

By Mr. HARRINGTON (for himself, Mr. METCALFE, Mr. MIKVA, Mr. MOSS, Mr. REES, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. ROUSH, Mr. RYAN, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. SEIBERLING, Mr. STOKES, Mr. TIERNAN, Mr. UDALL and Mr. WALDIE):

H. Con. Res. 580. Concurrent resolution to stop the bombing of North Vietnam; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HOWARD:

H. Con. Res. 581. Concurrent resolution urging the review of the United Nations Charter; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

### MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

368. By the SPEAKER: A memorial of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to the establishment of

health centers for the elderly within the Office of Economic Opportunity; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

369. Also, a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, relative to prisoners of war in Southeast Asia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

370. Also, a memorial of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to Federal-State revenue sharing; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. DANIELSON:

H.R. 14427. A bill for the relief of Sun Hwa Koo Kim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAGAN:

H.R. 14428. A bill for the relief of Joseph E. Litman; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PODELL:

H.R. 14429. A bill for the relief of Maimonides Medical Center, Brooklyn, N.Y.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

213. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Johnny Holmes, Jr., Joliet, Ill., relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

214. Also petition of the city council, Pacific, Wash. relative to Federal-State revenue sharing; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

**PROJECT SANGUINE: A DISTINGUISHED EXPERT SAYS IT HAS NO PROVEN SCIENTIFIC MERIT**

### HON. GAYLORD NELSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 13, 1972

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, it seems that the more the scientific community studies the Navy's proposed Project Sanguine communications system, the more serious doubt there is expressed about whether this very large and very complex system will work.

Previous studies by Dr. Albert Biggs, a distinguished electrical engineer at the University of Kansas at Lawrence, and by the Wisconsin Committee for Environmental Information, cautioned that the Sanguine system advanced by the Navy could not generate an interference-free, jam-proof signal over large distances as envisioned.

Now we have another report, this one by Dr. Charles W. Harrison, Jr., of the Sandia Laboratories at Albuquerque, N. Mex. This report is a most serious indictment of scientific data used by the Navy to demonstrate the technical feasibility of Project Sanguine.

From the record of floor debates last September 22 and 29 on Project Sanguine, the Senate is aware of statements by the Navy regarding Sanguine.

Essentially, the Navy views this project as a backup for communications with nuclear submarines and other military outposts throughout the world. However, there is serious doubt whether it is needed and whether it would be effective. The Navy says that at least 6,400 square miles of northern Wisconsin would be covered with a transmitting antenna consisting of up to 1,000 miles of crisscrossing cable buried 6 feet deep. Some 30 megawatts of electricity would run continuously through the system, according to the Navy, to generate an extremely low frequency radio signal—in code and one-way only—to the submarines.

Because of the serious questions raised by Dr. Biggs and by Drs. Michael McClintock, Alwyn Scott, and Mr. Paul

Rissman, of the Wisconsin Committee for Environmental Information, I asked the Navy to undertake an independent scientific review by a select group of highly qualified scientists.

The Navy notified my office on May 14, 1971, that a panel of scientists would be established by the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering. In the letter of May 14, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Robert A. Froesch said, in part:

The Navy will supply the theoretical and experimental data on Sanguine to this Committee to permit them to make a thorough technical assessment of the validity of the Navy's computations of the expected systems power requirements, and ability to transmit messages to submerged submarines within the specified time, with the stated reliability, and in the presence of jamming.

Dr. Harrison is a member of the review panel selected by the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering. As such, he has spent countless hours studying all data on Project Sanguine supplied to the technical review panel by the Navy and by independent scientists, including Dr. Biggs and members of the Wisconsin Committee for Environmental Information.

Dr. Harrison is a distinguished scholar and practitioner of applied physics. His service to science, both with Sandia Laboratories since 1957 and prior to that with the U.S. Navy, from which he retired with the rank of Commander, has earned him recognition in "Who's Who in the West" for the past 8 years, in the "Dictionary of International Biography" and in "The Two Thousand Men of Achievement."

The paper by Dr. Harrison was reviewed by Dr. Ronald W. P. King, a Gordon McKay professor of applied physics at Harvard University. Dr. King, whose numerous achievements and contributions in the field of science have earned him recognition in "Who's Who in America" for the past 12 years, concurs in the report authored by Dr. Harrison.

Biographical sketches of both Dr. Harrison and Dr. King appear at the conclusion of the report.

The report is highly disturbing for

what it reveals about the performance by the Navy in assessing the scientific merit of Project Sanguine. It is even more disturbing when it is considered that the Navy has spent 14 years and over \$50 million on research and development of Sanguine.

The report says, in essence, that the Navy still is in only the genesis of research on this project.

That being the case, the Navy, according to Dr. Harrison, simply cannot provide a scientific basis for its assertion that the Sanguine antenna will work.

The Navy says that Sanguine will require a power input of 30 megawatts. Dr. Harrison says this estimate quite probably is 100 times too low—that at least 3,000 megawatts of power may be required. This would require the construction of at least six or more power plants the size of some of the largest power plants being built today.

And this much power dispersed into the Sanguine antenna could turn northern Wisconsin into an environmental no-man's land.

The Navy says that the Sanguine antenna would cover 6,400 square miles. Dr. Harrison has serious doubts, and he privately believes the system will have to be several times larger.

The Navy says that Sanguine would cost \$750 million. But on the basis of the error margins exposed by Dr. Harrison, the cost could end up being many billions of dollars.

The Navy says the Laurentian shield bedrock of northern Wisconsin is the best suited for Sanguine because of its low conductivity. However, Dr. Harrison says in his paper that little is known of the Laurentian shield from a geological standpoint and that studies have indicated that pockets of very high conductivity may be found in areas of mineral deposits or in vertical fractures of the rock formation that are filled with water.

In short, Dr. Harrison says the Navy does not really know much about its Sanguine system or about the Laurentian shield. Certainly, he says, not enough is known to prove whether the system will work.

Dr. Harrison suggests that to ascertain

the scientific feasibility of Sanguine, the Navy should assign competent individuals to conduct three simple and inexpensive experiments. The experiments he suggests are in the body of his report.

In his desideratum, Dr. Harrison says:

The writer feels that many subproblems of this gigantic project—the Sanguine communication system—should be assigned to competent individuals for solution. Several investigators should solve the same subproblem as rigorously as possible and publish their results in leading scientific periodicals for debate by the scientific community. The writer feels that the currently available results were obtained by over simplified methods. The over-all problem has probably been approximated to death.

Mr. President, these words represent a serious indictment of Project Sanguine. It is my hope that the scientific community of this country will examine the paper by Dr. Harrison to provide the Congress with their judgment on the scientific merit of this project.

This paper, prepared by Dr. Harrison at my request, already has offered some valuable insight into the problem with Sanguine. It is in the interest of preventing this country from embarking on yet another military boondoggle.

It should be borne in mind that the Navy apparently is satisfied that the necessary research and development work on Sanguine is very nearly finished. Pending before the Congress is a budget request for Sanguine for \$12 million, with more than half of the money to be used to advance the project to the so-called validation phase.

This is when detailed engineering designs of the huge antenna and power-generating system will be prepared for prototype development. Tests and evaluation from this work will be used, according to the Navy, to make final production decisions. The Navy has indicated that the decision for fullscale development of Project Sanguine likely will be made in 1974 or sooner, if the pending budget is approved.

I already have notified the Senate Armed Services Committee that I believe this budget should not be approved. The report by Dr. Harrison, with concurrence by Dr. King, provides an additional reason why this budget should not be approved.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the report by Dr. Harrison, entitled "Note Relating to Project Sanguine Antenna for Communication with Submarines at Operational Depth," be printed at this point in the RECORD, to be followed by biographical sketches of Drs. Harrison and King.

There being no objection, the paper and biographical sketches were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**NOTE RELATING TO PROJECT SANGUINE ANTENNA FOR COMMUNICATION WITH SUBMARINES AT OPERATIONAL DEPTH**

**Summary:** The purpose of this note is to question the adequacy of the studies thus far made regarding the feasibility of the Sanguine antenna for communication with submarines at operational depths and to suggest simple, inexpensive experiments that should reduce the uncertainty.

PROLEGOMENA

For a number of years the Navy Department has sponsored research relating to com-

munication with submerged submarines by means of electromagnetic waves launched and collected by antennas totally immersed in sea water. A very extensive experimental research program was undertaken as a joint venture by the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, La Jolla, California, and the U.S. Navy Electronics Laboratory, Point Loma, California. The theoretical work was done by A. Baños and J. P. Wesley of the University of California, Los Angeles.<sup>1</sup> A book devoted to the theory of bare (noninsulated), electrically short submerged antennas was written by A. Baños.<sup>2</sup> Later, the Navy Department contracted with RCA Research Laboratories, Rocky Point, Long Island, New York, for further experimental studies concerning extremely low-frequency (ELF) communication with submarines. It is believed that the results of all of the experimental researches were classified. The writer is of the opinion that a perusal of existing literature on the subject of communication with submerged submarines at operational depth by means of electromagnetic waves would be of great value to persons concerned with the evaluation of Project Sanguine. The various contractors on the project are urged to review the material referred to above if they have not done so.

In this note the writer directs attention to questions concerning the feasibility of the Sanguine transmitting antenna that should be answered prior to large-scale funding of the project. If an electromagnetic wave of adequate amplitude cannot be launched without the dissipation of unreasonable and hazardous power, there is little point in considering the other aspects of the proposed communication system.

**PROPOSED SITE OF SANGUINE ANTENNA**

The site selected for the final version of the Sanguine transmitting antenna is near Ciam Lake, Wisconsin. It was chosen because it is over a part of the Laurentian Shield, a 30-mile-thick rock layer about 100 feet below the surface of the earth. (This 100 feet of earth is termed the overburden.) The rock layer is reported to have a conductivity  $\sigma \approx 10^{-4}$  mho/m, an order of magnitude lower than dry earth for which  $\sigma \approx 10^{-4}$  mho/m. The overburden is supposed to have a low average conductivity of  $5 \times 10^{-4}$  mho/m. Recent magnetotelluric measurements of the apparent conductivity by Dowling<sup>3</sup> throughout northern Wisconsin confirm this low value. The observed frequency dependence of the conductivity was interpreted by him as indicating that a moderately conductive basic lower crust underlies a granite crust with very low conductivity. However, this conclusion is disputed by Porath,<sup>4</sup> who points out that Dowling's measurements merely reflect the proximity of an anomalous conductor in the form of the very large sedimentary Michigan basin which is characterized by relatively high conductivity, in sharp contrast with the low conductivity of the basement rocks in the Wisconsin arch. It has been suggested that the presence of minerals in the rock increases the conductivity to as high as  $\sigma = 1$  mho/m at some locations. It has also been stated that water-filled vertical shear zones exist which could increase the conductivity. In any event, the choice of the Wisconsin site and the operation of the proposed Sanguine antenna depend critically on the presumed very low conductivity of the 100-foot-thick overburden and the 30-mile layer of rock below it.

**EXPERIMENTAL SANGUINE ANTENNA**

The antenna presently located at the Wisconsin Test Facility (not the proposed final version of the Sanguine antenna) consists of two horizontal wires at right angles center-driven in phase quadrature with currents of equal amplitude to achieve omnidirectional

coverage. Each antenna is constructed of dual wires connected in parallel and terminated at their ends in a vertical down lead that connects to a radial ground system. The individual antennas are approximately 15 miles in length and supported by poles 20 feet above the surface of the earth. The ELF frequencies in use are approximately 45 and 75 Hz. Monitoring (receiving) sites are maintained in Utah, Hawaii, California, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Virgin Islands, Nova Scotia, Greenland, and Trumso, Norway.

**CONCEPT OF A GOOD CONDUCTOR AND SKIN DEPTH**

A material that satisfies the inequality

$$\sigma \gg \omega \epsilon_0 \epsilon_r \quad (1)$$

is by definition a good conductor. In (1),  $\sigma$  is the conductivity in mho/m; the radian frequency is  $\omega = 2\pi f$ , where  $f$  is the frequency in Hz ( $f = 45$  Hz in the present instance);  $\epsilon_r = 8.85 \times 10^{-12}$  farads/m is the permittivity of space, and  $\epsilon_r$  is the relative permittivity of the material.  $\epsilon_r$  varies from about 7 for "dry" (low conductivity) earth to about 30 for a "moist" (high conductivity) earth. The relative dielectric constant for water is about 80. Thus, the overburden ( $\sigma \approx 5 \times 10^{-4}$  mho/m) and the Laurentian Shield ( $\sigma \approx 10^{-4}$  mho/m) are good conductors at the frequencies of interest, since for them  $\sigma/\omega \epsilon_0 \epsilon_r \sim 10^4$ .

Another useful concept is the "skin depth." For good conductors satisfying (1), the skin depth  $\delta$  is given by the formula

$$\delta = \sqrt{\frac{2}{\omega \mu_0 \sigma}} \quad (2)$$

where  $\mu_0 = 4\pi \times 10^{-7}$  henries/m is the permeability of space. (In defining the symbols appearing in (1) and (2), the rationalized mks system of units is employed.) The magnitude of the current density induced in an infinite conducting half space by a normally incident plane wave decreases exponentially with distance perpendicularly into the conductor. The skin depth  $\delta$  is the depth, in meters, at which the current density has decreased to about 36.8 percent of its value at the surface. Alternatively, the skin depth is the radial distance into a current-carrying conductor with circular cross section of radius  $a$  at which the current density has decreased to 36.8 percent of its value at the surface, provided that the radius  $a$  and the skin depth  $\delta$  satisfy the inequality  $\delta \ll a$ . For a plane wave in a dissipative medium the complex wave number is  $k = \beta + i\alpha$ , where  $\beta$  is the phase constant and  $\alpha$  is the attenuation constant. The wavelength in the medium is  $\lambda = 2\pi/\beta$ . In a good conductor  $\alpha = \beta = 1/\delta$ , so that  $\lambda = 2\delta$ . One may now construct the following table for skin depths in various media at 45 Hz:

SKIN DEPTH IN VARIOUS MEDIA AT 45 Hz

	Conductivity (mho/m)	Skin depth $\delta$ (meters)	Wavelength (meters)
Sea water.....	4	$3.751 \times 10^{-1}$	$2.357 \times 10^2$
Wet earth.....	$30 \times 10^{-3}$	$4.337 \times 10^{-2}$	$2.722 \times 10^3$
Damp earth.....	$12 \times 10^{-3}$	$6.849 \times 10^{-2}$	$4.303 \times 10^3$
Dry earth.....	$10^{-3}$	$2.373 \times 10^{-1}$	$1.491 \times 10^4$
Overburden.....	$5 \times 10^{-4}$	$3.355 \times 10^{-1}$	$2.108 \times 10^4$
Laurentian shield.....	$10^{-4}$	$7.503 \times 10^{-1}$	$4.714 \times 10^4$

Note: The wavelength in free space for  $f = 45$  Hz is  $6.667 \times 10^3$  m, or 4,142.7 miles.

**USE OF THE SKIN DEPTH CONCEPT IN EVALUATING THE FEASIBILITY OF THE SANGUINE ANTENNA**

Consider a center-driven insulated wire terminated at each end in an infinite perfectly conducting plate perpendicular to the wire as shown in Fig. 1. The region between the plates is filled with a dissipative medium with conductivity  $\sigma$ , permittivity  $\epsilon$ , and

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permeability  $\mu$ . The generator operates at an angular frequency  $\omega$  so that (1) is satisfied. The length  $s$  of the wire is sufficiently short that  $ka \ll 1$ , where  $ka$  is the wave number of the coaxial line formed by the wire, the insulation, and the surrounding infinite dissipative medium. The currents in the medium are parallel to the insulated wire; their flow lines form concentric cylinders between the end plates. The complex wave number of the dissipative medium is

$$k = \sqrt{i\omega\mu\sigma} = (1+i)/\delta.$$

The current in the earth out to a radius  $\rho$  is

$$I(k\rho) = \frac{1}{k^2} \int_{kb}^{k\rho} J(x) 2\pi x dx$$

where

$$J(k\rho) = J(kb) H_0^{(1)}(k\rho) / H_0^{(1)}(kb)$$

is the volume density of current. The ratio of the current to radius  $\rho$ , to the total current to radius infinity, is

$$\begin{aligned} \frac{I(k\rho)}{I(\infty)} &= 1 - \frac{\rho H_1^{(1)}(k\rho)}{b H_1^{(1)}(kb)} \doteq 1 - \frac{i_\pi k\rho}{2} H_1^{(1)}(k\rho) \\ &= 1 - \frac{i_\pi}{2} x \sqrt{i} H_1^{(1)}(x\sqrt{i}), \end{aligned}$$

where

$$x = \rho \sqrt{\omega\mu\sigma}.$$

The second expression above assumes that with

$$kb \ll 1, H_1^{(1)}(kb) \doteq -i2/(kb).$$

When, for example,

$$x = 1 \text{ or } \rho = \delta/\sqrt{2}, \sqrt{i} H_1^{(1)}(x\sqrt{i}) = 0.22 - i0.44,^*$$

so that

$$\left| \frac{I(k\rho)}{I(\infty)} \right| = |1 - (i_\pi/2)(0.22 - i0.44)| = 0.463.$$

This shows that over half of the current is outside a circular cylinder of radius  $\rho = 0.707\delta$ . Thus, when  $\delta = 3.555$  km (for the overburden),  $0.707\delta = 2.37$  km. Hence, slightly more than half of the current is *outside* a cylinder of radius 2.37 km (a large distance). On the other hand, when  $\delta = 37.51$  m for sea water,  $0.707\delta = 26.5$  m, so that almost half of the current is within the relatively small cylinder of radius 26.5 m.

It is important to note at this point that the distribution of current described above is a good approximation only when the insulated wire is connected between parallel grounding plates that extend out as far as there is any significant current. It has been shown<sup>6</sup> that the admittance of an insulated antenna in sea water with bare extensions at the ends, each a quarter wavelength long, differs only slightly from that of the same antenna with large parallel end plates. This is because the electromagnetic field and the currents quite near the antenna are similar in the two cases. On the other hand, the currents at more distant points differ greatly from those that obtain between the parallel grounding plates. In particular, with the bare monopoles as ground connections, there will be very significant currents in the regions beyond the ends of the antenna, whereas there are none with the end plates.

If the insulated conductor is placed near the surface of a semi-infinite earth and the metal ground plates at each end extend only from the surface down an infinite distance, the distribution of current is necessarily different, inasmuch as there are no currents in the half space filled with air. Since rota-

tional symmetry does not obtain, an accurate solution is difficult to carry out. However, it is reasonable to suppose that, except quite near the antenna and the interface with air, no very significant changes should occur in the conducting half space. Except between the insulated antenna and the surface and within comparable radial distances in other directions, the fraction of the total current within a half cylinder of radius  $\rho$  should be roughly comparable to that within a full cylinder of the same radius as determined above for the infinite medium. This means that if the wire is in a fairly good conductor, such as salt water, the return currents will be in filaments close to and surrounding it, as indicated on the left in Fig. 1. Since they are opposite to the current in the insulated wire, the fields generated by them in the air above the surface almost cancel the fields maintained by the current in the wire. Therefore, the resultant field in the air is extremely small. On the other hand, when the conductivity of the medium is low and the skin depth is large, the return currents are, on the average, quite far away from the insulated wire, as shown schematically on the right in Fig. 1. Whereas the filaments of current near the surface will generate electromagnetic fields in the air, which at large distances cancel the fields of a part of the current in the wire, the filaments of current down deep in the earth are sufficiently far away that the fields they generate in the air are not exactly in opposite phase with the field generated by the corresponding parts of the current in the wire. As a consequence, the cancellation is much less complete, and the resultant field (while still relatively small) is very much greater than when the medium is more highly conducting.

In summary, the reasoning of Navy contractors is presumably as follows: The fields generated in air by antennas submerged in sea water have only small amplitudes because the skin depth is small, the return currents are near, and an effective cancellation of fields takes place. If the antenna is buried in the earth at a location where the skin depth is large, the return currents are far away, the cancellation is greatly reduced, and a much larger resultant field can be maintained with a prescribed maximum current in the antenna. This is a reasonable conclusion when the insulated antenna is connected between parallel metal ground plates that extend many skin depths down into the earth and outward laterally. However, this is not the ground system proposed. Is it legitimate to assume that the above conclusions are valid for other, very different ground connections? The writer does not think so.

#### USE OF THE THEORY OF GROUND ELECTRODES TO EVALUATE THE FEASIBILITY OF THE SANGUINE ANTENNA

Instead of consisting of two infinite (or semi-infinite) parallel metal plates, the proposed ground connections are limited to relatively small radial networks of wires parallel to the surface of the earth. In effect, they constitute a pair of electrodes across which a potential difference is maintained by a voltage source connected between them by means of an insulated wire in the earth near its surface. If each radial ground connection is replaced by a metal hemisphere of comparable radius with its flat side at the air/earth interface, as shown in Fig. 2, an accurate determination of the distribution in the earth of the currents entering and leaving it through the hemispheres can be carried out for an applied DC voltage and, to a good approximation, for an AC voltage if the distance between the electrodes is sufficiently small compared with the skin depth.

The scalar potential  $\Phi$  at the point P in Fig. 2 is given by<sup>6</sup>

$$\Phi = \frac{I}{2\pi\sigma} \left( \frac{1}{r_a} - \frac{1}{r_b} \right),$$

where  $I$  is the total current leaving one hemispherical electrode and entering the other,  $\sigma$  is the conductivity of the medium, and  $r_a$  and  $r_b$  are the distances to the electrodes from the point where the potential is calculated as shown in Fig. 2. The electric field is  $E = -\nabla\Phi$ , and the volume density of current is  $J = \sigma E$ . These can be calculated at all points P. When the point P is moved to P' on the neutral plane, the electric field and the current density are directed perpendicular to this plane and are given by

$$J = \sigma E = \frac{Is}{2\pi r^3}, \quad r = \sqrt{d^2 + (s/2)^2},$$

where  $d$  is the distance below the surface. The total current across a semicircular disk of radius  $d$  is

$$I(d) = \int_0^d J_{\pi\rho} d\rho = I \left( 1 - \frac{1}{\sqrt{1 + (2d/s)^2}} \right).$$

Half of the current crosses a disk of radius  $d = 0.866s$ .

Note that the depth of penetration of the current into the earth now depends on the distance  $s$  between the electrodes, which is also the length of the insulated wire. As long as  $s$  is small compared with the skin depth, the depth of penetration is independent of the conductivity of the medium.

For an earth with  $\sigma = 5 \times 10^{-4}$  and with a skin depth  $\delta = 3.555$  km, the length  $s$  must be no greater than 0.018 or 33.55 m. This is very much shorter than the presently used antenna, but the analysis used to anticipate its behavior is as rigorous for this length as for the actual length. Thus, for an insulated antenna of length  $s = 33.55$  m grounded at each end by infinite plates, the previous results show that at 45 Hz about half of the current is *outside* a radial distance of 2.37 km. When the same antenna is grounded to hemispheres, instead of infinite plates, one-half of the current is *within* a radial distance  $d = 0.866s = 29$  m. The difference between the two results is enormous and both are correct. They apply to the same antenna with very different ground connections at the two ends. With the infinite metal plates the return current is determined by skin effect; it is quite far away, and only incomplete cancellation of fields in the air takes place. With the hemispherical ground connections the return current is so close that almost complete cancellation of the fields in air is to be expected.

Which of these results applies to an insulated buried wire that is many skin depths long and is terminated at each end in a radial ground system? The answer is neither. Only within a half cylinder which has the insulated wire as its axis, extends between points not too close to either end of the wire, and has a radius that is small compared to the length of the wire is the distribution of current in the earth similar to that for the same wire when infinitely long or when terminated in infinite parallel plates. Outside of this cylinder the distribution depends on the type and extent of the terminations and on the distance between them. However, the available DC, low-frequency solution does not apply. A solution which takes into account the actual ground connections and the earth/air interface for insulated wires of unrestricted length is not available. There is no reason to suppose that a useful approximate solution could not be derived. For present purposes it is sufficient to note that arguments based on infinitely long insulated wires or on such wires con-

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nected between infinite parallel grounding plates are not adequate to describe the properties of wires of finite length terminated in other types of ground connections.

#### RADIATION PROPERTIES OF AN ANTENNA SUSPENDED IN AIR COMPARED WITH ITS PROPERTIES WHEN BURIED IN THE EARTH

If the insulated wire with length  $s$  is small compared to the skin depth ( $s \ll \delta$ ) is raised above the earth on poles and connected to the hemispheres by vertical down leads, little is changed with regard to the distribution in the earth of the currents entering and leaving the metal hemispheres that serve as ground connections. However, the electromagnetic field in the air will be much greater. The elevated wire with its vertical ground connections and the return currents in the earth now form a rectangular loop antenna that can maintain a distant field which is very much greater than that of the same wire when buried in the ground. The return currents which vertically enveloped the insulated wire when in the earth are now separated from it by the height of the poles, and the cancellation of fields is much reduced.

For the same wire, provided with semi-infinite parallel ground plates and connected to these by vertical down leads when it is raised above the earth, the effect will be quite small. Since the return currents are between the plates and, on the average, far down in the earth, the added reduction in cancellation of fields obtained by raising the wire above the surface of the earth will be insignificant.

Neither of these apparently contradictory conclusions is alone adequate to describe what will happen when a wire that does not satisfy the condition  $s \ll \delta$  and is connected to a relatively small radial ground system is raised above the earth. The operation will depend on the distribution of current in the earth (in particular, its proximity to the surface). This distribution is determined not only by skin effect but by the nature of and distance between the ground connections.

#### EXPERIMENTS FOR DETERMINING THE FEASIBILITY OF THE SANGUINE ANTENNA

Since no theoretical analysis of the actual configuration of antenna and ground connections is available and since conclusions based on the analyses of the two special cases which have been studied are not reliable, a complete investigation of the problem using modern analytical, computational, and experimental techniques is indicated. The correct solution must take into account both the skin effect and the effect of the finite size and separation of ground connections that are near the surface. Evidently, the longer the buried wire and the farther apart its ground connections, the deeper the return currents in the earth should be. This is suggested by the fact that the skin effect distribution is valid over a greater volume and the observation that increasing the distance between the ground connections is accompanied by deeper return currents.

An estimate of the effective depth of the currents associated with the test antenna and its ground connections can be obtained from simple experiments. If the currents are deep, the effect of lowering the antenna from 20 feet above to just below the surface of the earth should have little effect on the transmitted signal received at distant points. On the other hand, if the return currents are near the surface, such a lowering should be accompanied by a significant reduction in the transmitted signal with the same input current. If the latter should happen, the Sanguine antenna could probably not operate without excessive input power.

It appears that to decide whether the present Sanguine antenna will operate the same when buried as when suspended in air, one must insist that three simple, inexpensive experiments be carried out by the Navy contractors:

(a) Center-drive an insulated cable buried about 6 inches in the earth, terminated in the radial ground systems presently existing at the Wisconsin Test Facility. Measure the field strength at one of the monitoring sites and compare with the field currently observed there.\*

(b) When test (a) is completed, use the buried cable as the current return path of the loop. Measure the field strength at a monitoring site, as before, and compare these measurements with those previously made at the same site. (It would be instructive to make measurements with and without the radial ground systems connected to the lower corners of the loop.)\*

(c) Determine whether the signal from the various antenna configurations can be detected by a submerged submarine at operational depth.

From these experiments it can be deduced whether the Laurentian Shield is effective in improving the efficiency of the present antenna with its radial ground system at each end. The possibility of obtaining the current flow lines in layered media for the Sanguine antenna by simple laboratory tank experiments, using modeling techniques, should not be overlooked.<sup>7-10</sup> It is of great importance to know the extent to which the return currents penetrate into the earth as a function of the distance between ground connections and the conductivity.

The proposed operational form of the Sanguine antenna is an array covering approximately  $50 \times 50$  miles, with wires spaced 5 miles apart. The buried insulated wires at each grid intersection are driven in phase quadrature. Each conductor is truncated in a radial ground system. It is said that this antenna is "hardened," inasmuch as there is so much redundancy built in that a nuclear detonation in the vicinity would probably not impair the operation too much.

Physically, the antenna is complicated because it consists of numerous multiply driven insulated wires terminated by bare electrodes embedded in a conducting half space near the earth/air boundary. It ap-

\*(In tests (a) and (b) the input current to the antenna is maintained constant.)

pears that when all the other complicating factors of the problem of field calculation are considered (such as the length of the wires between ground connections, the nature of the ground connections, coupling between wires, and the interaction of the antenna with the power supply lines), one faces a Sisyphean task in estimating (analytically) the field to order-of-magnitude accuracy. This means that the power input to the antenna might have to be increased by 2 orders of magnitude (a hundredfold) above that anticipated because of uncertainties in the field calculations and in the accurate prediction of the effective conductivity in a wide area to great depths.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The writer recognizes the importance of a system for communication with submarines at operational depths. It may be that the proposed Sanguine antenna will operate efficiently and without hazard, as planned, but evidence available to the writer is sufficient only to make this possible, not probable. Therefore, further investigation of some of the facets of the design appears mandatory. To make sure that the Sanguine antenna is feasible, several inexpensive experiments that should clarify the issue are proposed.

#### DESIDERATUM

The writer thanks Dr. Ronald W. P. King, Gordon McKay, Professor of Applied Physics communication system—should be assigned to competent individuals for solution. Several investigators should solve the same subproblem as rigorously as possible and publish their results in leading scientific periodicals for debate by the scientific community. The writer feels that the currently available results were obtained by oversimplified methods. The overall problem has probably been approximated to death.

Generally speaking, it has been the experience of the author that full confidence in another investigator's work is not gained until he has worked through the problem himself, so that he gets a feeling for the errors introduced by the approximations made.

\* \* \*

The writer thanks Dr. Ronald W. P. King, Gordon McKay Professor of Applied Physics at Harvard University, for review of and concurrence in the contents of this note.

CHARLES W. HARRISON, Jr.  
Sandia Laboratories  
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87115

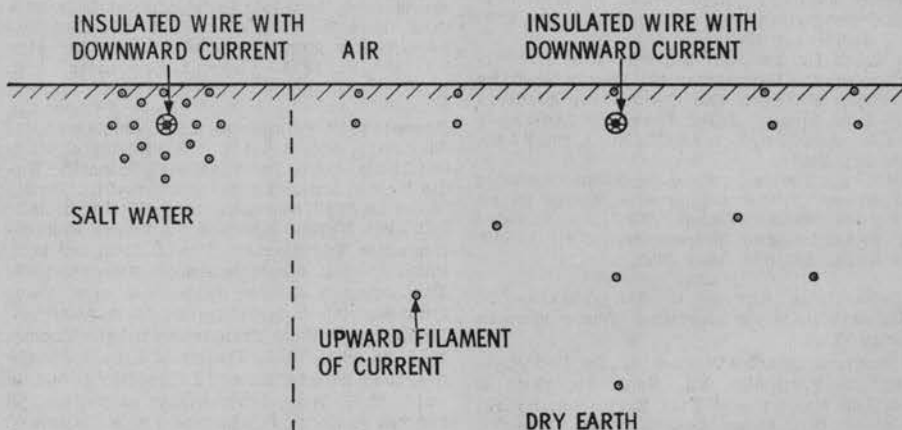


FIGURE 1. Schematic diagram to show distribution of currents around insulated wire in salt water and dry earth when terminated in infinite grounding plates.



[illegible]

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF DR. CHARLES W.  
HARRISON, JR., AS LISTED IN "WHO'S WHO IN  
THE WEST"

Harrison, Charles Wagner, Jr., applied physicist; b. Farmville, Va., Sept. 15, 1913; s. Charles Wagner and Etta Earl (Smith) H.; student U.S. Coast Guard Acad., 1934-36; B.S. in Engng., U. Va., 1939, E.E., 1940; M.S., Harvard, 1942, M.E., 1952, Ph.D. in Applied Physics, 1954. m. Fern F. Perry, Dec. 28, 1940; children—Martha R. Charlotte J. Comm'd. ensign USN. 1939. advanced

through grades to comdr., 1948; research staff Bur. Ships, 1939-41, asst. dir. electronics design and devel. div., 1948-50; research staff U.S. Naval Research Lab., 1944-45, dir's. staff, 1950-51; liaison officer Evans Signal Lab, 1945-46; electronics officer Phila. Naval Shipyard, 1946-48; USN Operational Devel. Force Staff, 1953-55; staff Comdg. Gen., Armed Forces Spl. Weapons project, 1955-57; ret. 1957; cons. electrodynamics Sandia Corp., Albuquerque, 1957-; instr. U. Va., 1939-40; lectr. Harvard, 1942-43, Princeton, 1943-44. Mem. N.M. Bd. Child Evangelism Fellowship, since 1963. Registered prof. egr. Va., D.C., Mass. Fellow I.E.E.E. (Electronics Achievement award 1966); mem. Research Soc. Am., Am. Phys. Soc., Creation Research Soc., Soc. Harvard Engrs. and Scientists, Internat. Sci. Radio Union, Sigma XI. Mem. Grace Ch. (mem. exec. bd. 1968- —). Author: Electromagnetic Radiation and Antenna, (with R. W. P. King) 1965; also contrb. numerous articles to prof. jous. Home; 2808 Alcazar St. N.E., Albuquerque, NM 87110 Office; Sandia Corp., Sandia Base. Albuquerque. NM 87115

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF DR. RONALD W. P. KING, AS LISTED IN "WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA"

KING, Ronald Wyeth Percival, educator; b. Williamstown, Mass., Sept. 19, 1905; s. James Percival and Edith Marianne Beate (Seyler) K.; A.B., U. Rochester, 1927, S.M. 1929; Ph.D., U. Wis., 1932; student U. Munich, Germany, 1928-29, Cornell U., 1929-30; m. Justine Merrell, June 22, 1937; 1 son, Christophe Merrell. Asst. in physics U. Rochester, 1927-28; Am.-German exchange student, 1929-30; White fellow in physics Cornell U., 1929-30; U. fellow in elec. engrng. U. Wis., 1930-32, research asst., 1932-34; instr. physics Lafayette Coll., 1934-36, asst. prof., 1936-37; Guggenheim fellow, Berlin, Germany, 1937-38; with Harvard U., 1938—, successively instr., asst. prof., asso. prof., 1938-46, prof. applied physics, 1946—, Guggenheim Fellowship, Europe, 1958. Fellow Am. Acad. Arts and Scis., Am. Phys. Soc. A.A.A.S., I.E.E.E.; mem. Modern Lang. Assn., International Scientific Radio Union, American Association Univ. Profs., Bavarian Acad. Sciences (contributing mem.). Phi Beta Kappa/Sigma Xi. Author: Electromagnetic Engineering, Vol. I, 1945, 2d edit., Fundamental Electromagnetic Theory, 1963; Transmission Lines, Antennas and Wave Guides (with A. H. Wing and H. R. Mimmo), 1945, 2d edit., 1965; Transmission-Line Theory, 1955, 2d edit., 1965; Theory of Linear Antennas, 1956; Scattering and Diffraction of Waves (with T. T. Wu), 1959; Arrays of Cylindrical Dipoles (with R. B. Mack and S. S. Sandler), 1968; (with C. W. Harrison, Jr.) Antennas and Waves, A Modern Approach, 1969; also articles in field. Home; 92 Hillcrest Pkwy., Winchester, Mass. 01890. Office: Gordon McKay Lab. Harvard U. Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

## NEW IRS TAX SIMPLIFICATION STUDY

## HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, today I am publicly releasing a heretofore secret Internal Revenue Service study entitled "Attitudes of Taxpayers Toward the 1970 Form 1040." The study was prepared at the IRS's request by Crossley Surveys, Inc., and is dated June 1971. It is based on extensive interviews with 2,761 taxpayers.

It is interesting to note that while the IRS staunchly maintains that any fifth grader can correctly fill out the standard income tax form, over 97 percent of the taxpayers who have had only some elementary school education have others fill out their tax returns, according to the IRS's own study.

The IRS study also reveals that 70 percent of all taxpayers had someone else prepare their tax return for 1970. The study also shows that the better educated taxpayers—even though their tax returns are more complicated—are much more likely to fill out their own tax returns than are less well-educated taxpayers.

The IRS-consultant study reveals that 92 percent of taxpayers whose education went no further than elementary school had others fill out their tax forms, while 70 percent of those who graduated from high school turned to outside help. Fifty-nine percent of those with some college education and only 43 percent with a college degree used outside help in completing the forms.

Surprisingly, the study also reveals that the great majority of taxpayers do not object to the task of filling out tax returns. Almost 60 percent said they were "neutral" about the job of filling out their returns, while 29 percent were "negative" and 6 percent were "positive."

The study also reveals that taxpayers, by a margin of 2 to 1, believe that Form 1040 "is a lot more complicated than it has to be." But, by a 4 to 1 margin, they also believe that the complexity of Form 1040 is "largely a result of our complicated tax laws." But the great majority of taxpayers who have had their returns audited by the IRS recently, felt by a 4 to 1 margin that the IRS was fair in its dealings with them.

This study shows that the people are dissatisfied with the tax system. They are angry at all the loopholes which benefit the wealthy and which make the form so complex, and they are not very satisfied at all with the form itself. In other words, what this study shows is that the middle and lower income taxpayer gets it both coming and going. He pays too much in taxes because of all the tax breaks and loopholes in the code for the rich and special interest groups. And then he has to pay what is, in effect, an added tax by being forced to pay for professional tax assistance.

Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that the public release of this study, and other

data that has recently come to light, will increase the chances for significant simplification of the Federal income tax return process in the near future.

The IRS study will appear in tomorrow's RECORD.

#### AN IMAGINATIVE DELAWARE PROGRAM: RECYCLING CLAMSHELLS TO FOSTER OYSTER PRODUCTION

### HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, the State of Delaware, in cooperation with the Federal Environmental Protection Agency, has undertaken an imaginative environmental enhancement program involving waste clamshells.

It is a program that is recycling in every sense of the word.

Supported by Federal, State, and private funds, more than 56,000 tons of waste clamshells have been deposited at oyster spawning grounds over the past 2½ years. These grounds are in Delaware Bay and at the mouths of several rivers, such as the Broadkill, the Murderkill, the Mispillion, and the Leipsic.

On the floor of the river or bay, the shells provide the hard surfaces to which oysters must attach themselves if they are to survive.

In the process, of course, a major source of solid waste pollution has been eliminated in southern Delaware.

The Delaware Department of Health and Social Services is to be congratulated for its leadership in developing this program, for it is an effort that will repay many dividends. It means new economic benefits to our coastal areas, and greater oyster production for millions of Americans who enjoy this seafood delicacy.

Oyster production in Delaware, I am happy to note, has increased sharply in recent years. Production in 1969 was a mere 7,800 bushels. By last year, production had increased to 44,757 bushels.

This new program, from which oysters will be harvested beginning later this year, should bring new gains in the years ahead.

I know that all Delawareans share my hope that the Federal Government will be able to continue its support for this innovative and commendable project after the current demonstration contract expires later this year.

The Environmental Protection Agency recently issued its own description of the impact of this waste clamshell program. I ask unanimous consent that the EPA statement be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

WASTE CLAMSHELLS AID OYSTER GROWERS  
(Prepared by Environmental Protection Agency)

State officials in Delaware are demonstrating in a federally-sponsored project that

broken clam shells make an excellent growing bed for young oysters.

William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, said today he hopes this project will help make it possible to expand oyster production on the East and Gulf Coasts, where clam shells are plentiful.

The EPA and the Delaware Division of Physical Health are sponsoring the solid waste disposal project.

The project has already shown an economic use for some of the 112.5 million pounds of waste shells left over from the harvesting and processing of shellfish in the mid Atlantic region.

Waste shells dumped on land are troublesome, since they emit odors, are attractive to flies, and are extremely difficult to bury and compact in a sanitary landfill. They are left in huge piles with the general vicinity of shellfish processing plants and present a difficult solid waste management problem.

The project is of particular interest to Delaware and New Jersey oystermen. An organism called MSX Blight that kills oysters caused great damage to the Delaware Bay oyster industry in 1957.

In the demonstration, a private boat contracted by the state for the past two and one-half years has gone out each day from a clam processing plant in Lewes, Delaware, with a load of broken clam shells. Over 500,000 bushels of shells have been distributed to date on 200 acres of state-owned oyster beds in the Upper Bay.

The demonstration costs the State of Delaware six and three-fourths cents per bushel to transport the shells out to the Bay. The state in turn will charge the oystermen 15 cents a bushel to remove the two-year-old oysters from the state beds to the commercially-owned beds in the Lower Bay, where they will be harvested within a year.

It is hoped that this operation will be extended to other portions of the Bay and become a completely self-supporting state project.

Delaware health officials have been collaborating with the University of Delaware's Marine Laboratory and the State Department of Natural Resources and Environmental Control. These agencies have monitored the quality of the water where the shells are deposited. It has been established that scavengers, such as eels and crabs, clean the shucked shells within hours after deposit and prevent increased water pollution.

The EPA is sponsoring the three-year project with \$90,517 in Federal funds. The State of Delaware is providing \$45,250.

#### NIXON TEAM MAKES LIGHT OF WORKING WOMEN'S ROLE

### HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Hobart Rowen points out in the Sunday, April 9, Washington Post business and finance section that the Nixon administration sees unemployed female workers as being less important than unemployed males.

Rowen offers impressive documentation that, as he puts it:

The simple fact is that what happens to working women is more important than ever before.

More women with family responsibilities are working and seeking employment. Women are making an ever-expanding and essential contribution to the economy.

But, as in so many other areas of domestic concern, the Nixon administration has not gotten the word. I suspect that women and men who recognize the continuing problem of sex discrimination in our society will be heard loud and clear in November 1972.

The Rowen article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 9, 1972]

#### NIXON TEAM MAKES LIGHT OF WORKING WOMEN'S ROLE

(By Hobart Rowen)

The Nixon administration has been trying to grapple with the unemployment problem by redefining it. The last Economic Report, for example, complains that the estimate of 4 per cent employment as the equivalent of "full" employment was more or less an historical accident, the "result of repetition, even though the 4 per cent rate was seldom achieved."

Both Economic Council Chairman Herbert Stein and Treasury Secretary John Connally have indicated they think that 5 per cent unemployment is a more realistic definition of full employment in the context of today's labor force because more women and teenagers (who have higher unemployment rates than men) are involved.

In March, in the figures just reported by the Labor Department (overall rate: 5.9 per cent), adult male unemployment was at a rate of 4.1 per cent, while the jobless level among women was 5.4 percent and, for teenagers, 17.9 per cent, or roughly the highest level in 9 years.

How to reconcile full employment and reasonable price stability has been the central economic dilemma perplexing this nation (and other major industrial countries) since World War II.

It has been the subject of a great deal of learned literature in the last couple of years, typified by George Perry's Brookings paper at the end of 1970, suggesting that the "trade-off" between inflation and unemployment has worsened in the last decade.

But the difference between Perry and other academic analysts on the one hand, and the administration on the other is that Nixon's men have thrown up their hands and quit. As Walter Heller said a few weeks ago in a letter to Rep. Henry S. Reuss, supporting Reuss' "Jobs Now" bill, just because it's tougher to get down to 4 per cent than it used to be is "no excuse for ignoring the social costs and tensions" created.

But what Mr. Stein & Co. have now decided is that to strive for the full potential of the economy too quickly will cause a dangerous inflation. But the honest thing for them to say, if that's the policy, is that the country can't afford full employment for a couple of years. Of course, they don't have the nerve to put it that way.

Instead, the administration is trying to make us believe that the present prospective situation isn't too bad, because the women and young people employed aren't as important as men.

The simple fact is that what happens to working women is more important than ever before. An article in the current Monthly Labor Review of the Department of Labor shows, for example, that increasing numbers of women with family responsibilities are looking for jobs. By 1971, the Review says, one-third of the women in the labor force had both husbands and dependent children.

Dr. Carolyn Bell Shaw, a Wellesley College economics professor, suggested in a recent



speech that the administration is slandering "the contribution of women to the economy."

Dr. Bell took particular umbrage at a hypothetical table in the latest economic report which shows that, if the age-sex composition of the 1971 labor force had been the same as it was in 1956 (that is, fewer women), the unemployment rate for the year would have been only 4.5 per cent instead of 5.9 per cent.

"The projection that women will continue to constitute a high proportion of the labor force," the Stein council said, "suggests a continuing relatively high level of transitional unemployment."

For Dr. Bell, the real translation of the above paragraph is that "we (should) get used to a high level of unemployment. They are only women . . ."

"If, they suggest, you pretend that the labor force today was 70 percent male and only 30 per cent female, the way it used to be, then you could see that, in fact, the economic policies followed by the administration have succeeded. If it weren't for all those troublesome women, the unemployment rate (the CEA is saying) today would be very close to the goal of 4 percent."

Dr. Bell then marshaled some interesting facts, which Messrs. Stein and Connally would do well to consider:

Since 1950, the labor force has increased by only 7 million men and by about 13 million women. Thus, women account for a major hunk of the rise in national output. "The people who recalculated the labor force to get unemployment down," Dr. Bell observes, "conveniently forgot that such a recalculation would also, inevitably, result in a smaller national output and income."

Although the myth is widely-held that most women are part-time workers, 4 out of 5 adult women (over 20) are full-time workers. And the same 80 per cent ratio applies to unemployed women: 4 out of 5 are looking for full-time jobs.

Contradicting the notion that only adult married men are the "breadwinners," over half of the married men in the U.S. had wives who worked at some time during 1971. The Labor Department's own statistics show that almost 8 million wives in 1970 earned between \$4,000 and \$7,000, and two-thirds of them were married to men who earned less than \$10,000. These working wives contribute more than \$1 out of every \$4 in total family income. That's a lot of bread by anyone's definition. As a matter of fact, more than 20,000,000 persons look upon a woman as "breadwinner" in the family, including 6,000,000 households which depend solely on a woman for their means of support. Besides, there is an unknown number of families with the man listed as "head of household," but with the woman actually the breadwinner because the husband is ill or unable to work.

Most of these female breadwinners are poor, and an important percentage is black. Black or white, the choice of jobs is not the same as available to men. (The Urban Coalition's Counterbudget, published last year, provides a supporting analysis of the "blatant discrimination against women in the labor market.")

This critique of the administration, for an anti-social, crass attitude toward women, applies as well to teen agers. We can't complain about the radicalization of youth if we tell them as they approach manhood that whether they have a job isn't economically significant.

No one denies that Messrs. Nixon and Stein have a problem on their hands (which they helped to create with an excessively depressing "game plan" in 1969 and 1970). But it won't go away just by changing the definition of full employment.

## UNSETTLING NEWS OF HARDSHIP IN VIETNAM

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, unsettling news has been transmitted to me from the Saigon Student Union. This concerns the arrest and torture of Huynh Tan Mam, chairman of that union. After his arrest and disappearance word was given out that he had escaped to the NLF. But this is denied and it is understood he has been imprisoned and tortured since that time.

Mrs. Ngo Ba Thanh, according to a New York Times report of March 23, a leading critic of the Saigon government and the war, was brought from prison to court on a stretcher and in need of medical attention. It was impossible to continue her trial.

Anywhere from 100,000 to 200,000 political prisoners are said to be held by the Saigon government. It must be difficult to conduct a democracy, when the majority of opposition leaders are in prison.

I append below, reports and a tabulation of political and academic persons who have been or are incarcerated in South Vietnam. These recitals reflect little credit on our Saigon ally, or on the United States of America, which underwrites that regimen. The data follows:

### INFORMATION ABOUT PRISONERS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

The following are informations about seventy-eight prisoners in Vietnam who have been arrested by the South Vietnamese Government. They are students, teachers and journalists. Also a list of women prisoners who are seriously ill mentally, for whom there is no adequate care.

We shall continue to publish more of these informations when we are able to get them. If our readers wish to send help to the prisoners, they can send it to the Reverend Sister Thich Nu Huynh Lien of the Committee for the Improvement of Prisons in Vietnam. The Vietnamese Buddhist Peace Delegation will serve as mediator and will see that all donations reach Sister Huynh Lien.

Sister Huynh Lien said that the prisoners need towels, medicaments, milk and food.

### WOMEN PRISONERS WHO ARE SERIOUSLY ILL MENTALLY FOR WHOM THERE IS NO ADEQUATE CARE

1. *Chi Nguyen thi Que*, 45 years old, arrested in November 1959, has mental trouble as the result of suppression and torture in the prison. She was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, and was moved from one prison to another—Thu Duc, Chi Hoa, Phu Loi and all the prison administrators know that she is a mental case. But for more than 11 years already she has been in prison and no care is taken for her health.

Her husband died in 1967 and her daughter was killed during bombing in 1968.

Now she is still in the prison of Chi Hoa.

2. *Chi Nguyen thi Phe*, 35 years old, arrested on August 3rd, 1963 and sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment. Her home-town is far away in Binh-Dinh and her son, 3 years old was taken care of by other people. The poor child, without father or mother, cared for by others, died after several months.

Thi Phe has serious stomach trouble, for which no care is taken. She has been given injections of Atropine and is becoming blind. Even the German doctors in the prison of Con Dao saw that her condition was serious and suggested that she should be moved to the mainland for treatment. Today, her period of imprisonment has been exceeded by 2 years and 7 months, and her condition becomes more and more serious, but the government does not agree to her release.

She is still in the prison of Chi Hoa.

3. *Chi Nguyen thi Xuoc*, 45 years old, arrested in 1962. Her home district is Binh-Dinh. She was arrested with her son, 11 years old. After several months of investigation, her son was released. He wandered about in Saigon, and after 8 years she does not know if her son is alive or dead, or if he may have returned to Binh-Dinh.

As a result of torture and the dampness of the prison, today her lungs are affected and she is given no treatment.

She was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment, but today, she has served already for 8 years. The day of her release, when she hopes to see her mother and her son, is still far away.

4. *Chi Ton thi Anh*, 47 years old, arrested in Binh-Dinh on July 26th, 1961. She was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment. Now she has TB and stomach trouble and no care is taken of her so that she cannot walk, nor eat and drink properly. For the last two years the government refuse to release her.

She is still in Chi Hoa prison.

5. *Chi Nguyen thi Kheo*, 36 years old, was arrested in 1960, in An-giang. In the local prison she was tortured so that she vomited blood and was moved to the hospital. When an attempt was made to force her to sign a false confession, and she refused, she was again beaten by the police.

She was unmarried when sentenced at 26 years of age to 7 years' imprisonment. Today, she has been in prison for more than 10 years and the government does not agree to release her, although an official in Thu Duc prison told her in 1964 that her sentence had been reduced by 1 year. During the 10 years she has been moved to all the prisons in the south: An-giang, Chi Hoa, Phu Loi, Go cong, Thu Duc, Phu Loi, Con Dao, and now is the third time she returns to Chi Hoa.

No competent doctor has diagnosed her illness—she is very weak and thin and old-looking and menstruation has ceased.

6. *Chi Nguyen thi Thao*, 47 years old, arrested on May 2nd, 1960 and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, when her daughter was just 7 months old. During the time of investigation she was moved from prison to prison: Gia Dinh, Chi Hoa, Phu Loi, Thu Duc, Con Dao and back to Chi Hoa. She tried hard to keep the child with her, because she did not want her to be sent to an orphanage. After hearing from her family, she sent the child to her sister, but unhappily her sister died. The child was then sent to the grandparents who also died. For ten years the little girl has wandered from house to house in the village, without family affection and without education, showing how corrupt South Vietnamese society has become.

In August 1970, thi Thao was taken from Con Dao to Chi Hoa and was able to see her daughter, who cried: "Mother, do not die, you have to live with me. Your sentence is finished, why are you not released? Do the administrators of the prisons not have any children? Why do they not know how to love children who have no mothers?"

But thi Thao cannot hear—she has become deaf.

She has TB, but the prison nurse always gives her quinine. So that, after ten years in prison, the TB is very advanced and the deafness is extremely serious.

The day of release and the reunion of mother and daughter is far away.

These are some cases among the 83 women prisoners now in Chi Hoa. They are proof that

the prisons of South Viet Nam today are savage and inhuman and must be reformed.

DIEU THUY.

May 1971.

# LIST OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, JOURNALISTS ARRESTED BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT

[Note: UV—University student; HS—High school student; W—Woman; Van hanh—Buddhist University]

Name	Date of arrest	Prison	Sentence	Served	Prison No.	Conditions	Parents or relatives	Contact address
1. Nguyen Truong Cong, UV, electronics.	July 1968	Con Son	5 years	2 years, 10 months.	205/MTLD	No contact with family.	Nguyen Thi Nhu Thien.	50A Bui Thi Xuan, Saigon.
2. Luong Si Ho, UV, science.	February 1969	do	15 years	Over 2 years.		No contact with family, no visits or gifts, very weak.		
3. Cao Duy Tuan, UV, electronics.	do	do	20 years	do	C. 20648	do	Nguyen Thi Can	20 Dao Duy Tu, Da Lat.
4. Le Tan Viet Nam, UV, forestry, zoology.	do	do	3 years	do	A. 4608	No family contact, no visits, no gifts.	Nguyen Thi An	129/189 Nguyen Trai, Cholon.
5. Nguyen Ba Kha, UV, technical.	do	do	5 years	do		No family contact, no visits, no gifts, weak.	Duong Thi Nguyet	Da Lat.
6. Dang Minh Chi, UV, law	do	do	3 years	2 years		No family contact, no visits or gifts.		
7. Nguyen Truc, UV, Van Hanh.	do	do	5 years	do		No family contact, no visits or gifts, weak.		
8. Nguyen Tan Tai	May 3, 1970	Chi Hoa	No judgment	1 year	2439/2428/MTLD.	Mental case, weak.		
9. Nguyen Thanh Cong, UV, medicine.	do	do	do	do				
10. Le Van Hoa, UV, arts	do	do	do	do	2431/MTLD	Weak		
11. Nguyen Van Son, UV, medicine.	do	do	do	do	2430/MTLD	do		
12. Nguyen Ngoc Phuong, UV, arts.	May 3, 1970	Chi Hoa	No judgment	1 year	2523/MTLD	Weak		
13. Le Dinh Dieu, UV, arts	Sept. 3, 1970	do	do	do				
14. Nguyen Xuan Hien, UV, forestry, zoology.	July 3, 1970	do	do	do				
15. Do Van Man, UV, medicine.	March 1970	do	do	do				
16. Tran Si Lieu, UV, Van Hanh.	do	do	1 year surveillance.	do				
17. Nguyen Dinh Tao, UV, Van Hanh.	January 1968	Con Son	Released	2 years	Room 3, camp 1.	No family contacts.	Nguyen Dinh Nam	260 Phu Tho Hoa, ap Phu Trung.
18. Lam Thi Xuan, UV, W.	October 1970	Thu Duc	No judgment	1 year, 7 months.	1272/CTQS	do	Le Thi Cue	122 Duong Ba Trac, Saigon.
19. Ngo Ngoc Dung, UV, Van Hanh.	April 1968	Con Son	2 years surveillance.	3 years		TB, stomach trouble	Nguyen Thi Ty	62/17 Nguyen Thong, Saigon.
20. Luu Ngoc Trang, UV, pharmacy.	May 1968	do	do	do	Camp 1, room 4.	No family contact.	Nguyen Thi Van	146 Bui Thi Xuan, Saigon.
21. Phan Son Xa, UV, architecture.	April 1969	do	3 years	2 years		do	Dinh Thi Noi	231/18/1 ap 3, Gia Dinh.
22. Mac Nhu Suong, UV, science.	January 1969	do	5 years	do	C. 1238	do	Mac Nhu Ba	12 Pham Hong Thai, Qui Nhon.
23. Tran Quoc Thuan, UV, science.		Chi Hoa	No judgment	do	1919/MTLD	Ill and weak.	Tran Van Nam	66 Cuong De, Qui Nhon.
24. Ngo Tan Xuan, student	March 1965	Con Dao	5 years	6 years	C. 19723	No family contact, no visits, or gifts.	Nguyen Tan Phat	70 Viny Kim Long, Dinh Tuong.
25. Le anh Ton	December 1968	Con son	No judgment	3 years		Ill and weak	Vo thi Tu	363 Nguyen Trai, Cholon.
26. Trinh Dinh Khuong, UV	November 1968	Tan Hiep	1 year	do	20519	Weak, liver trouble	Quach thi Lieu	Lo B 105 Cu xa, Nguyen thien Thuat.
27. Tran giao Hoa, UV, dentist, 2d. year.	November 1969	Chi Hoa	do	2 years	1033/MTLD	No family contact.		
28. Ha Van Dung, HS.	April 1969	Con Son	2 years	do		do		
29. Tran van My, UV	do	do	10 years	do		do	Tran thi Thua	
30. Le van Phong, HS.	1968	do	12 years	3 years	C. 400	do	Tran thi Loi	113/56 Nguyen Thong.
31. Thieu thi Tan, HS, W, Marie Curie.	1968	Tan Hiep	Surveillance	do		Ill and weak.	Nguyen thi Binh	15 Cong Trong, An Dong, Cholon.
32. Thieu thi Tao, HS, W, Marie Curie.	1968	do	2 years	do		Very weak	do	Do.
33. Nguyen tuong Phuoc	1962	Con Son	15 years	9 years	C. 1092	Arms and legs paralyzed.	Vo van Hen	153/44 Cao Thang, Saigon.
34. Nguyen tan Mam	April 1968	do	3 years	3 years	A. 0922	Weak		
35. Nguyen ai Dan	1961	do	No charge	10 years		Unable to move	Nguyen thi Vang	Kien Hoa.
36. Phan Thi Bach, Tuyet, HS, W.		Thu Du	No judgment		1144	No family contact.		
37. Le van Hoa, HS.	September 1968		3 years	2 years, 8 months.		do	Huynh Tin Phuong	101 ap Trung 8, Phu Tho Hoa.
38. Nguyen Thi Loan, HS, W.	Dec. 20, 1967	Tan Hiep	do	3 years, 6 months.		No family contact, no visits, or gifts.	Nguyen thi A	20F/1 ap Trung 1, Phu Nhuan.
39. Nguyen Van Toan, HS, Petrus Ky.	May 1966	Con Dao	4 years	5 years	A. 619	Very weak, acute TB.	Nguyen van Chuan	12 duong 23, Pham, The Hien, Saigon.
40. Nguyen thi Man, HS, W.	April 1968	Con Son	1 year surveillance.	3 years		No family contact.	Luong thi Dinh	
41. Huynh Thi Kien Thu, HS, W.	May 1969	Thu Duc	10 years	2 years	2113/CTTA	Arms and legs paralyzed, mental.	Huynh Thi Mien	118/63 Hung Vuong, Thi Nghe.
42. Nguyen Ngoc Anh, HS, Bo De.	1968	Con Dao	5 years	3 years	778/CTTA	No family contact.	Nguyen thi Hai	505/3 Petrus Ky., Saigon.
43. Ha Duy Hung, UV	April 1969	do	3 years	2 years	A. 0919	No family contact, no visits or gifts.	Vu thi Suu	513 Le Van Duyet, Saigon.
44. Mac Nhu Dau, HS, Cuong De QN.	September 1969	do	2 years	Almost 2 years	13511/HC	No family contact.	Mac Nhu Ba	12 Pham Hong Thai, Qui Nhon.
45. Vo Van Sau, HS.	December	do	10 years	3 1/2 years		do	Phan thi Nhi	46/4 Long Hung, My Tho.
46. Phan Van Son, HS, Mac Dinh Chi.								
47. Nguyen Van Phuc, HS, Cao Thang.	May 1970	Chi Hoa	5 years	1 year	2257/MTLD	Ill and weak.	Ha thi Loc	18 Ton that Thuyet, Saigon.
48. Nguyen Sinh, HS, Quang Nam	June 1969	Tan Hiep	No charge	2 years	12929	Very weak.	Nguyen Nhiem	80 Nguyen thai Hoc, DN.
49. Cao Thi Ngoc Rot, HS, Gia Long, W.	1969	do	do	do		Ill and weak.	Vo thi Ty	493/55ter, Le Van Duyet, Saigon.
50. Huynh Thi Minh Nguyet, HS, W.	1969	do	do	do	do	do	Huynh thi Hoa	148bis De Tham, Saigon.
51. Hang He Quyen, HS.	June 1968	Con Dao	do	3 years	960/HC	No family contact, no visits or gifts.	Hang He Phuong	14H/9 Do Van Suu, Saigon.
52. Nguyen Cong Thanh, HS.	March 1965	Tan Hiep	Surveillance	6 years	20825/HC	Mental case, very weak.	Nguyen Cong Nguyen	169 Nguyen Thong noi dai, Saigon.

Footnotes at end of table.



## LIST OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, JOURNALISTS ARRESTED BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT—Continued

(Note: UV—University student; HS—High school student; W—Woman; Van hanh—Buddhist University)

Name	Date of arrest	Prison	Sentence	Served	Prison No.	Conditions	Parents or relatives	Contact address
53. Vo Ai Dan, HS	1969	Con Dao	No charge	2 years	12305/HC	Very weak	Nguyen thi Hoang	Thanh Phu, Bien Hoa.
54. Phan Tan Minh, HS	July 1968	Tan Hiep	1 year	3 years		Weak		
55. Trinh Minh Bach	August 1968	Con Dao	2 years	Almost 3 years	19202/A	No family contact	Trinh Kim Ngoc	25/27 Bui Chu.
56. Huynh Van Yen, HS	1964	do	3 years	7 years		Unable to move	Huynh thi Ngung	137/70 Ben Van Don, Saigon.
57. Do Trong Hieu, UV	November 1968	Tan Hiep	1 year	2 years, 6 months				
58. Trinh Cong Ly, UV	do	do	do	2½ years				
59. Le Dinh Tham, UV, Science	May 1968	Con Dao	5 years	3 years			Le Dinh Bon	441/27 Phan Dinh, Phung, Saigon.
60. Pham Van Nhon, journalist	December 1968	do	do	2½ years	A. 0170	No family contact	Pham Thi Nhen	90/26 Hoanh Hoa, Tham, Gia Dinh.
61. Dang Thien, UV, Van Hanh	1968	do	7 years	3 years				
62. Ho Hung Van, UV, law	September 1968	Con Son	5 years	do		Very weak		
63. Vu Ngoc Dinh, UV, Van Hanh	May 1968	do	18 months surveillance	do				
64. Nguyen Nho Thuong, UV, Van Hanh	1968	Chi Hoa	2 years	do		Very weak		
65. Nguyen Van Chin, UV, law	do	Con Son	7 years	do		No family contact		
66. Pham Sang, UV, science	do	do	5 years	do		do		
67. Do Duc, UV, science	do	do	2 years	do		do		
68. Le thi Kim Hanh, HS, Pleiku, W.	1969	Nha Trang	No judgment	2 years				Pleiku.
69. Le Thi Thu Huong, HS, Pleiku, W.	do	do	do	do			Le thi Hin	Do.
70. Hoa Vinh Quang, HS, Vo truong Toan	do	Con Dao	20 years		19227	No family contact	Hoa Thi On	174/15 Luc Tinh, Cholon.
71. Nguyen Boa Son, UV, Van Hanh	August 1969	Chi Hoa	1 year	2 years	2247/MTLD	TB	Nguyen Kim Toan	120/25 Ton That Thuyet, Cholon.
72. Le Van Khoa, HS	September	do	3 years	2½ years		No family contact	Huynh Thi Phuung	161 ap trung 3, Phu tho Hoa, GD.
73. Hoang Manh Tien	August 1969	Tan Hiep	1 year	Almost 2 years		Ill and weak	Vu Thi Dan	9/2 Ly thai To, Dalat.
74. Nguyen thi Cam, Huong, W.	March 1970	do	No charge	1 year, 3 months	17 33/HC	do	Lam thi Quoi	157/146 Ben Ba Dinh, Cholon.
75. Le thi Ngoc Trang, HS, W.	1967	Thu Duc	7 years	4 years		do	Nguyen thi Hai	38/140 Nguyen Kim, Cholon.
76. Nguyen Hong Son, UV, Van Hanh	1968	Con Dao	5 years	3 years		Ill and weak, no family contact, no visits or gifts	Nguyen Kim Toan	120/25 Ton That Thuyet, Cholon.
77. Huynh Cong Truc, HS	1959	do	20 years	12 years	C. 0972	Stomach trouble, TB		35 Nguyen Dinh, Chieu Phu Nhuan.
78. Le Van Nghiem	1958	do	do	13 years	C. 15107	Liver trouble, paralysis	Le thi The	Binh Hung Hoa, Tan Binh, Gia Dinh.

Note: Total number of students, journalists, professors now in prison about whom we have some information, 78.

## EXTENSION OF THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

## HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 11, 1972

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the action of the House of Representatives in agreeing to the conference report on S. 3054 to extend the Manpower Development Act for 1 year will enable this valuable program to continue in operation while Congress continues its consideration of comprehensive manpower reform, now before the Education and Labor Committee.

During the 10 years since its enactment in 1962, MDTA has enabled many thousands of Americans to obtain the training or retraining necessary to find a job and become self-supporting. MDTA expanded during the 1960's with effective bipartisan support in the Congress from \$70 million in fiscal year 1963 to a current funding level for fiscal year 1972 of \$750 million.

Paralleling the growth of MDTA has been the development of additional programs created to meet the needs of special groups experiencing difficulties find-

ing jobs. The Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Job Corps were set in motion under the Economic Opportunity Act to assist young people. Operation Mainstream to provide work opportunities for older Americans was also added to EOA.

As we all know, in the summer of 1971 the Emergency Employment Act was passed to provide public service job opportunities for those in need of work.

Inevitably this diversity of manpower programs has led to a measure of duplication and overlap, and it was to unify all training programs under a single statute that President Nixon proposed the Manpower Revenue Sharing Act, designed to unify and coordinate Federal training efforts.

The Select Labor Subcommittee has held extensive and thorough hearings on the President's manpower proposal and recently completed these hearings. I have every hope and expectancy that manpower legislation will appear from the Education and Labor Committee in time for floor consideration during this session.

Extension of MDTA for 1 year will provide a valuable period of time during which the Congress can work toward enactment of a new comprehensive manpower act, as proposed by the President.

## ON BUSING

## HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, the question of schoolbusing has generated a furor of confusion and fear and antagonism in this country. None of it is necessary. Busing is an important issue, and it is a complex issue—one that does not lend itself to simple "yes" or "no" answers. The question demands analysis and reasoned discussion. There can be neither in an atmosphere charged with emotion and fear.

No one used to be appalled by the sight of yellow schoolbuses. Two out of every five public school students ride buses and, of that number, less than 3 percent are riding them under court order to achieve desegregation. Busing is neither the cause nor the solution of the problems of education in America. With busing or without busing, there still is a monumental crisis in our schools, and it would be tragic if the rhetoric of busing distracted the country's attention from the desperate need to improve the quality of education for all of our children.

I am opposed to a constitutional amendment prohibiting busing, and I am opposed to the President's proposal for a moratorium on busing decisions by the courts.

The courts should have the option of using busing to protect the rights of schoolchildren in communities where the schools are still segregated by law. More than 16 years ago, the Supreme Court declared the principle of "separate but equal" school systems unconstitutional. This is not the time to take a step backward in civil rights. Busing is one way, and only one way, of guaranteeing constitutional rights.

Congress has no business telling local communities how to run their schools. If a community wants to bus its children, it should be able to do it. Congress has no power, under our system, to tell the courts how to interpret the Constitution—yet the proposed "moratorium" legislation would do precisely that. The President's proposal may well be unconstitutional. A constitutional amendment to prohibit busing would demean and cheapen the Constitution. The Constitution is an eloquent summary of the fundamental principles that guide this Nation, and it was not written to serve the purposes of every political faction that opposes a particular series of judicial decisions. None of us agrees with every decision made by the courts, including the Supreme Court, but that does not mean we should use the constitutional amending process to overturn their decisions.

Local school districts should have the option of using busing to improve educational opportunities for children. Some communities—like Evanston, where I live—bus children so they will get a better education. By and large, it works. Studies have shown that their abilities in reading and other areas have improved in the new schools, the integrated schools, without adversely affecting the education of students who are not bused to the schools.

I would favor legislation similar to the Scott-Mansfield proposal in the Senate that sets outer limits on the time and distances involved in schoolbusing. I would also favor legislation that would prohibit busing students from a good school to an inferior school. No one wants that kind of busing—it is counterproductive—and no one seriously has suggested that kind of busing. Unfortunately, some of the opponents of busing are trying to imply this will happen unless there is a constitutional amendment to prohibit busing. They are appealing to our worst fears, and we should reject such appeals. We deserve better. Our children deserve better.

This country's goal must be quality education for all of our children. In some cases—and only in some cases—busing can help achieve that goal. There are other ways of reaching the goal—in the long run, better ways. To begin with, we have to increase Federal aid to education to improve our schools without increasing the burden of property taxes. I

have proposed legislation, the Fair School Funding Act of 1972, which offers a new approach in this area.

Nothing is more important than insuring the best education possible for our children. The future of the United States rests with them, and it would be the cruelest disservice to them and to this country's future, if we let the furor over schoolbusing distract us from achieving quality education. Education must become this country's first priority. It must take precedence over fighting a war in Southeast Asia or developing a Space Shuttle—or trying to "buy" votes with an outright condemnation of busing.

Millions of words have been written and spoken about the busing question. There has been no want of editorial comment. One of the most perceptive and lucid discussions of busing was presented recently on WMAQ-TV-NBC in Chicago. In a three-part series on busing, the station examined "the most emotional political issue in this country today."

I commend the series to my colleagues. A transcript of the editorial broadcasts follows:

#### EDITORIAL—BUSING ISSUE BY STATION WMAQ-TV

These big yellow vehicles are symbolic of the most emotional political issue in this country today: Busing.

This is the first of three editorials we'll present on busing. No one used to be appalled by the sight of buses. They are practical. Most Americans have ridden them at one time or another with no harmful effects. For many youngsters, the bus ride is the social event of the day.

But, busing becomes an issue when it is used to promote racial integration. Most Americans say they favor integration, but, busing is very unpopular. The vote in Florida shows that; 74 per cent of the people favored an unbelievably extreme measure, a constitutional amendment to outlaw racial busing.

The reason for all this, in one word, is fear. If you believe all the terrible things being said about busing, you're sure to be afraid of it. We're convinced that a lot of this fear is being spread by dishonest people. And, unfortunately, too few of the responsible leaders in this country are willing to expose the outright lies about busing.

President Nixon's attempts to exploit the busing issue contribute to the national misunderstanding. Even many liberals and moderates are hopping on the bandwagon. With this political climate in an election year, congress is expected to do something to satisfy the anti-busing mood.

Amid this hysteria, we want to make one important point: Busing is not a simple issue. Busing programs have run smoothly in parts of this country for five or six years, helping black students and increasing racial understanding. The students—black and white—have no objection to busing. But, some forms of busing, like the 40-mile trips envisioned by the propagandists of fear, could indeed be unwise.

As intelligent people, let us not be conned into accepting the myths and scare tactics. Busing is not really a threat to the American way of life, as we'll discuss in our next editorial.

(This editorial was broadcast at various times on March 18, 19 and 20, 1972).

#### EDITORIAL—BUSING ISSUE BY STATION WMAQ-TV

This is the second of three editorials we are presenting on the busing issue.

Here in the city of Evanston, 450 black pupils ride school buses to predominately white areas. Busing is just one part of the community's total school integration program that was started five years ago. The most important step was the change school boundary lines to put blacks and whites in the same districts.

There's evidence this modest busing program has been successful. It has not worked any miracles, but in Evanston, as in other communities, tests show that black students who are bused to integrated schools learn more than the blacks who stay in segregated classrooms. And, it doesn't hurt the white students.

Evanston is not unique as a city with community support for school integration. In 1966, Hartford, Connecticut began sending black youngsters out to suburbs that agreed to accept them. By the fourth grade, the children who ride the buses are reading at a level nine months ahead of black students who stayed in the city. This project now involves four major cities and 27 suburbs in Connecticut.

Berkeley, California started a busing program four years ago. Some critics said white parents would pull their children out of the public schools and that teachers would leave, too. These things have not happened.

These cases are examples of voluntary busing. When forced busing is imposed on a community, there can be some hazards. Five years ago, Federal Judge Julius Hoffman ordered desegregation of the school district serving the Chicago suburbs of South Holland and Phoenix. Now, black students from Phoenix are bused to the district's elementary schools, which are in South Holland. The junior high schools are in Phoenix, so the whites get there on buses.

The black students are profiting educationally from this program. But, some white parents transfer their children to private schools after the fifth grade so they don't have to travel into black neighborhoods.

The busing programs we have cited have all helped stimulate the learning of black pupils. Youngsters attending integrated schools are not concerned about the skin color of their friends. Whatever opposition there is comes from the parents.

When you consider these actual cases, busing does not seem very terrifying. But it is no cure-all. It has some disturbing aspects, which we'll discuss tomorrow.

(The editorial was broadcast at various times on March 21, 1972).

#### EDITORIAL—BUSING ISSUE BY STATION WMAQ-TV

This is the final editorial in our series on busing.

We've said that some busing programs have successfully achieved racial integration with no ill effects. In fact, if you leave the decision up to the youngsters involved, chances are they'd vote for busing because they enjoy it.

But, not all kinds of busing are desirable. This busing concept, potentially, has some serious drawbacks. That's why there is so much fear of busing in areas like Chicago's suburbs.

We appreciate why families who have worked hard to afford homes in suburbs with fine schools don't want their children taken back into the city to attend substandard Chicago schools. This isn't a racist fear. Parents just don't want their children to get an inferior education for any reason. We totally agree with them on that.

But, we're not sure there's any real threat of massive, widespread busing. Nothing like that is planned for the Chicago area. The real problem in many people's minds may be the decision by a federal judge in Virginia. He told Richmond and its suburbs to merge



their separate school systems into one. If that order is upheld, students will be bused across city and county lines. It's important to realize, though, that the judge made this decision only after finding that the Richmond schools were segregated intentionally and that the black schools are clearly inferior.

Even so, the U.S. Supreme Court may not want to let things go quite that far. It has said busing can be required in some cases—but only when it is reasonable and when it does not place an undue burden on school children.

This busing question gets so emotional that it diverts attention from something more important: our commitment in this country to provide a decent education for everyone on an equal basis. Equal means unsegregated. The Supreme Court said that in 1954, and studies have shown that black children, at least, learn better in integrated schools. So some busing may be necessary within cities like Chicago where housing patterns maintain racial segregation.

But, our commitment to quality education is not going to be helped by busing any children from good schools to bad ones. Not even the most busing-happy judge will disagree with that. That's why we believe a lot of the fears about busing are unjustified. We should be more concerned about how well our children are educated and less concerned about how they get to school.

(This editorial was broadcast at various times on March 22, 1972).

#### ENVIRONMENTAL LEGISLATION

### HON. JAMES W. SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. Speaker, in the wake of the water pollution bill's passage and in light of the defeat of most amendments which would have strengthened that bill, it may be time to reassess the environmental efforts of those of us in Congress. For if the 1970's are to be the years in which Americans end their misuse of resources, the Members of Congress should lead this most highly industrialized, consumption-oriented Nation in the fight against pollution.

Toward this end, I supported the Dingell-Reuss-Saylor effort to strengthen the water pollution measure. In April, I sponsored a water hygiene bill identical to the one introduced by most members of our Public Health and Environment Subcommittee. Under the able leadership of PAUL ROGERS, the subcommittee will shortly act on water hygiene legislation. I cosponsored H.R. 808, H.R. 7846, and H.R. 6722 which provided additional money for water treatment plants and regulated dumping into coastal waters, lakes, and rivers. Fortunately, these bills were incorporated in the legislation which recently passed the House. In terms of congressional reorganization for the environment, I cosponsored House Resolution 64 and H.R. 387 which would set up a committee devoted to environmental legislation. Pollution is now a worldwide problem, for the earth is a single ecosystem. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Cooperation in Space and Science, I am very aware of the international aspects of pollution.

For these reasons, I cosponsored H.R.

13116 to promote the U.N.'s environmental programs and the National Commission on Trade and Environment. We may also note that existing tax, contract, and land use laws can be utilized to protect the environment. In this regard, I cosponsored H.R. 10446 which would compel those having contracts with the Government to adhere to environmental laws and agency protective regulations. Moreover, I joined in sponsorship of H.R. 2382 to allow tax incentives to individuals and companies of certain sizes involved in the collection and recycling of abandoned automobiles.

Another key component of our ecological system is wildlife. To conserve this element, I cosponsored H.R. 10016 which became Public Law 92-195 and protects wild horses and burros. I also was a cosponsor of H.R. 6801, the Ocean Mammal Protection Act that would end the slaughter of baby seals and protect dolphins from harm; earlier, I had supported H.R. 77 for this same purpose. There is a particular geographic area in need of protection. It is Alaska, our last frontier. I cosponsored H.R. 7039, now Public Law 92-203, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and I signed a congressional petition to the White House urging full and open review of the oil pipeline controversy. I also supported H.R. 13885 to create a commission to monitor timber cutting in Alaska and the other States.

Finally, I was one of the cosponsors of H.R. 11021, the Noise Pollution Control Act which has already passed the House and is moving toward final action in the Senate. In sum, I have been a part of a good many legislative attempts to save the environment. In the end, however, legislation alone will not preserve our ecology. Often, legislation cannot rectify past ecological damage. Individuals and groups, acting independent of Government can accomplish a great deal in cleaning up the areas in which they reside. I would feel legislative and non-governmental efforts are needed to preserve our limited resources.

#### LABOR AND MANAGEMENT BOTH HAVE A STAKE IN THE FUTURE OF FREE ENTERPRISE

### HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, we are going to have to work together—business, labor, and Government—to increase our productivity, wind down the inflationary spiral and revitalize the competitive spirit that changed America from a small backward agricultural Nation to the world's foremost economic and industrial power.

The column "Outlook" written by John O'Riley, in today's issue of the Wall Street Journal points out that labor and management—all people in America—have a vital stake in the future of a healthy private enterprise system. I include the article at this point:

#### APPRAISAL OF CURRENT TRENDS IN BUSINESS AND FINANCE

Every election year brings such ringing oratory referring to, on the one hand, "big business," and, on the other, "the working man." Somehow or another, the two supposedly represent enemy camps. But do they? As the quadrennial business-vs-working man crescendo mounts in the months ahead, the question may well be pondered. The record suggests that the welfare of business and the welfare of the people on the payroll are almost one and the same thing. And to the extent that they can be separated—letting dividend income represent "business"—the rewards of business are small, and growing relatively smaller year by year.

As good a definition as any of a big business is just a big payroll—and a generator of other payrolls. When, out of all the money it takes in, you take out what it pays its employees and what it pays for things it has to buy (thus providing payrolls for its suppliers), there just isn't much left to it.

Take, for example, the biggest business of them all—the General Motors Corporation. Here are some highlights from its recently released annual report for 1971, showing all the money General Motors took in—and where the money went. Dollar figures represent millions.

GM received..... \$28,328

#### This Revenue Went

To suppliers.....	13,512
To employees.....	9,448
For taxes.....	2,560
For depreciation, obsolescence.....	873
To GM stockholders.....	985
For expanding, modernizing, etc....	950

The tax collectors alone got more than two and a half times as much of the GM money as went to stockholders. And the employees received just a whisker under ten times as much as the stockholders—who got only a tiny 3.5% slice of the pie. On a dollars-and-cents basis, the people on the payroll thus have ten times as much at stake in the corporation's welfare as those who receive the stock dividends.

The image of the U.S. as a land of individual private enterprisers has lost much of its underpinning. The populace today is overwhelmingly one of paycheck-drawers. All told there are 78 million non-farm people employed in the country. And 72 million of them are on payrolls. All the doctors, lawyers, owners of private businesses, and so on, together only add up to about six million.

If you look inside the total personal income figures of some 40-odd years ago in pre-depression 1929, you find that the wage-and-salary income was only eight times the income received in dividends. Today it is 23 times as great as the dividend income. And the trend continues.

The table below, running back to the mid-1960s, shows the recent year-by-year record on (1) personal income received as wages and salaries and (2) personal income accounted for by dividends. Dollar figures, compiled by the Department of Commerce, represent billions. The 1972 figures are annual rates.

Year	Wages and salaries	Dividends
1965.....	\$358.9	\$19.8
1966.....	394.5	20.8
1967.....	423.1	21.4
1968.....	464.9	23.6
1969.....	509.6	24.4
1970.....	541.4	25.0
1971.....	574.2	25.5
72 (February).....	605.8	25.9

What the growth in the two columns, since 1965, adds up to is:

Dividend income: Up 30%.

Wage-salary income: Up 60%.

The comparisons between the early 1972 rates and those for all of last year show: dividend income up 1.5%, and wage-salary income up 5.5%.

Nor does the paycheck tell the full story of the working man's stake in the revenues of his company. In recent years, to an ever increasing degree, he has received a "hidden income" in the form of so-called fringe benefits. Covering many of the high cost of living aspects of life, they have long-since outgrown the "fringe" label.

The anxiety-relieving comforts of "social security" are popularly thought of as coming from the government. Actually, their financing comes for the most part from the employer-businesses for whom most people work. Life insurance, medical insurance, dental insurance, surgical insurance, private pension plans for retirement—all are paid for more and more by the same hand that writes the paycheck. And all, of course, must be paid for by revenues earned in the market place.

The growth of all these hidden income sources can not be chronicled here, but a few figures on private pension funds will serve to show the trend. Relatively new as history goes, these private pension plans are in some cases marred by inequity, but their growth is huge. The table below (Securities and Exchange Commission figures) shows book value assets of all private pension funds over the past decade. Dollar totals represent billions.

Year:	Value
1961	\$57.8
1962	63.5
1963	69.9
1964	77.7
1965	86.5
1966	95.6
1967	106.3
1968	118.0
1969	128.5
1970	138.2

That's a growth of nearly 140% in just one decade. Total reserves of these funds are some ten times as large as they were as recently as 1950.

Part of the contributions to some private pension funds, of course, is provided by employees themselves, but their relative share of total contributions is shrinking. For all private plans as a whole, dollar contributions of employers outweighed employee contributions five-to-one in 1950. By 1960 the ratio was six-to-one. And the latest tally is above eight-to-one.

A recently reported Labor Department survey found the proportion of plant workers covered by noncontributory (employer-paid) hospitalization plans rose from 48% in 1960 to 66% in 1970. The percentage covered by employer-paid life insurance plans jumped from 50% to 67% over the same period.

Yes, many a punch will land in the "business" eye in this as in all election years. But somewhere along the line, employee-voters may begin to wonder more just whose eye is really being punched.

#### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

**HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 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?

#### UNITED STATES-RUSSIAN OIL TRADE PROPAGANDIZED AGAINST BECAUSE ARABS TOO SOVIET ORIENTED

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, if we believe the present organized hysteria, our people are threatened with an acute energy crisis. The manipulation, to arrive at such a stage, represents classic development of public opinion by conditioning rather than informing.

In my State of Louisiana, three environmental groups from outside our State filed suit in the Federal courts in Washington, D.C., to block oil and gas leases resulting in the blockage of additional energy sources. Interestingly enough, the bird-watcher groups suggested as an alternative increased oil imports. Similar interference and harassment has been encountered by the various power companies attempting to meet the public's demands by the development of atomic energy facilities.

Now that the oil and energy producers' hands have been tied by the environmentalists' overreaction, the answer might be to resort to oil from Alaska. But, then the Alaska pipeline has been made controversial by the hysteria created by the extremist cries of some ecologists.

Then we have our friends in the Middle East, a dozen or so Arab States, which sit on 70 percent of the world's readily available oil supply, much of which has been discovered and developed by American capital and know-how. But, we are propagandized against expanding oil trade with the Arab States because they are said to be pro-Soviet.

So, we find the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture dispatched to Moscow like a common commission agent to deal with the Soviets—our grain for their oil. The emotional explanation being given is that our administration leader is solving the critical energy crisis for the Americans and the Soviets are solving the feed crisis in that country to improve the diet of the Russian citizens.

Relatively unmentioned is the fact that the grain being sold from the CCC stocks is owned by the American taxpayers. Nor is it widely known that it will be the international grain cartels like Continental and Cargill—not the U.S. farmers—which will reap the harvest in profits. Grain, as oil, is like money. The international bankers seek not only control of the world's currency and credit, but now also the international grain bankers want control over the world's food supply as well as the energy supply.

I include several related news clippings:

[From the Washington Star, Apr. 12, 1972]  
U.S. OFFERS SOYBEANS FOR RUSSIAN OIL, GAS

Moscow.—An agreement to sell \$200 million worth of American soybeans and grain a year to the Soviet Union may be completed when President Nixon visits Moscow next month, U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz indicated today.

Butz said he suggested to Soviet Communist party chief Leonid I. Brezhnev that the Russians deliver Siberian oil and natural gas in payment for the American farm produce.

"I got the impression Mr. Brezhnev would be willing to do this," he told a news conference.

#### POOR CROP YIELDS

The Russians, plagued with erratic crop yields at home, want a 10-year grain purchase agreement, Butz said. A U.S. trade delegation now in Moscow has pointed out to them U.S. congressional restrictions on foreign credits and offered a three-year pact, he added.

"We are offering at the present time the same credit terms we give to western nations . . . it's the first time we've ever done this here," the secretary said.

The trade delegation led by Clarence D. Palmby is scheduled to end its talks this weekend and would produce no "consummation of sale" at this time, Butz reported. Asked if the grain deal would be announced during Nixon's visit, he smiled and said, "I would think that President Nixon would refine some of the things under discussion."

The deal now under discussion "may well involve annual purchases of \$200 million worth of soybeans and coarse grains," Butz said. But this year's sale could be even larger because of Russian's poor winter wheat harvest.

#### DUST BOWL CONDITIONS

Butz said he had seen dust bowl conditions during a visit to the Crimea this week and the Soviet minister of agriculture, Vladimir V. Matskevich, had spoken to him of the severe killing of winter wheat by frost and inadequate snow cover this year.

At their 90-minute Kremlin meeting yesterday, Butz said, Brezhnev had raised the possibility of Most Favored Nation treatment, meaning the maximum possible tariff concessions, for Soviet exports. This would require congressional action. Several Communist countries have complained that their products cannot compete with western goods in U.S. markets because Washington denies them Most Favored Nation treatment.

Brezhnev also said he wants a "minimum of ceremony and a maximum of substantive discussions" during Nixon's visit, the secretary said. "He indicated he was looking forward to President Nixon's visit . . . and said he would extend every courtesy to him."

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 13, 1972]  
BUTZ OFFERS BREZHNEV MASSIVE GRAIN DEAL  
(By Murray Seeger)

Moscow, April 12.—The United States has offered a long-term commitment to supply the grain needed to improve the Soviet Union's food supply and suggested it might take Siberian natural gas and oil in payment.

The proposal was made in a highly-unusual 90-minute meeting yesterday evening between Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, and U.S. Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz accompanied by Ambassador Jacob D. Beam.

It was the first time Brezhnev had received a U.S. official since he replaced Nikita Khrushchev in 1964 as head of the Soviet Communist Party and the nation's most powerful man.

The meeting, held at Communist Party



headquarters, indicated that the Soviet leadership was trying to project a favorable atmosphere for President Nixon's forthcoming visit.

Discussing his meeting with Brezhnev, Butz told a press conference prior to his departure for Washington today that he delivered a personal message from Mr. Nixon to Brezhnev.

Butz said he took back with him a message that Brezhnev was looking forward to meeting with the President and that he hopes their sessions would emphasize business and minimize social functions.

Brezhnev's meeting with Butz also indicated the high priority placed by Soviet leaders on agriculture and trade.

Farm exports have been among the strongest items in American foreign trade for many years. By selling more farm products overseas, the Nixon administration could reduce the big deficit in the U.S. international payments accounts and also improve its standing with farmers in the Middle West where the Republican party suffered setbacks in the 1970 elections.

During his five-day visit here, Butz attended the opening of trade negotiations between U.S. and Soviet agriculture experts, dealing specifically with purchases of U.S. surplus grains and soybeans. Butz said the United States offered for the first time to sell grain to the Soviet Union on three-year credit terms.

Plagued by agricultural failures, the Soviet Union has been forced in the past to buy wheat from Canada and Australia. The Russians are now trying to get low interest rate credits for its grain purchases from the United States, even though they made past purchases on a cash basis.

Butz said he told Brezhnev that U.S. agriculture must "export to live," noting that the United States has 70 million acres of good farm land laying idle. Because of good soil and climate conditions the supply of fodder grains, especially corn and soybeans, "will always be there," Butz added.

U.S. experts now believe that Russia has lost even more winter wheat this year because of bad weather than they estimated earlier. The Soviets have already made a big wheat purchase from Canada to make up for the losses and U.S. officials expect to close a deal of their own in the current talks. The outlines of the agreement may be ready for announcement when Mr. Nixon arrives in Moscow.

In his conversation, Butz said he suggested that the Soviets make a 10-year commitment to buy about \$200 million worth of U.S. fodder grains annually. The single 1972 deal is expected to be considerably larger.

The United States has already cleared the way for export this year of more than \$135 million worth of feed grains to the Soviet Union, which is hard pressed to grow enough feed for its expanding livestock industry. The Russians grow enough bread grains for their needs.

The Russians want to spread payments over 10 years for their major purchases, but U.S. law allows only three-year credit on farm exports. The United States had not previously offered even these terms to Moscow.

"It is not easy for some living in this society to understand the difficulty of changing a law the United States," Butz said. "One man in the meeting said 'You are the agriculture secretary, why don't you change the law.'"

The secretary said he agreed that trade with the Soviet Union should be a two-way transaction and suggested the United States would be interested in buying gas and oil in the near future.

"In the last half of the 1970s," Butz said, "the United States is going to need new energy sources."

The Soviet Union is rapidly developing huge new oil and gas fields in Siberia and

is exporting fuels to Eastern Europe. To develop overseas trade in natural gas, however, would require expensive arrangements for liquifying the product and shipping it in special tankers.

Butz suggested that the United States could depend on oil supplies from the Soviet Union as safely as it depends on oil from the Middle East. He said Brezhnev also promised to provide a list of possible manufactured goods the Soviet Union could sell in America.

The Soviets are "credible traders in the world—their credit is good and their performance is good," Butz said.

Butz was highly complimentary of Brezhnev and of the officials who guided him to showplace farms. "I quickly established rapport with him," Butz said. "He is an extremely intelligent and perceptive individual."

[From Parade magazine, Apr. 16, 1972]

MIKE FRIBOURG

Q. Who is Mike Fribourg? I understand he is one American who has more money than J. Paul Getty, Howard Hughes, and all the Rockefellers put together. The source of his wealth, please, and something about him, if you will.—Andrew Levy, Ventura, Calif.

A. Michel Fribourg, 58, born in Antwerp, Belgium, into a distinguished European Jewish family roughly comparable to the Rothschilds, is president and chief owner of Continental Grain Company which is worth somewhere between \$2 and \$5 billion. Continental last November sold the Soviet Union 900,000 tons of U.S. barley, 2 million tons of U.S. corn, generally handles 25 percent of the world's total grain shipments.

Fribourg, who served in U.S. Army Intelligence in World War II as a private first class, is a sedate, charitable, French-educated-and-reared, renaissance man who resides in New York City, has other residences in Paris, Switzerland, Connecticut, the French Riviera. His first wife died about 20 years ago. He later married the former Mary Ann Steinweg, daughter of a New York physician. Fribourg has fathered five children, three sons and two daughters. His oldest son, Robert, attends Eisenhower College in Seneca Falls, N.Y. Fribourg is an extremely private individual who, until a recent interview with Business Week, stayed clear of the public press.

[From the Washington Star, Apr. 12, 1972]

ACTION TO AVOID DEPENDING ON IMPORTED FUELS IS URGED

The director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, George L. Lincoln, says the United States is in the midst of a sobering energy revolution and inevitably faces the hazards of at least some dependence on foreign sources.

Lincoln said yesterday it would be a serious error to take the cheapest solution and import fuels to meet sudden at-home shortages rather than to begin the admittedly costly investment in new domestic energy.

"We have to recognize that absolute energy security is no longer possible in the foreseeable future," Lincoln said, "and that we have to accept some degree of hazard while arranging to avoid a situation which could be crippling."

Lincoln testified before the House Interior Committee, which is studying U.S. energy problems.

"Energy change is here now, leading us to short-run and mid-term actions which could, however, mortgage or even foreclose the longer-term national-security future," Lincoln said.

Barry J. Shillito, assistant secretary of Defense, predicted 10 to 15 years of increasing dependence on fuel imports from insecure areas of the world and after that the possibility that even these sources will be inadequate.

"During the second phase only our best

efforts, begun now, offer hope of alleviating energy problems," Shillito said.

Lincoln said that since the oil-import situation was studied three years ago by a Cabinet task force there have been several unexpected developments:

A massive upward shift in energy consumption wasn't foreseen then, but now it is projected that by 1975 there will be a gap of 3 billion barrels per day between oil supply and demand.

Environmental complaints about the Alaska pipeline and offshore drilling were not anticipated; nor was a drop in the use of coal, which further taxes oil and gas reserves.

Most dramatic, Lincoln said, is that no one envisioned "the effective international cartelization on the part of the oil-producing countries" which has boosted world crude-oil prices one-third higher than the task force predicted and increased the likelihood of some concerted action against oil-dependent countries like the United States.

[From the Christian Science Monitor,

Apr. 14, 1972]

U.S. CORN LOOKS GOOD TO SOVIETS

(By Charlotte Saikowski)

Moscow.—American corn is making headway.

It may even be a topic of conversation when President Nixon meets with Soviet leaders in May.

U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, who has just completed a five-day visit here, says that Soviet-American farm talks now under way could result in long-term American feed-grain and soybean sales amounting to \$200 million a year or more.

The talks are described as exploratory at this stage, but they clearly are part of the preparation for the summit visit and announcement of an agreement while Mr. Nixon is here.

In a clear gesture to the President, party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev himself saw Mr. Butz this week.

This is the first time the burly Soviet leader has received an American official since he came to power. (U.S. Communist Party leaders are the only other Americans who have met with him in this time.)

Mr. Butz described his unusual talk with Mr. Brezhnev as a "frank, warm, and open discussion of some of the problems involved in expanding trade between our two countries."

Disclosing he had a message from him for the President, the American secretary would not go into the contents. But he said Mr. Brezhnev indicated he looked forward to Mr. Nixon's visit and would extend every courtesy to him and provide transportation to whatever place he wanted to visit.

The head of the Politburo also said he wanted a "minimum of ceremony" and a "maximum of substantive discussion" during the summit, Mr. Butz told newsmen before his departure Wednesday.

The Russians' keen interest in American feed grains is motivated by the urgency of realizing their ambitious five-year plan for boosting livestock production in order to improve the Soviet people's diet. So far, the plan is not off to a good start.

The harvest of grain and other crops in 1971, first year of the plan, was less than the previous year. Because of a shortage of fodder, Soviet farmers continued to feed large quantities of wheat to livestock, and this reduced bread-grain reserves.

Adding to the Kremlin's concern is the gloomy outlook for this year's harvest because of heavy damage to the winter grain crop. And, aside from rising domestic needs, the nation has large grain-export commitments to East European and other countries.

It is against the background of such difficulties that the Soviet Union says it now is prepared to import feed grains for many years to come. Last year it already made

substantial purchases, including some 3.5 million tons from the United States in a one-shot cash deal. (Only once before, in 1964, has it imported American grain.)

#### PAYMENT TERMS A PROBLEM

An accord for regular purchases of U.S. grain poses obstacles, however.

Any long-term agreement—and the Russians indicate they are thinking in terms of 10 years—would require either credit (now limited to three years under U.S. law) or the export of Soviet commodities, such as raw materials, to the United States in return.

Mr. Butz said the American side is realistic enough to know such a big agreement is not possible "unless the Russians sell something to the United States."

Hence the importance of the general trade talks now being conducted between the two sides. Under discussion, among other things, is a joint venture for the delivery of vast quantities of Soviet natural gas to the Eastern United States (a commodity the Americans are interested in because of mounting power requirements).

#### COARSE GRAINS NEEDED

What the Russians want to buy in the agricultural field are coarse grains, including corn, as well as soybeans. The latter would provide cooking oil as well as protein for livestock feed.

Regular grain sales would also benefit American farmers, of course. And there is no doubt that U.S. economic considerations have been a factor in the Nixon administration's moves to liberalize trade.

Washington, for instance, has lifted the U.S. regulation that required 50 percent of all exports to be shipped in American vessels.

The Russians still view the absence of most-favored-nation treatment for Soviet imports as well as restrictions on credit as impediments to an expansion of trade. But, judging from the optimism conveyed by Mr. Butz, the desires of both sides to do business will surmount them.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 5, 1971]

#### THREE GROUPS SUE TO BLOCK SALE OF GAS AND OIL LEASES OFF LOUISIANA

Three environmental groups have filed suit to block the Interior Department's Dec. 21 sale of oil and gas leases on the outer continental shelf off Louisiana.

The Natural Resources Defense Council, Friends of the Earth, and the Sierra Club filed suit Wednesday in U.S. District Court here, contending the Interior Department's environmental impact statement on the planned sale was inadequate.

The groups said the statement does not discuss adequately the possible alternatives to further offshore leasing, such as increased oil imports or an end to the prorationing system by which Texas and Louisiana limit their oil production.

Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton expressed surprise at the suit.

A spokesman quoted Morton on Friday as saying: "We gave very serious and intensive study to alternatives and we believe we fully complied with the letter and the spirit of the National Environmental Policy Act, which requires the preparation of environmental statements."

"Further, for good environmental reasons, we deleted eight tracts from the sale and attached special stipulations to 16 of the remaining tracts that are being offered for lease."

"We anticipate the sale will alleviate the critical and increasing energy shortage in keeping with the President's energy message to the Congress on June 4."

The department spokesman said Interior's environmental impact statement said discussion of oil import policy or other energy sources was beyond its scope. It did not men-

tion the Louisiana and Texas prorationing systems.

The department was planning to hold bidding on 78 offshore tracts on Dec. 21 in New Orleans. Eight tracts originally proposed for leasing were withdrawn because of their proximity to waterfowl sanctuaries.

The environment groups requested, in their suit, a declaratory judgment that Interior failed to comply with the legal prescription for environmental statements.

They also asked for a preliminary injunction to prevent the lease sale until the department is judged to have complied with the law.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 5, 1972]

#### BUTZ TO HOLD MOSCOW TALKS ON GRAIN

(By Elsie Carper)

Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz will open talks in Moscow Monday on the sale of surplus U.S. grains and feedstuffs to the Soviet Union, the White House announced yesterday.

Butz, who will be returning the visit here last December of Soviet Agriculture Administrator V. V. Matskevich, will be in the Soviet Union from April 8 to 12.

Deputy White House Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren said Butz also will continue discussions that began here with Matskevich on ways to improve livestock and poultry production to improve the diet of the Soviet people.

While in the Soviet Union, Butz will take the opportunity to open talks on the sale of the grains and feedstuffs, Warren said. The negotiations will be carried on by Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Clarence D. Palmby.

Two U.S. firms, Continental and Cargill, sold 3 million tons of corn and feed grains to the Soviet Union for \$135 million last November. It was the first major sale to the Soviets in eight years and followed presidential action in removing a requirement that 50 per cent of grains be carried in U.S. ships.

The Soviet Union has been trying to upgrade the protein diet of its citizens by producing more cattle, hogs and poultry. While the Soviet Union grows feed grain, it cannot produce enough to improve the diet because of climate, political or ideological, the Agriculture Department said.

The talks will cover both private and publicly held stocks of grains.

This country has a surplus of grains resulting from overproduction. In 1970, the corn blight wiped out 15 per cent of the crop. Fearing a repetition, farmers planted heavily in 1971, expecting 15 per cent of the current crop to be destroyed. When the blight did not spread, the farmers ended up with a record production. There are indications of another bumper crop this year, the Agriculture Department has reported.

The Nixon administration has tightened 1972 crop subsidy programs by requiring farmers to take a larger acreage from production of key crops.

Farm exports during the year ended last June 30 set a record value of \$7.8 billion. Barring dock strikes this spring, the current year's value could set another record.

#### LYNN CITY COUNCILORS SPEAK OUT ON AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE VIETNAM WAR

#### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, the evidence that the American people want

an immediate end to our direct and indirect military involvement in the senseless and cruel war in Indochina grows daily. As an indication of that sentiment, I wish to insert here a letter from the city council of the city of Lynn, the largest city in my district. This letter, passed unanimously by the members of the council, represents, I am certain, not just the feelings of the councilors themselves, but of the people they represent.

I commend the city councilors of Lynn for speaking out on this matter; I wish more elected officials would follow their lead; and I wish most of all that the President of the United States would begin to listen to them, and the millions and millions of Americans who agree with them.

The letter follows:

CITY COUNCIL,  
Lynn, Mass., April 12, 1972.

The PRESIDENT,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The Lynn City Council adopted an Order at their meeting of April 11, 1972 that a letter be sent to you requesting that you end American involvement in the Vietnamese War on the land and in the air and that the Vietnamese be allowed to determine their own destiny.

Your consideration of this request will be appreciated by the Lynn City Council.

Respectfully yours,

JOSEPH F. MARTIN,  
City Clerk and Clerk of the City Council.

#### RACIAL DISCRIMINATION FOSTERED BY STATE HIGHWAY PATROLS

#### HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, it is obvious to even the most casual observer that the Federal Government is supporting racist institutions with taxpayers money even though these institutions are in violation of the law. Perhaps the most flagrant case is that of the State highway patrols.

Forty-nine States of the Union have highway patrols. Those States employ 40,000 State policemen. For some strange bigoted reason though, only 250 are black and approximately 450 officers are from other minorities. The State of California has 174 from other minorities and Oklahoma has about 102 Indians.

But, Mr. Speaker, there are 10 States that have no black troopers and only five States have as many as 10 black troopers. This kind of racial exclusion is not confined solely to the South. Among those States with no black troopers are Idaho, Iowa, Massachusetts, Nebraska, South Dakota, Vermont, and Wyoming. In addition, 10 States have only one black officer each. They are Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Minnesota, Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Mr. Speaker, Michigan has 1,704 troopers, but only six are black. New York has 3,275, but only eight are black. Ohio has 1,077 and only six are black. In my own



State of Missouri, there are 733 of which only two are black.

Mr. Speaker, the problem is most serious. The Missouri State NAACP, recently passed a resolution focusing on this matter. The resolution calls upon the Governor of Missouri to eliminate these inequities by immediately issuing a directive to fill the existing vacancies with blacks and setting up an affirmative action program to conform with Federal affirmative action programs that are policed to include blacks in every area and insure fair hiring practices and up-grading procedures.

I bring this resolution to the attention of my colleagues:

#### RESOLUTION—MISSOURI HIGHWAY PATROL

Whereas, the Missouri Highway Patrol was created by the Fifty-sixth General Assembly of Missouri in 1931 to serve and protect the citizens of Missouri; and

Whereas, since its inception it has consistently discriminated against black Missourians in its treatment and hiring policies; and

Whereas, the Patrol hires more than 1,300 persons in the nine Highway Patrol districts and only two patrolmen are black; and

Whereas, black Missourians have shared in the developments and accomplishments of Missouri; and

Whereas, from time to time the Missouri Highway Patrol is the recipient of federal funds, and the superintendent, the thirteen departmental chiefs and nine district captains are white; and

Whereas, Title Seven of the 1968 Civil Rights Act and the Missouri Law prohibits discrimination in employment regardless of race; and

Whereas the Missouri State Conference of NAACP Branches has long been a champion for equality for all people of Missouri.

Therefore be it resolved, that the Missouri State Conference of NAACP Branches at its executive session held in Cape Girardeau, Missouri on February 19, 1972 requests Governor Warren E. Hearnes of Missouri to act forthwith to eliminate these inequities in the Missouri Highway Patrol by immediately issuing a directive to fill the existing vacancies with blacks and set-up an affirmative action program to conform with federal affirmative action programs that are policed to include blacks in every area and insure fair hiring practices and up-grading procedures; and

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be directed to the following individuals and agencies for their support:

- The National NAACP.
- The Missouri Commission on Human Rights.
- The Missouri Attorney General's Office.
- The U.S. Justice Department.
- The Missouri Law Enforcement Assistance Council.
- The Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Program.
- The Region V Law Enforcement Assistance Council.
- The Missouri Senators.

DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION PAY TRIBUTE TO MRS. EMILY NELSON RITCHIE McLEAN

#### HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, on April 22, Mrs. Donald Spicer, president general of

the Daughters of the American Revolution, Mrs. Jacob W. Vorous, Maryland State Regent, and other officials of the DAR will pay tribute to Mrs. Emily Nelson Ritchie McLean, a native of Frederick, Md., and sixth president general of the DAR.

The tribute to Mrs. McLean will take place in Mount Olivet Cemetery in Frederick where Mrs. McLean is buried. The officers and guests of the DAR will travel by bus from Washington and dedicate a marker at Mrs. McLean's grave. Mrs. Emily Ritchie McLean was one of Frederick's most distinguished citizens who spent her life in Maryland and New York working diligently for civic causes. I would like to join the DAR in their well-deserved tribute to this distinguished lady.

SATURDAY WAS CARL ALBERT DAY  
IN McALESTER, OKLA.

#### HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, spearheaded by the local chapter of the American Federation of Government Employees, CARL ALBERT's hometown of McAlester honored its outstanding favorite son Saturday.

CARL ALBERT, our colleague and our Speaker, holds the highest governmental position ever held by an Oklahoman, and his hometown has every right to be proud. We all know Speaker ALBERT and his work in Washington. But I am convinced that the real key to CARL ALBERT is the close tie he has always maintained with his people at home.

CARL ALBERT has been majority whip, majority leader, and now Speaker of the House, but he has never forgotten that first and foremost he is the Congressman from the Third District of Oklahoma. His record of service to that district should make more than a few of us envious.

To illustrate the way the people at home feel about CARL ALBERT, I insert an editorial from Saturday's McAlester Democrat in the RECORD, along with a compilation of remarks by other southeastern Oklahoma editors from the same paper:

#### MR. SPEAKER

This is Carl Albert Day in McAlester and we at The Democrat would like to join the American Federation of Government Employees in honoring Oklahoma's favorite son.

The "Little Giant" is a source of special pride to persons in this area and we will never be able to repay him for his many years of service to this area. Carl Albert is a true legend of modern times, but legends don't just happen.

Carl Albert has risen to the highest position of any Oklahoman in history but has retained a great personal feeling for the people of his home district and state. His memory, his intelligence and his forensic abilities have carried him far, but he has never failed to remember his constituents. We could never forget Carl Albert.

House Speaker Albert is a great American, a great Oklahoman and most important, a great friend to persons here. It is this friendship which promoted this special Carl Albert

souvenir edition. Thanks for everything Mr. Speaker.

#### OTHER EDITORS PRAISE ALBERT

(By John Lokey, Johnston County Capitol Democrat)

"Carl Albert is one of the most outstanding and brilliant persons of Southeastern Oklahoma," says John Lokey, editor of the Johnston County Capitol-Democrat in Tishomingo.

"We're all mighty proud of him and I don't think the 'eastern establishment' has given him enough credit for the leadership he really has . . . but they'll come around to it."

(By Jim Nicholson, Talihina American)

Talihina American newspaper editor Jim Nicholson says that the people of this area "have the highest esteem for Carl Albert."

"He has been very kind to the people of the Kiamichi and Talihina Valley and has assisted us in many projects," says Nicholson.

He attributed part of his area's feeling for the House Speaker to the Carl Albert Lake which gives rural water service to three different counties.

The highest tribute Nicholson had for Albert was that when people of this area have a problem "they can write a letter to Washington and get a response . . . that's more than can be said for many officials," says Nicholson.

(By Fred Stovall, Latimer County News)

Latimer County News Tribune editor Fred Stovall says that House Speaker Carl Albert "is one of the greatest living Americans of this century," and continued, "he's more than a good statesman . . . he is a fine man."

Stovall says he has known Albert since he first ran for office, "and I've had a friendship with him since that time." Stovall and his paper gave Albert full press coverage recently when the House Speaker was the speaker at the dedication of a public housing project last year.

(By Bob Kidd, Poteau News)

Bob Kidd, editor of the Poteau News, says Carl Albert and his political career "has been of definite value to the state of Oklahoma."

The editor, who calls himself "an opinionated old codger," says he came to his feelings of the House Speaker through his knowing Albert for some 25 years.

"Carl Albert has supported all legislation that pertains to higher education . . . and he is an ardent supporter of library services," says Kidd.

Kidd says that through Albert's influence, "Congress has at times been lenient with funds," which he says is partly responsible for the building of a library in Poteau about five years ago.

(By Gene Nesbit, Hugo Daily News)

Gene Nesbit, news editor of the Hugo Daily News reports that his paper "has a high regard for Carl Albert."

"He certainly has done a tremendous job in numerous ways for the people of our area," says Nesbit.

One of the top items Nesbit says Albert has helped with is the building of the Hugo Dam which will serve the area as a water supply and recreational lake. The project is slated for completion in about another year.

(By Albert (Bud) Rleson, Jr., Ardmore Daily Ardmoreite)

"I think Carl Albert is doing a great job for the people of this district," says Albert (Bud) Rleson, Jr., publisher of the Daily Ardmoreite at Ardmore.

"I think he's great," he added. "We're certainly happy he holds such a responsible position as Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives and wish him much luck and continued success."

(By W. D. Little, Ada Evening News)

"Politically, Carl Albert is one of the most powerful men in Oklahoma and the world," says W. D. Little, publisher of the Ada Evening News.

Little says that the House Speaker "symbolizes the frontier story of rising on his own merit and utilizing his inherited talents to the benefit of Oklahoma."

The daily newspaper publisher says that Albert has helped "with a tremendous number" of problems directly and indirectly affecting Ada residents. He cited his "fantastic recall of all he has ever known of any community," and his "uncanny insight into all kinds of problems" as reasons for Albert's success.

"He has the most unusual grasp of any importance in his district or the world at large . . . he's just as much on call by presidents on international problems only indirectly affecting Oklahomans as he is on call in his district," says Little.

# FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

## HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, from a quick review of the wire reports this morning, I find that the perennial critics of our efforts to produce a just and lasting peace in Vietnam are at it again, completely ignoring the fact that the invasion of South Vietnam by the North Vietnamese Communists is a flagrant violation of international law and a callous disregard of the long negotiations which have been conducted in Paris.

The Soviet involvement in this North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam is very effectively analyzed in an editorial in the San Diego Union of April 8 which I insert into the RECORD in part to balance the antiadministration items that have received publicity far out of proportion to their logic.

The editorial follows:

### PRELUDE TO SUMMIT: RUSSIA USES HANOI IN POWER BID

The tanks, missiles, artillery and other weapons pouring across the Demilitarized Zone into South Vietnam in the hands of an invading army are on a journey that began half a world away—in the arms factories of the Soviet Union and Communist East Europe. That much is obvious. We are left to conjecture why the Russians have chosen this moment to be so bold and visible in their support of North Vietnam's all-out effort to bring down the Republic of South Vietnam.

As sponsors of India in the December invasion of East Pakistan, the Russians may well have learned that they need fear no scolding or reprisal from the United Nations for aiding and abetting the violation of borders. Neither the U.N. nor the International Control Commission set up to police the 1954 Geneva Agreement has shown the will to react when North Vietnam has violated the DMZ in the past. Now more than ever, we see that the Demilitarized Zone has meant nothing to the Communists as a symbol of international law.

It is impossible to view the Soviet role in the North Vietnamese offensive without considering the figure of Communist China in the background. The Chinese Communists would like to be the chief sponsors of revolution in Asia. With their own borders men-

aced by Soviet armies, however, they have precious little to spare in the way of heavy arms for an ally—as the Pakistanis learned.

The Russians may be showing the world—and Peking in particular—that they are prepared to assert their power in Southeast Asia as well as elsewhere. They would deny the impression left by President Nixon's visit to Peking that Communist China is the principal power to be reckoned with in charting the course of events in the Far East.

The North Vietnamese offensive has fallen midway between Mr. Nixon's China trip and his visit to Moscow scheduled to begin May 22. An obvious question is whether the Russians are hoping to make their support of North Vietnam a bargaining chip in the Moscow talks, and have taken this opportunity to enhance its value.

The armed forces of South Vietnam are now struggling to meet a three-pronged invasion of their country, stripped of the aid of the American troops and relying desperately on U.S. air power for support of their ground forces. We can now see that the scaling down of the U.S. commitment to South Vietnam has been paralleled by a scaling upward of the Soviet commitment to North Vietnam.

The American people have hoped and prayed that an underlying desire for peace on all sides would bring a negotiated settlement to Indochina with the withdrawal of our troops. With a power like the Soviet Union using its allies to keep the fires of war ablaze, the outlook for real peace—in Indochina and elsewhere—is gloomy indeed.

## JOHN C. SEVERINO MERITS FIRST ANNUAL DANTE AWARD

### HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. John C. Severino, vice president of ABC and general manager of WLS-TV, channel 7, in Chicago, who will receive the first annual Dante Award of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans on May 5 at a luncheon in his honor at the Sheraton-Chicago Hotel.

The Dante Award has been established to extend recognition annually to an individual in the mass media communication field who has made a positive contribution toward fostering good human relations.

As the person responsible for the format and presentation of news on channel 7, John Severino has demonstrated sensitivity to the concerns and special needs of ethnic groups. Under his direction, WLS-TV has presented the news objectively, has recognized specific issues of concern to various ethnic groups, and has defended the civil and human rights of all groups.

By encouraging forthright coverage of news events and current issues, John Severino has made a substantial contribution to his fellow citizens and he has rendered outstanding service to all races, nationalities, and creeds. He is indeed a deserving recipient of the first annual Dante Award.

Mr. Severino joined the American Broadcasting Co. as an account executive in 1965, and over the years held increasingly more responsible positions until 1970 when he was appointed as an ABC vice president and general manager.

He was born and grew up in Connecticut. He earned both his B.A. degree in economics and business administration and his M.A. degree in business education from the University of Connecticut. After winning honors as an outstanding tackle while an undergraduate, John Severino served as an assistant football coach for the university during the spring and fall of 1960. He also received the Kappa Delta Phi Honorary Education Fraternity Award as the male graduate student having the highest academic average and was on the university's dean's list for graduate academic accomplishments.

At one time he served as head football coach of the Portland Seahawks of the Atlantic Coast Professional Football League, as an account executive in Boston for Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., and also as an account executive for the Maine Broadcasting Co., Portland, Maine.

Dante Alighieri, author of "The Divine Comedy," in whose name the Dante Award was established by the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans—an umbrella organization comprised of more than 40 civic organizations in the Chicagoland area—was a champion of truth in his time. John Severino, by his innovations in the format and presentation of news on WLS-TV, has become a champion of truth in our time.

Again, I congratulate him, his devoted wife, Sally Anne, and their two sons, J. Mark and David, on meriting this recognition and honor, and I extend my best wishes to John Severino for abundant good health and continuing success in his endeavors in the years ahead.

## ADAM C. POWELL

### HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 12, 1972

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, as an individual and a Congressman, Adam Clayton Powell was the symbol of hope for millions of black Americans. He was a man of enormous courage, unafraid, and willing to fight for what he believed in. He served as a spokesman for the poor and oppressed in a nation of abounding affluence. In this capacity he represented a national constituency, reaching beyond the barriers of race, creed, and national origin.

For many years to come, Adam Powell's landmark legislation in the fields of education and civil rights will stand as a living memorial to this dynamic fighter for equal justice for all men. As chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, Adam Clayton Powell was the dominating influence in securing passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Higher Education Act, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, as well as numerous civil rights bills during the 1960's. These are merely a few of the major pieces of legislation that passed through Chairman Powell's committee during his tenure. Adam Clayton Powell's impressive



legislative record will long remind us of his diligent and distinguished service as a Member of Congress. I mourn his passing.

# WEEKLY REPORT TO NINTH DISTRICT CONSTITUENTS

## HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of my third weekly report on "Crime and Criminal Justice in the United States":

### CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN THE UNITED STATES

America's prisons have been described as the stepchildren of the criminal justice system. They rank at the lowest level of priority for funds and, instead of serving as rehabilitation centers, they are little more than human warehouses. Fully 80 percent of their inmates come back again, convicted of another crime. (This is the most important statistic on crime, say the experts).

The best hope to reduce crime is to reduce the number of "repeaters," and no other single effort within the system, other than an effective corrections program, holds a fraction of the potential to reduce crime. Cutting the recidivism, or "returnee" rate to prisons, by half would mean a reduction of about 50 percent in the nation's crime rate.

Our prisons tend to be places of meaningless work, violence, drugs and despair. About 95 percent of all expenditures for corrections facilities is for custody, and only 5 percent is for education and training. State prisons, especially, tend to have as first priorities work programs to bring income to the system, and inmates are thrust into license plate manufacturing, or some similar effort, which fails to equip them for "outside" employment.

While federal and state corrections facilities usually have some form of rehabilitation, local jails are greatly deficient in this area. These jails usually lack the funds for any effective program of work or education, and the inmates become a jumble of short-term and first-term offenders, hardened criminals awaiting trial, appeal or conviction, and other inmates being held for other authorities. Of the 4,037 jails in the nation, 89 percent have no facilities for exercise, 89 percent no educational facilities, 49 percent have no medical facilities, 26 percent are without visiting facilities, and 1.4 percent do not even have toilet facilities.

All through the system there is a critical lack of specialists such as caseworkers, psychiatrists, psychologists and counselors. There is a shortage, too, of adequately trained and adequately paid guards. Corrections officers average less than \$6,000 a year, and only about 20 percent of them work at rehabilitation.

Penologists agree that about 20 to 30 percent of the present inmates are a danger to society and not capable of rehabilitation. If the remaining inmates can be corrected in less volatile, less restrictive local institutions, fewer maximum security prisons will be required. Rehabilitation, then, must be the goal of the corrections system. Following conviction:

1. Such prisoners must be screened and classified and rehabilitation procedures developed for them which are flexible enough to deal with the prisoners individually—the drunk driver, the bank robber, the embezzler

and the rapist require vastly different rehabilitation methods.

2. A broader range of alternatives for dealing with offenders must be developed. Options should range from total release to total confinement, including work releases, halfway houses, pre-release guidance centers, community supervision, and most importantly, separate facilities for juvenile offenders.

3. Vocational training in high employment fields should be expanded and meaningful work experience in prison industries made available to the inmates.

4. More emphasis should be placed on small correctional centers, located in the community or the area they serve and offering flexible treatment which includes partial release, job training and counseling. These centers place offenders near the stabilizing influences of family and work.

5. Indeterminate sentences should be considered under certain circumstances.

6. Skilled manpower in corrections must be increased at all levels of the system.

With 19 out of every 20 persons sent to prison eventually returning to society, it is apparent that reforms in the present system, and a change in the public's attitude about the system, are needed if we are going to "turn around" the rising crime rate.

## POSTAL SERVICE IS BEING NUGGED

### HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful, as many of our colleagues are, of seeing a new success story written by the U.S. Postal Service. While the Service's first few months were rocky, and mistakes were made in several areas; the new attitude of determination demonstrated by Postmaster General Elmer Klassen is encouraging.

With this in mind, I place in the RECORD at this time an editorial from the March 31, 1972, edition of the St. Paul Pioneer Press. I believe we all can agree with the conclusion:

If he (Postmaster General Klassen) succeeds in staving off another rate increase at year's end it will be a record in which the postal service can take justified pride.

[From the St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer Press, Mar. 31, 1972]

#### POSTAL SERVICE BEING NUGGED

Postmaster General Elmer Klassen, who formerly was president of American Can Co., is trying to promote efficiency practices and policies in the postal service.

In a special message to the 740,000 postal workers, he warns that high mailing costs and sloppy service are injuring post office prestige.

Klassen ordered a 90-day freeze on new hirings and called for more efficient operations in the hope of avoiding a \$450 million increase in postal rates now in prospect for next January.

Noting that first-class stamps have jumped from a nickel to 8 cents in the past 14 years, he said, "The public is not ready to absorb another postal rate increase unless we can clearly demonstrate that we have improved our service and that our costs have been dramatically reduced. We must learn to live within our income."

He also pointed out that some utilities companies now deliver their own bills instead of mailing them, and that airlines and bus

companies are moving more packages. He cited public complaints of package damage in the postal service. This means, said Klassen, that private carriers are giving real competition to the post office, and it behooves postal employees to realize that their jobs and careers are at stake in the future.

Moving the nation's vast flow of mail has become a tremendous task. Progress is being made on mechanization and adoption of new technologies, fields which hold out hope for the future. But general increases in efficiency also are important. Klassen evidently is making determined efforts in these directions. If he succeeds in staving off another rate increase at year's end it will be a record in which the postal service can take justified pride.

## IN RUSSIA, FAITH IN THE SCALPEL

### HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, today the Wall Street Journal reviewed a novel called "Forever Flowing" which is one of the most devastating attacks yet on Communist political attitudes by a resident Russian.

The author, Vasily Grossman, suggests that communism is not unattractive, but in fact, too attractive, because it is usable as a utopian ideal with which to justify political oppression.

As the Wall Street Journal states:

What Grossman learned along with so many other unhappy Russians was that when a society and its leaders cannot perceive that the realities of human existence in the present are more important than romantic and utopian concepts, they can become the victims of their concepts. Perhaps the thing that Westerners should most fear from Russia is the discontent and frustration of a nation that has paid a fantastic price for its illusions and having mistakenly measured their worth in terms of the price rather than the value, would like to foist them on others.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the Wall Street Journal article "In Russia, Faith in the Scalpel," which follows:

#### IN RUSSIA, FAITH IN THE SCALPEL (By George Melloan)

One of the riddles of international politics, and one that has considerable importance, has to do with the national character and the national aspirations of the Soviet Union.

Is there some inherent force within the nation that drives it on a course of imperialism and thus makes it a threat to world peace? Or does it merely react to what it sees as a threat to its own security from the Western democracies? The question has special interest now as President Nixon prepares to treat with the Russians against a backdrop of renewed fireworks in Vietnam.

Some Americans challenge the assumption that there is such a thing as a national character, but Europeans give more currency to such generalizations and Russians particularly so, as a reading of some of the best writers Russia has produced will attest. One of the greatest preoccupations of Russian authors has been with the Russian character.

Among the latest and most interesting such introspections to come to the West is a novel called "Forever Flowing" (Harper & Row, \$6.95, 247 pages, English translation by

Thomas P. Whitney). The book, written by a relatively obscure Russian novelist named Vasily Grossman before his death in 1964, has been a long time finding its way from Russia's literary underground to the West. The reason is understandable. It is one of the most devastating attacks yet on Russian political attitudes by a resident Russian.

In Grossman's view, there is a vast and often unrecognized chasm that separates essence of Russian life and life in the Western democracies. The differences, he says, is that in the West development was based on a growth in freedom, while Russia's development has been based on the intensification of slavery. In 1917, Grossman writes, Russia had its chance to escape its 1,000-year history of slavery but in choosing Lenin as its leader actually chose a continuation of the historical process.

"The shattering of Russian life carried out by Lenin was thoroughgoing," according to Grossman. "Lenin destroyed the way of life dominated by the outlook of the landed nobles; he destroyed the factory owners and merchants. Yet Lenin himself was the slave of Russian history and he preserved that link between progress and slavery which has historically been Russia's curse."

Moreover, contends Grossman in a pessimistic note for Western readers, Lenin's tragedy was more than a Russian tragedy. The 1,000-year Russian law of development through slavery now has become a worldwide law as numerous other political leaders have witnessed its efficacy and simplicity.

That is indeed a somber view, and "Forever Flowing" is a somber book, written with substantial power. It is set in 1957 and its protagonist, Ivan Grigoryevich, has returned to some of his old haunts after having spent 30 years in Soviet prison camps. His crime had been an espousal of political freedom in a speech when he was a university student.

Through the memories of Ivan Grigoryevich and the old and new friends he meets, Grossman recounts the horrors of post-revolutionary Russia—the prison-camps, the mass liquidations, the mass evictions and starvation of the peasant "kulaks," the treachery among onetime friends and associates. This Stalin era is one of the greatest horror tales of mankind's history and few writers tell it better than Grossman, one of its survivors. In the end Ivan Grigoryevich, as Grossman's alter ego, draws a singular conclusion:

"When Ivan Grigoryevich thought about 1937, or about the women who were sentenced to hard labor on their husbands' account, or about total collectivization and the famine in the countryside, or about the laws that imposed prison sentences on workers who were 20 minutes late to work or condemned peasants to eight years in camp for taking a few stalks of grain, he did not see in his mind's eye the mustached man in jackboots and field shirt—Stalin.

"He saw Lenin. . . All the triumphs of party and state were bound up with the name of Lenin. But all the cruelty inflicted on the nation also lay—tragically—on Lenin's shoulders. . .

"The history of the Russian state did not choose for its purposes Lenin's endearing, humane and human qualities, but cast them aside as unwanted trash. . . Throughout the whole history of the Russian revolutionary movement, such qualities as love of the people, inherent in many of the revolutionary intellectuals, whose meekness and readiness to endure suffering, seemed unequalled since the epoch of the first Christians, mingled with diametrically opposed attributes, and these, too, were inherent in many Russian revolutionaries—contempt for and disregard of human suffering, subservience to abstract theories, the determination to annihilate not merely enemies but those comrades who deviated even slightly from the particular abstraction in question."

The key to the personalities of the revolu-

tionaries, in Grossman's view, was what he describes as "sectarian determinism, the readiness to suppress today's living freedom for the sake of an imaginary freedom tomorrow and to violate universal canons of morality for the sake of the world to do. . ."

The sources of this type of personality lie deep within the 1,000-year depths of Russia, Grossman says, but the 20th century brought such men from the wings onto the main stage. "This sort of person behaves among other people as a surgeon does in the wards of a hospital. His interest in the patients, their fathers, wives, mothers, his jokes, his conversations, his taking part in fund-raising drives on behalf of homeless children or retired workers living on their pensions—any and all of this is meaningless and superficial, a mask. His soul is really in his knife.

"And the essence of these people lies in their fanatical faith in the surgeon's knife. The surgeon's knife—that is the great theoretician, the archphilosopher of the 20th century."

In such allusions, Grossman offers a profound indictment of radical politics based on idealistic and romantic concepts. Since Grossman suffered along with millions of other Russians at the hands of a system created by men with such concepts, the indictment carries great weight and authority. In post-revolutionary Russia, the combined power of the romantic ideal of communal harmony and equality and 1,000 years of experience in the techniques of political control have been enough to keep a nation of 240 million people in a state of political bondage when millions outside its boundaries enjoy enormous freedoms of speech, travel and social intercourse.

It is a profound lesson for our times partly because of the confusion that exists in so many Western minds over what it is about Russia that represents a threat to people outside Russia. To many Westerners the ideal of communism is as seductively attractive as it was to Russians. Significantly, communism as an ideal has had some of its strongest followings in some of the most romantic of nations—in Italy, and, with tragic results, in Spain of the 1930s.

What Grossman's novel suggests is that communism is not unattractive, but, in fact, too attractive, because it is usable as an ideal with which to justify political oppression. Every nation, of course, must have its ideals and perhaps even its national illusions. But in free societies it is possible to refine the ideals and examine the illusions so as to strike some balance between illusion and reality.

What Grossman learned along with so many other unhappy Russians was that when a society and its leaders cannot perceive that the realities of human existence in the present are more important than romantic and utopian concepts, they can become the victims of their concepts. Perhaps the thing that Westerners should most fear from Russia is the discontent and frustration of a nation that has paid a fantastic price for its illusions and, having mistakenly measured their worth in terms of the price rather than the value, would like to foist them on others.

#### MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO AMERICAN POW'S AND MIA'S

**HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, in keeping with President Nixon's proclamation earlier this month recognizing National

Week of Concern for American POW-MIA's, Glen Haven Memorial Park in Winter Park, Fla., has erected a memorial to give tribute and recognition to the American POW's and MIA's of all wars. The memorial will serve to bring to mind the plight of our men now being held captive or who are missing in action, and also to bring to mind the plight of their families and loved ones here at home.

The significance of the bronze plaque, 7 feet by 4 feet, showing in base relief the figures of two POW's behind barbed wire, clearly shows their bondage. The bronze tablet is attached to an 8-pound granite pillar signifying the solidness and strength of our Nation.

A bronze bald eagle with its wings outstretched symbolizes the freedom found only in our great country and is placed atop the monument. The bald eagle is looking down at the POW's as if to say "We have not forgotten; we care and we want you home."

The words inscribed on the bronze plaque—"Dedicated to the prisoners of war and those missing in action whose supreme sacrifice has helped keep our Nation ever free"—and our gratitude to these men will remain in the minds and hearts of all of us at home.

The overall height of the memorial is 13 feet, symbolizing the thirteen Original Colonies that gave the start to this great Nation.

#### ESCALATION OF THE AIR WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

**HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, I have recently read two excellent articles concerning the bombing escalation in Vietnam which I believe are very much to the point. The first, entitled "All the Way Only Way in Vietnam," was written by James Reston and appeared in the Washington Evening Star on April 12, 1972. The second article entitled "Even Illusions Gone—Nothing Left for the U.S. in Vietnam" was written by Anthony Lewis and appeared in the Detroit Free Press on April 12, 1972, also. I am inserting both these articles so that they may be read by all concerned Americans.

The articles follow:

ALL THE WAY ONLY WAY IN VIETNAM  
(By James Reston)

The military crisis in Vietnam has at least clarified the policy of the Nixon administration. In the name of protecting the withdrawal of American troops and prisoners from the battlefields, the President is now directing a massive air offensive against the enemy in order to prevent the defeat of the South Vietnamese army and the overthrow of the Saigon government.

This is at least a policy, but it is not a policy for getting out, but a policy for staying in, not a policy for defending our troops, but a policy for defending Gen. Thieu's command and his regime.

It is easy to see the political logic for Nixon in this course of action. Without the intervention of the American Air Force, the



South Vietnamese, though they have an army of 1,200,000 men and a militia half that size, might very well be overrun by the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong, and this would be a spectacular failure for the President's policy and a blow to his chances of reelection.

It is even easy to see the logic of his determination to smash the North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam and avoid the final crash of his policy of his allies, but at least the President should state these objectives for the Congress and the people, and not pretend that he has to revive this savage counterattack in order to get the troops and prisoners back home.

The argument for the air war, like the arguments for the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and Laos, is that this operation will not only assure the withdrawal of our last 90,000 men, but force the enemy to settle on our terms, but even after the enemy's offensive is turned back, as it undoubtedly will be, he will be free to retreat into Cambodia and Laos and across the DMZ.

To achieve the President's war aims, the enemy's main units must be destroyed and cut off from future supplies from the Soviet Union and China, and even the most optimistic planners here do not expect that.

Barry Goldwater has at least seen the flaw in the President's policy. He would carry the bombing to Haiphong. He would risk trying to cut the Soviet and Chinese war materiel before it could get to the battlefield, and also get behind the enemy divisions, now all but one in the south, and block their line of retreat.

Of course, this could risk war with both Moscow and Peking, but at least he does not fool himself that the enemy will quit and negotiate on our terms unless Hanoi has no way to retreat and supply itself for another offensive later on.

Short of trapping and destroying the enemy and cutting him off from more Soviet and Chinese arms later on, the President's policy of backing the South Vietnamese with air power whenever they get in trouble does not "end the war," which was Nixon's promise, or free the United States, which is his hope, but traps him and the air force in a war that is directed by Hanoi and Saigon.

If his objective is simply to end the war and get the troops and the prisoners back home, he can negotiate that very quickly. It would be dangerous and embarrassing, and there are solid arguments against it, but that is the policy of most of the Democratic candidates for the presidency, and it could be done.

But if his policy is to prevent the conquest of South Vietnam and the defeat of the Thieu government, then the consequences of that policy should be faced. For if Nixon is not really going to put the South Vietnamese on their own, giving them the tools to see if they can finish the job, but is going to back them with air power whenever they get in trouble, then all the South Vietnamese have to do to assure our continued presence in the air over the battlefield, is to demonstrate their inability to defend themselves.

This has been so obvious for so long that it is almost embarrassing to go over it once more, but the fact is that the administration is now dispatching more and more naval and air power to Vietnam—without telling the Congress what it is doing—and complaining about the Soviet supply of arms to Hanoi, while negotiating disarmament agreements, and cultural agreements, and trade and space agreements with the Soviets, so that the President can announce them in triumph when he goes to Moscow on May 22.

The contradictions in all this are both obvious and painful. You can defeat the North Vietnamese if you cut off their retreat and their supplies, and you can get your troops and your prisoners back home if you agree to get out all the way, but you can't defeat

them or get out by withdrawing part way and leaving them to retreat, while you run for re-election on the ground that you can do business with the Soviets and the Chinese. The President's answer to this dilemma is that he is merely hitting them hard because this will bring them to their senses and make them compromise, and that anyway he has to do all this to get the troops and the prisoners back home, but this is not a policy. It is a campaign argument, and a good one so far, but unless he can destroy the enemy, or persuade the Soviets to stop shipping arms to Haiphong, the war will go on, even if the present battle is won.

#### EVEN ILLUSIONS GONE: NOTHING LEFT FOR THE UNITED STATES IN VIETNAM

(By Anthony Lewis)

*Vietnam will not be an issue in the campaign as far as this administration is concerned, because we will have brought the American involvement to an end.*

—Richard Nixon, December, 1971.

LONDON.—The Nixon withdrawal from Vietnam has always had something of an illusory character. While American ground troops left, other military involvement continued or intensified. From carriers and from enlarged bases in Thailand, American bombers attacked Laos and both parts of Vietnam. American planes and supplies supported a larger war effort in Cambodia. The phantom CIA army fought in Laos.

Many Americans nevertheless believed—because their President said so and because they wanted to believe—that their part in the Indochina war would soon be over. Now that belief must be dead—gone the way of all the other officially propagated illusions about Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese, we had been told, were making remarkable progress, their million-man army confident, their political situation stable. The communists had never rebuilt their southern infrastructure after the losses of Tet 1968. The war was going better than we had hoped.

It took less than a week for the new communist offensive to shatter that picture and to send President Thieu of South Vietnam crying for help.

Of course he cried to Richard Nixon. The response was the familiar one: More B52s, more destroyers, more carriers, more close air support, more bombing of the North, more U.S. involvement.

Surely now there cannot be any informed person on earth who fails to understand what is the result of the Nixon-Kissinger formula for "peace" and "stability" in Indochina: Perpetual war and perpetual American involvement. Unless the war ends on our terms, with communist acceptance of the Thieu government, we shall keep killing the inhabitants of Indochina—from a distance.

The communist offensive did put Nixon in a difficult position. No American president wants to be seen abandoning a policy under duress, this one least of all.

But it was Nixon and Henry Kissinger who painted themselves into the corner where they have no options except more of the destruction that everyone knows is morally outrageous and politically useless.

When Nixon took office three years ago, he could have recognized the political realities of Vietnam and left the internal forces there to work out their own balance. Instead, he has continued to make the attempt to impose our solution.

He did so, according to report, on the advice of Henry Kissinger that the other side could not indefinitely withstand our superior force and would have to agree to terms. In short, he could bomb them into settling.

But that was the oldest, most tattered official illusion of them all. From Lyndon Johnson's tragedy came the lesson that in a limited war the United States has limited

power to impose its terms. If Henry Kissinger did indeed ignore that lesson, he will have a heavy reckoning to pay in history for three more years of pointless death in Indochina—or four or five or ten.

The Kissinger-Nixon justification for going on in Vietnam is that we must preserve our credibility as a world power. But a great country can justify such relentless destruction of another only if its own safety, its vital strategic interest, is urgently at stake. And virtually no one believes that about Vietnam any more.

#### THE GREATER EVIL

A leading British student of international security and war, Michael Howard, has some apt comments in the April issue of *Encounter*. It is a tough-minded article, cautioning idealists that world stability will always require "the acceptance of necessary injustice"—for example dealing with the Greek military regime.

But as a realist, Howard says of Vietnam: The evils that would result from communist domination there are "purely national and arguable," while "the evils which are perpetuated in preventing it appear so actual and so evident that the order in whose name they are carried out stands . . . condemned."

He concludes: "Whatever the arguments may be about regional or global stability, about dominoes or deterrence, what the United States has been doing in Vietnam is wrong and ought to be stopped."

The American people have evidently believed for some time that President Nixon's objective—preserving Nguyen Van Thieu—is not worth what we are doing to Indochina and to ourselves. They want an end to American involvement, with its corrupting effects on our reputation abroad and our peace at home. They would say what Cromwell said in dismissing the Long Parliament: "In the name of God, go."

#### CEREMONY STARTS COVERED BRIDGE

#### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, everyone talks about individual initiative and volunteer effort these days, but too few people follow through on it. Today I would like to share with my colleagues an outstanding example of what can be accomplished by voluntary community cooperation. I am speaking of the work of the Green River Pumping Station Covered Bridge Restoration Committee in Greenfield, Mass.

The Green River Pumping Station covered bridge was one of only four remaining covered bridges in Massachusetts. In 1968 it was destroyed in a fire set by vandals. The community of Greenfield, however, was unwilling to let the few remaining symbols of our New England heritage perish. Franklin County mobilized for a 3-year campaign of fundraising activities, which led finally to the groundbreaking ceremony held recently at the site of the bridge.

May I stress here that the majority of the materials and labor has been donated by area businesses and workers. All the organizations and individuals which made this possible deserve our praise. At this time, I include in the

RECORD the Springfield Sunday Republican article of April 9, 1972, describing that groundbreaking ceremony and the outstanding effort that led to it:

**CEREMONY STARTS COVERED BRIDGE**  
(By Norman Russell)

**GREENFIELD.**—More than three years of fundraising drives by the Green River Pumping Station Covered Bridge Restoration Committee culminated Saturday with a groundbreaking ceremony at the site.

The historic bridge, one of only four left in the state, was destroyed by a fire caused by vandals on Halloween in 1968, causing a public outcry that immediately started fundraising activities. Over the years, charity dinners, a pancake breakfast, a talent show, a Happy Louie polka dance and a walk for funds all benefitted the building fund.

The original cost of the bridge was set at \$150,000, but donations of materials, labor, and heavy equipment have reduced the price tag for the new bridge to about \$15,000, half of which has been collected, with another \$7300 promised by the Massachusetts Historic Sites Commission.

Committee executive Secretary Patricia Fitz of Shelburne served as mistress of ceremonies at Saturday's event, for which nearly 100 people braved chill windy April weather, including state Sen. John Barrus of Goshen.

Barrus served as general chairman of the event in consideration of his hard work for the fund drive. Barrus, a lumberman, helped to get the Massachusetts Wood Producers to donate all of the lumber that will be used to build the bridge with the exception of the timber. All of the wood is Massachusetts grown.

Absent but honored were H. Robert Gallison and Robert Wolanski, both of Greenfield, who spearheaded the first fundraising drive, which was later picked up by the Mohawk Trail Association after it had started to falter.

It was the MTA of which Mrs. Fitz is a member, that coordinated the efforts of many local and state committees, government departments and private citizens that made the restoration possible.

"Dozens of people all over Franklin County and outside the county helped make the bridge possible," Mrs. Fitz said. "We feel that they have not just helped the Green River Bridge, but all of New England."

After the groundbreaking ceremony in which several people took part, turning the earth with a gold-painted shovel that had been used for a groundbreaking ceremony at the Montague Fish Hatchery many years before, volunteer workers from Carpenters Union Local 549 started construction.

The bridge is expected to be completed early this summer, with most of the work being done on Saturdays. Anyone interested in donating his services is asked to contact Jim Galipo at Wyman, Inc., in Greenfield.

A humorous sidelight to the affair was added when it was discovered that restroom facilities for the workers had not been provided. Charles Gray of Bernardston, who runs a sanitary service, stepped forward to offer the donation of a mobile outhouse.

Persons active in the effort who were present at the ceremonies included Vincent Caroleo, director of the Western Massachusetts office of the state Department of Commerce and Development, which aided in the drive, and his representative for the bridge committee, Felix Borowski; Mrs. Orrin Lincoln of Greenfield, president of the Connecticut River Valley Covered Bridge Society; Walter Kostanski, Mathew Ruggeri, Gerald McCarthy and Timothy Stanham, restoration committee members; John Johnson, treasurer; project engineer David Bartlett and Donald Williams, architect; Jim Galipo of Wyman, Inc., building chairman; Wilton Stone of the Massachusetts Wood Producers Association, and Gerald Levitch, representing Greenfield selectmen.

**COTTAGE CITY FIRE CO.**

**HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, the volunteer fire company in Cottage City, Md., recently celebrated its 50th anniversary, and I would like to pay tribute today to those who have contributed so much time and effort to the noble community service of protecting lives and property.

Such unselfish dedication to a service as crucial as firefighting is truly commendable. It is people like the members of the Cottage City Fire Co. who have made our country great.

Those dedicated citizens were recently honored at an anniversary banquet where I was privileged to speak. At that time, a company history was published, and to further honor the achievements of the past and present members of the company, I insert the company history in the RECORD.

**The history follows:**

**GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY BANQUET OF THE COTTAGE CITY FIRE COMPANY AND LADIES AUXILIARY, MARCH 24, 1972**

**COMPANY HISTORY**

**(Summary)**

On the night of March 23, 1922 a store directly opposite the present fire station was completely destroyed by fire. Consequently, a small but representative group of citizens with vision recognized the absolute need for fire protection in their community. On the following evening, March 24th, twenty-seven men sat down to organize the Cottage City Fire Company and elected Mr. Charles Barrick as its first Fire Chief.

Thus fifty years ago tonight, our continuing goal of the protection of life and property from fire was put forth by these diligent men. With the aid of \$144.50 given to them by the Cottage City citizens association, they were able to purchase a hand-drawn hose reel, several lengths of hose, nozzle, and a small electric siren. The hose reel, not having a station, was kept at several different locations throughout the town. In April of that year Chief Barrick resigned for personal reasons and T. W. Scott, Sr. was elected the department's second Fire Chief and held the capacity until 1927.

The drive that began the organization never died out and in January of 1923 the company's first campaign was under way to purchase motorized apparatus. By April of the same year the truck had been secured and placed in service. Another important landmark occurred, also in January of that year, when the company and three neighboring departments organized the Prince Georges County Volunteer Firemen's Association. Thus the department became known as Company 2. In May of 1923 the company joined the Maryland State Firemen's Association.

In 1924 the company purchased the old Barney Street site, now called 38th Avenue, and completed the building in early 1926 with most of the labor performed by the membership. The building is still intact and remains a landmark in the community. In the fall of 1924 T. W. Scott, Sr. was installed as president of the county firemen's association and in December 1924 the Ladies Auxiliary was organized only to disband in 1939.

In 1925 neither money nor supplies were plentiful, but nonetheless a second pumper was purchased, bringing the department up to par of any other in the county. In August of that year the company hosted its first

county convention. In April of 1926 another truck was purchased to replace one of the aging vehicles. On May 1st of that year the company incorporated and became a private enterprise. Funds for operation of the company came in the usual hard-won way—solicitations, but welcome aid was forthcoming when the state legislature and the voters of Cottage City, in 1929, approved a town fire tax.

With the expansion and growth of the two towns as well as the surrounding area, the need arose for ladder equipment. This need was satisfied when in 1931 a cities-service ladder truck was purchased. This was one of the first ladder trucks in this area and during its service made many runs to the far parts of the county as well as outside the county.

Due to the increase of administrative business conducted by the company a decision was made to create business officers. As a result in 1938 Mr. Donald Pitts was elected the department's first President. In 1939 the company approved plans and authorized the construction of the present Bladensburg Road location. Once again, as in the case of the Barney Street building, most of the labor was performed by the men of the department. A group of these men, contrary to their nickname—"the playboys"—contributed significantly in the construction of the fire station. On February 22, 1940, the building was dedicated by Dr. 'Curly' Byrd. With the new building the company also put in service a new Seagrave 500 gallon pumper.

During the 1940's, as the war drained the manpower of the department, auxiliary firemen were admitted and became the forerunners of our present day Junior firemen. As the war ended the need for specialized equipment in the fire service developed. Perceiving this need the department in 1945 purchased a new Seagrave hydraulically operated 65' aerial ladder truck. In June of 1948 the company took delivery of its first 1000 gallon pumper, one of the originals of its type in the area. In 1953 the second such purchase was made giving the company and the county one of the best fire suppression attacks in the metropolitan area.

In 1953 the '39 pumper was converted into a heavy duty rescue truck. The combination of the ladder truck and squad responded to all areas of the county in its service to the public. The Ladies Auxiliary was re-established in 1954 with Mrs. Ethel Beck as its president. They have become an integral part of the department since that time. In 1955, keeping with our tradition of the finest equipment ready for response, the company purchased a new Seagrave squad truck to replace the aging converted vehicle. Along with the new truck the company invested and placed in service a 16' boat with motor, which was needed because of the constant flooding of the Peace Cross area.

During the 1940's and 50's, in order to raise the necessary monies to finance our enlarging equipment requirements, many fundraising functions were sponsored. These included bingos, raffles, dances, shrimp and crab feasts and the highlight of the year—the annual carnivals. Any monies that were left over sent the deserving men to the State conventions and on some memorable ocean-fishing cruises.

The building boom in the early sixties created the need for bigger and more modern ladder equipment. In March 1961 the department took delivery of a new Seagrave 85' aerial ladder truck. The truck continues to help us give the finest ladder truck service available. In July of 1964, seeing the need to augment the daytime response, the department hired its first paid man and in March 1965 the second man was hired. September and December 1967 brought two additional men, and in January 1968 the first paid officer was placed on duty. The volunteer system of the department, supplemented by the paid personnel, continues to provide



outstanding service to the community at minimum cost. In October 1967 the department accepted its first 750 gallon cab-ahead pumper.

As we enter the 1970's the department faces many new problems and challenges. July of 1971 saw the implementation of a budget system for the fire service. The department in 1972 will take delivery of a new squad truck and co-host the county firemen's convention. But no matter what the future brings, our department will remain prepared to bring the community the best in fire and rescue service which was the undying goal of those twenty-seven men, who on this date 50 years ago organized the Cottage City Fire Company.

## THE RIGHTS OF PRISONERS

### HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, as many of my colleagues know, on several occasions I have been called upon to serve as an observer or negotiator during disturbances and disputes in New York prisons. On each occasion, it turned out that basic questions involving the rights of prisoners lay at the heart of the matter and it is encouraging that broader national attention is being focused on this important issue.

On April 6, an article by Alan L. Otten, chief of the Wall Street Journal's Washington bureau, explored the efforts of the Center for Correctional Justice, a new organization composed mainly of lawyers and law students dedicated to the proposition that although a person may be serving a jail sentence for having committed a crime, he still is entitled to the protection of his basic human and civil rights.

With the hope that before too much longer the Congress will begin to enact legislation setting up a prisoners' bill of rights and the means to enforce it, I present for inclusion in the RECORD Mr. Otten's article. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

#### AN EXPERIMENT IN 'PRISONERS' RIGHTS'

(By Alan L. Otten)

WASHINGTON.—The guards at the youth prison here were supposed to search mail only for contraband. The young prisoners were convinced, however, that the guards were reading much of the mail too, and even destroying some of it.

So they complained to the Center for Correctional Justice, and the center negotiated an agreement with the prison officials. There would be no more search of outgoing mail, and incoming mail would be examined only in the presence of an inmate representative.

The center, a half-dozen dedicated lawyers and other professionals plus another half-dozen equally dedicated law students, has for almost a year now been carrying on a unique and widely watched experiment here: Trained outsiders listen to the legal problems of youthful offenders, and then negotiate solutions directly with prison authorities.

#### THE ONLY HOPE?

"We are trying to develop some mechanism to resolve grievances and change the correctional system without extensive litigation and without violence," declares Linda Sin-

ger, the dynamic young lawyer who heads the project. It's still too early to assess results with certainty, but she believes the project is making good headway, and at least a few District of Columbia government officials agree. "This approach may even be the only hope of working our way out of the prison mess," asserts one Singer partisan.

In a way, the center's team, which includes a former offender who has proven particularly valuable in understanding prisoner attitudes and winning prisoner confidence, fills the role of the ombudsman or inspector, which a number of foreign countries have long provided their prisoners. The idea is just beginning to be tested in U.S. prisons, however, and the District experiment is the only one where outsiders do the job. Some 20 states and cities have written or sent officials for more information about its operations, and a couple are in the process of setting up programs modeled on the D.C. pattern.

"When we went to the Office of Economic Opportunity a year ago for money to finance this, it was a revolutionary idea," says Mrs. Singer, who with law partner Ronald Goldfarb spent three years researching a forthcoming book on American prisons. "It's amazing how much attitudes have changed in a year—even before Attica, but especially since." She cites Chief Justice Warren Burger on the need for "a simple and workable procedure by which every person in confinement who has, or thinks he has, a grievance or complaint can be heard promptly, fairly and fully."

Right now, there's little law or administrative practice governing prisoner rights, and while the volume of individual prisoner suits and class actions is rising rapidly, these are still a frustratingly slow and often expensive remedy. Even when judges do order some very specific changes, there's frequently little follow-through. Prisoners are understandably loath to complain when these orders are ignored, and judges are understandably loath to order sanctions against prison officials.

The center, a non-profit organization set up specifically to carry on this experiment, won cooperation from the District Youth Services Division to work with the young (18 to 26) offenders in the local prison system, about 1,100 in all. The team, both full-timers and law student aides, go through intensive preparation, including (for the men) a day and a night as "prisoners" in each facility they will cover.

So far, they have handled more than 500 cases, and the workload trend is steadily increasing. The young law students, who do most of the initial interviewing and screening, have set office hours for listening to complaints in each prison, halfway house or parole office, and inmates can also phone the center for help. Still other cases are referred by parole officers or prisoners' relatives or friends.

Basically, the program offers three types of legal services. Prisoners may feel they were tried or sentenced unfairly; if the interviewer agrees, he refers them to the district-supported Public Defender's Service for action. Or prisoners need help with some civil problem—to win or contest a divorce, protect property from repossession, check on custody arrangements for children. Here the center's law students refer valid cases to the government-supported Neighborhood Legal Services for help.

The most novel part of the program, however, deals with individual or group complaints about prison conditions. Here the project team investigates and tries to work problems out directly with prison officials. Though the program provides for outside mediation or binding arbitration if needed, these haven't yet been used.

Most individual prisoner complaints are handled by the law students and the ex-offender with supervision from the full-time center staff. A prisoner wants to transfer to

another institution, or he doesn't want to be transferred. Another isn't getting out when he thinks he was supposed to, or wants more information than he has been given about his parole conditions. In one case, a student arranged a long, therapeutic talk session between an inmate and an official who the inmate thought was persecuting him.

Group complaints are normally handled by Mrs. Singer and one or two colleagues, meeting with a committee of prison officials and selected inmate representatives. Written agreements have actually been negotiated in a dozen different areas—allowing Black Muslims to hold religious services, extending visiting hours at the youth facilities lengthening hours for sick call and guaranteeing more direct access to doctors in emergency cases, getting soft drink and candy vending machines in visiting areas.

#### GETTING RESULTS

"We have to produce results rapidly enough to convince the prisoners it's to their advantage to work with the system," Mrs. Singer notes, "but we also have to show the prison authorities that the kind of changes that are made are ones they can live with."

She gives high marks to most of the officials who have worked with the project, "because it's never comfortable or easy to have outsiders come in and tell you what you're doing wrong." One basic argument she uses to win their cooperation is that change is coming anyhow—that courts will force it on them if they don't do it themselves.

She also contends that negotiations will greatly reduce the number of suits that prison officials would otherwise have to take time and effort to defend. "Absolutely because of us," she proudly proclaims, Youth Services is the only part of the district prison system that hasn't yet been hit with a prisoner class action to change disciplinary procedures.

Another argument that she employs only occasionally and obliquely may, however, be even more persuasive with the authorities: Intercession of this sort can provide a vital safety valve to prevent explosion and violence. "Correctional officials all over the country are terribly nervous about riots," she declares, "and would be willing to cooperate with any means we can figure out to get outside help to prisoners and to create legal alternatives to what we have seen."

Relations with officials haven't been uniformly easy. "The staff would clearly prefer that we spend more time on prisoners' personal legal problems, and less on administrative complaints," Mrs. Singer concedes. Most D.C. government officials shy from discussing the project, an admittedly controversial subject among many prison personnel, but one high-ranking official gives it top marks, "Linda has handled things pretty well," he says. "The great appeal is that this helps with inmate tranquility and it helps keep things out of the courts. Those aren't bad helps."

As for project relations with the prisoners, Mrs. Singer believes "they realize we will find some of their complaints unjustified, and that sometimes we won't be able to do anything even about some of those we find justified. But they also realize we're getting quite a bit done." And, she contends, "It's giving people who have only seen law as an enemy a chance to use it for their own benefit."

More will be known soon, when the project takes a detailed poll of prisoner attitudes and does other evaluation of first-year results. Of one thing Mrs. Singer is already sure, however: The ombudsman role must be carried on by outsiders. "No group that works for the prison system is going to have any credibility with the prisoners," she flatly asserts.

Can the ombudsman approach work equally well with adult prisoners? Perhaps even

better, Mrs. Singer suggests. Older men not only are more sophisticated and better used to bargaining and negotiation, but they have far more at stake. Young offenders are in here for an average of only nine months, and may fear that complaining will jeopardize chances for early departure. Most older men are serving substantially longer terms, and thus are usually more interested in trying to improve their conditions.

#### NEW LEGISLATION NEEDED

New legislation may be needed to clarify the access rights of outsiders, Mrs. Singer is inclined to believe. The local project, she says, operates in one of the country's better prison systems; "the greatest need is obviously in the worst systems, and that's probably exactly where they'll be most resistant to letting in outsiders."

Can the ombudsman-outsiders remain neutral, or will they inevitably become automatic advocates for the prisoners, and thus build resistance among the prison personnel? One theory is that they might become increasingly impartial as the worst conditions are gradually remedied, and the prisoner complaints move into grayer areas. So far, though, the project's experience has been the reverse, Mrs. Singer says; the law students and other project members resolved to be impartial, but often have become more and more partisan "as they don't see enough happening fast enough."

"This is the crucial question we must answer before we're through," Mrs. Singer observes. And she honestly adds: "I don't think we've really answered that ourselves yet."

#### SOVIET JEWS

### HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

As a cosponsor of identical legislation introduced August 6, 1971, I am pleased that the House has today overwhelmingly passed House Resolution 471 calling on the Soviet Union to permit its citizens of the Jewish religion to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

We are all aware of the oppression under which the Jews of the Soviet Union suffer. These courageous people have been exposed to a course of religious and cultural repression, which is aimed at destroying the Jewish identity of the almost 3 million Jews now living in the Soviet Union.

Much has been said of the impact of world opinion in attempting to ameliorate this tragic situation. For this reason, I feel that it is particularly important for Members of Congress to continue to express their outrage at this mistreatment.

On March 1, 1972, I sent the following letter to Premier Alexei Kosygin to further express my feelings in this matter:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., March 1, 1971.

ALEXEI KOSYGIN,  
Council of Ministers,  
The Kremlin,  
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

MY DEAR PREMIER: I am taking the liberty, as a United States Congressman of writing you directly to plead with you to use your

great influence to bring relief to those Soviet Jews who wish to return to their homeland in Israel.

Today, your country is in a unique position to demonstrate to a troubled world, a genuine humanitarian concern for the rights of those Jewish people who wish to join their countrymen and live in accordance with their rich and ancient traditions.

Such a policy of free emigration would not only be consistent with basic humanitarian concepts, but it would also be consistent with Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights passed unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights signed by the U.S.S.R. in March of 1968, and the International convention on all forms of racial discrimination signed by the Soviet Union in March 1966.

Allowing Jews to emigrate to Israel would be consistent with your own stated policy first announced in 1966 of permitting reunification of families in Israel.

Many of my Congressional colleagues believe you are insensitive to a problem that deeply concerns men of all faiths and from all countries. I cannot accept the view that a man who has achieved one of the most powerful positions in the modern world is callous and indifferent to the cries of a few thousands helpless Jews who wish nothing more than to enjoy their cultural heritage.

The world community craves for new humanitarian initiatives for those people living in second class citizenship and at the same time demands that all nations live up to their international commitments. I earnestly believe that your personal commitment to allow Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel would represent the statesmanlike leadership so desperately needed to produce peace and understanding among all nations. I generally hope that this will be your mark on the history of modern world leaders.

Respectfully yours,

PETER A. PEYSER,  
Member of Congress.

#### THE EVENTUAL LOSER

### HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Sander Olson, editor of the St. Peter Herald in Minnesota recently warned of the danger of permitting the pendulum to swing past the point of reasonableness insofar as "consumerism" is concerned. As Mr. Olson wisely points out, if we permit simple commonsense and reasonableness to be overruled, driving small and independent business to the wall, it will be the consumer who winds up the biggest loser.

In view of the fact that a proposed Consumer Protection Agency remains under active consideration in Congress, along with numerous other so-called consumer proposals, I would like to bring Mr. Olson's warning to the attention of congressional colleague. The full text of the editorial is included at this point:

#### THE EVENTUAL LOSER

One of the most significant of the pendulum swings in national intent and attitude toward whatever field of interest one might mention has been in the area of "consumerism".

The broad area of consumer protection . . . of which Ralph Nader is only the most voluble spokesman among many . . . has ef-

fectively reversed that once accepted basic principle of English and American common law, caveat emptor, "let the buyer beware".

That principle, under the pressure of consumer groups and advocates such as Ralph Nader and the more-than-willing cooperation of elected lawmakers who see . . . among other more noble motivations . . . consumerism as a vote-maker, has been replaced by another.

It is the seller and manufacturer of goods and services upon whom the burden of seeing to it that those goods and services are safe and perform as they should now falls.

That seems to be a fairly reasonable principle.

Most consumers, we would guess, have complained at one time or another about just plain shoddy merchandise, or paid-for services which just have not been performed.

To the degree that we are all protected from those who sell that kind of goods and that kind of service, consumerism is to the best interest of both those who buy and those who legitimately sell.

But, as with most changes of national attitude and intent, there is danger that the pendulum is swinging past the point of reasonableness in its cycle.

In a parallel development, the enactment of the recent national Health and Safety Act has within it the potential, literally, for putting small business out of business . . . if bureaucratic agencies empowered to enforce the Act has unbending, literal in its interpretations. And the operational history of federal agencies gives little reassurance that enforcement will be reasonable.

There is already afoot in the national Congress a move to operate what appears to be a sort of bureau of consumerism. Those organizations, admittedly business-oriented, which have studied the bills designed to create the agency and who are doing the most talking about it, are raising the question of whether small and independent business can survive in the seventies.

There is little doubt in our mind that if the pendulum swing in favor of consumer protection continues unchecked by simple common sense and reasonableness, it will be the consumer, in fact, who will eventually become the loser.

#### HOOTEN NO-HITS PHILLIES

### HON. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, in Chicago's Wrigley Field yesterday afternoon, Burt Hooten, the Chicago Cubs masterful rookie sensation, struck out seven Philadelphia Phillies en route to the season's first no-hit performance. Hooten's impossible dream occurred in just the second game of this strike-delayed baseball season.

While it may have taken the owners and the players several extra days to get the financial aspects of our national pastime in playing shape, I am glad to see that Chicago's representative in the National League took little time in asserting its claim for the top spot in its division.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate the Chicago Cubs, and in particular Mr. Burt Hooten, on their auspicious beginning. I would hope that this performance will set the tone for the remaining games of the Cubs' baseball season.



## TELEPHONE PRIVACY—XIII

## HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, I have recently reintroduced the Telephone Privacy Act (H.R. 14097) with 28 co-sponsors.

This bill would give the individuals the right to indicate to the telephone company if they do not wish to be commercially solicited over the telephone. Commercial firms wanting to solicit business over the phone would then be required to obtain from the phone company a list of customers who opted for the commercial prohibition. The FCC would also be given the option of requiring the phone company, instead of supplying a list, to put an asterisk by the names of those individuals in the phonebook who have chosen to invoke the commercial solicitation ban.

Those not covered by the legislation would be charities and other nonprofit groups, political candidates and organizations and opinion poll takers. Also not covered would be debt collection agencies or any other individuals or companies with whom the individual has an existing contract or debt.

As I noted in a statement on March 9, I have received an enormous amount of correspondence on this legislation from all over the country. Today, I am placing a 11th sampling of these letters into the RECORD, since they describe far more vividly than I possibly could the need for this legislation.

These letters follow—the names have been omitted:

PENDLETON, IND.,  
April 1, 1972.

Representative LES ASPIN,  
Cannon House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: It has come to my attention, via the *Congressional Record*, that you have introduced a bill to restrict the use of telephones for business solicitation purposes. We commend you highly for your effort in this, and we will be writing to the Indiana Representatives urging them to support your bill.

The time is coming when a pre-taped message will be given to the person forced to answer the advertisement-invasion calls, and computers will be doing all of the dialing for the large companies. Before that becomes widespread, restrictions must be implemented.

Will you please send us a copy of the bill referred to above—H.R. 13267, I think it is. And, when hearings are held on this subject, we would very much like to receive a copy of them.

Keep up your insightful work!  
Sincerely,

WILBUR WRIGHT COLLEGE,  
Chicago, Ill., March 29, 1972.

Hon. LES ASPIN,  
Representative from Wisconsin, House of  
Representatives, U.S. Congress, Wash-  
ington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: This is written in support of your pending house bill to allow Americans to place a no solicitors' sign on their telephone. We have personally experienced numerous calls to sell carpeting, siding, newspaper sub-

scriptions and retirement real estate. We have almost threatened some solicitors, hung up on others, and tried many other devices in order to be left alone.

Now, we recently moved and would have requested an unlisted phone, but because of two teen age daughters, could not do that. However, I have only an initial before my last name. So far, solicitations have been down.

May I suggest that the telephone companies be made to audit soliciting firms to make certain they abide by a no soliciting sign?

Still another area that is a breach of privacy is that of name lists. Is it right that firms with which one does some business, as department stores, sell a customer's name to so-called "list brokers"? Magazines may sell names of subscribers, credit-card services (as American Express) also apparently sell names. Shouldn't we have a right to restrict the use of our names to firms we choose and not be flooded with "junk mail"?

This may surprise you, but I am a business professor and I believe in free enterprise. Many businesses and industries as the direct mail industry have a right to exist, but not a right to be a pest. Good luck to you, sir.

Sincerely,

MOBILE, ALA.,  
March 28, 1972.

DEAR Mr. ASPIN: I read in the March 27 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor* of your efforts to stop unsolicited telephone advertising. This has been a great source of annoyance to me for years and I am writing to urge you on and wish you well. I shall ask our Congressman, Jack Edwards, for his interest and support.

Sincerely,

SANTA CLARA, CALIF.

Re telephone solicitors.

I'm so glad someone is thinking about telephone solicitors. I have resented the interruptions during the day and evening and do not enjoy being rude to those callers only doing a job. Even with an unlisted phone number we are not free from such unwanted calls. My husband and I heartily support restrictions on telephone solicitations.

Very truly yours,

## UNITED STATES WIDENS TIES TO AFRICAN WHITES

## HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, daily newspaper reading is by definition a disturbing task. Good news is no news and each of us finds ourselves exercised daily by events reported in our newspapers.

On April 2, Terrence Smith of the New York Times did a background piece on U.S. Southern Africa policy.

Quite frankly, Mr. Speaker, the Nixon policy in Southern Africa, as reported by Mr. Smith, is deeply disturbing. What we are doing in Southern Africa, and my sense is that Mr. Smith is perceptively reporting administration moves, confirms my belief that the Nixon government has factored out humanitarianism from our foreign policy. Nowhere is the little man—the Greek intellectual, the black

South African, the East Bengali, the Taiwanese—and his interests encountered in Nixon policymaking.

This is a sad commentary on the policies of a nation which once beckoned to the world's dispossessed in the words of Emma Lazarus inscribed on a tablet in the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty:

"Give me your tired, your poor,  
Your huddled masses yearning to break free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming Shore.  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me.  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Today, we ignore what in a less-sensitive age could be called wretched refuse, but at that time we did consider the common people of the world in our national policies. Today we may refer to the oppressed by less odious names but we ignore them. It is time to heed again the needs and cries of the oppressed.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 2, 1972]

U.S. WIDENS TIES TO AFRICAN WHITES  
(By Terence Smith)

WASHINGTON, April 1.—The Nixon Administration is quietly pursuing a policy of deliberately expanded contacts with communication with the white governments of southern Africa.

Although this appears to have been Administration policy for the last two years, it is only in recent months that its implementation has become evident.

In practical terms, the policy has resulted in a number of concrete developments, ranging from major new economic undertakings, such as the recent Azores agreement with Portugal, to the authorization of previously forbidden sales of jet aircraft to Portugal and South Africa.

In contrast with the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, which sought to ostracize the white governments because of their racial policies, President Nixon has taken a series of steps to improve political and economic contacts with South Africa and with Portugal, which controls Mozambique and Angola.

In recent months the Nixon approach has begun to stir significant controversy among an informal lobby of civil rights, church and academic groups interested in Africa. Their protest has become more vocal and visible as the outlines of the policy have emerged.

The Administration's moves to improve its "communication" with the white governments have drawn criticism in Congress, protest demonstrations and widespread concern among a broad range of groups interested in Africa. Every indication is that this movement is likely to gain momentum in the months ahead.

At the same time the policy had had another result: It has generated unconcealed delight among corporate and other interests that make up the powerful Rhodesian and South African lobbies here.

Neither result was the intention of the Administration's policy makers. Rather, the new policy was the end-product of an exhaustive and critical review of the Kennedy and Johnson policies toward southern Africa.

The unpublished review, begun at the President's direction in April, 1969, was completed and put before the National Security Council at the end of that year.

It contained, according to authoritative sources, three basic options:

The "Dean Acheson" option, which the former Secretary of State had often urged in public and in his writing. This proposed the treatment of South Africa as any sovereign, friendly nation, without regard to her internal policies.

The "tarbaby" option, so dubbed by its critics is the State Department who feared

that, once it was adopted, Washington would find it impossible to let it go even if the policy proved a failure. This proposed increased communication and "selective involvement" with the white governments on the theory that friendly persuasion rather than constant condemnation would be more likely to make them modify their racial policies.

The "more of the same" option, which, essentially, called for continuation of the Kennedy-Johnson policies of vigorous verbal attacks on apartheid, of arms embargoes and of limited official involvement. (Private American investment had never been discouraged, however; American holdings in South Africa, in fact, increased by 80 percent from 1963 to 1969.)

#### DEBATE LONG AND HEATED

The debate within the Administration over the different options was long and heated, according to those who participated in it. The career Africanists at the State Department pressed for the third, while officials in the Defense Department, concerned about South Africa's strategic naval position, favored the first.

The National Security Council staff, represented by Roger P. Morris, a specialist on Africa, plumped for a variation of "tarbaby" that would combine partial relaxation toward South Africa with cooler language at the United Nations and elsewhere.

The conceptual basis for this approach was an idea known as the "green bay tree theory," first outlined in an article in the British weekly, *The Economist*, in 1968. The theory holds that like the hardy green bay tree, which flourishes in a hostile environment, the black majority in South Africa will ultimately break the barriers of apartheid because of the blacks' vital role in the expansion of the country's booming economy.

Another factor in the decision was the view reportedly held by Mr. Nixon and Henry A. Kissinger, his national security adviser, that the theory moral and political problems of South Africa are basically beyond the control of the United States, which has only marginal influence in the area.

#### THE INVOLVEMENT ELSEWHERE

The President and his advisers were said to be in agreement also that the United States, with its involvements in Indochina and elsewhere, could not take on the problem of southern Africa.

Finally, the vast American corporate interests in South Africa were a consideration. Some 300 American companies, including 12 of the 20 largest, have investments in South Africa valued between \$750-million and \$1-billion. The average yearly return is about 17 per cent per year and contributes handsomely to the plus column of the United States' balance of payments. Some of these companies, such as the Union Carbide Corporation and the Foote Mineral Company, have openly advocated a more "businesslike" relationship with southern Africa.

All of these factors contributed to the decision, finally made by President Nixon in January, 1970, to opt for "tarbaby." It was embodied in a National Security Council decision memorandum signed that month.

#### AS THE STORM GATHERED

As are all such memorandums, the paper outlining the new approach to southern Africa was classified and remains classified. This National Security Council decision memorandum appears to have been more closely held than most. For more than a year, officials in the State Department's African bureau appeared to have only the vaguest notion of its contents; they insisted, to the few reporters who asked, that no real change in policy had been made.

To the critics of the policy, this amounted to an evasion for fear of the political storm that might arise, once the significance of the change was widely perceived.

This view was supported by John Chettle of the South Africa Foundation. Mr. Chettle wrote in the foundation's magazine, *Foreign Report*, that a Nixon policy maker had told him that the "ambition of the Administration's southern Africa policy was to cover itself so thickly with grease that nobody could get hold of any part of it." That was written in January, 1971, a full year after a clear-cut Presidential decision had been made.

The outlines of the policy began to emerge slowly in the public statements of key Administration officials. The Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, David D. Newsom, dropped a clue in a speech in Chicago on Sept. 17, 1970, when he said that the United States was seeking constantly "to find ways to encourage trends which will lead to peaceful change" in southern Africa.

A year later, making a speech in Atlanta, Mr. Newsom declared: "Isolation can breed resistance to change. Open doors can accelerate it."

He added that in the Administration's view, "economic and demographic pressures make change in southern Africa inevitable."

More significant, however, were the Administration's practical decisions on substantive matters affecting Africa. They included the following:

A re-definition of embargoes on strategic and military equipment to Portugal and South Africa that permitted the sale of two Boeing 707 airliners directly to the Portuguese Government and authorized the sale of small civilian jet aircraft to South Africa.

A decision to grant the Union Carbide Corporation's request to import from Rhodesia in 1970 a shipment of chrome allegedly purchased before the embargo. That request had been denied in 1968 and 1969, before the new policy was adopted.

The agreement with Portugal to renew the long-elapsed lease on the American air bases in the Azores. In conjunction with the two-year renewal, the United States agreed to authorize Export-Import Bank loans to Portugal up to \$400-million, a total equivalent to four times all the ExImBank's assistance to Portugal since 1946.

An agreement under which South Africa was permitted, after a suspension of 21 months, to resume selling gold to the International Monetary Fund. The result was a boon to Pretoria, which was facing a serious foreign exchange deficit. South Africa earned some \$307-million from gold sales to the fund in the first six months of 1970.

A series of abstentions and negative votes in the United Nations on motions condemning apartheid and the southern African regimes. These included the first use by the United States of its veto in the Security Council, in March, 1970, against a resolution expanding the sanctions against Rhodesia, and the negative vote, for the first time in many years, in 1969, against the General Assembly's annual resolution against apartheid.

The appointment, as United States Ambassador to South Africa, of a Texas oilman, John G. Hurd, a man who, in the words of one State Department officer, "could be expected to establish a rapport with the South African establishment that his predecessors deliberately avoided."

The decision by the Administration not to lobby as vigorously as it might have against the so-called Byrd amendment. That amendment, tacked on to the Military Procurement Act of 1971 and proposed by Senator Harry F. Byrd Jr., Democrat of Virginia, effectively ended the ban on the importation of Rhodesian chrome that was part of the over-all United Nations embargo. The Administration officially opposed the amendment, but the White House failed to send to Congress what Representative Charles C. Diggs Jr., Democrat of Michigan and a former chairman of the Black Caucus, said might have been "the clues that sophisticated people look for to determine the seri-

ousness of the Administration's interest in defeating a particular measure." The amendment carried and was signed into law by Mr. Nixon on Nov. 17.

Mr. Newsom, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, argues on behalf of the Administration that many of these moves were made for reasons unrelated to African policy. He cites the Azores agreement as an example of a decision based on considerations of European security, rather than African policy.

He noted in an interview that South Africa had not yet purchased any of the civilian jets it was authorized to buy. "The restrictions we placed on their use are too stringent," he said.

Discussing the voting record in the United Nations, Mr. Newsom noted that in recent years, the resolutions on Africa had become more militant than those the United States had supported in the past. "Some have posed legal problems for us," he said; "others would have increased the United Nations budget at a time when we are under Congressional pressure to reduce our contribution to the U.N."

"I get hit hard on many of these questions when I speak around the country, particularly on the campuses," he added. "Few people realize or appreciate the role Congress plays in these decisions. In many ways, our votes in the U.N. reflect the changed attitudes about that body on the hill."

#### U.S. STAND ON NAMIBIA CITED

Mr. Newsom also feels that the Administration has failed to get full credit for its strong opposition to continued South African control of South-West Africa, and for its policy of urging American businessmen to consider investment possibilities in neighboring black states before they invest in South Africa. South-West Africa is a trust territory controlled by South Africa under a 1920 League of Nations mandate and South Africa has refused to relinquish her control. The territory is known in the United Nations as Namibia.

As a sign that South Africa is beginning to respond to the Nixon policy of communication, Mr. Newsom noted that Pretoria had granted visas to Representative Diggs, to the newspaper columnist Carl T. Rowan, to Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other prominent black Americans.

Mr. Rowan, who is a former head of the United States Information Agency scoffed at the notion that his visa was granted as a result of the Administration's policy. "South Africa let me in to encourage their own independently-arrived-at policy of contact with the black African nations," he said in a recent interview. "It had nothing to do with Nixon."

The opposition to the policy in this country began to build slowly. One prominent act of protest was the resignation last December of Mr. Diggs from his post as a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations General Assembly.

In a statement at the time, Mr. Diggs objected to the United States record in the world organization, the relaxation of the arms embargoes, and the Azores agreement, which he said continued "an open alliance with the forces of racism and repression in southern Africa."

#### SPREAD OF THE PROTESTS

Last month, several hundred students from Southern University, Baton Rouge, picketed the arrival of the first shipment of Rhodesian chrome at Burnside, La.

The opposition found another voice in Gary, Ind., in the first National Black Political Convention, held March 11-12. The convention adopted a platform that called for an end to American "complicity" with European colonialism and repression in Africa. It also demanded the transfer of American in-



vestments from South Africa to the black African nations.

Last weekend, 300 representatives of 25 Protestant, academic and civil rights organizations assembled in the Sheraton Park Hotel here in Washington for a two-day conference on the role of United States investments in southern Africa.

Participants in the conference called on the Security Council to condemn the United States (along with Portugal and South Africa) as a "persistent violator" of the economic sanctions imposed on Rhodesia. The delegates also endorsed the Black Caucus' efforts to repeal the Byrd amendment and obtain an injunction against further imports of chrome.

In black Africa, a number of leaders have denounced the Nixon Administration's relaxed policy. The leaders included President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia, who warned at an Africa-American conference in January in Lusaka, his capital, that the policy could have a crucial impact on relations between the United States and the African continent.

The conference was attended by a nine-man Congressional delegation including Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3rd, Democrat of Illinois. He said in a recent interview here that he and his colleagues had come away "battered and bloody" as a result of African criticisms of the Administration's policy.

"They really hit us over the head on it," Senator Stevenson said. "My fear is that the United States is on the verge of losing its influence and the reservoir of goodwill it has always had in Africa."

#### CHALLENGES IN CONGRESS

The Administration is going to be faced with a number of domestic challenges to its policy. There are bills pending in Congress or about to be submitted, calling for denial of tax credits to American companies that operate in South-West Africa and calling for extension of fair employment practices to the local employees of American companies operating in South Africa.

Another bill calls for submission of the Azores agreement to the Senate for its approval and ratification. Other protests have been promised over the importation of Rhodesian chrome, and a major anti-Administration rally is planned for May 25 in Washington.

All these factors will make it more difficult for the Administration to pursue its policy of improved communication with southern Africa and keep peace, at the same time, with critics of its policy.

While the controversy over the policy may not be a significant issue in this Presidential campaign, Representative Diggs, for one, says:

"The tide of events in Africa is all in one direction, and this Administration is running against it. Africa may not be a central issue in 1972, but it may well be in 1976."

#### WE CAN DO NO LESS

### HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, all thinking men and women have been shocked and dismayed in the last year or so to read of the behavior on the part of the Soviet Government toward groups of Soviet citizens determined to assert their cultural and religious identities within Russian society. No group has made more determined efforts than the Jews.

Soviet society is essentially monolithic.

Those at its pinnacle, swollen with power, fear any deviation from the norm. Rules of behavior are enforced by the secular arm of the state.

Some of the finest flowerings of Soviet culture and the Russian character have been trampled forthwith because they dared expose some of the realities of Russia's daily life, and how they affect the average person.

No group has voiced stronger views on behalf of retaining their ethnic identity than the Jews. As a result, no group has been on the receiving end of more brutal treatment by the regime than the Jews. Yet they persist.

In some few cases, the ultimate sanctions have been applied. In many other cases, Jewish citizens of the Soviet Union have been flung into labor camps reminiscent of the Stalin era. In still other cases, such individuals have been incarcerated in lunatic asylums, as the Government exerts its full force to discredit them in the eyes of their fellow citizens and a watching world.

Like all tyrannies, this one reacts in the same way. Like all tyrannies, this one fails to achieve its goals. Like all those oppressed who seek and struggle for the life freedom, these people have refused to give in. And like all those who believe in the dignity of the individual, we here in America have admired and sympathized with such a noble struggle.

It is certain that they shall prevail. It is certain the Soviet regime's efforts to silence them will fall short. Truth stands by itself. Only lies require artificial support.

Yet they cannot do it alone. It is vital that all free men everywhere stand up on their behalf and make their feelings known. In such a way, the combined voices of those who will not suffer such oppression to the afflicted with impunity can and will be focused upon this brutal regime. And eventually and inevitably, the hand of the tyrant will be removed from the neck and the mouth of his victim.

We have here before us a resolution expressing the sense of this House in this regard. It will place us on record as protesting the disabilities and discriminations practiced against Jewish citizens of the Soviet Union by the Government of that country. As the most representative body of the largest democracy on earth, we can do no less.

It is absolutely essential that those who struggle for liberty know that they do not fight alone. Let them know by our action that long night of oppression will eventually culminate in an inevitable dawn of freedom.

TESTIMONY ON H.R. 850 BEFORE  
THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS  
COMMITTEE

### HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, for too long, certain inequities have existed in the Federal tax structure. The tax bur-

den on single persons stands out as one of those inequities in the present tax laws. While those filing joint returns receive favorable tax bracket scheduling, citizens filing single tax returns must face higher schedules. H.R. 850, which I have cosponsored, would end this inequity and provide relief for the single taxpayer.

As a cosponsor of H.R. 850, I recently testified before the House Ways and Means Committee, and with your permission, I submit that testimony into the RECORD so that the people of Alaska might know my position on this issue. I might add that the statistics I found on this topic for Alaska are very interesting, and I hope my colleagues will take time to consider them:

#### TESTIMONY ON H.R. 850 BEFORE THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman: I am pleased to comment today on H.R. 850, which will provide long overdue tax relief for single taxpayers. As a co-sponsor of this bill, I believe it represents both a statement in favor of general reform of the tax structure, and a specific attempt to bring equity to one group of taxpayers who certainly deserve relief. I am very well aware that both the Chairman, and the Members of this Committee, share in the commitment to review the entire tax system to insure that the revenue burden of our Nation is distributed fairly, and I believe that this is a fine beginning point.

Mr. Chairman, I can see that many of our distinguished colleagues are prepared to offer testimony on this legislation, and I do not wish to burden the Committee with information it will certainly gain in other testimony. I do think that the Committee will be interested to learn of the effect of the legislation on my State of Alaska.

The fact is that Alaska has an extremely high percentage of single persons. Last year, Federal income tax returns for Alaska proved this fact conclusively. Of a total of 90,953 tax returns filed, 32,324 were "single" returns, constituting well over one-third of all returns filed. An additional 6,000 returns were filed in categories other than "joint" returns, leaving only about 52,000 joint returns. What this means is that nearly half of the taxpayers in Alaska are paying taxes in a higher bracket because they are single, widowed, divorced, or because both the husband and wife work. The national figures reflect a somewhat lower percentage of single filings. Of 75.8 million tax returns filed, 27.5 million were single and 2.7 million were returns of married couples where both members worked.

There are important reasons for this unusually high percentage of single taxpayers in Alaska, a percentage which must be among the highest in the Nation. First, Alaska is by nature a state which attracts young, adventurous and often single people to share in its lifestyle. The average age of all Alaskans is about 23 years of age, and 55% of all Alaskans are under the age of 24 years.

Alaska has always had an excess of male citizens, a fact which, not surprisingly, produces single taxpayers. In 1960, only 43% of Alaska's population was female. In the recent census, that figure has risen to 46%, still far below national norms. Although the female population has increased 41% in ten years, and the figure for single returns has dropped accordingly, Alaska still maintained the high number of single taxpayers I set out earlier.

Distressingly, Alaska continues to have a high divorce rate, in most years about 50% to 75% above the National average. Finally, Alaska has a substantial accident rate, undoubtedly a factor of difficult living conditions in some areas, and a high percentage of persons are widowed.

In summary, Mr. Chairman, the figures show that, for all these reasons and others, Alaska has an extremely high percentage of single persons. The 1960 census showed that of the male population over 14 years of age 40.4% of Alaskans were "single" for some reason. For 1960, the same figure for other states was from 25% to 34%.

For females over 14 years of age, Alaska showed 23.2% single, while other states were higher, up to 30%. I apologize for not having the 1970 figures for these categories.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that your Committee finds these statistics for Alaska useful and interesting, and I offer them to show that Alaska feels a special impact of inequities for single taxpayers. Still, I want to make it abundantly clear that I make no special pleading on this matter, for the lot of every single taxpayer is the same. Although Alaska ranks 50th in the Nation in percentage of taxpayers over 65, having only about 3% of its population in this category, I argue just as strongly for the many taxpayers who find themselves alone at this age, and I know that my colleagues from the many states having high percentages of retired persons share my view of the present tax inequity.

I simply believe that the revenue gathering system of our government must not function at the expense of those who cannot afford to pay, and should not be discriminated against for lack of a valid basis. Like the Committee, I shall be eager to learn the revenue implications of this reform, but I must say that I cannot conceive of a revenue report which could dissuade me from my commitment to this legislation.

#### THE ARCHIE BUNKER VOTE

### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, one healthy result of the recent series of Democratic primary elections has been that many of our commentators have rediscovered American working men and women, and their problems. It is ironic that it should have taken some of our national opinion leaders so long to recognize the very serious problems that beset those who work for a living in the United States. The disastrous economic policies of recent years, which brought unemployment to intolerably high levels even as inflation was skyrocketing, have greatly aggravated these problems. And the wholly one-sided and unfair manner in which the economic stabilization program has been administered had added even further to the worker's burdens.

Unfortunately, however, many of those who have just discovered that hard-working men and women have deep-rooted and legitimate grievances against the inequitable economic structure of America have done so in a distorted fashion. At this point many union members must be wondering whether neglect is not to be preferred to the bemused condescension which has replaced it. Symptomatic of this is the use of the Archie Bunker stereotype to describe those workers genuinely outraged—as they should be—at inequitable tax structures which favor the wealthy, or at law enforcement of antitrust laws, or of a price control system that allows meat prices to

leap upward at the highest rate in more than 20 years. The following article from the Washington Report of the United Auto Workers hits this point head-on, and I commend it to every Member of this body.

The article follows:

#### THE ARCHIE BUNKER VOTE

Let's establish first that Archie Bunker is a company foreman. He's not a clockpunching worker.

Despite all this Archie has become an easy stereotype to explain why a lot of people are voting against establishment candidates these days.

"The Archie Bunker" vote is supposed to be made up of blue collar, anti-busing, outraged taxpayers. It's a terribly over-simplified idea, which, of course, has some truth.

Archie Bunker, the star of "All in the Family" is a slob. But he's not a typical worker—far from it.

Last week the new Teamster newsletter "Focus" made national headlines with an open letter to presidential candidates and with an attack on the easy assumption that American workers are bigots and slobs. We'd like to join in with our two cents.

The results of the Wisconsin primary show a great deal of discontent among voters about the national tax situation and the impact of the local property tax.

Wisconsin's two U.S. Senators—Bill Proxmire and Gaylord Nelson—have been proponents for national tax reform. Nelson is on the Senate Finance Committee and has come up with a neat plan to plug tax loopholes and lower local property taxes. Democratic candidates were flocking to that bill in the last days of the Wisconsin primary.

Milwaukee's Congressman Henry Reuss has been a persistent supporter for tax reform in the House. It was his report that 112 rich families escaped paying any federal income tax which gave impetus to the current drive to do something about the unfair tax burden placed on working people.

The New York Times—very eastern and very establishment—did look beneath the surface of last Tuesday's voting in Wisconsin to find out why people voted the way they did. The Times survey is based on personal interviews with 382 voters in 36 precincts in nine randomly selected counties across the state.

The top issues among both Democrats and Republicans were "tax reform, inflation, high property taxes, ending the war and reducing crime." Republicans who crossed over to vote for either McGovern or Wallace did so because they were angry about economic issues.

The Times surveys shows that voters cast Democratic crossover vote if they were mad about Nixon's economic policies, not because they were trying to louse up the Democratic primary.

Among those who considered themselves firmly Republican, the Times survey showed that two-thirds felt the Nixon wage-price policies were failures. And Governor Wallace of Alabama got a third of the GOP crossovers, while Sen. George McGovern, the Wisconsin winner, got a quarter of the crossover.

Interestingly a third of the Republicans thought Wallace "a racist" while half the Democrats did. The Times said pocketbook issues were the dominant issue in the Wisconsin primary, and this was true among both Democrats and Republicans, as well as independents.

McGovern, reported The Times "outdistanced even Governor Wallace by margins of 2 to 1 among the large proportions of voters deeply troubled by economic issues."

Louis Bean, a Washington student of voting trends, observed last week that the Wisconsin primary points to a Democratic win in 1972. He said that when more people vote in the Democratic primary than in the Re-

publican primary, the trend in past years has been for a final Democratic victory in the November general election. He also warned about counting out either Sen. Humphrey or Sen. Muskie, on the basis of the Wisconsin primary alone.

"There are a lot of workers who are thin, think everyone deserves a truly equal opportunity, are sincerely compassionate and essentially intelligent," said the Teamster publication last week, "smart enough to know when they are being bs'd to death."

"We think that increasingly the resentment runs deep and that the resentment helps account for reactions in the voting booths during this hot presidential year."

"Maligned in public," the article says, "he knows he's being made fun of by the so-called opinion makers. Increasingly hurt, angry and resentful he is quite ready to voice his feelings in the voting booth."

#### DON'T LEGALIZE MARIHUANA

### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following newspaper article written by Rev. Daniel Lyons, S.J. and published in the National Catholic Register of Sunday, April 16, 1972:

[From the National Catholic Register, April 16, 1972]

#### DON'T LEGALIZE MARIJUANA!

(By Father Daniel Lyons, S.J.)

Only two nations in the civilized world have cut down on the use of drugs in the past few years: Sweden and Japan. Sweden's 27-year-old drug epidemic is slowing down for the first time because of much tougher narcotic laws.

Japan is cutting down on the use of narcotics by ruthless enforcement of laws against both users and suppliers. Japan also has a massive rehabilitation program and a nationwide government information policy. It has produced almost universal hostility toward drugs and a willingness on the part of the people to help police deal with the problem.

Red China has also cut down on the use of drugs, but it has done so by widespread use of capital punishment against anyone involved. I do not include China, since we cannot emulate her methods. Nor can we approve of the fact that she supplies at least 65 per cent of the world's illicit narcotics, according to a recent report from Australia.

According to Dr. William Baird, who has worked for 20 years with addicts in New York's Harlem, most of the heroin in this country comes from Communist China. "Letting down the trade barriers with Red China," he said, "will unleash a holocaust of drug addiction in this country."

"Heroin has exploded on us like an atomic bomb," said a noted pharmaceutical spokesman recently. There are at least 250,000 heroin addicts in the U.S. Four people die of heroin addiction every day in New York City alone, half of them under 23 years of age.

The important fact to remember about heroin addicts is that 90 per cent of them started on marijuana. Despite the lesson of success in Sweden and Japan, there is a concerted drive on in this country to deceive the public and legalize marijuana. The National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse released a report on March 22 that ridiculed the harmful effects of marijuana and urged



the President to remove any restraint on the use of marijuana "in small amounts."

Huge, powerful industries like tobacco and liquor would love to get their hands on yet another addictive product. According to reports, two U.S. tobacco companies have already purchased land in Mexico for growing marijuana if it is legalized.

How do we find out the facts? Not from M.D.'s who work for companies who want to legalize marijuana. Far better to rely on insurance companies, whose profits depend on keeping people healthy. According to Metropolitan Life, marijuana causes psychological addiction, leads to loss of energy and motivation, and causes hallucinations. "It makes him or her a good-for-nothing bum," in the words of the New York Daily News.

Every year 30,000 Americans are killed and 500,000 injured because of alcoholic drivers. Legalization of marijuana and widespread promotion of the drug could double the number of persons killed and injured on our highways.

Dr. D. Harvey Powelson, director of the Student Psychiatric Clinic at Berkeley, has treated 500 student marijuana smokers over the last five years. It appears to have a cumulative effect, he said, causing chronic changes "similar to those seen in organic brain diseases—lands of lucidity intermixed with areas of loss of function."

According to Dr. Frank Ayd, many of those who want to legalize marijuana disregard expert medical opinion that it is "a dangerous drug." Nor do they tell the public that there are at least six different types of marijuana. While increased doses may induce stupor, semicoma or coma, any dose "may cause anxiety, depression with suicidal tendencies, confusion, depersonalization, temporal disorientation, impaired judgment, panic reactions, paranoia and psychosis."

The President's Committee tried to pooh-pooh all that. On behalf of your children and grandchildren, send President Nixon a note and tell him what you think about it.

#### A NICE SOUND—FROM THE POSTMASTER GENERAL

**HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Indianapolis Star

of April 3, 1972, should come as welcome news to tired taxpayers. This is a start; may Postmaster General Klassen's tribe increase. The editorial follows:

#### A NICE SOUND

What Postmaster General E. T. Klassen said last week is music to a lot of ears.

He announced plans to cancel a \$450 million rate increase scheduled for next January, saying the public is not ready for it.

He said, "We must learn to live within our income."

He ordered a freeze on hiring.

He called for a dramatic reduction in costs.

He ordered a renewed emphasis on service and customer courtesy.

He told a meeting of United States Postal Service management:

"All of us must understand that the survival of the U.S. Postal Service depends upon everyone giving service. Service is the only thing we have to sell."

Bravo! He is our kind of bureaucrat, if he will pardon the expression. It is likely he is almost everyone's.

Let's hope what he has—and it looks like a terrific case of good sense—is catching.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Tuesday, April 18, 1972

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. L. G. Lipscombe, Allen Chapel AME Church, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

*Jesus said unto them, I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.—John 8: 12.*

Almighty God, under the all-embracing canopy of Thy goodness and mercy, we come as children in our Father's house.

In our deep concern for the Republic and for mankind everywhere, strengthen, we pray Thee, our grim resolve at any cost to push back the forces of darkness which threaten the dearly heritage of friends.

These anxious days we remember gratefully the armed battalions of our youth who have inherited so sorry a world—the Americans boys in our uniforms called to contend with the ruthless powers of tyranny. The cheerful courage of these knights of the treacherous land and trackless air, long leagues from home, in the face of deadly peril, shames our petty complaints and our magnified discomfitures here in their homeland and ours.

Give us, pray, prophetic glimpses of the different earth we can construct after the pattern of Thy kingdom, if together we harness the sacrifices and the costly ingenuities of conflict to the service of Thy children everywhere on this spinning globe.

We ask it in the name of the one who declared that the field is the world. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 9212. An act to amend the provisions of the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 to extend black lung benefits to orphans whose fathers die of pneumoconiosis, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to joint resolutions of the Senate of the following titles:

S.J. Res. 117. Joint resolution asking the President of the United States to declare the fourth Saturday of each September "National Hunting and Fishing Day"; and

S.J. Res. 169. Joint resolution to pay tribute to law enforcement officers of this country on Law Day, May 1, 1972.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2676) entitled "An act to provide for the control of sickle cell anemia," with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested.

#### CUTTING THE CAKE AND EATING IT TOO

(Mr. MONTGOMERY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, the North Vietnamese evidently think they can have their cake and eat it, too.

The Communists have invaded South Vietnam with brutal fierceness. This is an invasion to crush the South Vietnamese and to push the remaining Americans into the sea.

The President has the responsibility to protect our remaining American servicemen. Air strikes in North Vietnam are absolutely necessary to do this. We really have no other alternative since airpower is the only military might we have.

The air strikes have hurt the enemy. Now they say they want to reopen negotiations, but on their own terms.

The North Vietnamese are a cruel and inhumane enemy, Mr. Speaker. They only understand and respect force. In my opinion, the President is making the right decisions to protect the last Americans in South Vietnam.

#### RISE IN INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION FOR THE 7TH CONSECUTIVE MONTH

(Mr. RHODES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, this week the Federal Reserve Board reported that for the seventh consecutive month there was a rise in the index of industrial production in our economy. From February to March the index advanced 0.6 percent to a seasonally adjusted 109.6 percent of the 1967 average. This monthly increase is equal to a substantial 7.2 percent annual rate, and the rate at the end of March was 3.9 percent above a year earlier.

This good news regarding industrial production was matched by the report last Friday that construction contracting in 1972 is expected to reach \$85 billion, up from 1971's \$79.64 billion. This latest estimate, made by the F. W.