant Episcopal Church of Ontario and president of Philathea College as well as president of the London-Ontario-Council of Churches, delivered the opening prayer.

The Honorable John Roy Price, Jr., Special Assistant to President Richard M. Nixon, brought greetings from the White House and delivered a stirring message of hope to all assembled. Mr. Price, a resident of Long Island, emphasized the vital importance of a much-neglected national resource—that is, the gifted children—and pointed up the need for more schools like Sands Point pioneering in programs that will challenge and give opportunity for growth for the talents of these young people. It has been estimated that of the elementary and secondary school population of 51.6 million there are approximately 2 million children that may be categorized as gifted. As the U.S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. Sidney P. Marland, Jr., has so effectively pointed out, only a very small portion of this total are receiving appropriate educational opportunities. Whereas the Sands Point School is presently limited to a total of only 300 preschool, elementary and secondary school-children, through the inspiration of its remarkable leadership, outstanding faculty and enthusiastic support from the children and their parents, it is serving as a model for education of the gifted.

The Sands Point School was founded by Dr. Marie L. Fetsch, the recipient of four honorary degrees from this country and abroad, as well as the recipient of a gold medal and citation for her outstanding educational work from His Holiness, Pope Paul VI.

Founded in 1954, the Sands Point Country Day School-Fetsch Academy has catered to the needs of gifted children for the last 15 years. It has recognized, through the pioneering spirit of Dr. Fetsch, that if the gifted and talented are neglected our Nation will suffer a serious loss of brainpower. In an atomic, technological age, ability is essential more than ever before. It is to Dr. Fetsch's credit that she has recognized this need and has given of her own financial substance, of her time and energies to help provide, without any form of public help, a school that has meant so much to our community, our State, and our Nation.

The Governor of our great State of New York, the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, in a telegram to Dr. Fetsch

on the occasion of the inauguration of Dr. Hoxie, wrote:

I am delighted to have the occasion to send warm regards to all present at the Convocation at Sands Point Country Day School-Fetsch Academy in honor of Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie. My compliments to the distinguished Dr. Hoxie, whose splendid contribution as counsellor to your unique school for gifted children merits warm and wide appreciation. He is to be commended for his continued dedication and devotion to education. I am sure that his role at your excellent institution of learning as Provost and Acting Headmaster will add appreciably to his superb record. My personal good wishes for a happy day. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

In her welcoming address for Dr. Hoxie, Dr. Fetsch presented this well-deserved tribute:

WELCOMING ADDRESS FOR DR. R. GORDON HOXIE, PROVOST AND ACTING HEADMASTER
(By Dr. Marie L. Fetsch, Founder-Director)

If any man has helped raise the standard of American education and influenced its constructive development, it is Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie, the Provost and Acting Headmaster of the Sands Point Country Day School-Fetsch Academy. There is no facet of education, from primary school through college and university graduate work, that has not felt the inspiration and challenge of this world-renowned scholar. He is, in every respect, an educator who has the courage of his convictions, who has pioneered in college excellence and has left his mark on the American classroom and campus.

A native of Waterloo, Iowa, Dr. Hoxie received degrees from the University of Northern Iowa, the University of Wisconsin and his Ph.D. from Columbia University. Early in his career Dr. Hoxie served at Columbia University with President Eisenhower as Assistant to the Provost. In the early 1950's, while a young man with a bright, shining future, Dr. Hoxie was appointed Assistant to the Chancellor at the University of Denver, Assistant Professor of History and Director of Social Science Foundation. In 1953, while only 34 years old, he served as Project Associate for Columbia University's Bi-Centennial History.

A year later he was appointed Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at Long Island University. Going beyond the academic realm, he was named President's Deputy to establish educational programs for the armed forces. Dr. Hoxie helped found Mitchell College, located on Mitchell Air Force Base in New York, which pioneered in degree programs for military personnel.

Now began a new and exciting venture in the life of this famous educator. He was asked to establish C. W. Post College which in 1954 was little more than a pile of sand and bricks enmeshed in a gulf of mud. He was named Dean and, putting all his energies, acumen and wisdom into this project, there emerged a nationally recognized institution of higher learning—C. W. Post College. The staff, the student body and Dr. Hoxie's influence began to make a dream into a reality. Five years after his original plans were drawn, Dr. Hoxie was named Provost of the College and in 1962 he became Vice President and then President in quick succession.

Recognizing his outstanding and almost miraculous record, the University's Board of Trustees appointed him as Chancellor of Long Island University. However, he was requested to continue as President of C. W. Post College and served conscientiously and effectively in both demanding positions. The extent of Dr. Hoxie's role can be seen as, under his leadership as Chancellor, the University from 1964-68 underwent its total period of growth and development. Its total assets increased from \$34,000,000 to \$102,000,-

000; its faculty salaries increased from a C to an A rating by the American Association of University Professors; the annual rate of gifts and grants increased 600 percent; and the annual rate of sponsored research by 1300 percent. It is difficult to conceive how any single individual could possibly have accomplished so much in so little time.

When Dr. Hoxie tendered his resignation as Chancellor of Long Island University in the Fall of 1968, he was named President and Chief Executive Officer of the Library of Presidential Papers, later renamed as the Center for the Study of the Presidency. As if that were not enough, he also served as President and Chief Executive Officer of the American Friends of Chung-ang University (from which institution he holds an honorary doctorate degree) and The Greater New York Council for Foreign Students.

It would be difficult to enumerate all of Dr. Hoxie's civic and professional affiliations. Among them are included membership on the following: Advisory Council, Robert A. Taft Institute of Government; Board of Trustees, Mackinac College, Michigan; Advisory Council, North Shore Chapter of the American Association of the United Nations; Men's Committee, Japan International Christian University Foundation; Board of Governors, Human Resources Center; Board of Directors, Tibetan Foundation; Board of Trustees, Kosciuszko Foundation; and honorary trustee of Long Island Theatre Society.

Dr. Hoxie has also served on the board of the United Fund of Long Island; Council of Higher Educational Institutions in New York City; Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Science; La Banque Continentale; Franklin National Bank; Brooklyn Chapter of the American Red Cross and as Co-Chairman of the Nassau-Suffolk Conference of Christians and Jews. He is currently serving as the Honorary Chairman of the Fund Drive for the Human Resources Center where he is completing a highly successful \$3,000,000 drive for the enlargement of its school and research center for the handicapped. In the Fall of 1969, he served as a Public Member of the Foreign Service Officer Selection Boards, United States Department of State.

On active duty in the Army Air Forces in World War II, Dr. Hoxie served in the North Pacific with the Eleventh Air Force. He entered upon military service as a private in 1942, was commissioned a second lieutenant a year later and advanced to Captain in 1945. Recently he received one of the highest honors available to those who have served their country in time of war and time of peace—he was nominated a Brigadier General in the Air Force Reserve by the President and confirmed by the Senate. He came by this honor rightfully, having been cited by the Air Force several times for important contributions to USAF educational projects and other activities. Dr. Hoxie is currently active in the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, the Air Force Association, the Navy League, the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The President awarded General Hoxie the Meritorious Service Medal.

However, it is in the field of education that Dr. Hoxie has made his greatest contribution and continues to cast a tower of light and hope. He is the author of *John W. Burgess, American Scholar*, the principal author of *A History of the Faculty of Political Science* and co-author of *Freedom and Authority in Our Time*. He has contributed many articles to professional journals. At present he is completing three more books: a biography of Arthur T. Roth, a volume of the proceedings of the recent Montauk Conference on the White House and an American history textbook. He is also the editor of the new volume, *The White House: Organization and Operations*.

Dr. Hoxie has contributed to more educational organizations than any single individual in the field of education. He has served as a consultant on college training and de-

velopment programs. He holds memberships in such scholarly associations as The American Historical Association, the Academy of Political Science, Kappa Delta Pi, Pi Gamma Mu, Gamma Theta Upsilon, Delta Sigma Pi, the International Association of University Presidents—to name but a few. His citations, awards and special honors are too numerous to mention. He received the 1964 American Bill of Rights Day Award for national leadership in the field of education; the 1965 Alumni Achievement Award from the State College of Iowa; the Korean Cultural Medal; the Distinguished Service Medal of the City of New York for outstanding service in the field of higher education; and the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama Award for distinguished service in the field of American education and international understanding. The versatility of this famous educator can be seen by the fact that he was nominated by the Association of Urban Universities as its delegate to the President's Commission for the Observance of Human Rights Year 1968.

It is an honor and privilege to welcome Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie—scholar, humanist, statesman, administrator—to the Sands Point Country Day School-Fetsch Academy. His knowledge, his foresight, his skills, his dedication, will serve as an inspiration to all who are associated with this Center for Gifted Children—administration, faculty, parents and students alike. With our new Provost, we can anticipate continued success, growth, development and national acclaim. It is difficult to consider anyone in the nation who can contribute more to Sands Point than our own Dr. Hoxie. Incidentally, Dr. Hoxie, who has served as Chairman of the school's Education Council during the past year, was the first Commencement speaker eight years ago when he flew back to Sands Point from an assignment in Europe so as not to miss his appointment.

With this example of dedication and devotion, we know that we have secured the services of a man who will raise the stature of the Sands Point Country Day School-Fetsch Academy even higher than it is at present.

We are happy to have you with us, Dr. Hoxie.

—
VES SPRAGUE

—
HON. FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. ST. GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, Ves Sprague, the distinguished executive editor of the Pawtucket Times, was one of New England's finest editors. His recent death, after a long bout with cancer, marks the end of an era for the Times and the city of Pawtucket.

His crusades for honest government, home rule, and the public's right to know were compelling and effective. The enthusiasm, aggressiveness, and initiative Ves brought to the Times when he became managing editor in 1950 and executive editor in 1970 have been the paper's trademark ever since.

Ves was a newspaperman for 43 years. His interest in sports, as a reporter and a baseball fan, and his skill as a cartoonist were often seen in the pages of the Times. His leadership was recognized not only in Pawtucket, but also by the New England Press. He was a former president of the New England Associated Press News Executives Association, and a founder of

the New England Society of Newspaper Editors.

His colleagues knew him as a man of courage, both on the job and in his personal life. For the last several years he had fought a determined effort to keep his cancer ailment from interfering with his work on the paper. Several of what were to be his last editorials urged Congress to pass legislation aimed at finding a cure for cancer.

The accomplishments and ideals of Ves Sprague have left a lasting impression on the Times and the city of Pawtucket. I can think of no more fitting tribute.

I would like to place in the RECORD the following articles about Ves Sprague which appeared in the Pawtucket Times: [From the Pawtucket (R.I.) Times, Jan. 5, 1972]

VES SPRAGUE DIES AT 68; WAS TIMES EXECUTIVE EDITOR

Ves Sprague, executive editor of the Pawtucket Times for the past two years and previously its managing editor for 20 years, died today after a long bout with cancer. He was 68.

Death came to him at Pondville Hospital in Norfolk, Mass., where he had been confined for six weeks.

A newspaperman for 43 years, Mr. Sprague, in addition to directing the Times news staff, wrote editorials and on travels to various parts of the country contributed feature articles.

Through the years, he appeared at various times as a speaker before club organizations and also was a guest on television panel shows, questioning personalities in the news.

Ten years ago, he was elected president of the New England Associated Press News Executives Association. He was a founder of the New England Society of Newspaper Editors.

Mr. Sprague began newspaper work on the New Bedford Times in 1928. After that paper's merger with the New Bedford Standard in 1931, he joined the Standard-Times. He was employed variously as cartoonist and sports writer.

He came to the Pawtucket Times in 1937, working as suburban editor, and he handled the Attleboro area news for many years. He was named news editor in 1943.

Mr. Sprague, husband of Wanda (Ezyk) Sprague, resided at 4 Stony Brooke Lane in Attleboro. Previously he lived in South Attleboro.

A native of Oldham, England, he was a son of the late John S. and Mary (Sylvester) Sprague.

He was a member of Bethany Congregational Church of South Attleboro; Unity Lodge of Masons of Lonsdale and the Stone-E-Lea Golf Club of Attleboro.

Besides his wife, he leaves a son, Donald J. Sprague of Woodland Hills, Calif., and two grandchildren, Diana and Mark Sprague.

A funeral service will be held Saturday at 11 a.m. in Bethany Congregational Church, Newport Ave., South Attleboro.

The family has requested that any tributes be made as donations to the Pondville Hospital Trust Fund in Mr. Sprague's memory.

[From the Pawtucket (R.I.) Times, Jan. 5, 1972]

VES SPRAGUE WAS A CRUSADER FOR HOME RULE, "RIGHT TO KNOW"

Ves Sprague, executive editor of the Pawtucket Times, who died today, engaged in many editorial crusades.

In his writings on the editorial page, he hit hard against corruption in government, against organized bookmaking, against any evils that he and the Times felt to be harmful or potentially harmful to the community.

Mr. Sprague—his given name was Sylvester

but he seldom used it—was particularly proud of the change that was brought about in city government through adoption of a new charter for Pawtucket. He was a staunch home-rule advocate.

He frequently wrote of the public's "right to know" what goes on in government and he viewed it as a function of a newspaper not only to observe conditions but also to endeavor to arouse citizen interest when remedial action is required.

Through the years Mr. Sprague expressed great satisfaction with the policies of the owners of the Times in never fettering editorial expression. Views of local management officials continued to be the bedrock of the paper's printed opinions. When asked who wrote a certain editorial or why it took a particular position, he explained that regardless of who wrote it, an editorial represents the views of the paper and the issue at hand is approached collectively, not individually.

In speeches, Mr. Sprague used to say that the newspaper's campaigns against evils had generated the public indignation which resulted in creating a better climate for living in Pawtucket.

He leaned in the direction of a nonpartisan approach to all local issues and many of his editorials expressed favor for charter reform and for truly nonpartisan elections.

The story of Pawtucket's revitalization, particularly in the downtown area, evoked Mr. Sprague's enthusiasm and he spoke and wrote about it on many occasions.

Before becoming executive editor in early 1970, Mr. Sprague had served as managing editor since 1950. His cancer ailment developed slowly during that period. While he underwent treatments from time to time, he always managed to be on the job and was known to be one of the first at his desk and one of the last of the staff to go home.

Despite the time away from the office, recuperating at the hospital or at home, Mr. Sprague continued his interest in the news and he kept on writing editorials at home, mailing them to the office.

He was unable to come to the office for the past 16 weeks. He was a patient in Pondville Hospital for about the past six weeks and it was there he died.

Several of what were to prove to be his final editorials dealt with the scourge of cancer, and the government's recent legislation in Washington aimed at attacking the disease. He deplored the infighting between Senate and House over the measure appropriating the funds, noting the delay it would cause in launching the search for a cure.

After work one day, he met a friend of long standing, and the latter told Mr. Sprague of being concerned about a growth in the forehead area. Mr. Sprague implored him to have it checked immediately. The two met again some time later and the friend said, "Ves, thank you for urging that I check into that. I did—and it was malignant. I've had the surgery already. My doctor sees no problem."

Mr. Sprague, for years, had a set of paints and a brush close by and whenever a news photograph needed touching up to bring out clarity, he would turn his hand to the task and he worked with the speed of a professional. What he appeared to like best was to illustrate a reporter's story with a cartoon he drew himself, particularly if it lent itself to a humorous touch. He dealt in strong, broad strokes with pencil, pen or brush, avoiding complications of lights and shadows.

He was a long-time baseball fan, having played in semi-pro leagues in New Bedford as a young man. He was modest about his own talents but one day let slip that he once hit a home run off Danny MacFayden of Somerville, who later made the major leagues.

He never ceased to be a hero worshipper, and his No. 1 favorite was Smoky Joe Wood,

a Boston Red Sox pitcher of many years ago whom Mr. Sprague watched many times at Fenway Park. Others could choose Babe Ruth, Tris Speaker, Ty Cobb or Ted Williams but to Mr. Sprague Joe Wood was tops. "He'd have been one of the greatest of all pitchers but his arm went bad early in his career," Mr. Sprague once said, "But he was such a great athlete he started all over and made the majors again as an outfielder."

In 1965, when the question of the Pawtucket Indians setting up in this city first arose, he supported the move to the hill, and helped throw the support of the Times behind the team.

He loved music from classical to popular, read extensively, and for years was an avid golfer. He swung from the left side and was kidded by newsroom associates and others with whom he played about his "southpaw" style.

He was an early member of the Pawtucket Newspaper Guild.

Employees latch on to expressions of their superiors. Mr. Sprague used to step out of his office and raising his finger to a sub-editor, reporter, or office boy; "Got a minute?" Sometimes the "minute" ran into 15 or 30 minutes or more of conversation running the gamut—from high praise for a picture or story to a hard "chewing out" for some aspect of a news story he felt could have been improved upon.

He took pride in the accomplishments of his staff, and the wall behind his desk carried plaques and certificates which reporters and photographers had won over the years in writing and photography contests of the Associated Press in New England.

STATEMENT FROM PUBLISHER

Chester M. Spooner, Pawtucket Times publisher, today issued this statement:

I had great admiration for Ves Sprague, both as a newspaperman and as a person. He was a man of many marvelous qualities. He was creative, innovative, thorough and completely dedicated to his work.

He was a man of courage. He displayed this quality in facing up to the illness that caused his death today.

He was eminently fair in all his dealings and always displayed a high sense of ethics in his newspaper life.

The Times has lost an invaluable worker, and I extend sympathy to Mrs. Sprague and to their son, Donald.

[From the Pawtucket (R.I.) Times, Jan. 6, 1972]

VES SPRAGUE

Newspapermen are not newsmakers in the usual sense of the word. Seldom do their names appear in headlines. In large part, they ferret out news, and write it; their day-to-day efforts are presented impersonally in the news columns, except for the occasional by-lined piece.

Most of Ves Sprague's years in journalism were in the role of editor, initiating stories, guiding reporters' coverage of them, evaluating the finished product and determining its presentation in the newspaper. He became acquainted with many persons who came to him with story requests, but in large part he tolled out of the limited yet comparative limelight in which reporters work daily as they cover regular beats or tackle other news or feature assignments. Yet from his first day in 1937 as a Times suburban editor, this paper carried the imprint of the initiative, enthusiasm and aggressiveness that were the unswerving qualities of the man. As he was named to ever more responsible positions, the Times more and more reflected his news outlook—particularly the need to present all sides of an issue, to write with clarity so no story would leave an unanswered question in a reader's mind, to brook no compromise on the public's right to know how the pub-

lic's business was being transacted, to challenge issued statements that were self-serving or contained half truths. More recently his talents were channeled into writing of editorials through which the views of the paper were set forth for readers' perusal.

Nothing was more alien to Ves Sprague's nature than a quest for recognition. He was proud of the calling he first heeded as a young man in New Bedford 43 years ago, but sought nothing more than the self-satisfaction that comes from an honest and earnest journalistic effort. Thus, he would, we are aware, frown on words such as these, comprising as they do an effort to voice praise he never sought and recognition he never wanted. But in the peculiarly typical manner of editors, he was a silent factor in the life of every Times reader, in that his handiwork helped mould the product that daily goes into thousands of area homes. Disagree though he would, those of us at the Times who knew well his "background role" thought these words merited the saying.

PROPOSALS FOR TRADE QUOTAS COULD HARM ALL CONSUMERS

HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, with the expansion of the European Economic Community, frequently titled the Common Market, by the entry over the weekend of the United Kingdom, Norway, Denmark, and Ireland, the United States must recognize the impact of this organization upon world trade, and more particularly, the competitive position it presents to the United States.

In his state of the Union message, the President stated:

Historically, our superior technology and high productivity has made it possible for America's workers to be the most highly paid in the world by far, and yet for our goods still to compete in world markets.

Now we face a new situation. As other nations are moving rapidly forward in technology, the answer to the new competition is not to build a wall around America, but rather to remain competitive by improving our own technology still further, and by increasing productivity in American industry.

Our new monetary and trade agreements will make it possible for American goods to compete fairly in the world's markets—but they still must compete. The new technology program will put to use the skills of many highly trained Americans—skills that might otherwise be wasted. It will also meet the growing technological challenge from abroad, and it will thus help to create new industries as well as creating more jobs for America's workers in producing for the world's markets.

Parallel with this policy we cannot afford to now "look inward" and cover ourselves with a protective blanket in an attempt to hide from the economic realities of the present world.

In his column of January 23, Hobart Rowen clearly encapsulates the questionable content of the Hartke-Burke bill now under consideration by the Congress.

I commend his observations to my colleagues.

The column follows:

PROPOSALS FOR TRADE QUOTAS COULD HARM ALL CONSUMERS

(By Hobart Rowen)

In his State of the Union message, President Nixon said forthrightly that "the answer

to the new competition (for world markets) is not to build a wall around America."

Among the people not listening are a handful of influential senators and congressmen who, with the help of organized labor, are pushing something called the Hartke-Burke bill, which—except for its tax recommendations—is probably the worst piece of protectionist legislation to come before Congress since the dark days of the 1930s.

The bill, which would not have a chance without the enormous lobbying effort of the AFL-CIO, is a serious threat at this point. Most experts on Capitol Hill say that it has a 50-50 chance of passage, and the odds of course grow better the longer that the unemployment rate stays high in this country.

The AFL-CIO lobbyists have been selling "save our jobs" as the theme of their effort—and it's bound to have an impact in a political year. There is an understandable basis for the effort by the unionists, who have seen a great influx of imported goods—especially consumer products—in the last ten years.

As David J. Steinberg, executive director of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, says:

"Concern for job security, job seniority, and the protection of hard-won fringe benefits and pension rights is a natural and noble impulse that deserves respectful recognition."

But, Sen. Hartke, Rep. Burke and their labor supporters are going about the task in the wrong way. Unhappily if anything like the Hartke bill's quota controls should pass, it would do irreparable damage to all consumers.

Even more important, it would be a new step toward an inward-looking world that someday might spell the difference between war and peace.

Curiously enough, although members of the AFL-CIO unions who support the Hartke-Burke bill are consumers like everyone else, the inflationary costs of restricting imports has been totally disregarded. And, parenthetically, one could observe that, for all of Ralph Nader's overweening attention to the plight of the consumer, he has yet to criticize this or any other protectionist effort.

The Hartke-Burke bill would:

Withdraw from foreign subsidiaries of American corporations the excessive tax benefits they derive from profits abroad.

Remove the special tax exemption now allowed to individuals who spend at least 17 out of 18 months abroad working for a foreign branch of an American corporation.

Impose strict quotas on all imports not now subject to such restrictions.

Establish a kind of trade "czar" in the form of a new Foreign Trade Investment Commission with exceedingly broad powers, replacing the Tariff Commission.

Give the President power to regulate the movement of American capital abroad if he decides that such transactions are cutting into employment at home.

There are many tough provisions in the bill, the whole scope of which is designed to encourage exports, limit imports, clip the wings of the multi-national corporations and discourage foreign investment.

It seems to this observer that the section of the Hartke-Burke bill that would reduce the tax benefits for corporations operating abroad is difficult to argue with. Even Steinberg's free-trade lobby concedes that "current tax laws affecting U.S. investment abroad may invite review and possibly reform."

There is no excuse for allowing American firms operating abroad to receive a "dollar-for-dollar" credit for payment of foreign income taxes. The labor spokesmen for the Hartke-Burke bill make the valid point that, for a domestic company, taxes paid in the United States can be taken only as a business expense against income, and not as a credit against other taxes.

The multi-national corporations respond by

saying that they require special tax treatment because they compete abroad with companies of other countries who get similar or even more favorable tax breaks from their nations. This is a weak argument—certainly our tax system need not be adapted to questionable devices used by others.

But the total effect of the Hartke-Burke bill—acknowledging the responsibility of its tax proposals—would be to turn the clock back on world trade and the exchange of new ideas and techniques. We would be almost certainly guaranteeing creation of a European bloc and an Asian bloc, protecting themselves with whatever retaliatory devices they can create.

Mistakenly, the bill requires that all goods containing foreign parts or materials be "clearly marked in a conspicuous place" so that American consumers will know the country of origin.

It is much more likely in this day and age of inflation that the American consumer is interested in the price he pays and the quality he gets for his money more than a label that will say "made in the U.S.A."

A happy result would be passage of meaningful reforms on the tax side, and a junking of the protectionist effort to cripple imports. That's probably too much to hope for, because the AFL-CIO pitch will sound attractive, especially in the midst of Mr. Nixon's sluggish recovery.

But the fact is that the AFL-CIO doesn't speak for all of labor and, overwhelmingly, the interests of most American workers and consumers would be served best by the free-trade principles that the AFL-CIO used to espouse in a better day.

FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO EDUCATION

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, it does not require a sage to determine that the American system of education is in critical circumstances today. Though problems exist at all stages, no level of our Nation's educational structure is in greater difficulty than our neighborhood schools. This severe situation existed long before a series of court decisions in Minnesota, California, Texas, and New Jersey placed the constitutionality of the main support of local school systems in grave doubt. With this doubt now very much with us, reasonable men cannot but realize that a serious situation is about to become chaotic.

My own city of Philadelphia is an example of the seriousness of the state of local education throughout the country. The school district is operating under a present fiscal deficit of \$42 million. The estimated deficit for fiscal 1973 is \$50 million. This accumulated figure of almost \$100 million represents a barebones budget in which every possible excess budgetary item and all too many essential programs have been cut back or cut out. Our school district cannot possibly reduce its budget further and provide the most basic services every taxpaying mother and father have a right to expect their children will receive.

In Philadelphia in the last year, 600 teaching positions have been eliminated.

No funds have been allocated in the present budget and none will be in the next budget for necessary new equipment. Administrative vacancies are not being filled and cutbacks in present staffing are contemplated.

In short, my city's school system is being crippled by a lack of funding. The money simply does not exist at the local level. The people have paid and paid and paid for education in Philadelphia and throughout the Nation and can pay no more. Present local means of financing clearly are not able to do the job. This House, this Congress, at this time in America's history is called upon to meet a need which is overwhelming or about to begin to overwhelm every community—large and small, urban and rural, poor and wealthy—in the Nation.

I stand here willing to join any of my colleagues in effectively dealing with this problem. No effort will be too great, because it is no exaggeration to say that this Nation's future depends on this challenge being effectively met.

One among us has recently put forth a proposal for meeting the financial crisis of American local education which is worthy of the careful consideration of this House. Our colleague from Michigan (Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD) has introduced the Quality School Assistance Act of 1972. This proposal would provide \$12 billion in assistance to local school district in the present fiscal year, with increased amounts in future years. My own city of Philadelphia would stand to gain almost \$90 million in the first year of this program's operation—thus, being enabled to meet the present and contemplated deficits while expanding its services into vital programs too long delayed through lack of necessary funds.

The Quality School Assistance Act of 1972 provides for a greatly expanded form of general aid to local educational agencies, with special provisions for those districts with large concentrations of students from low-income families. It would provide Federal funds for construction or modernization of overcrowded and obsolete facilities with priority given to school districts now being forced to operate on half-day sessions. It also extends the impact aid program.

At present, the Federal Government contributes less than 7 percent of the total cost of educating our children in elementary and secondary schools. The Office of Education recommends that the Federal share should be at least 22 percent and preferably 30 percent. The Commissioner of Education has recommended that the Federal Government should pay 25 to 30 percent of the cost of public education.

Under the Quality School Assistance Act, in fiscal year 1973, the Federal Government would provide 20 percent of the cost of educating our Nation's schoolchildren with gradual annual increases until the Federal portion reaches a maximum of 35 percent of the total cost of education in 1976.

I wish to congratulate the gentleman from Michigan for presenting this measure and announce that I am accepting his invitation to join in cosponsorship of

the Quality School Assistance Act of 1972.

This House, this Congress, is called upon to rededicate itself to the cause of education. This body responded to the challenge of a crisis in education long before I came here in 1967 when it acted to meet the Soviet technological offensive of the late 1950's. What is required now is a rededication to the spirit of those times. To those who will say "the funds cannot be found," this House must respond "whatever is needed must be found."

Mr. Speaker, we are placed here by the people to find answers to the difficult questions which arise in the course of the people's affairs, not to accept the rote responses which were inadequate yesterday and would be tragic tomorrow.

The young minds that will make America greater in the years ahead are, at the same time, our finest resource and surest defense. Let us insure by our commitment and action in this body that the best a great nation possesses is assured to its young. There can be no higher business, no prior consideration before this Congress.

SMOKING IS BAD

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as a nonsmoker by choice, I recognize the temptation which every younger generation faces to demonstrate adulthood by using materials which are associated with mature citizens. This is true of tobacco, liquor and, in the case of the present younger set, drugs to an alarming degree.

Therefore, I direct the attention of the Members to an editorial commentary in the Press Publications an independent paper serving western Cook County, which I believe is a very logical, persuasive editorial pointing out the bad effects of acquiring the smoking habit at an early age:

SMOKING IS BAD

It is rather difficult to reconcile the logic of the younger generation which is quite perturbed about environment and the future, and the fact that so many of the young people these days are using tobacco, liquor and drugs.

Youngsters complain that older adults are careless about littering, pollution, smoke, noise and other things which detract from healthful living conditions.

Meanwhile, a million and a half teenagers take up the cigarette habit annually.

In schools across DuPage and west Cook county programs are being presented in connection with National Smoking Education Week. Hinsdale hospital's "Five Day Plan to Stop Smoking" is being explained to youngsters. Dr. Parker of the Glen Ellyn Clinic has provided some good suggestions, and other persons and groups have made information available.

One of our high school correspondents, taking her teen age peer group to task, asks them to look at the facts. She also noted that many adults have stopped smoking and advises youngsters to either quit or, better yet, not to start.

But our correspondent, Becky Grendel, comments that "Many teenagers seem to think that smoking makes them 'cool' or that it makes them feel grown up."

With devastating feminine logic she asserts, "Smoking is bad for you; it's been proven and that's all there is to it."

But Becky realizes that she may get some opposition to this stand so she concedes a dubious point, "But after all it 'was' your life."

CONGRESSMAN ED ESHLEMAN'S INNOVATIVE WATCHDOG PROGRAM MERITS EMULATION

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1972

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, today the President presented to Congress a budget for fiscal year 1973, in which the expenditure level is expected to reach \$245 billion. That represents nearly a 140-percent increase over the level of 1962—just one decade earlier. Unfortunately this rapidly growing outlay of Federal funds has not been accompanied by a sense of confidence among American taxpayers that they are getting a fair or efficient return for their sacrifice. Indeed, the persistent warnings that we may be soon faced with a widespread "taxpayer revolt" at all levels of government suggest that the public is highly dissatisfied with the return it is getting on its tax dollars, and that we will have to be considerably more circumspect about the ways in which we expend governmental revenues in the future if we are to have sufficient funds to make ends meet.

In light of this growing gap between outlays and public satisfaction with the results of Government expenditures, I think the innovative program begun by my colleague from Pennsylvania, Ed ESHLEMAN, merits special attention. Congressman ESHLEMAN has hired a long-time newspaperman from his area, Mr. Charles W. Fitzkee, to monitor and examine all Federal programs in his 16th Pennsylvania Congressional District. The purpose of Mr. Fitzkee's investigations will be to let constituents of the 16th District know, by means of periodic reports, just exactly what they are getting for their Federal tax dollar. This includes calling attention to the programs that are being run efficiently and in a manner beneficial to citizens of the 16th District, as well as those that involve waste, inefficiency, and questionable priorities.

Most of my colleagues in the House recognize Congressman Ed ESHLEMAN as a dedicated proponent of economy and discipline in governmental spending and this new initiative only confirms his entitlement to that distinction. I think his district watchdog program is worthy of emulation throughout the country and I include one of his recent reports on Mr. Fitzkee's investigations at this point in the RECORD:

WASHINGTON.—Congressman Edwin D. Eshleman today released the consensus of

findings of the most recent investigation by his investigator, Charles W. Fitzkee.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture put \$1.65 million into the 16th Congressional District in 1970 in support of Federal Agricultural programs. That support was in three major categories, \$927,438 for Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Services; \$679,200 for Food and Nutrition Services and \$47,320 for Soil Conservation Services.

Eshleman pointed out that only 30% of Lancaster-Lebanon County farmers participate in one or more of the programs that the Department of Agriculture provides (or three out of 10 farmers). The largest single program was the wheat program which saw Lancaster County farmers getting \$220,991 and Lebanon County farmers \$89,781.

In Lancaster County \$182,500 was expended for Bonus Food Stamps and in Lebanon County \$53,100. Cash payments to Lancaster County for the School Lunch Program totaled \$221,200 and for Lebanon County \$74,700. For the School Milk Program expenditures were \$114,900 for Lancaster County and \$32,800 for Lebanon County.

The Soil Conservation Services money was used to develop broad soil and water conservation programs. This particular function is becoming increasingly important, Eshleman said, as we place more emphasis on environmental concerns.

In Lancaster County the Federal Government spent \$219,800 for meat and poultry inspection and in Lebanon County \$16,700. The Congressman pointed out that the meat and poultry inspection program is growing very rapidly in the 16th District.

Other programs included in the investigation were the Farmers Home Administration and USDA's Consumer and Marketing Services.

All in all Eshleman's investigator found the Federal monies administered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in his 16th Congressional District, to be properly handled.

The Congressman said that his study also turned up another interesting fact. "While not a federal responsibility it should be pointed out that the agricultural economy in Lancaster and Lebanon Counties faces threats from a steadily growing tax burden and from a rapid shift in land use from Agricultural to Urban."

In Lancaster County the Urban area increased from 47,000 acres to 102,000 acres from 1958 to 1967, while crop land decreased from 377,679 acres to 344,099 acres during that same period.

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues in commemorating the 54th anniversary of the independence of the Ukraine.

All who cherish freedom are anguished by the continued ruthless domination of the great Ukrainian people by the tyrants of the Soviet Union.

Ever since Peter the Great of Russia conquered the Ukraine in 1709, the Ukrainian people have been struggling to throw off the yoke of Russian oppression. While they experienced the reality of freedom on January 22, 1918, when the Parliament proclaimed the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic, their liberty was unfortunately short lived. Bolshevik predators came in 1920

to take over their country and resume the persecutions started by the Czars.

The unflinching dedication to liberty by the Ukrainian people, and their indomitable will to be free will continue to be a thorn in the side of their Russian oppressors.

It is my hope that the tribute we pay today to these valiant and honorable people will remind free men everywhere to speak out against Communist tyranny, and thereby hasten the day of independence and liberty for the Ukrainians and all other captives of the Soviet Union.

SCRATCHING THROUGH LIFE

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has been responsible for passage of much legislation that would seek to help the poor of this Nation.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, I often wonder if we have done enough for those citizens of this country that fall between the economic lines—between poverty and welfare, not quite totally impoverished but not quite able to meet the necessary expenses of bare subsistence.

A recent letter, describing some of the problems for one family in this range, came to my attention. I would like to keep the writer anonymous, but include the comments, for the benefit of my colleagues, who think we have made a great deal of progress, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

DEAR Mr. WALDIE: I saw an article in the paper this morning about the \$101,000 grant the County got for health improvement.

I sure wish something could be done for people like us.

My husband has been retired since July 1, 1963, and we have been living on our Social Security and a small ——— pension. We have one son in the ——— Academy and we still get Social Security for him. At the moment, this year, our income was \$275 a month Social Security and \$79, my husband's pension. I am not old enough for Social Security and as we don't have any children under 18 any more I have no income at all.

I attempted to get a job in '63 in a school cafeteria, but was told I was too old (53) at the time. I also tried several others but since I never worked when my husband was working I have no experience at all.

We pay \$13.45 a month hospital and doctor insurance for me, which includes \$3.75 a month for my husband being over 65. We pay \$8.75 a month student rate for our son. Our taxes are close to \$30 a month. I am using medicines about \$14.00 a month for the last two years. I had some heart trouble then and my last check-up was a year ago. The doctor charged me \$25 for that three minute check-up. So, I don't go for a check-up any more. We used to go to the dentist every 6 months. Had to stop that too. Until my husband got some trouble with his teeth and he ran up a dentist bill for \$29 in four or five times. Two weeks ago I had a tooth pulled which had to be cut and sewed. I have not gotten the bill for that yet, but I figure \$20—so I worry day and night about the bills.

We have 50 shares of ——— stock, which were 20 and $\frac{3}{4}$ or 29 for a long time. When I applied for food stamps we could not get

them because our stock was worth \$1,550 at that time and the allowance was \$1500. That stock is for our son in the Academy for his education. His older brother had his 50 shares and we could not put this stock in our boy's name because he just became only 20 yesterday.

We have always paid our bills on time but right now I am stunned. If those insurance bills could be eliminated and those medicines it would make a whole lot of difference already. So I sure hope they will do something for people like us.

My husband wears a hearing aid and I cashed in my insurance to buy him one in his other ear. We just bought two new earmolds at \$15 apiece. And I need a hearing aid myself but no money. When my husband got his first Social Security for the family it was for \$244. and now prices are so high we have only about \$275. On Social Security, that is not much for inflation.

I am sorry to have bothered you with all my problems, but something has to be done. It is not our fault that a lot of plain food have almost doubled in price. Thank you for listening.

(Signed) _____

GENERATION OF DOUBT

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, some of the most satisfying experiences I have had as a public official stem from my many contacts with the youth of America.

In my own district I find many opportunities to meet with high school and college students, and the exchange is always stimulating for me—and I hope for the young people as well.

My confidence in the youth of America was reinforced this morning as I read an article by Jack Leslie, a senior at Deerfield High School, Deerfield, Ill., which appeared in the Chicago Tribune as part of a series entitled "Speak Out." While Mr. Leslie does not say that student activism is dead, he asserts that the constructive dissent of the knowledgeable is more effective than the violence of the emotional."

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to represent Jack Leslie in the House of Representatives, and I insert his article at this point in the RECORD.

The article follows:

GENERATION OF DOUBT SEES AN ANSWER

(By Jack Leslie)

The students came back to the spacious campus lawns after the tear gas cleared. There were more of them now than ever before. All of them had weapons in their hands which they claimed, if used, would help them bring about the many changes needed in this country.

The bureaucrats, sitting in their Washington offices, still felt threatened. The weapons had been used successfully by many before, and they were relatively easy to acquire. The conservative-minded call them "tools"; they are more commonly referred to as books and pens.

Perhaps the most significant development of the past year is that students are beginning to realize that they can work effectively within the system. The fad of using violence and bombs is sharply declining.

A NEGATIVE CONCEPT

Our generation has come to the realization that violence is counterproductive in our society, that it cannot build, but can only destroy.

The decline of violence, as a student's means of bringing about change, isn't simply a haphazard development. Apart from realizing its counterproductiveness, there are other compelling reasons for its decline.

First, of course, are the issues. We no longer see pictures of American soldiers stacked in heaps along Asian roads. Before an anti-war group can launch a new campaign, President Nixon announces a new troop withdrawal. The 18 year-old vote was granted, giving youth muscle within the system.

The ghettos, at least for the moment, are quiet. Citizens mistrust their fellow Americans and their leaders. Money is tight.

The second reason for the decline of violence comes from examining our generation's feelings. We have become a generation, as well as a nation, confounded by ambivalence. We lack the understanding to know what is right and what is wrong.

We are, simply, a generation of doubt, groping for understanding in an era of doubt.

The coming of this doubt could be expected. It reflects the same doubt present in most everyone today. Older Americans are confounded by a President who helped teach them to fear and mistrust Communism and now is about to go to Peking.

They are confounded by an America that appears to no longer make and shape world affairs. They are confounded by encouraging economic jargon that still leaves them with money in their pockets that buys less.

They are confounded, simply, by America's inability to solve so many of her problems.

THIS IS THE ANSWER

How, then, can we cope with our lack of understanding? What is the future of student activism? The answer is education. Students are looking for universities that are educational institutions, not battlegrounds.

This is not to say that the future of student activism will be in the library. It will continue to be in the street, the ghetto, and the capital, for education is not confined within the walls of a university or high school.

The bureaucrats should still be threatened, for the decline of violence doesn't mean a decline of dissent. In fact, the bureaucrat should feel even more threatened. The constructive dissent of the knowledgeable is more effective than the violence of the emotional.

Indeed, over the past year, we have seen a generation getting itself together. We have gained tremendous academic freedom. We have come thru the fire and are ready to approach our problems as a reasonable people.

The Molotov cocktail will be missing from the hands of the future student activist, whose hands will be used, not for destruction, but for shaping a better America.

NEW CULTURAL CENTER PLANNED FOR QUEENS

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of Queens County, N.Y., are to be blessed this spring with an infusion of cultural activities. An art museum and repertory theater are scheduled to be opened at Flushing Meadows-Corona Park, the site of the 1965 World's Fair. The announcement of this cultural

event was made at the opening meeting of the ad hoc board of trustees of the Queens Museum of Art. The museum is to be housed in a portion of the New York City Pavilion on the old 1939 World's Fair site. The museum organizers have received a \$100,000 grant to plan the facility and to prepare the building for the April opening. City officials are planning to request over \$250,000 in 1972-73 city budget allocations.

The citizens of Queens have cried out for a permanent home for cultural activities. This museum and theater will go a long way toward realization of that dream. The sites of the 1939 and 1965 fairs are excellent locations for providing all New Yorkers with tremendous cultural opportunities. The Flushing Meadows-Corona Park will become a vast cultural complex capable of serving not only Queens County, but all New Yorkers and visitors to our city.

The museum and theater have received the enthusiastic support of all the local community planning boards, as well as officials within the city and State governments. I join with them and the residents of the area in encouraging the construction of this cultural complex as soon as possible.

GENERAL CHAPMAN—GREAT FLORIDIAN

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished military career has ended. Gen. Leonard Fielding Chapman has completed his service as the 24th Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps and his record of service is in the finest tradition of the corps.

In one of the most difficult periods in history, General Chapman led the Marine Corps to an even higher position of regard and respect among the American people.

While he would have my respect and the respect of the people of Florida regardless of his home State, it is with a feeling of particular pride that we salute him because General Chapman is a Floridian.

His father served in the Florida House of Representatives and for many years was the very capable superintendent of the Florida State Prison at Raiford, now retired and living in Orlando.

Not long ago, the Governor and Cabinet of my State passed a resolution saluting General Chapman. I would like to have this resolution printed here as a tribute to his great career.

One thing about this particular resolution that I think General Chapman would most appreciate is that it was suggested to the Cabinet by another former marine, Luther J. Lambert, gunnery sergeant, USMC, who resides in Tallahassee.

For all of the people of Florida I take pleasure in presenting this resolution on behalf of the Governor and cabinet of my State. I feel they were speaking for all Floridians in saying "well done" to a

great leader who was indeed "always faithful."

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, General Leonard Fielding Chapman, 24th Commandant of the United States Marine Corps, and a native Floridian, will culminate a distinguished military career January 1, 1972, and;

Whereas, General Chapman has, for 36 years, brought honor to himself as a person and a Marine officer, by showing superior qualities of leadership, bravery, honesty and integrity and;

Whereas, the general, in his intense desire to improve Marine efficiency, pioneered the use of computer technology in Marine administration, and;

Whereas, General Chapman, as Assistant Commandant from 1964 to 1967, was instrumental in keeping the Marines in a state of combat readiness during times of increasing world tensions, and;

Whereas, General Chapman has been recognized as a pillar of American strength and friendship by foreign nations, and;

Whereas, the general's untiring devotion to duty and deep love for country has earned him constant recognition by superiors and respect from subordinates, and;

Whereas, General Chapman's performance through the years has earned him two Distinguished Service Medals, two awards of the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, the Navy Commendation Ribbon, two Presidential Unit Citations, the American Defense Service Medal and many other citations, and;

Whereas, General Chapman, in upholding the proud traditions of the Marines' 196-year history, has brought continued honor to his native state, and;

Whereas, the general was the first Floridian ever to hold the high office of Commandant;

Now therefore be it resolved the Cabinet of the State of Florida, as duly elected spokesmen of the people of Florida, extend to General Chapman its proud congratulations on a job well done and further extends a sincere invitation to spend his retirement years among those of us who are so proud of his many achievements;

And, be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to General Chapman and his immediate family including the general's two sons, Leonard F. Chapman, III, and Walton Ford Chapman, who both now are serving as Marine Officers, upholding the traditions of the United States Marine Corps.

THE COURTS AND THE SCHOOLS

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, on January 10 a Federal district judge in Richmond, Va., named Robert T. Merhige, Jr., acting in direct defiance of "the law of the land" as embodied in the 1964 Civil Rights Act and going well beyond even what the Supreme Court authorized in its Swann decision last April, which allowed court-ordered busing under some circumstances, decreed the compulsory busing of schoolchildren in the Richmond area across county lines.

All past busing decisions, even the worst of them, involved only school attendance zones or requirements within a given school district or the limits of a particular city. The claim was always made that the school district had delib-

erately set up its attendance zones so as to promote racial segregation.

But in Eastern States like Virginia, the counties were set up before there were any public schools. So there can be no possible basis for claiming that county lines were drawn for the purpose of racial discrimination. Judge Merhige appears to be saying that the State of Virginia should have changed or ignored its county lines in order to meet the demands of persons dissatisfied with the "racial mix" in school districts resulting from those lines. Because the county lines were left as they had always been, he simply ordered a new school district to be set up disregarding them, in which 78,000 of 104,000 schoolchildren will be bused into and out of downtown Richmond, from and to the suburban areas of neighboring counties.

If this decision should be upheld on appeal, it will mean, for example, that children from Orange County, Calif., could be bused directly into Watts in Los Angeles to attend school.

Confronted with that or similar prospects, most parents who can possibly afford it would probably send their children to private schools. But in view of the obvious determination of some Federal judges to enforce busing without regard to any reasonable interpretation of the Constitution, the law, or the facts, we cannot rest assured that even private schools will be allowed to remain exempt from this sort of requirement. Already the Supreme Court has ruled that private schools which limit admission by race must lose the tax exemption to which all other educational undertakings are entitled. The next step could well be to apply a racial or religious admission quota to them too, just as has already been done in effect for hiring and promotion by companies with Federal contracts, and for the public schools.

Many people who are sincerely convinced that racial discrimination is a great evil appear willing to push for what they ought to realize are almost limitless evils in trying to wipe it out. The many American parents who have spent thousands upon thousands of their hard-earned dollars to give their children a better environment outside our vice and crime-ridden urban areas have an absolute natural right to keep their children from being dragged back by force into the cities so full of danger for them.

There is still some reason to hope that we can avoid an ultimate challenge and test of that natural right. The Richmond decision will be appealed, and on January 17 the U.S. Supreme Court rejected—with only Justice William O. Douglas dissenting—an appeal to redraw school district boundaries in Newark and Jersey City, N.J., so as to extend them outside the city limits to bring in some of the suburbs, as Judge Merhige ordered in Richmond. On the same day, the Supreme Court agreed to hear and decide the first major test case on forced busing in a northern State where schools were never segregated by law—a case from Denver, Colo. Last April's Swann decision upholding forced busing in a southern city laid great stress on attempting to justify busing as a means

of overcoming the effects of past school segregation by law. The High Court will have to go further than that if the busing crusade is to be carried on nationwide. The decision in the Denver case will be a most revealing test of the real caliber of the two most recent Supreme Court appointees, Justices Powell and Rehnquist.

FRANCHISES ON SOFT DRINKS HELD BY SMALL BUSINESSES

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the plight of the small businessman is a subject of continuing concern to me.

The independent grocer, the independent drugstore, the local ice cream plant, and many other familiar small businesses are becoming fewer and fewer.

In their place are big supermarkets, department-store-like drugstores and the like, all operating on the chainstore approach, many of them even functioning as divisions of huge so-called conglomerates.

One small business operation which has continued to thrive is the soft drink industry. No business is more competitive for each and every sale and yet the individual local companies have been able to carry on because of a franchise system which has been in operation for more than 70 years.

There are over 3,000 soft drink manufacturers in the United States and all but about 100 fall within the Small Business Administration's classification of a small business. Indeed, SBA had nearly \$8 million in loans outstanding to these manufacturers as of last summer.

Now, however, the future of most of these manufacturers is threatened by action of the Federal Trade Commission which insists that there must be intrabrand competition as well as the present vigorous interbrand competition.

What this would mean, if the FTC argument prevails, is that local territorial exclusive franchises of trademarked soft drink products would be forbidden. The owner of the trademark would be required to license anyone who wants to set up a manufacturing and distribution operation for the line of trademarked products in any area.

The apparent rationalization of the FTC is that the present soft drink franchises create monopolies and restraint of trade.

I am quite aware of the considerable concern over the years about industry monopolies, much of it justified. However, I do not agree that it applies in this instance.

I believe there is reason to question the guidelines as to what constitutes a monopoly. I believe the ultimate consequences—as well as the apparent immediate surface effects—must be taken into account.

In the case of the soft drink industry, whose major volume outlets are the

supermarkets and the chain drugstores, is it not reasonable to expect that voiding the present franchise system will result in creating vast monopolies?

Installing intrabrand competition, I am convinced, would simply encourage mergers and uncontrolled expansion at the expense of the smaller companies.

This particularly would be true as it relates to the big chainstores, who could grab the cream of the market and leave nothing but the expensive-to-service smaller outlets for those soft drink manufacturers who try to survive.

Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation to permit continuation of the present franchise system for soft drink manufacturers. Some 2,900 small businesses are involved and I feel that their problem warrants careful legislative study and action.

OKLAHOMA CATTLEMEN OUTLINE PROGRAM

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association adopted a number of resolutions at a recent State convention. I am impressed by these resolutions. They reflect a thoughtful and realistic approach to some of the hard problems the American agriculture industry is facing today.

These resolutions cover a number of topics ranging from marketing procedures to the encouragement of research to find ways to keep grassland clear of brush.

I would like to have these resolutions appear in the RECORD. I have told Mr. Creede Speake, Jr., the able president of the Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association, that I will keep these resolutions before me during the consideration of appropriate legislation, and I hope that my colleagues will give them the same attention.

The resolutions follow:

FARM LABOR

Whereas the federal government is currently considering the elimination of the farm working class composed of young people under the age of 14, and

Whereas these youths comprise a necessary and hard-working segment of the temporary work force on farms and ranches, and

Whereas there is a need for filling the time of young people during vacations and summer months, and

Whereas outdoor work on farms and ranches has been the foundation for building character and bringing to maturity responsible Americans,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association in annual convention this 11th day of December, 1971, request the U.S. Department of Labor to allow young people under the age of 14 to find employment on farms and ranches, and

Be it further resolved that the U.S. Department of Labor actually seek means to foster and encourage the employment of young people in rural areas to lessen the rate of unemployment among students in cities during school vacations.

POLLUTION

Whereas agricultural chemicals and livestock feed additives have allowed agriculture to prosper in the United States, and

Whereas the use of these modern methods of raising man-hour production have lowered the cost of food production, and

Whereas the elimination of these chemicals and feed additives would lead to much lower production of feed and cause severe hardships on the population of the United States and the world,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association in annual convention this 11th day of December, 1971, reaffirm its support for the wise use of these materials and specifically request the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Food and Drug Administration to weigh carefully the increased benefits of the use of Diethylstilbestrol and antibiotics against the unfounded charges against these modern feeding tools.

FARM BARGAINING

Whereas the beef cattle industry has historically been an enterprise relatively free from government support and payment programs, and

Whereas the U.S. cattle industry is composed of individuals who are knowledgeable and well informed regarding marketing procedures, and

Whereas cattlemen have traditionally sought the best marketing methods for their beef and are able to support themselves through individual bargaining,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association in annual convention this 11th day of December, 1971, respectfully recommend to the Congress of the United States that cattle and cattle products be exempted from pending HR 7595, commonly known as the "Farm Bargaining Bill" sponsored by Representative Sisk.

BRUSH CONTROL

Whereas the spread of brush and timber on grazing land has taken many acres of potentially profitable grass land, and

Whereas the present method of control of this brush is costly and time consuming,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association in annual convention this 11th day of December, 1971, recommend and encourage our universities, the Agricultural Research Service and private industry to expand and increase their activities toward suppressing and eradicating the unwanted brush and trees from grazing land at a lower cost per unit.

FOREIGN DISEASES

Whereas, the recent outbreak of Venezuelan equine encephalomyelitis (VEE) was forecast months in advance of its entry into the United States and the federal government was slow to react, and

Whereas the possibility of future outbreaks of disease or pests to humans and livestock is not unreasonable to assume,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association in annual convention this 11th day of December, 1971, urge the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the U.S. Customs Bureau to intensify their surveillance to halt the spread of alien diseases across the international borders of the United States.

POLLUTION

Whereas the agricultural industry has always maintained that pollution control is a major consideration in the establishment of any agricultural operation, and

Whereas the industry has worked to clean up the air and water, and

Whereas the recent call to citizens to report possible violations of air and water quality has resulted in unfounded harass-

ment and crank lawsuits against feedlots and other agricultural operations conforming to all existing laws regarding pollution,

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association in annual convention this 11th day of December, 1971, to encourage lawmakers to eliminate from pending SB 2770 the section permitting individual citizens who have suffered no damage to bring suit against feedlots in order to collect monetary rewards, and

Be it further resolved that legislators be encouraged to eliminate from SB 2770 that section which specifies that there is to be zero pollution by the year 1985, and

Be it further resolved that legislators be informed of the efforts of agriculture to control pollution of the environment although the natural elements and Acts of God places agriculture in a unique position when rain, wind or storm are excessive and may temporarily cause difficulty in complying with the existing laws.

NATION SHOULD JOIN SCIENCE IN HONORING COPERNICUS

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the work of Nicolaus Copernicus is accepted as marking the beginning of the era of modern science.

Copernicus was born in Poland on February 19, 1473, and worked and spent his life in that country. Next year will mark the quinquacentennial of his birth.

Accepting an invitation from the Polish Government to take the leadership in arranging appropriate observances in honor of Copernicus, the National Academy of Sciences has named a special committee to make recommendations.

The committee is headed by Dr. Antoni Zygmund of the University of Chicago, chairman, and Dr. Jerzy Neyman of the University of California at Berkeley, vice chairman. Both Drs. Zygmund and Neyman are members of the Polish Academy of Science in Warsaw as well as the National Academy of Sciences.

The other members of the special committee are: Dr. Owen Gingerich of the Smithsonian Astrophysics Laboratory, Cambridge, Mass.; Dr. N. U. Mayall, retired director of Kitt Peak National Observatory; Dr. Stanislaw Mrozowski of State University at Buffalo, N.Y.; and Dr. C. R. O'Dell, of Yerkes Observatory, Williams Bay, Wis.

The committee already has made several recommendations to the National Academy, but no final decisions have been announced.

Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a joint resolution calling upon the President to proclaim February 19, 1973, as "Nicolaus Copernicus Day" in honor of the father of modern science.

Through such proclamation and designation, the American public will be able to join with the scientific communities in the United States, Poland, and other nations in paying tribute to this great astronomer and author of the heliocentric system of the structure of the universe.

As a further tribute, I am urging the

Citizens Stamp Advisory Committee of the U.S. Postal Service to authorize issuance of a commemorative stamp in Copernicus' honor.

There is no question about the pioneering role of Copernicus in modern science. His work has been described as breaking the intellectual slumber of the Middle Ages.

The work of Copernicus was the death of the homocentric universe. Copernicus had shown that the planets, including the earth, revolve about the sun.

Mr. Speaker, preparations are under way among scientists throughout the world for paying tribute to Copernicus on the 500th anniversary of his birth. I hope for early consideration of my resolution.

A. PRICE WOODARD, JR.: A DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, A. Price Woodard, Jr., who was a distinguished American, a dear friend, and the first black mayor of the city of Wichita, Kans., died on January 13, 1972, in his hometown. He was cut down in the prime of life, age 52, by cancer, which we are vowed to conquer at the earliest possible time.

Price Woodard was an attorney by profession. His priorities in recent years, however, were in behalf of his community and his fellow citizens. He had served 4 years on the Wichita Board of Education as an able spokesman for quality schools and quality learning opportunities for all of Wichita's children. Then came his election to a 4-year term as city commissioner. He served as president of the commission and on April 14, 1970, was elected by members of the commission as mayor.

He devoted himself entirely to the responsibilities of that office, and he worked tirelessly to overcome serious social and economic problems confronting the community.

It was my privilege to work with him on many occasions here in Washington on Federal matters relating to Wichita. He won the respect of the White House, members of the Cabinet, and other Federal officials in many agencies throughout Washington. President Nixon had called upon him to serve on several advisory committees in the Department of Transportation and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

His energy and efforts in behalf of Wichita were rewarded with success. Price Woodard sacrificed personal rewards to help build a better community for all men. Perhaps that will be his finest memorial.

Mrs. Shriver and I join in extending our heartfelt sympathy to his widow, Bernice, and to his children, Ambrose Price III and Susan Leora. We pray that God will comfort them during this time of sorrow.

I include in the RECORD the following editorials which eloquently eulogize the work and achievements of Mr. Woodard:

[From the Hutchinson, Kans., News]

A. PRICE WOODARD

Measured by many terms, A. Price Woodard was a rare one.

He was a black, and proud of it.

He was a leader, both in civic activity and in politics, and he was humble about that.

He was an intellectual, enough of one to be able to talk on even terms with the least-educated as well as with the double domes.

Most of all, Price Woodard was an example.

Not because he was black, and had developed to prominence. He was an example of how good political leaders dedicate their lives to serving the public who give them responsibility. He demonstrated that sense of responsibility in his work for Wichita schools, as city commissioner and mayor, and as a key figure in regional Republican politics.

Finally, Price Woodard was a fighter. Sometimes he had to do battle with members of his own race, but his convictions didn't falter—probably because they were based on serious study of right and wrong.

[From the Wichita, Kans., Beacon]

A. PRICE WOODARD

A. Price Woodard, who died Thursday at 52, expended his life generously and sacrificially for the people of this community.

Most recently he was mayor, which position he held with distinction from April 14, 1970, to April 13, 1971. In the preceding year he was president of the city commission. His entire term was for four years, during which he worked vigorously and often in the face of severe difficulties, for the things he believed in.

But though that was the climax of his public service, it was far from being all of it. He also served four years on the school board, and gave unstintingly of his time to professional, civic and community groups.

He performed ably on boards of the Kansas Childrens Service League, Family Consultation Service, the North Branch YMCA, and as chairman of the board of trustees of Calvary Baptist Church.

An energetic and a capable man, he worked vigorously at everything he did. His public career contributed materially to better racial understanding in the community.

Unfortunately, his devotion to public service was at the expense of his private career as an attorney. Particularly in the years that he served on the city commission the public demands upon him were so heavy that his income no longer could match his expenses. His lingering final illness further contributed to a burden of debt.

During the past few weeks a fund to honor him and help his family has been established and a goal of \$25,000 set. Many small donations—and a few more sizeable ones—have been received.

**EUROPEAN TRIP REPORT OF
APOLLO 15 COMMANDER COL.
DAVID R. SCOTT**

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1972

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, sometimes overlooked in discussions on the benefits of this Nation's space program, are its very real and tangible benefits in fostering good will for the United States among other nations.

The crew of Apollo 15 are now on a good will tour of Poland and Yugoslavia. In the latter part of last year they visited England, Sweden, Germany, Italy, and France. In response to my request as the ranking member on the Subcommittee on International Cooperation in Science and Space, NASA furnished me with a report of this latter trip by the Apollo 15 Commander, Col. David R. Scott. I recommend this report to my colleagues and include it in the RECORD:

EUROPEAN TRIP REPORT

(By Col. David R. Scott)

The crew of Apollo 15 has just returned from a very successful two week visit of major scientific communities in Europe. The events in each of the five countries visited included a "round table" discussion with approximately twenty prominent scientists having an association or particular interest in lunar exploration, a general scientific briefing with questions and answers to a larger gathering of university faculty, scientists and graduate students (up to 800), a press conference, and one or more panel type television shows.

Presentations were made in England, Sweden, Germany, Italy and France; and in each case the response was excellent. Most questions related to the results of Apollo missions, Apollo 15 in particular. Our colleagues in Europe are quite excited about being able to participate in the lunar program and very proud of the results they have obtained, as they should be. Additionally, many scientists expressed a great deal of interest in post-Apollo activities.

As you know, the initial scientific report of Apollo 15 has not yet been published although much of the data has been reduced and were available to us prior to the trip. With this information and the three Apollo 15 lunar samples which accompanied us we were able to present some new and meaningful facts to the European scientific community. Needless to say, they appeared to be quite appreciative of having the opportunity to discuss the results of Apollo 15 with us.

The exchange of information was not uni-

lateral however, as we received many interesting comments and impressions as well as challenging questions many of which we have had to answer by correspondence since our return. In addition to being most interested in future science in space, the Europeans are extremely interested and encouraged by the current Soviet-American discussions on a mutual docking system and flight. The peaceful exploration of space and the cooperation this country has demonstrated in its dissemination of scientific and technological results is most impressive in the eyes of other countries and reflects in their obvious support and enthusiasm.

As we progressed from one country to another we began to realize that English is becoming the universal scientific language. The more technical the session the less necessary the requirement for an interpreter. And since our lunar explorations are conducted exclusively in English, the general public throughout the world finds a knowledge of English very helpful in keeping abreast of events during the flights.

Based on past experience, we expected and found the people of Europe very enthusiastic about the space program; and even though they occasionally asked the question "why explore the moon and space", their attitude was that of complete acceptance. I believe this is at least in part due to their maturity and understanding that the fruits of scientific endeavors are sometimes hundreds of years in the making; in fact, we could relate quite well to the direct contributions of Newton and daVinci to the success of Apollo 15.

Throughout the visit we were most impressed and quite proud of the respect and admiration for our country expressed by people of other nations, from the television cameramen to the heads of state. We were also quite gratified by the warm, friendly and meaningful audiences we had with the Crown Prince of Sweden, the President of Italy, Pope Paul VI, and the Prime Minister of France. The stature of this country has been enhanced significantly by our scientific discoveries and technological progress.

The overall result of the trip was an excellent exchange of ideas and information relative to the exploration of the moon and space, a demonstration of NASA's willingness to provide as much information as possible to scientific communities of other nations, and a stimulation of interest among the Europeans in scientific endeavors of the present and the future. Additionally, the congenial atmosphere which prevailed throughout the visit made each event quite enjoyable for all participants. It was indeed a good will trip.

An endeavor such as this clearly illustrates that space is the best and possibly the only arena of worldwide interest where the United States can demonstrate at the same time its technological strength, scientific expertise, its peaceful intentions and the openness of a free society. The crew of Apollo 15 is appreciative of once again having had the privilege of representing our country in a voyage of significant dimensions.