

of Congress on the occasion of his 88th birthday, May 8, 1972; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ESCH:

H. Con. Res. 585. Concurrent resolution to encourage an early end to the war in Indochina and to bring about the rehabilitation of Indochina, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HARRINGTON (for himself,

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. DOW, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. ECKHARDT, and Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD):

H. Con. Res. 586. Concurrent resolution to stop the bombing of North Vietnam; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. PRICE of Illinois (for himself and Mr. BETTS):

H. Res. 933. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to actions which should be taken by Members of the House upon being convicted of certain crimes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee (for

himself, Mr. ABOUREZK, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr. BEGICH, Mr. BEVILL, Mr. BRADENAS, Mr. BURTON, Mr. CLAY, Mr. DENHOLM, Mr. DICKINSON, Mr. DOW, Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana, Mr. FLYNT, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. FULTON, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mrs. GRASSO, Mr. HELSTOSKI, and Mr. HUNGATE):

H. Res. 934. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the full amount appropriated for the rural electrification program for fiscal 1972 should be made available by the administration to carry out that program; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee (for himself, Mr. JONES of Tennessee, Mr. JONES of North Carolina, Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. LINK, Mr. MCCORMACK, Mr. MALLARY, Mr. MATHIS of Georgia, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. MAYNE, Mr. MELCHER, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. OBEY, Mr. O'KONSKI, Mr. O'HARA, Mr. PRICE of Illinois, Mr. ROY, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. SIKES, and Mr. STUBBLEFIELD):

H. Res. 935. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the full amount appropriated for the rural electrification program for fiscal 1972 should be made available by the administration to carry out that program; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee (for himself, Mr. THONE and Mr. HARRINGTON):

H. Res. 936. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the full amount appropriated for the rural electrification program for fiscal 1972 should be made available by the administration to carry out that program; to the Committee on Appropriations.

### MEMORIALS

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

371. By the SPEAKER: A memorial of the Senate of the State of Hawaii, relative to the Federal lease program for low and moderate housing; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

372. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Hawaii, relative to the agreement between the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the Pacific

Maritime Association; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

373. Also, a memorial of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to regulation of the televising of certain professional athletic games; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

374. Also, a memorial of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to the protection of certain endangered species of wild animals; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

375. Also, a memorial of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to allowing greater immigration into the United States to the people of Ireland; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

376. Also, a memorial of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to the establishment of a veterans' hospital in the city of Worcester, Mass.; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. CAREY of New York:

H.R. 14500. A bill for the relief of Sigurd Daasvand; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 14501. A bill for the relief of Chief Petty Officer Edward Francis Burns; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MCCLURE:

H.R. 14502. A bill to quitclaim the interest of the United States to certain land in Bonner County, Idaho; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### SCOUTS WORK HARD TO IMPROVE OUR ENVIRONMENT

#### HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, young Americans are rightly concerned about environmental excellence for our Nation. During our celebration of Earth Week, I am happy to note that the young people in Delaware are particularly active in action programs that will improve our environment.

Among the leaders in this effort are the thousands of Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts throughout Delaware. Because of its significance, I would like to share the news of their work with the Senate.

The Girl Scouts have developed a most exciting program that will take place today throughout Delaware. These young ladies have named today Tree Plant Day.

Following school, many of the 13,021 Girl Scouts who live in Delaware will visit church yards, State and city parks, courthouses, schools, and nursing homes in the State. Together with Girl Scouts from the Delmarva Peninsula areas of Maryland and Virginia, the girls will plant many thousands of trees, both seedlings and larger trees.

This Tree Plant Day, which commemorates the 60th anniversary of the Girl

Scouts of America, is a most impressive effort. I believe it will offer a real benefit to the environment of Delaware in the years ahead.

As importantly, it demonstrates the commitment these young people have to environmental enhancement.

Then during next week, on Saturday, April 29, the Girl Scouts will join with many Boy Scout troops in programs for the second annual Scouting—Keep America Beautiful Day.

The 400 troops of Boy Scouts, Cub Scouts, and Explorer Scouts in Delaware, comprising 14,500 young men, plan to clean up litter from parks and roadsides throughout the State.

Last year's record was a most impressive one, when Scouts throughout Delaware cleaned up 450 miles of highway roadside, hauling many tons of trash away for proper disposal.

The Scouting—Keep America Beautiful Day program is a national effort, undertaken by the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts.

I know that all Members of the Senate share my sense of thankfulness for the fine effort of these young people.

Mr. President, to give a better understanding of these various efforts, I ask unanimous consent that a description of the Delaware Tree Plant Day program, and a description of Scouting—Keep America Beautiful Day be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the items

were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEWS RELEASE FROM CHESAPEAKE BAY GIRL SCOUT COUNCIL

17,000 Girl Scouts in the Chesapeake Bay Girl Scout Council will participate in a one day ecology happening on Wednesday, April 19. This single day event was planned to celebrate the 60th Anniversary of Girl Scouting.

In towns, cities and counties throughout the Delmarva peninsula, Girl Scouts will be planting trees in city and state parks, church yards, schools, firehouses and camps. Girls will learn about ecological needs and will take "Eco-Action". Some places, the Brownies will be planting banks of ivy to help stop erosion. There will be all kinds of trees—from inch-high seedlings to tall single specimen trees.

Some of the happenings will be the Rehoboth Beach, Del., troops planting at their church meeting place; 20 girls will be planting trees at the new park in Ocean View, Del. Some Maryland Girl Scouts will be planting at the Rock Hall, Md., Civic Center. In Salisbury, Md., the troops will be planting 500 seedlings at North Lake Park.

Girl Scout Troop 613 of Chestertown, Md., will be planting dogwood trees at the Magnolia Hall Nursing and Convalescent Home. Laurel, Del., girls will plant at the day care center. Seaford, Del., troops are planting at the Kiwanis Park. Snow Hill, Md., Brownie troop 363 will be planting at the Snow Hill Elementary School. Some Salisbury, Md., Brownies will plant something green at Beaver Run School. Federalsburg and Preston, Md. troops will be planting at the Preston School. At Rising Sun, Md., 65 Girl Scouts in troops 307, 129 and 44 will be planting at Hopewell United Methodist Church. Senior Museum Aides from Wilmington and Town-

send, Del., will be planting at Hagley Museum, Wilmington, Del.

One of the big single plantings will be at the Delaware Lum's Pond State Park. More than 258 girls will actually plant some 1500 seedlings provided by the state. These girls represent 25 troops in the New Castle County area. It is expected that approximately 250 additional Girl Scouts will be at the park for the 4:30 p.m. ceremony.

280 Girl Scouts will be planting silver maple trees at the Alfred I. duPont District Forwood Elementary School, 1900 Westminster Drive, Holiday Hills, north New Castle County. Girls from both the elementary and junior high schools will present the trees to Mr. Edison Blevins, principal, at the official ceremony at 3:30 p.m.

Because the 121 Girl Scouts in the three Brownie and three Junior troops who meet at Lombardy Elementary School, Foulk Road, New Castle County, gave hours of service to the school, the principal, Mr. Peter A. Mollahan is donating two flowering cherry trees to the Girl Scouts for their Tree Plant Day. At 3:15 p.m., the girls will plant these two flowering cherry trees, along with four more of the school's trees.

269 Girl Scouts from 19 New Castle, Del., troops will plant two double flowering cherry trees at 12 noon at the Colwyck Junior High School, Landers Lane, New Castle, Del. The school will not be open that day.

In Easton, Md., 250 Girl Scouts from 11 troops will be planting trees in the new West Street city parking lot at 4 p.m.

103 Wilmington Inner City girls from nine Girl Scout troops will plant a ten foot little-leaf Linden tree in Compton Park. At the official ceremony at 4 p.m., the Girl Scouts will present the trees to the people of Wilmington. It is expected that Mr. Roger Holmes administrative assistant in the Mayor's Office, will be there representing Mayor Haskell.

150 Girl Scouts in ten northeast Wilmington, Del. troops will plant a little maple tree at the Layton Home for the Aged, 35th and Market Streets. During the 3:30-4:30 p.m. ceremony, the girls from the troops will present the tree to the guests of the home. Each troop will sing songs and give personal gifts to the guests. Some of the gifts are expected to be flowers and others will be handmade crafts.

At the Alexis I. duPont Old Middle School, 3130 Kennett Pike, Greenville, Del., 150 Girl Scouts in troops from the Hockessin and Greenville area will plant ten four-foot hemlock trees and 1,100 clumps of crown vetch, a ground cover with a pink flower for soil erosion control on the bank where the bleachers used to be. The need for the plantings were studied by the school's student exterior ecology committee. The Girl Scouts will take action to see the job is done.

In Denton, Md., at 2 p.m., six troops with 110 girls will be planting flowering crab trees at the Caroline County Nursing Home.

Central Delaware Scouts will be planting really big specimen trees at the Redden State Forest. Girls from eight troops will plant eight trees. There will be one elm, two maples, an American Holly tree, blue spruce and cedar. The girls are from Milford, Georgetown, Lewes and Frederica.

The last sixty years have been filled with service to our country, and for our communities. Today there are over three-and-a-half million girls in Girl Scouting. They can make a big difference in the future.

#### BOY SCOUTS—KEEP AMERICA BEAUTIFUL DAY

The Boy Scouts of America and Girl Scouts of the USA, the nation's largest youth organizations, have been heavily involved in litter-prevention activities for many years.

On June 5, 1971, as the highlight of the Boy Scouts Project SOAR (Save Our American Resources) an annual service project, the Boy Scouts, joined by many other organizations, staged the first annual Scouting Keep

America Beautiful Day. It was so successful that it is being expanded in 1972.

Some six million Boy Scouts and four million Girl Scouts are joining forces with Keep America Beautiful, Inc. for the biggest one day cleanup program in American history. That will be the second annual Scouting Keep America Beautiful Day.

This massive cleanup and educational effort involves a major segment of the American public, combining the energies of young people with many organizations and their adult leaders into a program of action. The project is aimed at not only educating and motivating Americans, but actually cleaning the environment.

Scouting Keep America Beautiful Day is a highly visible project and the most significant one-day effort in the Boy Scouts Project SOAR program and the Girl Scouts Eco-Action program. Huge stacks of litter will be accumulated in central locations throughout the country. This litter will be recycled when possible, or disposed of in acceptable ways. For one day—April 29, 1972—national attention will be focused on litter. Millions of people, young and old, working to remove litter from our streets, parks, beaches and other recreation areas, will be seen by millions of others. The point will be made that people litter and that people can control litter.

The greatest benefit for Scouting Keep America Beautiful Day is the educational value for young people. Youth learns by doing, and the habits acquired on this project might carry through a lifetime.

An obvious objective of Scouting Keep America Beautiful Day is to help solve the litter problem itself by cleaning up as much as possible in this massive one-day effort. Experience has shown that the clean-up effort will continue throughout the year and not just occur on April 29. The young people and adults involved, once they see what a clean alley, vacant lot, or sidewalk looks like, will want to keep it that way. It has been shown that people accustomed to a littered environment tend to continue littering. But, when they see the results of a clean-up campaign, they begin to appreciate an improved environment and will want to contribute to further improvement.

A most important objective of Scouting Keep America Beautiful Day is to increase understanding of recycling as an answer to the nation's critical solid waste problem. The collected paper, glass, steel, aluminum and other materials will be recycled, where possible, into new and useful products. Recycling solves two problems at one time. First, it gets rid of the trash that may become litter. Second, it reduces the drain on natural resources needed to make the product. With increasing demands on raw materials from a growing population and with the volume of solid wastes outrunning our ability to dispose of them, recycling becomes the most attractive alternative.

#### SCOUTING KEEP AMERICA BEAUTIFUL DAY

##### What was done in 1971

Participants .....	2,000,000
Tons of Trash Collected .....	1,000,000
Miles of highways and streams cleaned .....	200,000
Acres of parks and public places cleared .....	400,000

##### What you can do in 1972

Provide assistance through your public relations staff or agency.

Have your facilities available to receive trash from Scouts.

Offer trucks or other transportation to your local Scouts.

Have your town proclaim April 29 Scouting Keep America Beautiful Day.

Publish helpful brochures on how to help solve your litter problem.

Use your imagination in promoting Scouting, Keep America Beautiful Day.

Get out on April 29 and do your part along with your Scouts.

A special committee is providing the financial support, expertise, guidance and active participation at national and youth levels. Representatives of business, labor, conservation and youth groups, and government make up this committee. For additional information on Scouting Keep America Beautiful Day contact Russell L. Bufkins, public relations, Boy Scouts of America, North Brunswick, N. J. 08902; or Lyle Youngstrom, Project SOAR public relations, at the same address. Phone (201) 249-6000.

National Chairman, Scouting Keep America Beautiful Day: David P. Reynolds, executive vice president and general manager Reynolds Metals Company.

Co-chairmen: James C. Bowling, assistant to the chairman, Philip Morris Company, and president, Keep America Beautiful, Inc., and Mrs. Murray Spitzer, Girl Scouts of the USA.

#### A POEM FROM 8-YEAR-OLD GIRL ON WHALES

##### HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1972

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress receive hundreds of letters and communications daily from their constituents. All receive careful attention, but only a very few of them are so special as to be unforgettable. Such was the letter I recently received which was in the form of a short poem.

This poem was composed by a little 8-year-old girl who lives in my hometown of Louisville.

Her poem arrived in my office the day before the House deliberated and adopted the Marine Mammal Protection Act. Its timely arrival made final and absolute my earlier determination to support this very necessary piece of legislation.

This poem is simple and childlike. Yet, it deserves inclusion in the RECORD as an example of the proposition that a simple plea, straight from the heart, is often more effective than the most compelling, erudite speech ever delivered.

One final note is in order, Mr. Speaker. If I appear inordinately impressed by this poem, it is explainable.

The little girl who sent this poem to me happens also to be my own sweet, talented and beautiful daughter, Andrea Marie.

Andrea's poem is as follows:

##### WHALES

Whales must be saved  
Some kind of way.  
Oh we'll be so happy that day,  
To see the whales free at last,  
And see the little whales swimming past.

#### DEFER SHUTTLE PROGRAM

##### HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow I will submit an amendment asking for a deferment of 1 year on the space shuttle



portion of NASA's fiscal year 1973 authorization legislation, H.R. 14070.

Briefly, my amendment calls for a thorough study of the shuttle program to be conducted by the National Academy of Sciences in order to accurately determine the real costs and mission of this multibillion-dollar program.

Hopefully, by this means the Congress will be able to determine exactly what the costs of the program will be and to obtain a more precise definition of its scientific and military role.

Pertinent and compelling reasons prompt my action.

First, despite continued assertions by NASA with respect to the costs, the fact is considerable cost uncertainty exists. Even the \$5.15 billion development cost is squishy soft and an opening door to additional costs that could exceed \$35 billion or more. The authors of NASA's Mathematica study have testified to the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee that the cost for the shuttle could exceed by many billions of dollars—due to great cost uncertainties—the figures constantly paraded by NASA.

Testimony by NASA itself fails to disclose this information and I feel that NASA has been less than candid in its presentations to the Congress.

Second, considerable skepticism must be accorded the proposed program for the space shuttle. Clearly, the facts indicate that NASA itself has no precise idea what the program will do. We need to know what the scientific program will be. We should know the scientific values and goals of the program before blindly voting to fund this program.

Third, Congress has yet to hear a straightforward presentation of the military implications for the shuttle. We need to know the interrelationship of the military mission, including payload costs and capacity, to the entire program. Obviously, military aspects loom large in NASA and Air Force plans. We are not certain how much of a military program is planned. If this aspect is significant—as it appears to be—then military costs should help develop and pay for this program. In addition to the important cost factor, international cooperation is expected to play a pivotal role for the shuttle. Cooperation with the Soviet Union and other nations will assuredly be affected by the military role. These questions need answers.

Finally, there appears to be a great deal of misunderstanding in the Congress with regard to the degree of "prosperity" the shuttle program will bring to an ailing aerospace industry. If NASA is correct in its program projection, only two to five shuttle vehicles and attendant supporting equipment will be fabricated. There is a short-lived program of a few years' duration with resultant short-term employment for somewhere between 30,000 to 50,000 workers, spread over some 30 States.

Thus, there are three basic areas that need answers before the shuttle can be approved.

First, how many billions of dollars is this going to cost the taxpayers?

Second, does it make sense to spend

\$5 billion or more to create 50,000 jobs for only 2 or more years?

Finally, does the program have significant military value and, if so, then why not include its costs in a military budget?

These and other related issues need clear and precise answers before we in the Congress vote a go-ahead on the shuttle program. I urge you to think hard about this program that is vague and ill defined, then vote to support my amendment to defer it for 1 year and evaluation by unbiased scientists.

I believe that Congress may have been sold a bill of goods, based on flimsy evidence, that is likely to plunge taxpayers into a 10-year billion-dollar commitment to justify NASA's space shuttle project.

#### THE COMPELLING NEED FOR RENT GUIDELINES REFORM

### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, after months of foot dragging and indifference to the economic plight of thousands of tenants being subjected to rent gouging under the administration's guidelines, the Rent Advisory Board last Friday finally held a day of public hearings on the rent regulations. While this belated evidence of concern with the impact of the guidelines is to be applauded, it is questionable whether the parent Price Commission will bestir itself in the near future and promulgate effective and uniformly fair rent regulations. Those of us in Congress whose constituents were being slapped with unconscionable rent increases while the Price Commission adopted a policy of "malign neglect" will be watching closely for concrete results from the Advisory Board's hearings.

One of the witnesses at the hearings last Friday was Mr. Martin Aranow, president of the New Jersey Tenants' Organization. In his testimony, Mr. Aranow presented a compelling indictment of the inequities and ineffectiveness of the current rent guidelines and made several positive recommendations for reform. I endorse Mr. Aranow's testimony wholeheartedly and include his prepared statement to the Rent Advisory Board at this point in the Record:

TESTIMONY OF MARTIN ARANOW, PRESIDENT, NEW JERSEY TENANTS ORGANIZATION, FORT LEE, N.J.

My name is Martin Aranow. I am President of the New Jersey Tenants Organization, a statewide tenants association of over 500,000 members that encompasses all racial, ethnic, age and economic backgrounds, and that in the period of two short years has transformed archaic landlord tenant relationships in New Jersey into one approximating equality.

I am here today to speak on behalf of these members, working men and women whose wages have been frozen by governmental fiat at 5.5% while they watch their greatest single expenditure—their rents, rise 15 to 45%. These are men and women who looked to you for help and have instead received nothing but added confusion, insecurity and an even

greater fear of their landlord than they had before.

Gentlemen, whether by design or error, the interim regulations between November 13th and December 29th, and the Phase 2 regulations have been a total and complete failure. The guidelines do not guide, the controls do not control, and the enforcement machinery does not enforce.

Rather than ease the inflationary spiral, rather than recognize how much the consumer, the tenant, had been hurt prior to the freeze, rather than deal with the problems you faced in public so that positive recommendations could have been given, preventing the maze of confusion, you secretly created these guidelines. Your regulations have created confusion, has created a citizen distrust of government and has encouraged an all pervading cynicism over our entire political system.

However, my purpose here is not to dwell on the thousands of individual cases we have been forced to deal with. I assume that these hearings have been called to re-evaluate the guidelines so that a more equitable workable program will evolve. I would like to cover two areas. First, I would like to highlight what is wrong with the current program and secondly, I would like to offer what I consider the minimum standards of regulations that would be acceptable to New Jersey tenants.

Prior to detailing the errors in the current program I would like to make two concepts clear to you. In New Jersey we are currently attempting to have our legislature enact a reasonable program of rent legislation which we call "rent leveling." New Jersey's powerful real estate interests vehemently oppose this program claiming it is rent control. Their argument and I quote "You cannot control one sector of the economy without controlling the other. The only controls that would be acceptable on rents would be part of an overall wage-price-rent control." unquote. New Jersey landlords agree to be limited by federal controls and yet have been given license to increase rents to fantastically high levels.

Secondly, the severe housing shortage which we face in New Jersey and in the northeast may be shared by other sections of the nation. Where the housing shortage exists reforms of these guidelines are crucial. Although it would be ideal to have uniform regulations, we do not have a uniform nation and exceptions must be made. This possibility must be faced.

Now, what is wrong with the regulations. To begin with, the rent increase formula—highest average transaction: First, as I mentioned earlier, when a man's wages are limited to 5.5%, you morally cannot allow his greatest annual expense to rise anywhere from 10 to 45%. Secondly, you discriminate between tenants with and without leases. Third, allowing rents to increase in this manner is inflationary and does not adhere to the purpose controls were adopted. Is there any wonder why our citizens are losing faith in government? Fourth, you permit a single transaction to determine the percentage increase for any number of tenants. One 25% transaction could allow 2,000 tenants to have their rents raised 25% in a large apartment complex.

Fifth, the interpretations of the regulations are so varied and confusing that the Internal Revenue Service cannot agree on them not only at various offices throughout the State, but even within their own office at a single location. Sixth, the burden of disproving a landlord's claim that he is entitled to a rent increase falls on the tenant, the one who is least competent and able to disprove it. Aside from not knowing what to look for within leases, he must often take time off from his work to examine the records.

**Taxes**—A tenant is liable to pay any increase in taxes. However, there is no provision for the tenant to receive a rent reduction in the unlikely event taxes are reduced. It is only equitable to provide the same treatment to both parties. In addition, there is no incentive for the landlord to file a tax appeal to lower the taxes. If the landlord does file a tax appeal, the tenants receive nothing. If the appeal is successful, the landlord has additional windfall profits. In addition, landlords who delay tax payments into quarterly payments are charging unsuspecting tenants 1971 taxes and not 1972 taxes. This must be stopped.

**Productivity**—There is absolutely no provision for a tenant to appeal for reduced rentals because the landlord has cut services and maintenance in order to increase his profit margin. If the landlord is allowed a basic rent increase to cover increased costs, equity dictates the tenant must be able to reduce rents for reduced services and maintenance.

**Escalation clauses**—Some landlords are granting long term leases which tenants are forced to sign with minimal increases the first year and exorbitant increases the second year. In addition, many leases now being written include clauses that permit 15% or greater rent increases as soon as controls are lifted.

**Cut off**—To those upper income tenants in luxury buildings we ask why are they exempt from controls if their rent is over \$500.00 per month. Why not \$400? Why not \$300 or \$200? The fact is that this cut off figure is arbitrary, discriminatory and probably illegal. To eliminate from controls certain rentals is like using Orwellian logic "all tenants are equal but some are more equal than others."

**Retaliation**—There has been virtually no protection from a landlord evicting or threatening to evict a tenant for either complaining to the Internal Revenue Service or other public body about what he believes are questionable landlord practices.

There are numerous cases where the tenant has been evicted before the I.R.S. has had an opportunity to investigate. And finally the role of the Internal Revenue Service and the U.S. Attorney's Office. Rather than describe the cases in which various offices did not act on complaints, rather than describe the incorrect information disseminated by various offices, and rather than question why only a handful of cases were prosecuted suffice to say that the thousands of complaints that have been received, indicated they are not doing the job. Or, we could assume they were doing as much as they could do with the handicaps you gave them with these guidelines.

To summarize these and other objections let me say that any program that is subject to a variety of interpretations is a bad program. Any program that puts the burden of proof inequitably on the party who is least able to prove the validity of the program is a bad program. And finally, any program that is not simple to administer and understand is not only a bad program but a very costly program.

What can be done to correct these objections? It appears to me that you must not only correct these current injustices but you must restore peoples faith in government by correcting any injustices that occurred earlier.

The recommendations I intend to make are not to swing the pendulum from the landlord to the tenant but to enable equity to exist between both landlord and tenant. These recommendations are solely intended to protect people and have the rent guidelines carry out the purposes and intent of the Economic Stabilization Act—to curb inflation.

**Rent increases**—There must be three criteria for rental increase formula. First, the month to month or shorter tenancy. Sec-

only, the tenancy greater than one month and up to 12 months. Third, leases that have been in effect for longer than 12 months. For simplicity the month to month tenant would continue the present program except with modifications outlined later.

The final determination for rent increases will be August 15th, 1971. Any tenant who had a 12 month lease expiring after August 15, 1971 can receive no greater increase in rent than 2.5%. Any tenant who had a lease of longer than 12 months expire after August 15, 1971 can have no greater increase than 5%.

Any leases that were signed at higher rentals according to the Interim or Phase 2 guidelines will be rolled back to the above levels. In addition, any money that the tenant paid over these levels will be rebated to him in the form of credits against future rentals during the balance of the lease.

Make no mistake, your guidelines have encouraged hardships for tenants and encouraged rent gouging. I stress that I am requesting not only roll backs to August 15, 1971 levels, but rent rebates. I would like any member of the Commission to be able to justify why the tenant whose wages were frozen at 5.5% should not have returned the excess in rent he has been forced to pay.

I would like to cite another reason I feel rent rebates must be granted. Prior to the announcement of the interim regulations Chairman Grayson warned landlords not to raise rents until the rent guidelines were issued. Landlords of month to month tenants ignored the request despite repeated warnings. When the guidelines were finally announced and the rents rolled back to the September 1st level, landlords were allowed to keep whatever increases they managed to get. Despite the fact, landlords were warned not to increase rents they were rewarded by allowing them to keep what they had extracted.

Fixed percentage increases are not subject to various interpretations, which is one of the downfalls of the current program.

**Taxes**—Increased taxes are a reasonable expense to pass on to the tenant. However, the regulations must provide that decreases in taxes are also passed onto the tenant lowering the rents. In addition, the landlord must be given incentive to file for a tax appeal. Should he be successful he should be able to recover money and after expenses so should the tenant.

**Productivity**—The tenant must have the right to reduce his rentals if the landlords has reduced services and maintenance.

**Reprisals and coercion**—Reprisals and coercion cover many terms from outright evictions to enforcement of obscure lease provisions. The landlord who utilizes this tactic of "fear" must know that if he attempts a reprisal, the tenant himself can have injunctive relief for those who can afford an attorney and a defense in eviction proceedings for those who cannot afford an attorney. If a tenant complains to a public official about regulations, if he lodges a good faith complaint with his landlord about conditions, if he does little more than exercise his constitutional rights of freedom of speech, he must be protected.

Your regulations must make reprisal a defense in eviction proceedings. It must utilize the language that this defense can be raised for the tenant refusing to comply with the terms of tenancy "if altered substantially" by the landlord.

This will cover any retaliatory act. What is crucial to their defense or injunctive procedure is that once reprisal is raised as a defense a "rebuttable presumption" is created where the landlord has the burden to prove he is not taking a reprisal. If he can prove he is not taking a reprisal the tenant could be evicted. If it is a reprisal the case will be dismissed. Tenants must have the right to sue

for civil damages and the government must also have the right to sue for damages.

This protection is essential and without it any regulations are meaningless. Whenever you have a housing shortage, the tenant is not in an equal bargaining position.

**Eliminate tenant exemptions**—All tenants regardless of what their rental should be protected by the federal guidelines. The \$500 exemption should be eliminated. We sometimes forget that rich people are still people and should not be discriminated against merely because they are rich.

**Appeal procedures**—By removing the heavy administrative burden on the I.R.S., by providing fixed percentage levels, an appeal mechanism should be created so that tenants or landlords who wish to appeal can go before a panel. Perhaps two I.R.S. representatives and one Deputy U.S. Attorney can serve as hearing examiners. Both tenants and landlords shall be notified of a pending appeal and each side will be asked to present an evidence. In this manner we are again being equitable.

Gentlemen, I would like to conclude by requesting that you carefully evaluate my criticisms and recommendations. I urge you to view these proposals not in terms of facts and figures but in terms of people. People who you have asked to weed through a landlord's books, interpret complicated leases, and decipher complex rent formulas. People who overcame a fear of eviction to register complaints. People who stood on lines outside the I.R.S. office or who heard the busy signal on the I.R.S. telephone. People who wrote United States Congressmen and Senators and were told there was nothing that they could do.

In short gentlemen, we are still a nation of people and the first consideration of any government must be the concern over the general welfare of the people. This has not been done thus far and I urge you to recognize that what is good for the people makes good policy and good politics.

## NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE ON THE EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES ACT

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. Speaker, on March 30, 1972, Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, presented testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Education on the Equal Educational Opportunities Act and the Student Transportation Moratorium Act. In his testimony, Mr. Jordan points out that the legislation would deny equal protection of the laws and equal educational opportunity for minority children.

Mr. Jordan is a brilliant and articulate leader of one of America's most important institutions which devotes its resources to secure equal opportunity for black Americans and other minorities.

Because quality education is a national priority, I am pleased to submit for the RECORD Mr. Jordan's statement so that my colleagues will have an opportunity to analyze the suggestions made in considering this legislation:

TESTIMONY OF VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, my name is Vernon E. Jordan,



Jr. I am the Executive Director of the National Urban League.

The National Urban League is a professional, non-profit, non-partisan community service organization governed by an interracial Board of Trustees and founded in 1910 to secure equal opportunity for black Americans and other minorities.

The League seeks solutions to problems of income, employment, education, housing, health and civil rights for the masses of black and brown Americans who want a better way of life. It recognizes that any meaningful and significant changes in these problem areas rest with changing the network of systems which produce black-white disparities.

It works through local affiliates in 100 cities located in 37 states and the District of Columbia, five regional offices and a Washington-based Department of Government Affairs. These units are staffed by some 2,000 persons, trained in the social sciences and related disciplines, who conduct the day-to-day activities of the organization throughout the country.

Strengthened by the efforts of more than 25,000 volunteers who bring expert knowledge and experience to the resolution of minority problems, the National Urban League is unique as the only national educational and community service agency which devotes its entire resources to the use of social work and research techniques for bettering the lives of the disadvantaged and for improving race relations.

Mr. Chairman, it is a sad commentary on the moral state of this nation that I am here to talk about equal educational opportunity. It is my belief that the bill being considered by your committee and the Student Transportation Moratorium Act, of which it is an inseparable part, in intent and meaning, represent a dangerous first step in the process of arresting racial progress and reinstituting the immoral system of segregation. The proposed legislation is wrong in its approach to the problems; it induces a psychology of defiance of the law and of the Constitutional rights of minority citizens; it will give many people sanction for resegregation; it is a betrayal of the millions of Americans—white and black—who have struggled to overcome the discredited system of racial segregation; it panders to the worst in the citizenry, at the expense of the most noble ideals in our heritage, and it threatens a grave Constitutional crisis based upon its unwarranted limitation of the powers of the judiciary.

For eighteen years, black Americans and concerned white citizens have labored to win compliance with the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision. For nearly two decades, we have put up with violence, intimidation, open defiance of the law by school districts, covert defiance of the law, and a multitude of strategies designed to maintain segregated schools. Now, as we stand poised at the brink of the final dismantling of the dual school systems, the Congress is considering not only these newly proposed bills, but several other bills and proposed Constitutional amendments, all of which would return us to the evil system from which we are struggling to escape.

I must point out that the current crisis over desegregation is not so sudden as many would have us believe. For nearly two decades the law has been defied at will; for nearly two decades, school systems have had the opportunity to correct past segregationist patterns. And throughout these nearly two decades of deceptions and lies, the executive branch, the Congress, and above all, the courts, have been stalwart in insisting upon the desegregation of the schools. I would hope that this committee and this Congress will refuse to become a party to the betrayal of the ideals that have informed the actions of the government over these past 18 years.

In the *Brown* decision, the Court ruled that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." It thus ruled that the end of such schools is a Constitutional right and a legal obligation. The following year it ordered the dismantling of the dual school system "with all deliberate speed," a verdict that has been followed more with deliberation than with speed. In 1968, in the *Green* decision, the Court ruled that freedom of choice plans, similar to those permitted by the proposed new legislation, were unacceptable and that segregation must be eliminated "root and branch." And in last year's *Charlotte-Mecklenburg* decision, the Court unanimously upheld busing as a means of achieving desegregation and insisted that "desegregation plans cannot be limited to the walk-in school."

The legislation the Congress is now considering flies in the face of these landmark decisions and would insure that segregated schools will persist in this nation and that the Constitutional rights of black and white children will be compromised. The issue has focused on busing, and the debate has been disfigured by popular myths and misconceptions of busing and its role. Busing is not an end in itself. It is but one of several mechanisms which can be used to desegregate illegal and unconstitutional segregated schools.

It is often said that the issue is massive busing to achieve racial balance. This is a gross distortion of the facts. American school children are not bused for racial balance. Busing, as ordered by the courts and other governmental bodies, takes place for one reason only—to desegregate segregated schools. Further, busing is a phony issue in that children have always been bused. Forty percent of all American school children are bused, the vast majority for reasons that have nothing to do with desegregation. Only about three percent of children are bused for purposes of desegregation, and it has been estimated that even today, more children are bused to maintain segregation than to overcome it.

It is also a myth that court-ordered busing imposes unreasonable burdens upon school children. This is generally false, but if any such instances are demonstrable, the remedy lies in the courts and not in legislation or in Constitutional amendments that would frustrate the larger purpose of desegregation. In many southern school districts, court-imposed busing plans have resulted in less travel time and less riding mileage than previously. One North Carolina educator has testified that buses in his district are "traveling 15 fewer minutes per day to achieve integration than they did to achieve segregation." And in many districts, black children have borne the major part of the busing burden, as previously all-black schools have been closed because they were clearly inadequate and white district officials refused to allow white children to attend them. Therefore, it is the black children who must be bused to previously all-white schools. Such remedies as may be called for in rare cases of unreasonable amounts of busing are clearly dealt with in the appellate process. In the *Charlotte-Mecklenburg* decision, the Court indicated that it would disallow capricious or unreasonable busing, and that it would not accept busing to achieve racial balance. There is then, no need for Congressional action, in itself dubious on Constitutional grounds.

The proposed legislation is reminiscent of the language of the majority opinion in the infamous *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision of 1896, in that it would revive the discredited "separate but equal" doctrine that is clearly a denial of the equal protection clause of the Constitution. I must remind this Committee and the Congress that what we are dealing with are sacred Constitutional rights, that must not be trampled upon if we are to re-

main a free nation with pretensions to democracy and openness.

I speak from experience, as one who was denied equal educational opportunities. As a student in the segregated David T. Howard High School in Atlanta in 1951, my 11th grade classmates and I studied geometry from beat-up, yellowing and marked textbooks used in 1935, the year of my birth, by white students in the all-white high school. Even with these hand-me-downs, my experience was still better than that of generations of black children whose segregated schools closed early to give them time to chop cotton in the fields while white children rode by on school buses bound for the education that would enable them to escape poverty.

I submit that this proposed legislation would destroy the impetus to desegregation and create the conditions that would allow a return to those days and those practices. It would be far too easy to neglect the racial feelings that are at the root of the national hysteria over busing and that this proposed legislation encourages. It has become a mandatory cliché for people in public life to deny that racial prejudices have anything to do with the busing controversy. Mr. Chairman, the truth, ugly as it is, must be laid on the table. I do not believe that the busing issue would gain the prominence it has, if many white Americans did not cling to the notion that their kids must not go to school with black children. It was never an issue when black kids were bused past all-white schools to attend all-black schools; it has only become an issue as desegregation has begun to become a reality.

The Wall Street Journal of March 20 ran a remarkably frank article that reveals this fact. The Journal talked with residents of Coy, Alabama, a town that used busing extensively to maintain segregated schools, but is now under orders to desegregate. The report quoted one man as saying that his grandchildren, "ain't going on a bus with a bunch of niggers to a school with nigger teachers." To the residents of Coy, busing isn't busing unless black children are aboard. "As long as we don't have niggers on there, it's not busing," said one woman. "Busing is making the white children get on with the niggers." And a pillar of Coy's society, a state senator with a masterful gift for logic, declared: "We don't call what we've been doing busing. That's just carrying the children to school. If a kid's got to ride a bus 50 miles to get to school I'm in favor of it. But I'm not in favor of carrying them one mile to achieve integration."

Sickening as these feelings are, at least they are frank and honest. One must respect honesty, no matter how misguided. But when some white people in northern cities, like Buffalo, New York, which recently defied the state's orders to bus to desegregate, insist that race plays no part in their motives, then we are face-to-face with hypocrisy of the first order. And, Mr. Chairman, I would suggest to you that such hypocrisy is part and parcel of the proposed legislation, for it aids and abets those who would subvert the process of desegregation in language dripping with the honey of meaningless guarantees for denial of discrimination and concern for equal educational opportunity. But the result of this bill would be to deny equal protection of the laws and equal educational opportunity for minority children, as well as seriously retarding the ability of white children to prepare themselves for life in a multi-racial society and a multi-racial world.

And this proposed legislation is hardly calculated to increase respect for the law and for the Constitution, inasmuch as it represents a grave challenge to the finely wrought system of checks and balances that is the keystone of the American system of government. It constitutes a frontal attack on the separation of powers. The proposition that Congress has the right to put limits on the

ways in which the courts can enforce the Constitutional rights of citizens is a revival of the doctrine of interposition and is a gross usurpation of the prerogatives of the judicial branch of government by a co-equal branch, the legislative. Basically, this proposed legislation suggests that Congress can stop the courts from ordering busing to make school districts comply with the law and with the Constitution. This, in spite of the multitude of court decisions establishing the role of the judiciary in defining Constitutional right and decisions on school segregation and busing.

I would hope that the Congress will reject this dangerous and unwarranted disruption of its established Constitutional role. I would hope that legislators will resist the temptation to act recklessly and expeditiously in an election year, counting on the ultimate negation of this legislation by the Supreme Court sometime after the polls close. History is strewn with failed civilizations and nations that acted on short-term expedience, thus undermining the legal order and social values that kept their societies viable.

At this point, I am impelled to point out that the overwhelming majority of the black community sees this proposed legislation as a dangerous threat, not only to the Constitutional process, but also to further progress in racial reconciliation. Many people have seized upon the anti-busing statements of a vociferous minority to prove that black people are against busing. The legitimate ghetto cry for community control is taken as an indication that black people do not want their children to go to white schools.

The fact is that most black people are solidly for busing to desegregate the schools. Most black elected officials support it, from the Congressional Black Caucus on down to lower elected offices. Concern over the proposed legislation has even been publicly voiced by black appointed officials within the Administration. The fact is that most black people are not fooled by the apparent increase in funds for ghetto schools. We know that the money in the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1972 is simply a transfer of funds from Title One and from other pending legislation. I must point out that these funds are but a drop in the bucket, compared to the need. Presented in their present form, they represent a thinly veiled bribe to accept resegregation accompanied by the pretense of increased compensatory education for the poor.

But even if the principle could be swallowed, the funds provided by this legislation are grossly inadequate. It has been estimated that up to \$15 billion will be required to undo the damage wrought by decades of neglect, to provide the buildings, teachers, equipment and peripheral services required by students who have been victimized by poverty and a denial of basic needs and services.

And the cry for community control and participation is not met by this legislation, either. The black community's desire to control the institutions that serve it will not be met by funds going to predominately white school boards for eventual allocation to poverty-area schools; those funds will still be controlled by the white establishment including, in some cases, school boards and district supervisors that have resisted desegregation for the past two decades.

It is my feeling, and I believe that of the majority of black people, that the schools should be desegregated and that busing is one of a number of legitimate means of achieving that desegregation. And I fully recognize that some schools will remain all or predominately black. In some areas there simply are no whites to integrate with. In those schools every effort must be made to involve the black community in the decisions affecting their children and in the admin-

istration of schools and funds so that adequate education is achieved.

It is clear that I reject the proposed legislation in its entirety, and therefore there is no need to discuss specific articles in detail. I should point out however, that black people can have no faith in those portions of the proposed legislation that purport to insure that no state or locality will deny equal educational opportunity. Our experience with anti-discrimination clauses in legislation has been that they are not enforced and only casually complied with. Their existence here, as part of proposed legislation whose ultimate effect would be to deny Constitutional guarantees of educational opportunity and to rollback the process of desegregation is especially ironic.

At the root of this proposed legislation, is a feeling among many people that there has been enough integration; that the country must now pause and consolidate the gains that have been made, and that the proposed moratorium on busing is a good way to do that. I will not here deal with the question of how much is enough, or of what percentage of his rights any citizen should be denied. I merely wish to point out that the moratorium is not a pause in an ongoing process of desegregation, but rather it is the rollback of what has already been achieved. Under the proposed legislation any school district under court order to bus children to desegregate the schools can go back to the lower courts and ask for a revision of the order to comply with the new law. This, and other features, means that many districts that have reluctantly desegregated can go back to separate schools. And the psychological effect of a moratorium on busing is to instill among many white citizens and among school boards the conviction that they need never desegregate.

The debate over busing is reminiscent of the debate in the early sixties over the desegregation of public places. Then as now, the basic issue was one of access. There is no inherent virtue in sitting next to a white child in school, just as there was no inherent virtue in sitting next to a white person at a lunch counter. But there is considerable inherent virtue in equal access to the rights and privileges of this society—and that is what the civil rights struggle today, as in the sixties, is all about. So long as this society has pretensions of being democratic and open, and so long as the resources of public education are concentrated in the hands of the majority white population, the schools must be integrated.

Mr. Chairman, it is my hope that this Committee and the Congress will not let itself be stamped by the artificially inspired public hysteria over the supposed "issue" of busing. It is my fervent hope that it will provide the leadership and the understanding that will overcome the shrill voices of those discredited, but still powerful elements in our society who refuse to accept the principles and values of equality that have informed our nation and provided the impetus for the giant leap to freedom made by this Congress in the decade past. This ill-advised proposal for a moratorium on busing is actually a moratorium on human rights. Because of the fact that the proposed legislation is based on misconceptions about the role of busing in achieving desegregated schools, and because it will have the effect of halting the desegregation of our society, and because its passage will result in a Constitutional crisis of the utmost gravity, I respectfully urge you to reject this bill, and its companion measure.

If legislation is called for, it should be legislation that increases the speed of the process of desegregation; it should be legislation that supports the courts rather than diminishes them; it should be legislation that provides ample funds to educate our children; it should be legislation that once and for

all ends the poverty and deprivation that afflict millions of minority youngsters, and it should be legislation that heals our divided nation and brings it together again, rather than legislation such as that before you now, which rubs salt in the wounds of a racially divided society and drives it further apart.

As the President has so eloquently stated, we must, indeed, "strike a balance which is thoughtful and just; to search for answers that will best serve all of our nation's children." Measured by that test, I have confidence that this Committee will reject this proposed legislation and provide the moral leadership our nation so sorely needs.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

## ISRAEL—AN INSPIRATION TO ALL THE WORLD

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, the State of Israel is an inspiration to all the world.

This 24th anniversary is a proud monument to the cause of national independence, a brilliant testimony to unstinting courage and perseverance.

Israel is a little country that boasts a great people. Threats and suffering, the brink of danger as well as its midst have been constant companions to be lived with, endured, and turned into strengths.

A wealth of talent and a will of steel have enabled this remarkable people to flower a desert in the very shadow of the adversary. Irrigated land more than quadrupled and cultivated land doubled in the first two decades of independence. Since statehood, thousands of acres of swamps and desert, marshes and eroded hills have been claimed and made to bloom. Besides agricultural development has come far-ranging economic development, which has projected Israel since independence from the level of other developing countries to an economic position superior to some of the Western European nations.

Mr. Speaker, Israel is a modern miracle that grows in fortitude and strength. Her people pray for peace—as we all do—and still we read too often of the incidents of war in the Middle East.

Israel needs resources for further social and economic development—to help new settlers make a new life. And they need the assistance to assure defenses in the event of war.

Hopefully, increasingly large numbers of Soviet Jews will be allowed to migrate to Israel.

## HOPE IN DOPE

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, when we calculate the costs of unemployment we tend to add up



only the economic ones and overlook the indirect negative effects that are less easily measured. The social price that this Nation pays for unemployment is probably incalculable in its entirety, because damage to the fabric of our society and most especially to our youth is so deep that we have difficulty discovering its extent.

Jobless youths are now turning to drugs in their aimless wandering among the streets of those areas particularly hard hit by the downturn in the economy. They are prime targets for pushers who offer the young "hope in dope." An editorial in my district paper, noting the findings of scientists in a University of Michigan study on narcotics habits, says that the highest drug usage is among unemployed young people and military persons. Corresponding harm is inflicted on the rest of the citizens when addicts must commit crimes in order to support their habits.

We must ask ourselves what else is being destroyed or disrupted among the young today? The security and fulfillment that come from a career or even from steady employment is unknown to them. Unlike those with considerable work experience who have had the taste of honey that a job can bring, the young see no tangible reward for educational or training efforts. The satisfaction and delight from the world of drugs, no matter how illusory, offer a hope more easily attained. This country must face the fact that for a young person the ease of obtaining any kind of drug on the street is far greater than obtaining a job.

The horrible truth is that in all of 1971 the average unemployment rate for 16- to 24-year-olds was 13 percent, more than double the rate for everyone else. Even sadder is the fact that in March 1972, the rate for the same group was up to 13.2 percent.

There are currently 2,624,000 youths without jobs who are potential addicts, potential criminals to support their habits, and further, potential discontents with "the system."

The editorial follows:

[From the Hudson (N.J.) Dispatch, Apr. 7, 1972]

#### JOBLESS TARGET FOR DOPE

The sluggish economy, particularly the incidence of high unemployment, has caused another serious problem, which may not be readily apparent. It lies in the point that dope usage is highest among youths who are without jobs.

With the tight financial conditions, it has been more than amply evident that many young people are just wandering around the streets looking for something to do. Particularly is this noticeable in the urban ghetto areas of Hudson County, of Newark and New York City.

So, not having anything to do, what happens? The dope pushers get active and crime correspondingly increases as the young men—and some women—try to get cash to pay for their habit. This is the insidious circle within a circle on all of this.

The point about the high dope usage came out the other day in a nationwide examination of narcotics habits among young people by a group of scientists at the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center.

It found that the highest rates of drug use are among unemployed youths and in

military camps, not on college campuses. College students were found to be using drugs at a rate about equal to that of the average for people of the same age in all walks of life.

While this gives encouragement to the parents of college students that they are not going off the "deep end" on narcotics, it is disturbing to see the report on the jobless youths and those in service, with the unemployed young people "hooked" the worst.

And, you'd better believe that dope peddlers know all of this. Note that wild night-club shootout in Atlantic City by gunmen from rival Philadelphia narcotics gangs in which three young women and a millionaire heroin pusher were killed.

This all ties in. It's a real problem, no matter how you try to equate it. It needs the thinking and doing of everyone if we are to prevent the spread of the narcotics scourge among any more of our young people. We've got to keep alert to all of this.

#### A COGENT POLITICAL ANALYSIS BY MR. PAUL PARKS

### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, our colleagues who constitute the Black Caucus recently cosponsored a vigorous and stimulating meeting in Cambridge, Mass., on the subject of national black priorities. One of the interesting papers presented to that caucus was a cogent political analysis delivered by Mr. Paul Parks. Mr. Parks is director of the model cities program in Boston, and has held that post since 1968. Prior to that, he was a distinguished architect, who compiled an impressive community-oriented record, both in his profession, and as chairman of the Education Committee of the Greater Boston NAACP.

As model cities director, he presides over an integrated area of Boston which has all of the ills of any old, urban center, and he has discharged the responsibilities of that very demanding job with great distinction.

I am pleased at this time to be able to make available to my colleagues Mr. Parks' forthright discussion of current American politics, especially as that relates to the black people of our country:

PROPOSAL BY PAUL PARKS, MODEL CITY ADMINISTRATOR FOR THE CITY OF BOSTON TO THE NATIONAL BLACK CAUCUS ON NATIONAL BLACK PRIORITIES

The position of Black Americans in our country has reached a crisis. The Nixon strategy has had the effect of making the scapegoat for the urban ills the black man because of the inability to carry out a legitimate solution to the war in Vietnam. Further, the inability to find an effective solution to rising unemployment and inflation. It was and is necessary to divert the American public's attention from these issues to some other issues that would have an emotional impact on the most affected group of American citizens.

These are the American citizens that make up our solid middle-class. These are the people who are now, in addition to the poor, finding it difficult to survive. This group of people are now finding themselves unemployed or under-employed. This group of

Americans had considered themselves to have made it. Now they are faced with the possibility that they may not indeed have made it. They just can't afford to do the things that just a short while ago were possible. They are having trouble keeping the home in good repair, they can't afford to protect the family's health as they would like; health costs are just too high. They have trouble sending the children to college because this cost has become prohibitive and their income just cannot keep pace with escalating college costs. This group of people are groping for an answer as to why they are in this dilemma. The Nixon Administration has given them a reason—black people.

First, there was an attack on the press for being too liberal. This attack was to be sure that the press would be at least an unwitting participant in the new national strategy. It soon became apparent that being too liberal meant too liberal toward blacks.

Then came the attack on the welfare system. The symbol of welfare became the "less than moral" black mother with a flock of fatherless children. Even Time Magazine did an article on welfare and the front cover had the picture of the symbol of the welfare system, a black mother with her fatherless children, as if everyone is unaware of the fact that there are many more whites on welfare than blacks. Suddenly blacks are sloven, lazy and immoral and, therefore, they are causing the high tax cost that is needed to meet the needs of the huge welfare system. Black people are now the scapegoat for high welfare costs.

The one money source in Washington that has not dried up is Safe Streets money. Crime in the streets has been defined as a major urban issue. The press, particularly television, and also the newspapers have again supported the strategy by picking up the issue and are depicting the inner city black communities as being the centers of American urban crime. If the media attempts to be fair, they always show crime as the most integrated institution in America. Once again the scapegoat for the national costly crime rate is black people. Unfortunately there is just enough documentation to illustrate the case for blacks involved in crime. In fact, there are more whites committing crimes than blacks. The cost of crime is very high on the taxpayer. This is a very highly charged emotional issue. Everyone wants to know why the crime rate is so high and the scapegoat once again is black people. Black people are fast becoming the symbol of the high crime rate in America.

Then the busing issue. This may turn out to be the most insidious and dangerous to blacks of all of the urban problems. Busing—to provide a solution to the fact that the Supreme Court ruled in 1954 that separate but equal was in fact not equal and indeed in violation of the fourteenth amendment of the constitution. Up to the time that the school bus began to move children about to implement plans for desegregation of schools, the school bus was a legitimate means of transporting children for one reason or another. Now this vehicle is a detriment to the health and welfare of children. Let us not be deluded, the problem is very simple, busing per se is not the issue, but what is at issue is that many of these school buses are carrying white children to schools in all black communities. Buses carrying children to all black schools, which everyone knows to be inferior, at least most whites would and do say this. Why are they inferior, not because of the fact that many school districts are spending much less per capita to educate the black children in these all black schools than their white counterparts, but they are inferior because the children who are black and attend them are culturally deprived and who would want their culturally advantaged white child attending class rooms with culturally disadvantaged black children. Why

are they culturally disadvantaged? Why does it follow that blacks are the symbol of all that is bad in urban communities: poverty, crime, welfare, immorality? Scapegoat!!!

Now, Mr. Nixon, in order to protect white children from these dangers, has declared that he will attempt to get Congress to pass legislation that will declare a moratorium on all court mandated busing of school children in order to integrate schools. Thus, through the strategy of making the school bus an ogre, he is attempting to destroy the validity of the Supreme Court and to effectively destroy the fourteenth amendment of the constitution. If this is allowed to occur, then the symbol of all that is destructive of the American system, in the minds of far too many people, black people will have lost their most important vehicle for freedom and indeed survival—the Supreme Court of the land. The president, with the building of the national scapegoat, black people, will have so destroyed his opposition. He will be able to appoint conservative judges that will in all probability begin to destroy or roll back many of our civil liberties and civil rights.

Busing is not the issue and black people should not get involved in the discussion of whether they want their children bused or not. The real issue is whether or not we will have a place to legitimately redress our grievances—the Supreme Court and the constitution. This is the fight we must take on and we must win.

We are now in the position of having people enter discussions of what is the final solution to the black problem in America and I dread to think of where these discussions will lead.

I believe that as a part of the national agenda and strategy, the following things must be included.

In order to guarantee that every American will have the ultimate opportunity to live in safe, sanitary and decent housing, we must change our present housing laws. At the moment, the cost of a monthly rental of a housing unit developed under the federal housing acts is tied to the cost of the construction of the housing unit. Within the guidelines for eligibility for occupying a low or moderate income unit, a family should not have to pay more than one quarter of his income for rent and the difference between the amortization cost of the unit over the life of the mortgage and one quarter of the family income should be subsidized. The eligibility criteria should be extended upward to include all families that are at or below the income standards that allow a family to live adequately in a particular geographical location. Thus we include in the housing act those people who are in the most trouble economically in our nation and particularly in our urban centers. This can begin to lessen the intensity of hostility on the great American scapegoat—black people. Many of the people that are supporting the scapegoat theory would begin to be relieved of some of their economic pressure.

Decent and adequate health care in this nation should be a right of every individual. Therefore we must get a national health insurance passed into law and adequately funded. This health insurance should require no out-of-pocket expenditures on the part of the individual. In other words, it should be free to all. If there are those who would desire to receive private medical care, they should have that right, but everyone should have a right to quality health care. The effect of this legislation would not only help the poor, but once again it will aid that group of people now called middle Americans. Thus once again we can move toward relieving the economic pressure on this group of Americans and thereby reduce their disaffection and thereby diminish their need to intensify their drive to maintain black people as a scapegoat for all of America's urban problems.

In addition to increasing the budget for Title I, III and IV of the Education Act, I believe that any educational money that is provided to the states should provide for a direct federal policing mechanism to assure that the money is being expended in the way that it was intended. There are too many cases where books and materials that were purchased with educational Act money, lie unused in the basement of school buildings. Further, Title I provides that there be advisory groups of parents and community people around the schools where Title I funds are being expended. In far too many cases the people who make up a majority of the advisory group are on the school board payrolls.

Further, I feel that legislation should be passed that mandates that the federal government support directly the construction of new school buildings in the cities and towns across the country. Thus relieving some of the pressure on the local taxpayer to constantly see taxes rise because of the necessity to provide quality educational school buildings. I want to quickly state that a good school building does not in itself produce quality education, but it is a part of creating the atmosphere that will allow quality education to occur.

Once again I believe that this would begin to reduce some of the national hostility that is occurring that is creating the black scapegoat in our nation.

One additional thought that I would like to make in the area of education. That the decision of whether quality education exists should be the responsibility of not only school officials, but the parents who are involved. Therefore, I believe that if a group of thirty or more parents in a particular school district or community makes an assessment that quality education does not exist in their schools that this becomes bona fide evidence of the lack of existence of quality education in these school buildings. Therefore, additional federal dollars should be concentrated on these schools. These petitions should also state what the parents consider as deficiencies that makes for less than quality education.

I feel that if these issues are included in the agenda of the National Black Caucus, then we will have moved a long way toward blunting the efforts to make black people the national scapegoat and thereby increasing the possibility for black people to survive. I have not addressed myself to such things as community control which I believe must eventually occur for I am a proponent of decentralizing the political structure of our cities. I don't think that we can ever get to these issues unless we protect the constitutional rights of black people and, therefore, all Americans. Unless we relieve the economic pressure on middle Americans, we will never get to the many other issues on the black agenda. We are in serious danger in this nation. We are a short step from the decision being made to find the final solution to the black problem.

#### IT'S TIME TO BEGIN A NEW AGE OF REASON

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, we are hearing more and more these days about "the good old days." It seems that things were never better than when daddy was a boy. It seems that times were never worse than now, to hear some people

talk. This frustrated reaction to today's problems particularly arises with regard to the working press. They, too, are under attack for printing all "bad" news, and in all fairness, I will say that they have to dig pretty hard some days for the "good" news. A prominent Idaho publisher discussed this situation in his column "Stream of Thought" recently, and I would like to share those comments with my colleagues.

The column follows:

IT'S TIME TO BEGIN A NEW AGE OF REASON  
(By R. J. Bruning)

Readers from time to time berate the newspapers for not publishing "the good news," and for emphasizing, they feel, the "bad news."

There is "good news" of course, and newspapers do publish it, although in the context of the criticism it seems what some readers want is "happy news." Some papers do try to collect Pollyanna-ish items to please those who prefer their papers to be rose tinted.

We will guess that most of these critics are of the older generation, who long for the rather peaceful days of their youth when newspapers could devote more time to the light hearted articles, the cheerful news items, the "first buttercup of spring" type of story. They probably cut their literary teeth on "Black Beauty and the 'Five Little Peppers,'" or perhaps the "Chatterbox" books.

Drugs were medicine dispensed by a drug store. Congress met for a few months of the year, the President of the United States stayed pretty much in the White House, Russia was red but it was a long way off, and China was a place where you helped support missionaries.

It was exciting, for us youngsters, to read about the bad men of the old west, or watch their exploits in the silent movies. They may have held up stage coaches or railroad trains, but they were always chivalrous to the women and never hurt children.

There were gang wars, to be sure, in the big cities, but gangsters killed each other so that violence was an intramural affair.

Life was pleasant and simple. Only the rich wanted two homes, or several cars, and of course there was no itch to get television sets or other gadgets. And for taxes, especially the federal income tax, were minimal. Take-home pay was what you earned, not what was left over after deductions.

Those were the "good old days," and if filling the front pages of our newspapers with stories of the "good old days" would bring them back, we have no doubt that virtually every publisher in the nation would do so.

Memory of times past, of course, is always colored by the feelings we had when we lived them, and the feelings and emotions we remembered best are those of carefree children.

Remembrance becomes nostalgia—a longing for what we have lost and can never find again.

Because so many want to flee the unpleasantness of today, we do indulge in nostalgia. And perhaps because youth would like to find the simple life the nation once enjoyed, it seeks it in hippy-like life.

We hope that no one, 30 or 40 years from now, will look back on this period in history as the "good old days." If they do, life at that time will be precarious indeed.

Outlawry of the old west can be romanticized, and Robin Hood could be forgiven because we like to believe he stole from the rich and gave to the poor. (That was before you could use the income tax to redistribute the wealth.)

But it would take a sick mind to romanticize anyone who would endanger hundreds of lives of innocent men, women and children by threatening to blow up jetliners unless he is given \$2 million ransom.



There was a time when the gangsters of the 20's were romanticized, but can anyone imagine romanticizing drug pushers?

Even war can be a derring-do sort of thing—but hardly bombing department stores and pubs and killing innocent people, or using nuclear weapons that kill hundreds of thousands.

The time essay in Time magazine last week labels this as the Age of Unreason, saying that many intellectuals have given up thinking "as if it were a bad habit," and using as their slogan "nothing makes sense."

We would rather think of this as the Age of Pragmatism, because we feel it offers more hope for the future of mankind.

Pragmatism is defined as a "philosophical system or movement stressing practical consequences and values as standards by which concepts are to be analyzed and their validity determined."

The explosion of technology, science, economics, population, and wants has put the world in a state of flux. People seek new values and new truths; not necessarily because the old values and truths lack validity, but because they are lost, momentarily, in this explosion and people are groping.

Practical consequences and values can only be determined, in the long run, by thinking and by reasoning.

If we learn that, this period of history may not be known as the "good old days," but it may be looked back on as the beginning of a new Age of Reason.

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

**HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 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?

#### RAIDING THE HIGHWAY TRUST FUND

**HON. RICHARD G. SHOUP**

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. SHOUP. Mr. Speaker, on March 14, 1972, the Secretary of Transportation, John A. Volpe, in forwarding the highway needs study to the Congress, recommended a program under which money from the highway trust fund could be used for urban public transportation or highways beginning July 1, 1973.

The proposal would provide:

First. A single urban fund would be used to support both highways and urban mass transportation in urban areas.

Second. The interstate program would be continued through fiscal year 1979.

Third. A new rural highway program, limited to 600,000 miles, would be funded

at \$800 million per year from the highway trust fund.

Fourth. A general transportation fund, initially \$200 million per year, would be established to provide aid for highways and urban mass transportation in communities of less than 50,000.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues several problems I feel many of us have with this proposal.

Item No. 2 of the proposal mentions the continued funding of the interstate highway program, and a continued commitment to complete the system. I think it would be highly desirable to complete the system at an earlier date. My concern with a stretchout is that many of the benefits of constructing and completing the system would be delayed or lost. One of the benefits of these highways is they are far safer for those who use them than the regular two-lane highways. It can and will handle more travelers more safely than the highways it replaces. I feel this concern for highway safety is not something to be ignored. We lose an increasing number of people to highway fatalities annually and this factor should not be forgotten in considerations of implementing the interstate highway program as quickly as possible.

With our Nation's unemployment being as high as it is, it seems wiser to speed up, rather than slow down, this important program, if for no other reason than maintaining the jobs it creates. Under the stretchout concept, many interstate highway construction contracts will not be funded each year. Thus, there will be a direct effect on the continued unemployment problems in the construction and related activities.

Also with a stretchout, there will be a continued adding to the reserve of unspent funds in the highway trust fund. The input each year to the trust fund would continue at a high level but the spending of the funds would lessen. Many people have examined alternative uses of these presently unused trust funds, which were specifically set aside for the benefit of highway users who paid Federal taxes on gasoline and other items into the fund. This is exactly what the Secretary of Transportation did. The Secretary's report said:

This proposed phase-down would make more money available for other programs and would permit an orderly completion of the Interstate system with a smooth transition into post-Interstate planning.

I cannot stress enough my feelings on the importance of maintaining the highway trust fund so that when people are taxed for a certain purpose, their money is used for that purpose, for their use, and not for a completely different program which they will not directly benefit. We cannot burden rural Americans with taxes which will be spent in urban areas for mass transit systems they will never use.

Item No. 1 of the proposal, which would establish a single urban fund, should not be readily accepted either. The difficulty of highway trust funds being diverted for funding both urban and mass transportation is clear enough. I can assure you that there are many

presently unfilled needs for more and better rural highways, which by the way, could use all the available and future highway trust fund moneys. I can say this without even considering this proposed diversion to both urban transit and urban highways.

In my opinion, the worst problem with this proposal is the emphasis on urban areas with populations of more than 50,000. This requirement by itself is adequate reason for my opposition because my district would not qualify for one penny. I do not have a single town in my district that could qualify, because according to the 1970 census, there are no urbanized areas in the first district of Montana. There are only two in the whole State; Great Falls and Billings, both in the Second District.

Item No. 3 of the proposal would establish a new rural highway program, which would be limited to 600,000 miles. This new mileage, which is more limited than the present 910,000 miles of federally designated primary and secondary routes, was derived from the Secretary's highway needs study. However, I do not believe many, if any, of us will want to absorb the necessary cuts in the Federal highway system when the Congress and the administration starts trying to reduce the system by some 310,000 miles. I do not believe any of the towns in my district have the financial capabilities to absorb more of a highway and street system than they presently are required to handle.

While I am greatly in favor of a responsive rural highway program which will be helpful to districts and States like mine, I do not feel that this proposed rural highway plan is nearly large enough to help our many rural Americans.

Item No. 4 proposes a general transportation fund. The one redeeming aspect of this proposal is that it could aid highways and urban mass transportation in communities of less than 50,000 population. I understand the general transportation fund is partly intended to relieve those towns that might be hurt due to any reductions in federally aided highway mileage—the 310,000 miles.

If one analyzes the amount of funds that would be allotted to urbanized areas under the Secretary's plan, one would find that each of the 248 urbanized areas would be eligible for \$7.5 million out of the single urban fund. In comparison, the new rural highway program and the general transportation fund has to be divided amongst some 3,840 towns with populations between 2,500 to 50,000, and 13,706 smaller towns with populations less than 2,500. Thus, if you take the 17,546 towns and rural places that are located in and are classified generally as rural America, then each of these towns and rural places would only be eligible for about \$57,000.

If I could be sure that both Billings and Great Falls would receive their full share or exactly \$7.5 million each out of the single urban fund, my general opposition to such a fund would be less. However, based on my experience as mayor of the city of Missoula—which city barely falls short of the definition of

an urbanized area—there is no way that these two deserving urbanized areas can compete with New York City, Chicago, and the other large cities. So one can be sure they and other smaller cities will lose out in the race the Secretary would establish by this raid on the highway trust fund for urban mass transit systems.

Mr. Speaker, I would summarize by saying that the Secretary's proposal on the surface seems very appealing for the large urban complexes, but in my opinion does not help in any significant way the rural areas that I represent. Our rural Americans deserve a better share in such programs as the highway programs and many of the other Federal programs. This proposal just continues to give my constituents and others who live elsewhere than in the big cities the same shabby treatment as in the past.

### THE SPACE SHUTTLE

### HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, the House will consider the NASA authorization bill for fiscal year 1973. Included in that measure is an authorization of over \$200 million for research and development of the space shuttle.

As I have stated many times before, I think that this project is most ill-advised at this time. Our national needs are too great to allow us to spend \$200 million for a program whose feasibility study, the Skylab experiment, will not be completed for another year. In addition, I believe that we must have a great deal more information as to the military ramifications of this project, for I believe that they are considerable.

Dr. Ralph Lapp, a distinguished scientist, recently testified on the shuttle before the Senate Committee on Astronautical and Space Sciences. His testimony is most illuminating, and I include it in the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT ON THE SPACE SHUTTLE SYSTEM  
(Statement of Ralph E. Lapp, April 12, 1972)

I appreciate this opportunity to testify in opposition to the proposed Space Transportation System known as the Space Shuttle. While the views I express are my own, I have consulted with a number of space scientists in preparing my testimony. A number of scientists are manifesting a growing interest in "adversary science and technology"—this being a movement which, in my opinion, is an attempt to exercise a set of checks and balances on the unprecedented activities of research and development. The Space Shuttle is an example of a complex and highly costly technology which is difficult for the layman to comprehend. A number of adversary scientists are attempting to interpret such technological issues free from the bias of the promoter's eye.

President Nixon made a statement on the Space Shuttle on Jan. 5, 1972 in which he stressed the economies of the Shuttle in these words:

"The new system will differ radically from all existing booster systems, in that most of the new system will be recovered and used

again and again—up to 100 times. The resulting economies may bring operating costs down as low as one-tenth of those of present launch vehicles."

The layman would be justified in welcoming such a ten-fold reduction in space economy IF it is achievable and IF transportation costs are indeed the prime determinant of space costs. I believe that the data I shall present demonstrate that:

(A) Space Shuttle transportation costs cannot achieve their advertised rates, and  
(B) Transportation is not the cost-driver of the unmanned space program.

To make specific the projection of Shuttle transportation costs, I quote from Dr. Fletcher's Jan. 5, 1972 White House statement: "It is estimated that the reusable space shuttle will reduce the cost per pound of putting a payload into space from between \$600 and \$700 to \$100." NASA Associate Administrator Dale D. Myers testified last year that the cost might be reduced to "as low as \$75 per pound of payload." Aerospace industry officials (House hearings, Science and Astronautics Committee, FY 72 Pt II, page 482) have projected costs as low as \$50 per pound.

NASA's case for the economy of the Space Shuttle is tied to the report "Economic Analysis of the Space Shuttle System" by Mathematica, Inc., a NASA contractor. The Committee has asked me to be prepared to comment on the 1972 Mathematica, Inc. report and on March 13th forwarded the 4 volume report to me. I am happy to respond to this request.

Mathematica, Inc. (Executive Summary dated Jan. 31, 1972, page 0-8) estimates the Launch Vehicle (LV) costs for 514 Shuttle flights as \$12.0 billion. Dr. Fletcher in his February testimony updated this figure to \$13.1 billion. This amounts to \$25.5 million per Shuttle flight.

Mathematica, Inc. (Vol. II page 6-42) states: "As it turns out, the actual loading of the Space Shuttle Systems in terms of satellite payload weight comes to about 5,000 pounds on the average (not the 40,000 pounds theoretically available)." Thus a total of 514 Shuttle flights equals a total of 2.6 million pounds of orbital payload.

If we divide \$25.5 million by 5,000 pounds, we get a unit price of \$5,100 per pound placed in orbit. This, I maintain, is the true price since it is based on full accounting of all new appropriated dollars for the space program transportation system. However, proponents of the Shuttle may argue that they refer their unit prices only to operating costs without figuring in research, development, test and engineering and shuttle investment. Well, that isn't the way General Motors figures it when I buy a car, but even if we look at operating costs the unit price is nowhere near President Nixon's goal.

Although operating costs for the latest configuration of the Space Shuttle are undergoing almost monthly revision, the latest figure I find is that of \$10.5 million per Shuttle flight. This figure is, in my opinion, a highly optimistic one since it assumes that the solid rocket motor (SRM) cases will be used as many as 20 times. Inferior multiple use of the booster could double the unit operating cost. However, accepting the \$10.5 million statistic and dividing by 5,000 pounds yields \$2,250 per pound placed in orbit. Thus even on this lowest Shuttle cost basis, the unit cost is triple that specified by Dr. Fletcher for conventional expendable rockets.

It appears to me that someone has sadly misinformed the White House on the costs of the Shuttle and, as a result, the American taxpayers have been misled into thinking they are getting some kind of a space bargain. Quite the contrary, the Space Shuttle will, according to NASA's own numbers, be more expensive than a variety of launch vehicles which NASA now uses. I refer to data given on page 389 of this Committee's FY

1972 Authorization Hearing, Part I. I believe that adversary science serves the citizen-taxpayer well when it forces NASA to face facts which compel a realistic assessment of the Shuttle.

Since Mathematica, Inc. (1972 Executive Summary, pg. 0-1) makes as its primary conclusion: (Emphasis, Mathematica's)

"The development of a space shuttle system is economically feasible assuming a level of space activity equal to the average of the United States unmanned program of the last eight years."

I believe it is pertinent to tabulate the actual NASA launch vehicle procurement costs for the FY 1964-1971 period, for unmanned missions:

Fiscal year	LV procurement costs (millions)	Percent of NASA budget
1964	\$129.8	3.0
1965	154.4	3.0
1966	177.6	3.0
1967	117.6	2.2
1968	124.5	2.6
1969	96.9	2.4
1970	107.8	3.0
1971	124.9	3.7
Total, 1964-71	1,033.5	2.9

Total LV development costs are \$631 million.

I think it is very clear that in the past 8 year period launch vehicle costs for NASA have been a very small part of its budget. Yet a layman reading the Mathematica, Inc. primary conclusion cited above would be led to conclude that the Space Shuttle would be economic for unmanned NASA flights. He would, perhaps, be unaware that Mathematica, Inc. was using as its actual baseline Department of Defense (DOD) and NASA unmanned flights. This confusion of military and civil space programs persists throughout the Mathematica, Inc. report and makes difficult a realistic appraisal of the Space Shuttle in terms of the NASA program. There is also confusion injected because of a blending in of unmanned and manned space programs and an abundance of assumptions which are not made clear in the Mathematica, Inc. analysis.

In the 1964-71 period U.S. Navy and Air Force space missions dominated the U.S. space activity. To the best of my knowledge there were 369 space missions conducted by DOD. Payloads tended to be heavier than NASA's with emerging dependence upon Titan III-C space vehicles, whereas the NASA total of some 150 space launches employed smaller LVs such as Scout and Delta. Defense space spending amounted to about \$14 billion over the past 8 year period. Therefore any comparison by Mathematica, Inc. of this period for Shuttle versus Current Expendable LVs is necessarily heavily weighted in the direction of defense missions. If the Space Shuttle is intended to be a military vehicle, then I submit it ought to be justified and funded by the Department of Defense.

It is pertinent to note that during recent years NASA payloads have averaged just slightly under 1,000 pounds. Mathematica, Inc. has projected an average of 5,000 pounds per Shuttle mission. This means two things: first, averaging in defense payloads which have been heavier than NASA's and second, programing larger and heavier payloads for NASA missions. Thus, the Mathematica, Inc. projections call for increased space activity, as measured by payloads, but the rationale for the Space Shuttle seems to be that it is a cheaper means of space transportation. This requires that we focus attention on the real cost-driver of the space program—the cost of the payloads.

In order to pinpoint this discussion—and to comply with the Committee's request that I make my testimony responsive to the



Mathematica, Inc. 1972 report, I am reproducing from page 0-8 of the Executive Summary Table 0.1 SPACE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS COST SUMMARY<sup>1</sup> Source: Adapted from Aerospace Corporation and Contractor Data. Modified NASA and DoD Baseline, 514 Space Shuttle Flights (1979-1990)

TABLE 0.1  
(In millions)

	Current expendable	New expendable	Space shuttle and tug
Expected launch vehicle costs:			
Nonrecurring costs (fiscal year 1972-87).....	\$1,620	\$2,000	\$7,450
Recurring costs (fiscal year 1977-90).....	10,600	8,760	4,800
Total launch costs.....	12,000	11,000	12,000
Expected payload costs (satellites):			
Research, development, test, and engineering (fiscal year 1975-90)....	11,000	10,600	9,880
Recurring costs (fiscal year 1976-90).....	18,800	18,400	12,700
Total payload costs.....	30,000	29,000	23,000
Expected total space program costs.....	42,000	40,000	35,000

A quick glance at the assembled statistics might lead one to the conclusion that the Space Shuttle promises \$7 billion in savings. That is the difference between program costs for current expendable launch vehicles and the Shuttle costs. This is the basis on which the program is being sold. But Mathematica, Inc. projections should be carefully examined item by item to determine what assumptions they may involve. First of all, I maintain that the United States has not approved \$42 billion space program in the current expendable category. Therefore, I would question the basic premise of Mathematica, Inc. in its cost projections. In order to determine just what the United States would get for such a \$42 billion expenditure, I would recommend that Mathematica, Inc. or, preferably, NASA, should make a program presentation to substantiate this \$42 billion figure.

I would like to emphasize that any comparison of Space Shuttle and current expendable space vehicles must take into account the fact that in the development of any new technology contractor estimates of systems costs are hardly reliable. RAND studies (Alvin J. Harman "A Methodology for Cost Comparison and Prediction," Aug. 1970 RM-6269-ARPA and Robert Summers "Contractor Estimate and Prediction of Actual Weapons Costs" March 1965 RM-3061-PR.) show that contractor estimates are invariably low and that actual costs exceed the estimates by 80 percent.

Additionally, I would stress that the Space Shuttle involves a number of significant technological risks. The degree of these risks was undoubtedly a prime factor in NASA's backing away from a fully reusable manned booster. But the unmanned booster still involves risks in that the ocean recovery of a huge 156 inch SRM case is a great extrapolation of recovery technology. The way to overcome technological risk is well known and involves parallel paths of development and improvisation—both of which add cost. It would be highly useful if NASA would perform sensitivity analyses on its areas of high risk and determine the costs which may be involved in these technological sectors.

Focusing attention on Col. 1 of Table 0.1, I do not see why any funds are included for non-recurring costs of current expendable vehicles. These vehicles are already developed and their costs have been paid. The \$1.62 billion listed actually involves \$267 million

for RDT&E and investment of Titan IIIB/D/M and \$550 million plus \$800 million for Big Gemini. This is scarcely fair to include these costs under the "current expendable" category. Therefore, I would strike this \$1.62 billion from the column.

As for recurring costs of current expendable launchers, I note first that this \$10.6 billion figure includes \$2.15 billion for Big G. There is also \$0.25 billion for Intermediate 21 and since Mathematica, Inc., states (Vol. II, p. 5-16) that: "Based on the very limited flexibility and applicability of this vehicle it is quite unlikely that it will be used in the 1980s." I would strike this from the column. Since Big G and the Shuttle are redundant I would suggest subtracting the \$2.35 billion total from the \$10.6 billion leaving a residual \$8.25 billion which then becomes the total launch costs rather than the \$12.0 billion figure. This is a "saving" of \$3.75 billion and involves no diminution of the unmanned NASA or DOD program.

Looking now at the expected payload costs under Column 1 of Table 0.1 I suggest that the proper way to proceed to analyze this expenditure of \$30 billion is to set down the complete list of missions and their individual costs so that a rational decision may be made on the program. I note that Mathematica, Inc. (Vol. II Table 6.21, p. 6-46) tabulates the OSSA payloads by cost (but not by mission) as follows:

Payload cost range (million)	Number of payloads	Percent of total
\$0 to \$20.....	17	4
\$20 to \$40.....	242	61
\$40 to \$60.....	46	12
\$60 to \$80.....	17	4
\$80 to \$100.....	1	<1
\$100 to \$120.....	22	6
\$120 to \$140.....	22	6
\$140 to \$160.....	11	3
Over \$160.....	20	5
Total.....	398	100

My estimate is that these nearly 400 payloads represent a \$20 billion cost. I estimate that \$10 billion represents 75 payloads each more than \$100 million in cost. I believe that there ought to be a very critical examination of each class of mission from the standpoint of science and national priorities. I believe that the large public expenditures involved make it mandatory that mission models such as Mathematica, Inc. has used be more than NASA or NASA contractor inputs. There can be no doubt that the mission model used in Table 0.1 represents a sharp step-up in NASA space activity and that such a program change should be subjected to public examination on a programmatic basis. Furthermore, the mission model should be specifically a NASA model and not a mixed NASA-DOD model.

I note that the 398 payloads dispersed over a 15 year time span represent a bi-weekly launch rate for OSSA missions—more than double the present rate and that for recent years. I submit that such an increase in the tempo of the civilian space program has not been justified as a legitimate public expenditure. Therefore, I feel that the \$30 billion total in this column is unrealistic and, although lacking a specific itemization of missions, I would suggest a more realistic figure would be \$20 billion. Such an adjustment automatically feeds back to launch vehicle procurement and would reduce my suggested \$8.25 billion figure to about \$5 billion.

Using the new numbers for column 1, I arrive at a bottom line total of \$25 billion rather than the \$42 billion stipulated by Mathematica, Inc. I further believe that if the scientific and technical community was given this figure as a ceiling, it would be possible to define an aggressive and rewarding space program for the 1975-1990 period.

Skipping Column 2 for the moment, I would like to comment on the launch vehicle and payload costs for the Space Shuttle. First I would note that new numbers need to be inserted for LV costs. The non-recurring costs of \$7.45 billion are now estimated to be \$8.1 billion. Using the 1.8 factor of contractor estimate understatement (# 45) this 8.1 billion figure could escalate to \$14.5 billion. It is not necessary to provide a parallel escalation for conventional launch vehicles since their research, development, test and engineering costs have been paid.

The recurring costs for the Space Shuttle estimated at \$4.8 billion by Mathematica, Inc. as of Jan. 31, 1972 need to be revised in the light of the hardware decisions made in March. Clearly, recurring costs will depend on the orbiter functioning properly for 100 or more times and refurbishment costs being held in line. More critical to the recurring cost total for the Shuttle is the uncertain reusability of the booster. It is highly likely that the \$4.8 billion figure cited by Mathematica, Inc., will escalate considerably. Total launch costs for the Space Shuttle certainly exceed \$13 billion and for the 514 flights specified in Table 0.1 it is quite possible that a \$20 billion total might result.

In any event any comparison of the launch vehicle costs for current expendable LVs, which we have, and the space shuttle, which we do not have, must lead to a favorable cost margin for existing launch systems. No matter how one tries, the Space Shuttle cannot claim an economic advantage based on launch costs. I agree with Mathematica, Inc. in its conclusion (Vol. II, page 6-43): "What matters are the actual space missions performed in the 1980s and used in the economic analysis when comparing Space Shuttle Systems to expendable modes of operations. What matters most, in the economic analysis, is the cost of payloads and of space missions in the 1979-1990 period." Let us therefore look at the cost of the Shuttle payloads.

Table 0.1 lists \$9.9 billion as RDT&E costs of Shuttle payloads or \$1.1 billion less than for conventional launch vehicle payloads. It is however in the area of recurring costs that Mathematica, Inc. claims a Shuttle advantage. The 12.7 billion figure is \$6.1 billion less than for conventional LV payloads. Economies claimed for the Shuttle derive from the potential of making larger and heavier satellites which can be cheaper per pound of instrumentation. No doubt the ability to add weight to a satellite may permit less costly microminiaturization of instrumentation but this is a trade-off situation. Furthermore in making comparative costs of placing a pound of payload in orbit the Shuttle payload cannot then be compared on a 1 for 1 basis since the conventional less weight payload is then equivalent to x pounds of Shuttle payload. This means that the \$5,100 unit price per pound of payload lifted in Sec. 7 needs adjustment upwards. This means that instead of the Shuttle providing transportation for one-tenth the unit price of conventional launch vehicles, it is actually ten times more expensive. It is difficult to state how much the higher payload capacity of the Shuttle allows reduction in payload costs on a pound basis, but the trend is contrary to the thrust of technology which aims at more compact, solid-state, instrumentation of high reliability.

Apart from the economy of permitting bulkier instrumentation, the Space Shuttle is claimed to be economical in increasing the reliability of satellites placed in orbit by allowing man to be on board and make a final check-out of the orbital device prior to dispatch into orbit. Since many orbital devices have achieved a 95% reliability in operation, this feature of the Space Shuttle does not appear to be highly significant. Furthermore, the increasing complexity of orbital devices calls for a much greater payload of check-out devices and personnel competence

at the check-out point. If the orbital device is checked out prior to launch it does not appear overly advantageous to provide a final checkout prior to orbital insertion.

Proponents of the Space Shuttle place greater emphasis on the capability of retrieving orbital devices, serving them in orbit, and in bringing them back to earth for refurbishment and redeployment in orbit. Here one is faced with a trade-off situation in which the unit cost of the orbital device vs the cost of retrieval, refurbishment and redeployment is of critical importance. As mentioned earlier, there is also the relative impact of obsolescence of the orbital device. What is also involved here is the relative advantage of a single massive orbital device vs a number of smaller, lower-price, units. In the communications satellite field, there appears to be a trend toward smaller devices which grant greater flexibility and back-up to the deployed system. Rather than replace a malfunctioning communications satellite with the same device, retrieved and refurbished, it might be more economic to launch a new, higher-capacity, satellite. I believe that it would be very useful to solicit the views of Comsat Corporation on this matter.

Mathematica, Inc. bases its estimates of retrieval/refurbishment economies on Lockheed Missiles and Space Company (LMSC) studies. LMSC studies (NASW-2156 Contract, LMSC-A990594, June 30, 1971 "Payload Effects Analysis") three devices—OAO (Orbiting Astronomical Observatory), SEO (Synchronous Equatorial Orbiter) and SRS (Small Research Satellite). It concluded that the savings would be significant, i.e., refurbishment cost ratios of 0.32 to 0.39 for Shuttle vs conventionally launched satellites. However, there appears to be considerable uncertainty in these estimates. Since LMSC is an aerospace company which would benefit from Shuttle contracts, it is questionable whether Mathematica, Inc. is justified in accepting the LMSC data without considerable adjustment for bias. Conventionally launched satellites are not credited with much of an increase in future reliability and little attention is paid to the contest between refurbishment and technological obsolescence. It would have been highly instructive for LMSC to have performed an analysis of Comsat type satellites and to have carried out sensitivity analyses on a variety of satellites (retrieval/refurbishment as a function of age of the satellite).

The basic problem posed by the retrieval/refurbishment issue is whether or not the traffic in satellite retrieval and refurbishment justifies the development and deployment of a new space system as costly as the Shuttle. Since Mathematica, Inc. has singled out the recurring costs of Shuttle payloads as the sector of maximum "savings" i.e., "\$6.1 billion" in comparing Columns 1 and 2, I suggest that a more careful study be made of this sector. I believe that it should be required that Mathematica, Inc. make a very detailed accounting of how this \$6.1 billion payload "savings" is to be achieved. By this I mean specification of all missions as tabulated in Table 6.20 on page 6-44 of Vol. II. It will be noted that in this tabulation, Mathematica, Inc. postulates:

	New satellites deployed	Refurbished satellites deployed	On-orbit maintenance/refurbishment	Flights to space station
Total NASA.....	242	274	62	62
Total DOD.....	103	302	(1)	(9)
Total.....	345	576	62+	62+

<sup>1</sup> Some.

<sup>2</sup> Not available.

Obviously, Mathematica, Inc., foresees a flourishing business in refurbishment of sick

or aging satellites. I suggest that the uncertainties of Shuttle costs, technological issues, mission models and booster reuse do not now permit a 1978-1990 projection such as Mathematica, Inc. has made—or, to put it another way, do not permit public confidence in the projection.

I call to your attention the fact that Mathematica, Inc. has listed a minimum of 62 flights to Space Station. I also note that the most recent NASA estimate of the cost of such a Space Station development/deployment is \$6 billion and that much higher figures have been suggested. If Mathematica, Inc. is going to include earth-to-Space Station flights in its mission model then it should provide for this expenditure under Shuttle payload costs. This inclusion of the Space Station in its mission model makes it clear that buying the Space Shuttle means we are also buying the Space Station.

I believe that the foregoing commentary makes it clear that the total payload costs associated with the Shuttle system will not be \$23 billion, but will be considerably higher and would probably approach the \$30 billion figure cited for the conventional payloads. I have suggested in Sec. 19 that the latter could be \$20 billion.

If we now consider the "bottom line" totals for conventional and Shuttle program costs, the \$42 billion figure (Col. 1) for conventional launch vehicles shrinks to \$25 billion (Sec. 20) while the \$35 billion Shuttle total may in fact soar to over \$44 billion. In other words, instead of "saving" \$7 billion the Shuttle could actually "cost" us \$19 billion more for the U.S. space program.

It seems to me that we can put space spending in better perspective if we translate the billion dollar totals into specific costs per pound. This was done by President Nixon in his Jan. 5th message for costs of transportation. I suggest we do the same thing for costs per pound of satellite payload. For example, if we accept the \$23 billion total for Shuttle payload costs given by Mathematica, Inc. (which includes a large credit for satellite reuse) and use the 2.6 million pound orbital payload (Sec. 6) postulated by Mathematica, Inc. we arrive at an average cost of \$8,800 per pound of payload.

Expressed in other units, Shuttle payloads will average \$550 per ounce. Thus Shuttle payloads will average ten times more expensive than their weight in solid gold.

In proceeding to discuss Shuttle costs we jumped from Col. 1 to 3 without consideration of Col. 2, the "New Expendable" category. Referring back to Table 0.1 (Sec. 13) Mathematica, Inc. figures for this category is \$1 billion less for total launch costs than for either the conventional or Shuttle launch vehicles. Payload costs are \$1 billion less than for conventional LVs and \$6 billion more than for Shuttle payloads. It seems to me that Mathematica, Inc. and NASA have skipped over a very important potential cost-saver in space activity. In as much as NASA has opted to recover the massive twin rocket motor cases for the Shuttle booster, it would seem to me completely logical that NASA apply the same degree of optimism to recoverability and refurbishment of Titan-class launch vehicles.

Thus I would recommend that NASA examine the possibility of new launch vehicles of the non-shuttle class. In this examination, I would recommend that an attempt be made to standardize on a launch vehicle so that unit costs can be reduced.

In summary, I conclude that the NASA and NASA-contractor basis for the Space Shuttle is inadequate and that the entire issue of launch vehicle choices for the future space program should be restudied. I believe that I have shown remarkable deviations in the cost estimates of NASA and NASA contractors for comparative launch systems.

I appreciate this opportunity to have presented an adversary view of the Space Shuttle System.

## PRIVATE PENSION TRANSFER ACT

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I introduced two bills on private pension plan reform. Those measures addressed some key questions in the pension field—minimum vesting, tax incentives for pension plan contributions, more precise trusteeship standards. I mentioned then that key areas still required action, among them reinsurance, funding, and that most complex and intractable realm in the pension debate: portability.

Portability has been defined as the development of arrangements whereby a worker can accumulate pension credits from job to job and eventually combine them into qualification for a single pension. Phrased another way, it permits the worker to switch jobs and carry his pension credit along with him with no—or minimum—loss of such credit. In an economy more and more dependent on continuing shifts in manpower needs and possessing the most mobile labor force in history, we ought to acknowledge the fact of labor mobility and the broadening of pension coverage it demands. Continuous service with an employer should be rewarded with concomitant benefits, but we should be careful not to tie workers so tightly to a single pension arrangement that a retirement system serves to immobilize our working populace.

Portability implies protection for the pension rights of a worker who must leave a job through plant shutdown, business failure, or layoff. It means protection for those who leave for noncoercive reasons: to maintain health or education standards, to accept better offers, to try a simple change of scene. A major factor in any of these kinds of moves will be the future of the employee's pension, and the Congress should, where we can, work to assure its future and that of a dignified and self-sufficient retirement.

The bill I introduce today, the Private Pension Transfer Act of 1972, is a step toward portability, a modest proposal which I hope can be later extended and broadened. It amends the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow employees to withdraw their retirement credits upon leaving a job and reinvest them in a new plan without such credits being subject to income tax. The present law penalizes employee mobility and discourages the maintenance of retirement plans by taxing funds withdrawn from such plans, whether or not they are reinvested in another retirement system.

Our tax laws now allow persons who sell their homes for a profit and reinvest the gain in a new house within a year to have that gain exempt from income tax. And justly so. This is a sound incentive for an investment in kind. We can apply the same principle to transferred retirement credits and permit them to be reinvested in kind without a tax liability, to move as the worker moves.



Flexibility is available to the employee under this act, too, if he decides to reinvest only part of his lump-sum payout, he pays tax only on that amount not reconverted into a trust. It also provides for tax rates consistent with how credits are garnered, that is, either as capital gains or regular income.

The bill does not create portability; it allows a shift of money between plans where portability already exists. While it commands no employer to accept a new employee's lump-sum credits, I would hope this body could encourage, perhaps eventually define in law, those arrangements necessary for employers to grant the reinvestment of transferred pension sums.

This is an immensely intricate and technical issue. Legislation on portability will require the talents of adept and knowledgeable men. Let this Private Pension Transfer Act be a beginning.

#### PAN AMERICAN WEEK

#### HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, last week, the week of April 9 through 15, the State of Alaska celebrated Pan American Week and on April 14, Pan American Day. This celebration was in recognition of the importance of the contribution being made by the Organization of American States toward a spirit of mutual understanding and real friendship in our hemisphere.

I commend the people of the State of Alaska for their good will and friendship extended to all the people in this hemisphere, and I am inserting into the RECORD for today a copy of the proclamation signed by the Honorable William Egan, Governor of Alaska, instituting this special week of recognition.

The proclamation follows:

#### PROCLAMATION: PAN AMERICAN WEEK

The Organization of American States is the oldest international organization of its kind in the world and has a current membership of 24 nations in the Western Hemisphere. Established in Washington, D.C., on April 14, 1890, as the International Union of American Republics, the Organization was renamed Pan American Union in 1910. In 1948, the Pan American Union became the Organization of American States.

Through the Charter of the Organization of American States, the member countries strive to achieve an order of peace and justice, promote solidarity and strengthen collaboration among themselves, and defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence.

In order to put into practice the principles on which it is founded and to fulfill its regional obligations, the Organization of American States has resolved: To strengthen the peace and security of the Continent; to prevent possible causes of difficulties and to insure the peaceful settlement of disputes that may arise among the member states; to provide for common action on the part of the member states in the event of aggression; to seek the solution of political, juridical, and economic problems that may arise among them; and to promote, by cooper-

ative action, their economic, social, and cultural development.

We in Alaska recognize the importance of the contribution being made by the Organization of American States toward a spirit of mutual understanding in our Hemisphere to preserve the peace and improve the lives of our people.

Therefore, I, William A. Egan, Governor of Alaska, do hereby proclaim April 9 through 15 as Pan American Week, and April 14 as Pan American Day in Alaska and call upon the people of Alaska to take this opportunity to learn more about the worthwhile endeavors of the Organization of American States in an effort to attain a better understanding of the people of the member countries.

Dated this 27th day of March, 1972.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE CITY OF LA MIRADA, CALIF.

#### HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, among the many cities in my district that I am honored to represent is the city of La Mirada. This year is a special one for the city and citizens of La Mirada. It is the city's 12th birthday.

A 12th birthday for a city is certainly not an event that would excite our citizens in the East where centennaries are the cause for celebration, but in youthful and progressive California the birth and development of La Mirada is a sign and symbol of the health of our State and of our citizen's desire to improve their lot.

When the area which is now La Mirada first came into my congressional district it was an area consisting mainly of olive trees. In 1954, the part-time post office could count 50 families only by extending its boundaries far beyond the present ones. As young families moved into the area, it grew both in size and wisdom. In 1960 these forward-looking citizens incorporated into the now city of La Mirada.

Today, with a population of 32,000, La Mirada is a city that is both envied and copied by other and older cities. La Mirada has been blessed with excellent city councilmen who have given of their time and devotion to make their city a wonderful place to live.

Today, with a beautiful civic center, a new library, beautiful parks and a growing industrial area, La Mirada is a suburban dream, and all of this has been done without the imposition of a property tax.

In the 12 years of its existence, I have had the honor to help La Mirada obtain three post offices. Admittedly, the first one was just a room in a store, but then as the city grew, we obtained a larger one that we were sure would last for years. Finally, 2 years ago, we were able to get a post office that we hope will be able to care for the citizens for at least a few more years than did the second one.

Mr. Speaker, as you well know a city is only as good as its citizens. This is why La Mirada is a great city. Lest you

think I exaggerate, let me give you but one example.

Debbie Heald gave La Mirada its finest birthday present this year. This lovely 16-year-old citizen of La Mirada came to the East and in the city of Richmond, Va., she gave her city and herself great honor by breaking the world's record for the indoor mile race and at the same time conquering the Russian World's Champion, Tamara Pangelova.

I am sure that when the Olympics begin next year, all of the United States will be rooting for this favorite daughter of La Mirada as she brings home the Gold Medal in the mile run. The city of La Mirada and every citizen in the 19th congressional district is proud of Debbie because of the honors she has brought us. We are even more proud of the fact that Debbie is living example of the beautiful young people in the 19th Congressional District of the State of California and the entire United States.

At this time I would like to introduce into the RECORD the story of Debbie's victory as reported in the La Mirada Lamp-lighter, of March 22, 1972, one of the finest newspaper in my district:

"COULDN'T BELIEVE I COULD WIN" . . . DEBBIE

(By Jim Marris)

Editor Dick Hurley and I had the pleasure of interviewing Miss Debbie Heald at her La Mirada home Sunday afternoon. She had returned home Saturday afternoon from her smashing victory in the Women's Mile Run of the "First U.S.-Russian Indoor Track Meet" on Friday in Richmond, Virginia. Debbie is a good looking girl with a charming personality. She is very relaxed and natural and has no affectations at all.

Debbie's victory is the more notable in that she had to set a world record of 4:38.5 minutes in the Women's Indoor Mile to win the race. Doris Brown of the U.S.A. who had set the previous record of 4:40.1 bettered that mark, but still only came in third. Tamara Pangelova of Russia placed second and ran the fastest indoor mile of her career. Naturally it also was faster than the old world record.

It was the first time Debbie had ever beaten Doris Brown. Doris has won three times in the two mile cross country event and three times in the mile run. Debbie made the comment, "I've seen the backside of her often."

As for the race itself, Debbie said she was just hoping for a 3rd or 4th place. The runners were pretty well strung out with Debbie in third place at the start of the last lap. She started her push at that time and passed Doris Brown running in second place and then caught Pangelova 20 yards from the finish, and, with her famous finishing kick, burst across the tape in front.

We asked her how she felt afterward and she said, "Neat! I just couldn't believe I could win anything like that." She also commented that the Russians usually didn't set the pace as they did in this race. They like to run right behind the leaders and then challenge them at the end.

Debbie gives all credit for her development as a runner to her La Mirada Meteors Coach, Roy Swett. Roy founded the Meteors and made them a winning organization. Debbie said, "I wouldn't be half way where I am today if it wasn't for him."

The next objective is the 1972 Olympics. She will run next weekend in the Phoenix International Invitational and will participate in about a race a month until July. That is when the Olympic trials start. This race was the first one that Debbie got to wear a uniform with the USA team letters on it. I'm betting she wears it again at the Olympics in Munich, Germany next summer.

FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS  
AFFECTING THE OLDER AMERICAN

## HON. WILEY MAYNE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, the President, his administration, the Congress, State, and local governments, and private organizations concerned with the problems of the elderly have made significant progress in implementing the many recommendations of the 1971 White House Conference on the Aging, and more programs are in the mill.

This last Saturday, April 13, it was my privilege to address the Regional Conference on Aging in Fort Dodge, Iowa, and to discuss with the participants the progress being made at the Federal level in following through on the White House Conference recommendations regarding our older Americans.

As several participants in the Fort Dodge conference have asked me to make a wider distribution of my remarks to others interested in improving the quality of life of older Americans and involving them in society, I am inserting the text of my Fort Dodge speech at this point in the RECORD.

FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS AFFECTING  
THE OLDER AMERICAN

(By Congressman WILEY MAYNE)

Mr. Chairman, members of the Iowa Commission on the Aging, participants in this Regional Conference on Aging, ladies and gentlemen.

Thank you for your gracious invitation to discuss with you federal action to implement programs affecting Older Americans. I regret that I was unable to participate in this morning's seminars regarding the work being done to carry out the recommendations of the 1971 National White House Conference on Aging. I'm sure these sessions were very worth-while for much has been accomplished under the able leadership of Governor Robert Ray and the Iowa Commission on the Aging, with the cooperation of the Iowa General Assembly, local governments, and many private voluntary agencies throughout Iowa concerned with the problems of aging.

During the White House Conference on Aging, it was my pleasure to host a luncheon at the Capitol for those participating in the Conference from Iowa's Sixth Congressional District. From the exchange of views at this meeting, I gained greater perspective regarding the Conference.

I was highly impressed with the high caliber and dedication of the whole Iowa delegation to the National White House Conference on Aging, and I am pleased to see several of you here today, assisting the various local committees follow-through on the extensive efforts of the Washington Conference. It is your work and example of leadership, carrying the ball after the limelight and fanfare of the White House Conference fades away, that will determine whether it was a real success or just another meeting with high-sounding resolutions quickly filed away and forgotten.

I have long been interested in improving the lot of Older Americans, and the President, his Cabinet, and the Congress are all deeply concerned with the plight of the elderly. But all too often, other demands upon our interests and time cause us to put aside

temporarily the admitted needs of the aging for later attention as time permits. However, I hope the White House Conference and now the various State, regional and local meetings following-through on the Conference's recommendations will serve to hold our feet to the fire, focusing our attention and requiring us to act on these problems. I hope you will keep up this pressure, and will not let governmental leaders or leaders in the private sector forget, neglect or shelve away the very real problems of the elderly.

Last December, in addressing the White House Conference, President Nixon pledged to do all that he could to make 1972 a year of action on behalf of Older Americans.

On March 23, he took an important step in the fulfillment of his promise, through his Message to Congress regarding Older Americans. In this Message, the President outlined a comprehensive strategy for the many complex problems faced by Americans in their sixties and older.

This contained five major elements:

1. Improvement in the income position of Older Americans;
2. Upgrading the quality of nursing homes;
3. Helping Older Americans lead dignified, independent lives in their homes;
4. Expanding opportunities for the involvement of older persons in community life; and
5. Organizing the government to be more responsive to and to meet the changing needs of Older Americans.

Many of the recommendations of the White House Conference are covered in this comprehensive strategy. The Nixon Administration has already taken many administrative steps to help Older Americans, but much of the program requires legislative action. Legislative initiatives to accomplish the objectives proposed by the White House Conference should have the highest priority in the Congressional agenda.

For the elderly, the future is NOW—they can not wait while the government procrastinates. They have the right to expect Congress to move forward with a sense of urgency in carrying out the President's program.

For this next fiscal year beginning July 1st, President Nixon has requested an estimated \$50 billion for Older Americans. I am quite confident that the Congress will appropriate at least this \$50 billion for programs for the elderly. This would provide for this coming fiscal year 50 percent more than the level of spending requested on behalf of Older Americans in the last budget prepared by President Johnson.

One proof increased recognition by both the Administration and Congress of the problems of the elderly is the Older Americans Act. President Johnson's last budget provided \$32 million for programs under this Act. President Nixon's budget request for this fiscal year increases this to \$157 million. On March 22, President Nixon signed a law authorizing \$100 million for this coming fiscal year and \$150 million for fiscal year 1974 for grants to the States for nutrition programs for the elderly. Under this new law, the federal government will pay up to 90% of the cost of providing low-cost, nutritionally sound meals to persons 60 years of age and older and to their spouses. States would be required to furnish at least one hot meal per day for five or more days a week, and to give preference to programs serving low-income individuals and minority groups.

President Nixon has now requested \$100 million to fully fund this new program for elderly nutrition, thus increasing his total budget requests for Older American Act programs to \$257 million. I anticipate Congress will approve appropriations at this level, providing an 800% increase in funding for this Act over President Johnson's last budget.

One of the greatest concerns of the elderly

is their ability to maintain their financial security and to remain independent despite the vice in which inflation places all Americans with relatively fixed or low incomes. Dramatic shifts in social, economic and psychological conditions in the last thirty to forty years have increased the disadvantages of aging. America's elderly worked diligently in the face of at least three wars and a great depression to provide for their children, to keep their families together, and to maintain their self-respect and dignity. Despite the fact that overall American expenditures of the aging have almost doubled in the last five years, and despite the fact that Social Security has gone up 25% in the last two years alone, one out of every four older Americans still lives at or below the poverty line.

Nearly 60% of those elderly living alone or with nonrelatives have incomes of the poor or near poor. 63% of aged women living alone or with nonrelatives have income below or at the poverty line. In 1972, the likelihood of being impoverished is more than twice as great for Older Americans as for the younger.

Each passing year increases the economic problems of old age. Growing urbanization, decay of metropolitan centers and widespread social strife have all increased the economic insecurity of the elderly, many of whom cluster in old neighborhoods in larger cities.

In recognition of this very real and serious problem, President Nixon has proposed that the federal government place a floor under the income of every senior citizen in America. Pursuant to this request, the House with my support responded by passing H.R. 1 on June 22, 1971.

H.R. 1 would for the first time establish a federal income floor for the aged, the blind and the disabled, replacing existing adult categorical assistance programs with a new federal program. The bill provides an income standard of \$150 per month for a single aged person, or \$200 per month for an aged couple—approximately the current non-poverty threshold level. As passed by the House, this new program would remove 800,000 persons from poverty through an estimated \$4.1 billion in payments to the aged, blind and disabled.

The Senate Finance Committee is holding further executive sessions on H.R. 1 this week, and may report it soon with amendments. It has already upped the ante on income floors, to raise 4 million above the poverty level of subsistence at a cost of \$5.7 billion for this next year. This increases costs by \$3.5 billion over the existing law, and by \$1.6 billion over the program approved by the House. This increased spending will be paid out of the Treasury, not out of Social Security trust funds—the Treasury will have to raise the money through increases in taxes or through borrowing, with the principal and interest to be paid through higher taxes at some time in the future.

The guaranteed annual income proposal is rather controversial, and has considerable opposition among those protesting against high taxes and deficit spending. I frankly have considerable misgivings about the Senate Finance Committee's amendment increasing the level of this guaranteed income floor, which might be raised to even higher levels in the Senate. It appears to me that for an experimental new program, despite its possible theoretical attributes, the House-approved level is about all that should be enacted at this time. The \$1.6 billion added by the Senate Finance Committee could well be used for so many programs affecting the elderly or for the tax relief so desired by elderly taxpayers and homeowners.

H.R. 1 when finally amended and passed by the Senate will contain many differences from the bill passed by the House last June 22nd. The bill will be sent to Conference for resolution of these differences. The greater the differences between the House and the



Senate versions, the greater the difficulty the Conferees will have in working out any compromise, and the longer it will delay the benefits of H.R. 1 taking effect. I am sure you all will recall that the House passed legislation containing many features of the present H.R. 1 early in the last Congress, only to have the Senate sit on the bill until after the 1970 elections, and then pass the bill with so many "Christmas Tree" riders or amendments that there was no opportunity for a Conference to be held, so that the legislation died with the adjournment of the 91st Congress.

We must not allow a repeat of that sad performance in this 92nd Congress.

In working with Social Security, it seems we are always trying to catch up with increases in cost of living. Too often Social Security legislation lies dormant during the off or non-election years, to be pushed through shortly before elections with wild floor amendments in which Congressmen and Senators, especially those aspiring to higher office, outdoing each other in trying to buy the senior citizen bloc of votes.

Certainly this is no way to legislate. It is undignified, unseemingly, and highly inefficient. Appeals for unrealistic benefit increases having no real chance of being enacted or funded give rise to false hopes among the aged, bound to be frustrated. These practices delay the enactment of needed benefit increases. I am sure the process offends most elderly voters, who tend to vote far more independently and less in blocs than younger age groups. Most Older Americans highly value their vote and exercise their right of suffrage far more diligently than younger citizens. The idea that anyone would think they could buy their vote through such tactics is surely repugnant to most Older Americans.

Since first running for Congress, I have supported efforts to change and reform this system, so that the aged will know they can be assured of Social Security increases whenever the cost of living rises, without it becoming a matter of election-year politics and bidding for votes. I was pleased that President Nixon advocated automatic cost-of-living increases in his 1968 campaign platform, and that under his leadership the House passed such legislation in the 91st Congress.

H.R. 1 as passed by the House almost a year ago provides for a 5% increase in benefits effective this June, and for further automatic cost of living increases thereafter, financed through an increase in the taxable wage base. Since the House passed this bill last year, Older Americans have experienced still further limitations on their purchasing power through cost of living increases, especially in the area of medical treatment, hospitalization and drugs. I therefore believe an increase in benefits beyond the increase approved by the House, to 10 percent, is fully justified, especially since it appears that this increase can be absorbed by the Social Security trust fund without requiring increases in payroll taxes beyond those already approved by the House in H.R. 1.

It appears the Senate Finance Committee will recommend that H.R. 1 be amended to provide an increase of 10%, paid from the Social Security trust fund.

However, several candidates for President, in and out of Congress, are calling for benefit increases of 25%, 30% or higher. They would abandon the traditional tie of benefits to the trust fund created by employer and employee payroll tax contributions. If Congress accepted these proposals, the Social Security system would no longer be actuarially sound and the trust fund would soon be inadequate, requiring direct payments from the Treasury to pay future Social Security benefits and abandoning the present insurance and annuity approach.

Since the inception of Social Security,

beneficiaries have received their due under an actuarially sound insurance-annuity program to which they made substantial contributions during their working careers, or to which their deceased spouses had made contribution. But if Social Security benefits were to be paid from the general revenues of the Treasury, from funds raised by income taxes and other taxes, there is a real danger the Social Security program will become just another welfare program, dependent upon annual Congressional authorizations and appropriations.

I am hopeful that the Senate will act responsibly when it considers H.R. 1 and will refrain from adopting any such language which would endanger the Social Security system.

About 58% of our elderly are women, most of them primarily dependent on Social Security benefits earned by their husbands. Under our present laws, widows are eligible for only 82½% of the retirement benefits which would be paid their late husbands if they were still living. H.R. 1 will increase this to 100%.

The House acted to equalize the sexes under Social Security legislation. H.R. 1 provides a three year transition period after which the method of computing benefits for men will be the same as for the ladies. H.R. 1 also provides that widowers under 62 be paid reduced benefits as early as age 60, just as widows are now treated under the present law.

New initiatives are being undertaken by President Nixon and Congress in the field of Medicare. Under present law, Part B Medicare premium charges would be boosted to \$5.80 per month, starting in July. H.R. 1 would limit this increase in premium, and President Nixon has now requested repeal of the requirement that enrollees pay any monthly premium at all for Part B Medicare coverage. Enactment of President Nixon's proposal would make an additional \$1.5 billion available to Older Americans—the equivalent roughly of another 4% increase in Social Security benefits.

Other provisions of H.R. 1 would extend Medicare coverage to many of the disabled who draw Social Security benefits but had to give up work before reaching the regular retirement age.

While many elderly look forward to that day when they can fully retire, many others are forced into retirement against their wishes. We must put an end to discrimination in this country against older people who are able and want to keep on working.

Under the present federal law, there is an outright ban on setting any maximum age limit for entry into the federal competitive service. I was pleased to join in soundly defeating this January a bill which would have empowered the President to establish maximum age requirements for entry into the civil service.

The Social Security Act now requires those who do not choose to retire at 65 to forfeit their benefits for the period between the age of 65 and the time they finally do retire. H.R. 1 would change this, providing an increase in Social Security benefits of 1% for each year in which the worker delays his retirement between ages 65 and 72.

H.R. 1 also liberalizes the earnings tests, to encourage more of our older citizens to remain active in the economic life of this country. The bill increases the amount that a beneficiary under 72 years of age may earn, from the present \$1,680 to \$2,000. Each dollar of earnings beyond \$2,000 would reduce benefits by only 50 cents—there would be no dollar for dollar reduction as provided in the present law. It is impossible to predict at this stage how the Senate will treat this language, but I am hopeful that, as unemployment decreases and the economy further improves in the future, the income limita-

tion in our Social Security laws may be absolutely repealed.

Those who can work and want to work should not be discouraged from working regardless of age.

By reducing age barriers to work, we can increase the sense of participation among older citizens and more effectively tap their energies and experience. We have in the elderly of America a vast pool of talent, experience and skills, waiting and eager to be called upon.

The Manpower Development and Training Act directs the Secretary of Labor to provide at appropriate times and places a special program of testing, counseling, selection and referral of persons 45 and older for occupational training or further schooling. Only 10% in these programs in 1971 were 45 years old or older, but it is becoming increasingly evident that rehabilitation of the elderly is possible when the persons providing the care or training really believe in what they are doing.

As Aeschylus, who lived and wrote until 81, so truly said: "It is always in season for old men to learn."

A growing number of Older Americans are also taking advantage of the Adult Basic Education Program providing instruction for persons 16 and over for instruction through the twelfth grade, and are passing High School Equivalency tests with flying colors.

At President Nixon's request, the Secretary of Labor is urging Iowa and other States and communities to include Older Americans provided by the Emergency Employment Act of 1971, providing them work in new community public service jobs funded by the Act. The Secretary is also encouraging employment services to help open job opportunities for those over 65, including opportunities for part-time employment in public and private sectors. Through doubling funds for special projects for low-income older workers, such as the Green Thumb and Senior Aides programs, as many as 10,000 older persons will be employed in useful community service.

The Foster Grandparents program offers low income persons of 60 or older opportunity to work with dependent, neglected or culturally handicapped children. In five years, this program has increased from 21 to 68 projects in 40 States, including Iowa, with 5,400 Older Americans serving 22,000 children. President Nixon has requested Congress to move this program from demonstration status to full operation on the national level, and has asked us to double the Foster Grandparents program's funding so that it can provide for 11,500 Foster Grandparents serving children in some 450 child care institutions throughout these United States.

The Retired Senior Volunteer Program, RSVP, was a major innovation of the Older American Act Amendments in 1969. It provides for voluntary services by retired persons for others 60 and older. President Nixon has requested that R.S.V.P. funding be tripled for this next fiscal year, with 75,000 Senior Volunteers becoming involved in community services.

President Nixon has asked for new legislation to expand Person-to-Person Volunteer Service programs for Older Americans, building on the successful experience of the Foster Grandparent program. He has enlisted the cooperation of 130 national voluntary organizations in a program helping Older Americans in 300 communities live dignified lives in the familiar settings of their own homes, assisting them to make home repairs, making shopping more accessible, and providing more convenient transportation so they can obtain health care and tend to other needs.

I am heartily in favor of these efforts, and assure you that I shall make every effort to keep all of these voluntary organizations on their voluntary basis. The very power of voluntary organizations, the reason they can

be so effective in meeting changing needs through relatively small dollar investment, is their volunteer spirit. This would to a great extent be lost were the control over these community or private organizations divorced from local leadership and federalized into the government in Washington, D.C.

We have seen in the last three years a great expansion of federal assistance for the Arts and Humanities, and for construction of public library facilities. These increased cultural opportunities are especially enjoyed by those who have retired and have more time to invest in such worthwhile activities.

But many elderly Americans who would like to enrich their lives with such cultural activities, or to participate in volunteer programs or in part-time jobs, are unable to do so, isolated by lack of transportation.

Although the lack of transportation meeting the needs of the aging is basically a question requiring ultimately a local solution, the Nixon Administration and Congress have taken steps helping to alleviate the situation. The Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1970 provides for special consideration for the needs of America's aged and infirm in the planning, design and operation of transportation services. The Department of Transportation is encouraging research and transportation programs to provide better access to transportation to the elderly. Congressional Committees are exploring possible means of assisting communities to meet transportation needs of the elderly and thus remove one of the great barriers to their involvement and integration into society.

One of the most important concerns of the White House Conference on the Aging was the way in which the government is organized to deal with the problems of Older Americans. President Nixon has appointed a Special Assistant and a Special Consultant on Aging, and has set up a new Cabinet-level Committee to coordinate federal activities regarding the aging. The Secretary of H.E.W. is reorganizing his Department to strengthen his Advisory Committee on Older Americans, with the Commissioner of Aging reporting directly to the Secretary. The Senate has a Select Committee on Aging, and I believe the House needs a similar committee to coordinate its legislative studies and efforts.

I therefore cosponsored legislation establishing a House Committee on the Aging. I regret the House Leadership still has not scheduled hearings on that resolution and has not allowed it to come to the House floor.

Those of you who attended the White House Conference found a great chairman in Dr. Flemming, the former Secretary of HEW.

Dr. Flemming very forcefully called for action to help the aging, for deed, not just words. As he said, failure of the Conference to translate the hopes and aspirations of our Older Americans into action programs will simply add to their frustrations.

From what I have said today, I hope you will agree that President Nixon and the Congress are making efforts to translate the Conference's recommendations into action programs, but some of the problems require long-range solutions and some will have to be dealt with progressively as human and financial resources become available.

That substantial progress is being made is due in no small part to you here today and others like you throughout the country. I pledge to you my whole-hearted support on this great effort to improve the quality of life for Older Americans and bring them back into full and active participation in our society. There is nothing which should be given higher priority in America than the reinvolvement of our older citizens, whose values have helped build this country and made it the greatest in the world.

## END AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the aftermath of the latest escalation of the air war in Indochina, climaxed by this past weekend's bombing raids against Hanoi and Haiphong, it is as if the clock has been turned back 5 years to the cruel and limitless bombing policy of the late Johnson administration. It is as if Mr. Nixon and his advisers in the White House and Pentagon have learned nothing from the tragic lessons of the past few years. In pursuit of vague, undefined, and self-defeating aims, they like their predecessors, subject the peoples of Indochina to a rain of death and destruction unprecedented in the annals of modern warfare. Once again, the American people and their representatives in Congress cry out against this inhuman policy and once again an American President responds by escalating the air war and dragging the United States deeper into the quagmire of Vietnam.

Despite all the horrors of the past few years, Tet, Mylai, Cambodia, the rampant slaughter of civilians, the wholesale devastation of a once fertile land, a poisoning of the American spirit at home and the sowing of distrust and repulsion abroad, Mr. Nixon has learned nothing. Despite the strong desire of the vast majority of Americans to wash their hands of the stain of Vietnam completely and immediately, Mr. Nixon has opened a new chapter in the endless Vietnam story, and has paved the way for deeper and lengthened involvement. A President, who asserted as a candidate in 1968 that he had "a plan to end the war," has plans only to expand it and to perpetuate the killing and violence. The American people voted in 1964 and again in 1968 for peace; their Presidents and a docile Congress give them only more war.

Mr. Speaker, in times like these, it is difficult to remain optimistic about the future of our democratic institutions. Since 1968 it has been clear that the majority of Americans want nothing more to do with the Vietnam war. Yet they remain shackled by their leaders to the carcass of the domino theory. While a Presidentially appointed diplomatic and military elite play God with the lives of Americans and Indochinese in Southeast Asia, our democratic institutions and checks and balances are short circuited by lies, misinformation, press agency and phony appeals to patriotism and national unity. Much more of this and we shall soon be undone. The United States has already sacrificed too much in pursuit of the fantasy of victory in Vietnam—56,000 American lives, 300,000 American casualties, well over \$150 billion from the taxpayers, a loss of national unity, and of domestic tranquillity—the list is endless. Now the administration is apparently prepared to sacrifice the chances of lessened tensions with the

Soviet Union and the hope of strategic arms limitations. As much as ever, the diplomatic and military policies of the United States are irrevocably wedded to the fortunes of the repressive Thieu dictatorship. How much longer shall we allow the course of our lives and the prospects for a peaceful world to be determined by a narrow military clique in Saigon? How much longer shall we allow the President of the United States to sacrifice all which is decent in this Nation on the altar of "Victory in Vietnam?"

Mr. Speaker, once again efforts shall be made in this House to end this war at once. As in the past, I shall support all measures to end the bombing immediately, and to withdraw all American forces as soon as logistically possible. For nearly 4 years, a lethargic House of Representatives has granted Mr. Nixon the luxury of "ending" the war in his own way. He has only intensified it and raised new specters of deeper American involvement.

The American and Indochinese peoples cannot tolerate this luxury any longer. This House must vote to end American participation in this immoral conflict immediately and unilaterally.

WILLIAM PETERS, OLDEST EAGLE SCOUT

### HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, the Mon-Yough Boy Scout Council in the 20th Congressional District of Pennsylvania recently held an award dinner to honor a class of Eagle Scouts. The council also paid tribute to scoutmasters who have produced 10 or more Eagle Scouts during their tenure of leadership.

A highlight of this award dinner was the special recognition paid to Mr. William Peters, of 10-A Longfellow Drive, Munhall, Pa. Mr. Peters, commissioner of the Chippewa District, is the oldest known Eagle Scout in the Mon-Yough Council, having achieved scouting's highest rank on October 31, 1924.

Mr. Speaker, I salute Mr. Peters for this outstanding record in scouting and am privileged to insert his name into the RECORD, along with those of his fellow scoutmasters. Their record reflects great credit upon themselves and the Boy Scouts of America.

The list of names, units, and sponsors follows:

#### CHIPPEWA DISTRICT

Joseph Bakosh, troop 24, West Mifflin citizens.

John W. Christian, troop 15, St. Teresa Roman Catholic Church, Munhall, Pa.

William Galvin, Sr., troop 5, Mifflin School PTA.

Clement A. Matta, troop 12, St. Elias Church, Munhall, Pa.

Earl G. Robinson, troop 4, Homestead Park United Methodist Church.

Albert Sabol, troop 8, St. Nicholas Orthodox Church, Homestead, Pa.



## CHEYENNE DISTRICT

Frederick Dachinetz, troop 310, Holy Name Roman Catholic Church, Duquesne, Pa.

## SENECA DISTRICT

Thomas A. Dudek, troop 8, St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, McKeesport, Pa.

David J. Edwards, troop 85, St. Robert Bellarmine Roman Catholic Church, North Versailles, Pa.

Allen G. Filson, troop 1, Central Presbyterian Church, McKeesport, Pa.

Charles G. Fulmer, troop 151, Versailles Methodist Church.

Oliver C. Levander, troop 7, Hall Park Welfare and Relief Association, McKeesport, Pa.

Richard C. Stashko, troop 146, Green Valley Volunteer Fire Company.

Charles V. Turner, troop 30, Father's of 30 Club, White Oak, Pa.

## MOHAWK DISTRICT

William P. Betzner, troop 55, St. Joseph Roman Catholic Church, Port Vue, Pa.

Theodore M. Frank, troop 99, Mount Vernon Community United Presbyterian Church.

Anthony Grace, Sr., troop 96, Greenock Methodist Church.

Donald C. Kerklo, troop 54, First Presbyterian Church, Glassport, Pa.

Evan Leggett, troop 78, Round Hill Presbyterian Church, Elizabeth, Pa.

## GUN CONTROL

## HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, I have received a resolution passed by the Kodiak Island Borough, Kodiak, Alaska, concerning certain legislation being considered in Congress regarding gun control. I think the resolution expresses the sentiments and concerns of a large number of people in Alaska if not the majority.

Last year I was privileged to write an article regarding gun control for the September issue of the Gun World magazine, in which I said in part:

The case for strict firearms regulation has not been made in Alaska. During my period of service in the Alaska State Senate, I fought and voted repeatedly against registration, mail order and other control legislation. Such statutes would work a special hardship in Alaska, where it would be nearly impossible for Alaska natives and others in the rural areas to comply with such laws. Over a period of time, these same citizens of Alaska have established a record for extremely wise and safe gun use.

It is my feeling that the experience with such legislation in Alaska has been and is being repeated elsewhere in the United States. Wherever it is possible to separate the issue from the emotions, it should be possible to reach rational decisions. In many cases, I believe lawmakers will discover that regulation is just not necessary.

Mr. Speaker, I bring this resolution to the attention of my colleagues at this

point in the RECORD so that any such legislation will receive the broadest possible consideration before being enacted into law:

A RESOLUTION OF THE KODIAK ISLAND BOROUGH ASSEMBLY OPPOSING SENATE BILL 2815 OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Whereas, the Congress of the United States is presently considering Senate Bill 2815 that would require all citizens to surrender handguns to the Federal Government within one hundred and eighty (180) days of the passage of said Bill, except for law officers, licensed security guards or members of licensed gun clubs with locked storage spaces using guns for bona fide target, sport shooting or other legitimate recreational purposes and

Whereas, those turning in guns would receive in return from the Federal Government fair market value of the weapon and the penalty for failure to surrender the handgun would be as much as \$5,000 fine and five years in federal prison and

Whereas, the prohibition of the Act would extend to handgun ammunition and

Whereas, in the judgment of the State of Alaska Legislators this legislation violates a citizen's right to keep and bear arms for his protection or legitimate recreational use and

Whereas, Alaska's vast expanses of uninhabited land masses create unique circumstances wherein the use of handguns for protection while trapping, sports fishing, prospecting or while traveling through the State is of major importance,

Now therefore be it resolved by the Kodiak Island Borough that it opposes the enactment of Senate Bill 2815.

## WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO CONSUMER SPENDING?

## HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, probably the most vital component in our economic recovery is the growth in consumer confidence and spending. Much concern has been expressed recently over the fact that the consumer has maintained a historically high rate of savings, and thus is spending less on consumer goods which are the backbone of our economy.

John O'Riley, in a recent column, indicated another reason for reduced consumer spending which must be taken into account as we seek to revive the economy. I have included his column for the Members' review:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Mar. 27, 1972]

## APPRAISAL OF CURRENT TRENDS IN BUSINESS AND FINANCE

What the economy needs is more consumer spending. How many times have you heard that one in recent years? Quite a few, surely. The consumer, it is said, saves too much. And he lacks confidence. The increased saving is statistically demonstrable. And the lack of confidence is no doubt there to a degree. But there is another long-term trend that impinges on the consumer's spending for his personal wants. That is the growing share of his income that he must spend on non-personal consumption—things like po-

licemen, school teachers, concrete pavement, and so on.

When official calculators compute the gross national product, they do it by adding up all the spending in the country—and that's it, the GNP. The two big spending flows are (1) spending by individuals for personal consumption and (2) spending by federal, state, and local governments. All this money comes originally from the same pockets, of course. But the part in category No. 2, siphoned from those pockets via direct and indirect taxes, inexorably diminishes what the taxpayers can spend on personal needs.

Year after year, decade after decade, the siphoned part grows larger, not just in an absolute sense, which would be expected, but as a percentage of the whole. Starting with 1929 as a way-back base, and then picking up with post-World War II years, here is the record of the GNP, showing the part of it spent publicly. The first two columns represent billions of dollars.

Year	GNP	Government spending	Percent of GNP
1929.....	103.1	8.5	8.2
1950.....	284.8	37.9	13.3
1955.....	398.0	74.2	18.6
1960.....	503.7	99.6	19.7
1965.....	684.9	137.0	20.0
1971.....	1,046.8	233.1	22.2

The figures in both of those first two columns have expanded mightily over the years, of course. But:

Since 1929: While the GNP has increased tenfold, the non-personal, through-the-government share of the spending has increased twenty-sevenfold. And:

Since 1950: While GNP has grown less than fourfold, the through-the-government spending has grown more than sixfold.

In today's world, the taxpayer, usually an employee of some business firm, is increasingly an employer himself—of a growing multitude of public servants. And he must pay these people their wages before he can start spending for personal consumption.

The record of the growth in these public payrolls tells much of the story of the growth in public spending—and taxes. The table below shows all the people on private, non-farm payrolls and all those on government payrolls. The latter are not, for the most part, federal workers. They are local people—teachers, policemen, firemen, sanitation men, and so on.

Year	Private	Government
1929.....	28,274,000	3,065,000
1950.....	39,196,000	6,026,000
1955.....	43,761,000	6,914,000
1960.....	45,881,000	8,353,000
1965.....	50,741,000	10,074,000
1971.....	57,836,000	12,853,000

The important point in the above is not the growth in the two columns, but rather the difference in rate of growth. It adds up to this:

Since 1929: Private employment up 104%—and government employment up 319%.

Since 1950: Private employment up 47% and government employment up 113%.

There are more people on the public payrolls today than there are men, women, and children in all of New England—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

Is this bad? Not necessarily. Who can say? It may be going too far—or it may be just an essential part of the evolution of a more complex, more urbanized society.

For the rancher on the frontier, public services just weren't so burdensome. His primary police department was a 30-30 Win-

chester over the mantel. His sewerage system (a big tax item today) was an outhouse some twenty yards behind the back porch. Education for his children came largely from getting books and reading them—a route that Abraham Lincoln followed with reasonable effectiveness.

But that is a bygone world. Every man to his own Winchester would hardly replace the modern police department in today's metropolis. The outhouse has had it. The mere reading approach to education seems to be gone for good. Still—those public service payroll costs do put a crimp in a lot of potentially personal-consumption spending.

And there is another huge item in the public spending column today that does not even pay for public service. It is the mounting cost of caring for the poor. Like the cost of meeting the public-servant payrolls, it must be paid by the taxpayers before they arrive at what's left for their own personal spending. The poor have always been with us, indeed, but the rate at which their numbers grow today is much sharper than generally realized.

The population of the country has grown some 15% since 1960. But the number of people on welfare rolls has more than doubled over the same period. Now well above 14 million, the welfare citizenry is greater than the combined populations of New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

As far back as a year ago, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare found more than 10% of the residents of seven of the country's 20 biggest cities on welfare. In Boston the welfare rolls were placed above 15% of the population. In New York they were over 13%. In Baltimore and St. Louis they were above 12%. And in San Francisco, Philadelphia and Newark they topped 11%.

In the overall consumer buying power picture, of course, public employees spend their money on consumer goods just as those on private payrolls do. And so do welfare people. But for those folk who still don't get their livelihood from public coffers (thus far they remain the majority) the brake on personal spending grows tighter. They can't use the same dollars to pay taxes and buy cars and TV sets—or, for that matter, home library encyclopedias and sets of the Harvard Classics.

JOHN O'RILEY.

#### KOSCIUSZKO AND CULTURAL OPPRESSION IN POLAND

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the plight of those living under Communist oppression is, and should be, a matter of great concern to all free people. The passage this week of House Congressional Resolution 471 relative to the persecution of the Soviet Jews and other minorities is a step in the right direction toward correcting the grave injustice, indeed the criminal acts of oppression and violation of human rights perpetrated by the Soviet Union in its drive for total subjugation of the people of the captive nations.

The nation of Poland is, perhaps, a classic example of the deprivation of human rights where the name of the great General Kosciuszko has recently been banned from use in the government newspaper and where it is now for-

bidden to play the Polish National Anthem—the first line of this great anthem is of great significance here, "Poland is not yet lost."

Almost every American school student knows the story of the great Pole, General Kosciuszko, adjutant to General Washington, hero of the Revolutionary War battles of New York and Yorktown and an American citizen by virtue of an act of a grateful Congress. Few know that this same General Kosciuszko later returned to Poland, helping to construct the Polish Constitution and was the general who led the Polish forces victoriously against an invading Russian Army in 1794 at a place called Racławice.

Kosciuszko is truly a world hero, a great name in the battle and struggle for individual liberty and conscience.

Unfortunately, the President of the United States has chosen to ignore the fact that the Communist Government of Poland has now declared an American hero, truly a father of this country, a nonperson. The President has, in fact, chosen to dignify this very same Government by visiting Poland May 31 and June 1 following his visit to Moscow. In doing so he is giving tacit approval to these recent actions of cultural oppression by the Communist government in control.

Related news articles follow at this point:

[From the Manchester Union Leader, Apr. 15, 1972]

#### REDS DOWNGRADE KOSCIUSZKO

The Red Government of Poland has declared Kosciuszko to be a non-person and has banned his name from use in the government newspaper.

Almost all American schoolchildren have read about General Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who distinguished himself brilliantly in the Revolutionary War, especially in the battle of New York and at Yorktown.

General Washington made Kosciuszko his adjutant.

This Polish friend of freedom achieved the rank of brigadier-general, and a grateful U.S. Congress honored Kosciuszko with the privilege of American citizenship. Afterwards, Kosciuszko, wearing the American uniform, returned to Poland to help construct the Polish Constitution and to defeat an invading Russian army. This he did magnificently in 1794 at a place called Racławice.

Now, alas, Poland is once again under the Russian heel.

The tragedy is that Poland, over which World War II started in 1939, now remains less free than it was at the outbreak of that war.

At the top of our back page today we are publishing former Ambassador to Switzerland Henry J. Taylor's brilliant and tragically sad commentary on what has happened to Poland. Mr. Taylor also pays a fitting tribute to young Kosciuszko, who in 1776 at the age of 30 crossed the Atlantic in a perilous journey to volunteer in Washington's army.

One of the real blots on American history is the fact that at Yalta, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt literally sold the Polish people into Communist slavery by not insisting that Poland be free.

If this nation did what it should be doing, it would be aiding Polish patriots to gain their freedom from their Red slavemasters. In this way we could pay part of our debt to Kosciuszko.

WILLIAM LOEB, Publisher.

[From the Manchester Union Leader, Apr. 15, 1972]

REDS ALSO BAN NATIONAL ANTHEM OF CAPTURED, BUT NOT CONQUERED, COUNTRY—COMMUNISTS IN POLAND "OUTLAW" KOSCIUSZKO

(By Henry J. Taylor)

The Polish Communist party organ is Warsaw's Trybuna Ludu. The government newspaper is Zgoda Warszawy. Poland's great national hero is, of course, Tadeusz Kosciuszko. They have now banned his name.

The Red government has outlawed Kosciuszko as a nonperson.

The Polish national anthem is a mazurka, the first line of which is "Poland is not yet lost." The anthem, too, is now officially banned.

This is the latest Moscow-ordered handiwork of OORM Secret Police chief Mieczyslaw Moczar, the Minister of Interior, clicking his worry beads about the restiveness of the Polish people under Red rule.

Simultaneously, he has now installed a slot box in Poland's police stations for informers to drop anonymous notes accusing friends and neighbors of disloyalty to the Red cause.

Crafty Moczar, pouched and sallow, his smile as cold as a meat plant, was a longtime rival of former Communist party leader Wladyslaw Gomułka, six years in power, current leader Edward Gierek and stooge Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz alike. Their rivalry was evident in the Gdynia shipyard riots in which 54 people were killed and 200 wounded—the worst since the Poznan riots in 1956.

The great Kosciuszko a non-person? Poland lost? The scheme repeats an ancient tragedy.

Poland has always been in the untenable position of a land mass without natural borders. Again and again, always vastly outnumbered by enemies, Poland has been the victim of hungry pythons.

Even at the time of Napoleon's aggressions against Poland, that country already had been dismembered and partitioned three times in 23 years.

Eighteenth century Frederick the Great spoke of "the foul and shabby Polish trash." The commander-in-chief of Germany's World War I army said, "Poland must vanish." One of Hitler's proclaimed war aims was "to send all people of Polish origin to their destruction."

At 4:40 a.m. September 1, 1939, he attacked Poland by surprise. I was there. I experienced with the people their fight on those days and nights soaked with sorrow.

Hitler made this attack on a pretext of Germany's self-defense, trumped up and forged by his own secret service—the ghastly beginning of a war that finally killed 35 million people.

Three million Poles died at German hands in World War II. Then the Soviet slaughter was fully as horrible when, hand in hand with Hitler, the Soviet assaulted Poland (Sept. 16, 1939) in the Germany-USSR agreement to divide the country between them. So was the horrible genocide.

Violating all international laws, Poland's Nazi and Communist masters seized and criminally shunted off more than 1½ million Polish civilian men and women. The genocide involved 300,000 Poles of Warsaw, 150,000 from Lodz and 128,000 from Gdynia, the shipyard city, alone. The families forcibly split, the destinations unrevealed, these Poles entered the ranks of the living dead.

There are more than seven million first-generation immigrants from Iron Curtain countries now in the United States. Poland's oppressed are high among them. And naturally they venerate soldier-statesman Kosciuszko, now nonpersoned.



As the famous Lafayette's contemporary, he should be as well known as Lafayette is to us here.

Young Kosciuszko was essentially Jeffersonian and in 1776, aged 30, crossed the Atlantic in a perilous journey to volunteer in General Washington's army.

His back and his character were as straight as a gun barrel. Six feet tall, kind and gallant, modest, capable and truly brave, Kosciuszko became one of our war's most-respected officers.

He distinguished himself brilliantly in the battle for New York and at Yorktown. Washington made Kosciuszko his adjutant. He achieved the rank of brigadier-general. And a grateful Congress honored Kosciuszko with the privilege of American citizenship.

Kosciuszko, wearing his American uniform, returned to Poland to help construct the Polish Constitution and to defeat an invading Russian army. This he did—and magnificently—in 1794 at Racławice. Then the Russians wounded and seized Kosciuszko at Maciejowice and carried him off to Russia as a prisoner for two years. And in Poland and America alike you could hear the sound hearts make when they break in two.

Today Poland is again captured. But it is not conquered. The blood of Kosciuszko is in these people. One day the conquerors may well find that it is one thing to eat the Poles and another thing to permanently digest them. Honor the brave!

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 18, 1972]

#### NIXON ADDS WARSAW TO FOREIGN TRIP

(By Carroll Kilpatrick)

Both the White House and the Kremlin indicated yesterday that preparations for President Nixon's summit meeting in Moscow are proceeding on schedule despite the heightened conflict between the two powers over Vietnam.

While some observers were speculating that the Soviet meeting would fall victim to the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, Polish Ambassador Witold Trzaskowski called on the President to deliver an invitation to visit Warsaw.

Press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said Vietnam was not discussed during the Polish ambassador's meeting. The President will visit Poland May 31 and June 1 after visiting three Soviet cities and Teheran, Iran, the White House said.

Official sources made it unmistakably clear, however, that Mr. Nixon is deadly serious in his determination to prevent a Communist victory in Vietnam.

He is convinced that the American people support him in the actions he has taken and that they would not support him if he stood by while the Communists overran South Vietnam, the sources said.

Ziegler emphasized repeatedly in answer to questions that the President will take "whatever action is necessary to thwart this invasion" by North Vietnam of the South.

He even indicated that a congressional resolution calling on the President to halt the bombing would be ignored at the White House. Ziegler said critics are "aiming at the wrong target" when they criticize the President; they should aim at Hanoi, which is responsible for the escalation of the fighting Ziegler said.

A few hours before the Polish ambassador called on Mr. Nixon, a White House advance team headed by the President's military aide, Brig. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, took off for a planning trip to the cities the President is scheduled to visit. It is expected to land in the Soviet Union Wednesday.

In Moscow, at about the time the Soviets were formally protesting the Haiphong attack, which they said hit Soviet ships, it was reported unofficially that the President will also stop in Leningrad and Kiev.

From Kiev, he plans to fly to Teheran and then to Warsaw. As Vice President in 1959, after visiting four Soviet cities, Mr. Nixon flew to Warsaw for one of the largest and most emotional welcomes he has ever received.

Further indications that both Moscow and Washington are trying to conduct business despite the new crisis were the start here yesterday of Soviet-American negotiations on a lend-lease settlement and in Moscow over maritime issues.

Also proceeding on schedule was the visiting Chinese table tennis team, which the White House announced will call on the President at noon today.

United Press International quoted "diplomatic sources" in Moscow as saying that the President and Mrs. Nixon will stay in the Kremlin Palace, a guest house within the red brick walls of the ancient fortress, during their four days in the Soviet capital.

The President is scheduled to arrive in Moscow May 22. The White House said last week that he would spend a day or two in Salzburg, Austria, resting after the transatlantic trip before flying to Moscow.

The White House yesterday confirmed reports that the President intends to nominate Martin J. Hillenbrand to be ambassador to West Germany. Hillenbrand has been Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs since February, 1969.

#### DETERIORATING CITIES: WHAT TO DO

### HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, recently, Mr. Carl O. Kamp, Jr., a member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, spoke before the Rotary Club of St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. Kamp's remarks dealt with the problems of our deteriorating cities, and included some well-reasoned and concrete suggestions on how to deal with the problems of central-city deterioration.

In Mr. Kamp's words:

No more wild schemes are needed that call for more public money. No more "social sobbing" is needed by those who publicly decry the decay of our cities, but do little to alleviate the problem.

I think that Carl O. Kamp, Jr., has much of value to say, and I offer his remarks for the enlightenment of all:

AN ADDRESS BY CARL O. KAMP, JR.

A great amount of publicity has focused recently on the problem of our deteriorating cities. In some cases, the news media, politicians and government bureaucrats have tried to lay the blame for the decaying cities everywhere but at themselves. In an effort to actually avoid the problem, some have refused to look analytically and practically at the causes for the decay of our major cities and what could and ought to be done to realistically rebuild these areas which offer so much to the American people.

In the past, our cities have been the hub of commerce, the great "melting pot" of our society, the center of cultural activities, the location of some of our finest institutions of higher learning and the magnetic attraction which turned our nation from a rural society into an urban one in a fantastically short period of time.

But what has happened? In less than a

generation, our cities have become, in many cases, an eyesore to the public. Business is moving away; local government can no longer guarantee that the streets will be safe; taxes are skyrocketing; some of our finest institutions have degraded their high purpose of educating our young by wallowing in partisan politics; our citizens are afraid to travel into the city in the evenings and daylight attacks upon individuals are not uncommon.

But, these are only symptoms of the disease not causes. And until we determine the basic causes which have contributed to the recent phenomena of the "city deserts" we will only find ourselves with a problem which may soon be so large it will be impossible to solve.

In my conversations and travels around the country, I have found that the savings and loan industry is not passive to the problem of inner city decay. Across the country savings and loan associations have become active in their own areas in trying to maintain and increase decent housing. Many savings and loans are involved. The record can be improved if the causes of inner city decay are attacked and attacked from a responsible and realistic viewpoint by a coalition of the total financial community; the business sector, which, of course, includes you as leaders of the St. Louis business community; local, state and Federal Government officials and agencies; the local people; and, of course, with the support of the news media which should educate their readers, viewers, and listeners about the causes of the deteriorating cities.

A great potential for investment in major cities awaits us all if the basic ingredients of decay can be ferreted out and eliminated. Business should join in this effort to rehabilitate the cities of our country. After all, with the right type of business environment, our major cities could become growing communities not dying ones. Government at all levels should critically analyze its present involvement in the cities. Finally, the local population—those people who are living in the midst of the dying city—needs to determine for itself if it wants to continue a passive life while the city decomposes around it, or is it going to actively participate with the other groups in society to rebuild the cities.

The first and overriding purpose of the business sector is to make a profit. This is true for financial institutions and the corner grocery store, the gas station and the manufacturing plant. All of us here today are interested in learning new ways to make money. The profit motive is the single ingredient, along with our Nation's historical reluctance to clamp on mandatory government controls, which has created this country's vast economic wealth. We all know and understand this basic principle of American success.

Today, I am concerned about what I see as a growing trend in our Nation today. At times I am afraid certain people among us would rather flee than face up to a challenge. And yet, it has been the challenges willingly and ably faced up to by this Nation which have resulted in our most significant advances. Too often today, we are turning toward Washington, D.C., to solve our problems instead of solving our problems locally using our own resources free from government control.

A great challenge faces us today. And, if we can face up to it, profits are available to all, not only financially but morally. The successful rehabilitation of our cities could be one of the greatest accomplishments of American business in our 200 year history as free people. This means new approaches to problem solving, new dedication to the concept of "self help", renewed appreciation in the free enterprise system, and possibly a completely new concept of what we call central cities.

As long as this Nation continues to paint over the problem of our dying cities instead of taking the more realistic, although much more difficult, approach of curing the disease, we will continue to toss money down the proverbial rat hole.

Solving this major problem will take more than a few new buildings. We have found that out here in St. Louis. A few years ago a great campaign was launched which said downtown St. Louis would be revived. The Gateway to the West would make our city once again a thriving and expanding metropolis. The Arch was built, a new stadium, a new riverfront hotel, several new night spots and restaurants were also built. The Mansion House Center and Laclede Town were completed. Yet, St. Louis continues to decline.

This problem is not just centered here in St. Louis. The crisis of our deteriorating cities is a national crisis and one which must be faced up to. The remedies experimented within the past simply have not worked. It is time to look for new remedies.

The idea that simply the allocation of funds will solve problems plagues many government programs—take a look at welfare. According to Milton Friedman, the famed Chicago economist, if the money allocated to helping the poor was merely given to those who qualify as poor, each member of each poor family would get \$3,000 a year. A "poor family" of four would be given \$12,000 a year!

Instead of merely allocating funds in our philanthropic desire to help people, we must begin to cure the cause of our problems, including the problem of our cities. We must reorder our priorities away from treating symptoms and turn toward curing the causes of the problem of our cities. We can create the business environment for increased investment, new jobs, a larger tax base, better schools and the elimination of a great deal of the present welfare load off the back of the tax paying American people. Everyone will benefit if our cities can be saved by the investment of the private sector with the profit motive as the guiding light and governmental regulation as catalyst for, instead of restriction against, private involvement.

Investors shy away from our cities today for a combination of reasons.

I have talked to builders who, today, have detailed plans for bringing good housing into the inner cities. Yet, they find it impossible. The crime rate is so high and vandalism is so prevalent that builders shy away from implementing their plans.

In many cities, the city government places such rigid restrictions upon the mortgagor and the builder that they feel frustrated when they try to alleviate the existing situation. For instance, building code requirements, like those in Chicago, force residents to abandon their homes rather than invest more money in a neighborhood which is declining and which is in the process of being taken over by criminals. Such counter-productive codes only force a decline in property values and ultimate abandonment and then vandalism of these properties.

Cities which require permits for improvements upon property ought to update or eliminate such restrictive procedures. Some existing permit requirements were drawn up decades ago and need modernizing if not complete elimination.

As an example, in some cities today a building permit is needed for as little as a \$100 improvement on your land. A \$100 improvement may have been quite an investment 30 years ago but not today. Such restrictions ought to be updated, if not completely eliminated. If a man owns his property why should he be hobbled with the necessity of obtaining a building permit in order to improve his land? As long as build-

ing codes are adhered to, building permits may be unnecessary. Besides, the bureaucratic headache in obtaining such permits at City Hall may cause the land owner to miss several days of work.

Of course, the high tax rates existing in many cities only adds to the problem. For instance, according to the *New York Times*, Chicago's taxes last year rose 35% and are expected to rise another 50% this year. In some of my conversations with people around the Nation we hear that property is taxed in some cases two to five times what it should be if the property were reassessed correctly. Property taxes charged the owner are more if improvements are made than if the property is allowed to continue to deteriorate.

The area of property taxes has come into the spotlight lately. It might be worthwhile to consider looking at land and its taxation in a more practical and realistic way.

For instance, isn't it counter-productive to levy higher taxes on improved property? Doesn't such a tax policy discourage rehabilitation of deteriorating properties? Why should a landlord keep his properties looking good and make the necessary repairs if his taxes will increase?

Possibly a more realistic approach would be a land value tax which taxes the land and not the structure. Such a tax might well encourage improvements on many existing structures not only here in St. Louis but in most metropolitan areas.

The present FHA subsidy financing, according to Secretary of HUD George Romney, has been far less than successful. This can be seen by the amount of city property presently owned by the Federal Government, by the fact that FHA financing has, in some cases, been refused to perfectly good properties in the inner cities, and by some of the recent disclosures here in St. Louis as to abuses in the program. Then you have the problem of Urban Renewal which in many cases wipes out a sprawling slum to replace it with a high-rise slum.

The most celebrated cause of this type is right here in St. Louis—Pruitt Igoe. Now the Federal Government has decided to blow-up part of this publicly subsidized development and try to rebuild around it. Yet, once again, money is being poured into the area with no real long-range plan for improving the situation except new subsidized housing. No plan is conceived to cure the disease.

It is difficult for most people to break loose from old concepts and traditional viewpoints. I, for one, am a strong believer in traditional American values and the importance of the individual.

However, I do feel that the traditional concept of the "city" may, indeed, be outmoded. Most people view the city and any program to assist the city in the traditional manner—a downtown business sector surrounded by houses and apartments with few commercial areas for daily shopping. Here in St. Louis this is largely the pattern of development. Some areas of South St. Louis, however, have good commercial areas available to the community residents.

But does this traditional view of the city have to restrict our thinking? Maybe the traditional city ought to be replaced with a modern concept which would create a suburb out of the present-day deteriorating city.

Shopping centers and industrial parks act like magnets in the suburbs. Housing and employment is generated around such areas. Why not create such area communities within the city limits of St. Louis?

The need surely exists to service the people of St. Louis with easily accessible shopping areas. Similarly, potential labor is also available here in St. Louis. The creation of jobs creates buying power and thus St. Louis could well halt its present downhill slide into oblivion and begin to rebuild a new St. Louis.

Such "suburbanization" of St. Louis would alter the present image of our city. The image of impending doom could be replaced with a new, exciting image of a city on the go. Employment opportunities would open up and investment opportunities would naturally go hand in hand.

Such a suburbanization program could be accomplished largely without the Federal Government pouring billions of new dollars into the city.

A few things which could be done and need to be done to shore up the decay in our cities and to begin building a community which will service the needs of the people are as follows:

(1) Government, business, and labor must work together to build the necessary "climate for investment."

(2) Good street lighting is necessary as is the continuation of and the expansion of our police forces. Street crimes must be reduced to the lowest possible number.

(3) Existing, though abandoned, structures could be used to house people, as industrial buildings or commercial establishments, and possibly as correctional institutions. In too many cases, I believe, perfectly sound structures are abandoned and torn down which could be used in a constructive fashion.

(4) The court systems in our cities must be modernized and possibly decentralized in order to deal quickly and fairly with those persons faced with civil or criminal proceedings.

(5) The restrictive building codes and home improvement permit issuing should be modernized and, in some cases, eliminated.

(6) The taxing policies of the city and state governments must be revamped in order to encourage, not discourage, business investment.

(7) The private sector should realize that the city can once again become a place of prosperity. We must decide to cure the disease and not simply treat symptoms.

(8) The private sector needs to organize a "United Front" to include all sectors of society which would encourage the present city administrations to implement the improvements outlined herein.

(9) The private sector needs to develop its own plans for developing the inner-city—housing developments, shopping centers, business plants, better use of industrial facilities, job training programs, etc. Many such plans exist today.

(10) We must stop visualizing central cities in the traditional manner and begin to realize that the purpose of cities is to serve the people and businesses which reside therein and to encourage new people and businesses to move in. Consequently, the suburbanization of the city may be an answer.

(11) We should encourage evening use of school buildings in the area for classes on family budgeting; home improvement, basic home repair, home and apartment selection, and, if necessary, personal protection.

No more wild schemes are needed that call for "more public money." No more "social sobbing" is needed by those who publicly decry the decay of our cities but do little to alleviate the problem. No more attacks are needed by some members of the news media on the private sector for supposedly failing to meet the problem.

It is time to face up to the problem and to understand that each of us has not only a social responsibility to our community but a responsibility to our firm and to our stockholders to go after profits. Profits are awaiting the private sector in our cities if we work to develop an "investment environment" which can redevelop and rebuild the cities.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we must all combine our imaginations, our expertise, our resources, and our profit-minded desire to restructure the foundations of our cities and



create a viable, successful and livable community.

Our forefathers built a Nation out of a wilderness. We should be able to build a livable and profitable community out of St. Louis.

#### COMMENT ON THE BERRIGAN BROTHERS

### HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD today an article by Father Dan Lyons from Twin Circle, the National Catholic Press, which discusses an appearance of one of the Berrigan brothers before the Fordham University Law School.

I found the article particularly interesting because it brings out several significant points never, to my knowledge, mentioned by the newspapers that give so much space to the activities and ideas of the Berrigan brothers. These points are:

Although the Berrigans are Jesuits, they do not reflect the views of other Jesuits.

Why is no attention given to the opinions of their fellow Jesuits on Vietnam, particularly those who have been to Vietnam—or who live and work in Vietnam?

The brothers Berrigan have had as much publicity in the national media as all the other 56,000 U.S. priests combined.

Why is the Catholic clergy in Vietnam not given an opportunity for public comment in our news media in answer to the things the Berrigans are saying?

South Vietnam has a large Catholic population. What happens to them and to the church if the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong take over in South Vietnam, as the Berrigans apparently wish?

Why is it that the Berrigans and their followers, who profess great moral scruples, never express any Christian sympathy for the thousands of innocent civilians murdered by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese?

Why is a war of defense against a military invasion from another sovereign state now considered immoral?

Why would the tyranny and horror of North Vietnamese and Vietcong communism suddenly become any more acceptable to these self-righteous fanatics than the same sort of totalitarian tyranny which Hitler attempted to impose upon Europe in World War II?

The article follows:

#### FATHER DAN BERRIGAN'S FIRST TALK

(By Father Dan Lyons)

There were mixed feelings among the audience as Father Dan Berrigan, S.J., gave his first public address at Fordham University Law School since his release from prison for burning draft records. Most of the audience consisted of students in hearty agreement with his talk.

It is fair to say the talk appealed much

more to emotion than to reason. On several occasions in the past, students have proposed that I debate with him, but he has always been unwilling to debate. I have debated his brother, Father Phil Berrigan, S.J., at Purdue, Notre Dame, and elsewhere.

Father Dan's talk consisted of reading his poems, making a few remarks, and answering questions. In his introduction he referred to "other poets and other revolutionaries, like Ho Chi Minh." Much of his time was spent in condemning Boyd Douglas, the fellow convict who turned out to be an informer. His attack on Douglas was extremely low level, accusing him of being psychologically unbalanced.

#### INSECTS

Apart from Douglas, he spoke highly of all those in prison. Yet his charity did not extend to those who work there. They are "insects." Police and prison guards are the bad guys, while convicted muggers, rapists, thieves and murderers are the noble ones. "No one should be kept in prison against his will," he said. Except wardens?

"Angela" drew his repeated respect and veneration. One wonders how much he knows about the Angela Davis case. Or how much he knows about issues such as Puerto Rico. Yet when a questioner asked whether Puerto Rico should become independent of the United States, his immediate reply was: "The sooner the better."

#### NO SOLUTION

When asked whether our government was worse than Hitler's was, he had no comment. When asked if he had an alternate system to ours, he replied: "Yes. In Jail." He is a professional protester, with no positive solution to offer. His stock in trade is a very vague dissent. When asked if he had any plans, his answer was that he had not thought about it. "Have you any suggestions?" he asked the questioner.

He was asked if the trial involving his brother and six others in Harrisburg, Pa., was a total fabrication. He answered immediately: "Yes. Sure. It was truly a kangaroo scene. It is to prevent free speech. If you in the audience have not thought these thoughts and spoken these words, you ought to be ashamed." There was no mention of the bomb charges; no denial of a plot to kidnap Henry Kissinger. He does not deal with facts.

Father Berrigan and his brother have had as much publicity in the national media as all other 56,000 U.S. priests combined. Magazines like *Time* and *Newsweek* go out of their way to play up anything they do or say. Yet their main theme, the Vietnam war, is a subject on which they know very little.

#### CONFEREES DISAGREE

Father Dan did not bother to discuss that obviously complicated subject. Yet he keeps referring to it. But as Father Arrupe, General of the Jesuits, has remarked, Father Dan's views do not agree with those of his fellow Jesuits in Vietnam.

Could it be that bishops, priests and laity in Vietnam; could it be that the experts on Vietnam in this country, know facts that the Berrigans do not know? Bishop Hoang Van Doan, of the Diocese of Qui-Nhon, in South Vietnam, reported in a recent interview that "those who blame the Vietnam war on the Saigon and Washington governments are not well-informed." A war of defense "is not immoral," insisted the bishop, adding that the Church has been almost entirely wiped out in North Vietnam.

#### EXPERTS DIFFER

Priests like Father Raymond de Jaegher of Twin Circle's editorial board, and Father Patrick O'Connor, who has written for Twin Circle, are much better informed than the

Berrigans on Vietnam, as each of them lived in Vietnam for 10 years. Their views are diametrically opposed to the Berrigans.

"Gradual strangulation of the Church is the evident objective of Hanoi," both priests insist: "It would be the goal of Hanoi in South Vietnam." Marxism is the only "religion" taught in the schools in the North, they pointed out. "The government there is simply an agency of the Communist party."

What Hanoi wants to do in South Vietnam, it also wants to do in Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and elsewhere. The reasons the Berrigans and their followers are so reluctant to discuss the subject is that they have no answer to these very serious problems. With them the Vietnam war is simply an excuse for attacking our government. They feign sympathy for the few children bombed in Hanoi, but not for the thousands killed or wounded by the Viet Cong.

#### BEREFT OF CONCERN

As for concern toward the people in South Vietnam, the Berrigans and their followers seem bereft of any. They are warriors without a cause, full of discontent and confusion.

Father Greeley was not far off when he called Father Dan "a self-righteous fanatic." His likeable manner and feigned modesty fail to conceal his attitude of inspired moral superiority.

#### MADISON-MAYODAN COMMUNITY COMMENDED

### HON. RICHARDSON PREYER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. PREYER of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the shortage of physicians in small towns has been one of the most serious problems in delivering good medical care to all of the people of America. The Madison-Mayodan community should be commended for their innovative effort in this area.

An article from the Messenger of March 23, 1972, follows:

#### COMMUNITY AHEAD OF MOST IN PLANNING FOR PHYSICIANS

A group of Mayodan and Madison citizens met Monday night with Dr. Donald Hayes of the Bowman Gray School of Medicine and Richard Parks of Raleigh to discuss ways and means of getting doctors to come into the area to establish practices. Mr. Parks is a member of the state Committee on Community Health Assistance.

Present were six members of the Madison Medical Facility Authority and three from a newly appointed committee in Mayodan named to find the town an additional doctor.

No new revelations on the secret of finding doctors for small towns came out of the meeting, but after some fact-finding discussion, guidelines were established on how best to proceed.

After hearing what the Madison group had done to date and the plan it has set up, both Parks and Dr. Hayes agreed that the community was far ahead of most communities in its plan of action. Carlyle Lewis, speaking for the Madison group, described plans for first obtaining doctors with a \$40,000 guarantee for the first year, and later erecting a medical facility.

Members of both committees pointed out that the two doctors in Madison and one in Mayodan were anxious to have more doctors in the area.

Dr. Hayes said, when it was pointed out

that around 20,000 people are served by local doctors. "Ideally you need 25 doctors to give people the best medical care. I'd pull out all stops to get more doctors. You're not going to get too many."

Lewis said, "If we get a prospect we're going to get on a plane and go see him. We're not going to wait around writing letters back and forth."

Answering a question as to whether medical schools encouraged doctors to go into general family practice, Dr. Hayes said, "I can honestly say at Bowman Gray we are now seriously working on it. In the past we gave only lip-service to the idea." He also agreed that there was a small upsurge of interest in general practice among young medical students.

One type of help for doctors now practicing in the area described by Dr. Hayes is a program which has been developed to supply trained physician assistants and nurse-practitioners, certified to work with established doctors. He described the type of training program required and said in communities where they were working with doctors it was found that their services freed doctors so that they became 50 per cent more productive.

# THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF Y'S MEN'S CLUB

**HON. GERALD R. FORD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the International Association of Y's Men's Clubs, a service organization which works through the YMCA, is observing its 50th anniversary this year.

Y's Men's Clubs serve communities here in America and throughout the world, striving constantly to improve mankind's lot and engaging in various civic betterment projects.

In the knowledge that Y's Men's Clubs are dedicated to service and to worldwide brotherhood, I think it is appropriate that the House of Representatives join in paying tribute to them. To that end, I include certain Y's Men's Club golden anniversary material at this point in the RECORD:

## PROCLAMATION

To all to whom these presents shall come or may concern:

Witnesseth: Whereas, The International Association of Y's Men's Clubs, Inc., was founded in 1922 in the State of Ohio, United States of America, and

Whereas, this Service Organization is now operational in 48 countries of the world as the service arm of the Young Men's Christian Association, and

Whereas, the celebration and commemoration of fifty (50) years of such service directed to the betterment of mankind and the advancement of worldwide brotherhood by Y's Men's International is worthy of note and acclaim by all who profess allegiance to those concepts.

Now, therefore, it is publicly recognized and acknowledged that the International Association of Y's Men's Clubs be, and it hereby is, congratulated on the attainment of its Fiftieth Anniversary in 1972, and further,

that it be, and it hereby is, applauded for its contributions made by Y's Men and Y's Menettes to the improvement of the quality of life in the world, and finally, that it be, and it hereby is, encouraged to renew and rededicate its efforts in even greater measure in the years to come.

## Y'S MEN TO CELEBRATE 50TH ANNIVERSARY

The 50th anniversary of the founding of the International Association of Y's Men's Clubs is being observed during the year of 1972 throughout the world.

The Tolymca Club, organized in 1920 by Paul W. Alexander, a young attorney, was the forerunner of the Y's Men's Clubs. The idea of a Service Club working through the YMCA spread from Toledo throughout nearby Ohio cities and in 1922 resulted in the organization of the International Association of Y's Men's Clubs in the first International Convention at Atlantic City, New Jersey. Seventeen Clubs from the United States and Canada formed this Association and Charter Number One was granted to the Toledo Y's Men's Club. Paul Alexander was the First President. In 1924, the first "overseas club" was chartered in Shanghai, China. By 1930 there were 150 clubs and 1940, 250 clubs. The most recent tabulation accounts for 832 Clubs with over 20,000 active members in 48 countries around the world. In addition to the Y's Men members, their wives have membership in the Y's Menettes Clubs, and they too, serve the local YMCA's.

Although the Y's Men's Clubs are designated as the Service Clubs of and for the YMCA's, they do serve the communities at large in various phases and projects.

During the year of 1972, January 1 through December 31, the International Association of Y's Men Clubs is celebrating its 50th Anniversary and relating promotions and activities to the theme "... fifty and forward ...". The past, present and future is being taken into account and combined not only to let the membership at large be aware of the 50th year, but to let communities become aware of their Y's Men's Clubs. Y's Men serve locally, on a regional level and internationally, through the YMCA.

Y's Men have many goals, projects, activities and services. On the major service level, with local chairmen, regional and international service directors coordinating the services, Y's Men work with Youth, Young Adults, provide YMCA Membership service, offer scholarships for Y-careers and have a World Outlook service. A current project that has a meaningful goal, "Golden Opportunity for Leadership Development," is a special thrust for their Golden Anniversary.

The International Headquarters of the Y's Men's organization is located in Oak Brook, Illinois, U.S.A. with Gerald L. Heyl serving as its Secretary General. A second office is located in the World YMCA Headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland with Ingvar Wallin, Associate Secretary General heading the staff.

In July 1972, 24th through 28th, the Y's Men's International Convention will be held at Athens, Ohio, on the campus of Ohio University. The theme of the Convention will also relate to the "... fifty and forward ..." slogan, of the 50th year.

Throughout the years, the International Presidents have been from the United States and Canada. However, the current President, whose term began September 1, 1971 and will continue until August 31, 1972, is Poul H. Jorgensen of Fredericia, Denmark. The President-Elect, who will assume the office of President in September, 1972, is Rev. Heinz Grabia of San Diego, California.

The motto, since the International Association began in 1922, has been and will continue to be: "To Acknowledge the Duty that Accompanies Every Right."

# REMARKS OF DONALD F. SIMPSON AT THE DEDICATION OF THE WOODLAWN CENTER IN LOGANS-PORT, IND.

**HON. ELWOOD HILLIS**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. HILLIS. Mr. Speaker, on April 9 I had the privilege of attending the dedication of the Woodlawn Center in Logansport, Cass County, Ind.

The purpose of this greatly improved and enlarged center is for the training, rehabilitation, and comprehensive service to retarded children.

The speaker at this dedicatory ceremony was Mr. Donald F. Simpson, regional commissioner of the Social and Rehabilitation Service at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in Chicago. I would like to place a copy of his remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that all of my colleagues may have the advantage of gaining the information which he made available to us at this dedication.

The remarks follow:

## PRESENTATION BY DONALD F. SIMPSON

It is a great pleasure to be here today to share in the dedication of the Woodlawn Center. I am happy to salute the many people who have worked very hard and with great commitment to make this Center possible. The dedication today marks a major milestone in the development of a comprehensive service program for retarded and developmentally disabled individuals in Cass County. We particularly salute the leadership and work of the Cass County Council for Mental Retardation in this effort. The building we are here to officially open exemplifies the cooperation and involvement of both public and private, federal, state and local efforts which the Council pulled together.

The opening of this Center will enable the Association for Retarded Children to offer a comprehensive program providing services to preschool children, severely retarded school-age children, post-school vocational training, a sheltered workshop, adult activities, speech, hearing and language development services, and a summer day camp.

Your accomplishments in meeting the needs of the mentally retarded deserve the recognition and appreciation of the entire community. Retardation and development disability generally are both individual and community problems. The impact of rehabilitation on the community is made clear when one recognizes that 95% of the retarded remain in the community living at home with their families. The need for community services such as the ones which will be provided through this facility cannot be overestimated.

We have not always viewed retardation and developmental disabilities from a rational and compassionate point of view. More often these handicaps have been looked upon with varying degrees of scorn, pity, protectiveness, fear and neglect. Today, in the United States, we have accepted the fact that there are many millions of individuals who are mentally retarded and for whom we must provide services which will enable each to achieve his optimal capacity for independent living.

In 1963, Congress enacted the first major federal legislation for specific assistance to



the mentally retarded. Since that time, there has been a concerted effort to initiate new approaches among parents, community leaders and professionals in working with the retarded. Advances have been made in diagnosing difficulties, treating disabilities, training minds, shaping behavior, cultivating potential for rewarding individual and community activity, and counseling and assisting families. It is not sufficient to provide isolated services for the retarded child or adult, but a program of services must be developed which is aimed at integrating the developmentally disabled into the life of the community. The Woodlawn Center does this.

The most neglected retarded are 15-25 year old individuals. In the age groups below 15, we are beginning to see the benefits of more extensive activity in early diagnosis and intervention.

The improvements in the care of premature infants, the widespread availability and use of antibiotics, and the early access to programs for developmental stimulation are reducing the numbers of severely handicapped young children each year. But there is comparatively little comparable progress for the 15-25 age group. These latter need far more comprehensive services. All community resources need to be brought to bear in helping them. This means we should use the community's schools, its job training and employment services, its recreational and cultural facilities, and all other community resources that can aid in moving these people to as independent and satisfying a life as possible. The Woodlawn Center is a fine expression of this concept.

We need to examine the relation of development disabilities to poverty. Research has shown that there is a clear connection between retardation and infant diet as well as the nutritional quality of the diet of mothers during pregnancy. Numerous studies have shown that among the poor there are very serious problems of malnutrition. Also, the lack of cognitive and emotional stimulation in infancy and early childhood, which is highly prevalent among the poor, can severely impair emotional and intellectual growth. It is particularly important that we recognize the possibility of preventing retardation through programs designed to improve the nutritional and health status of low income populations. In need of special attention are medical and social measures such as parent and child health, family planning, nutrition, parent education, and early childhood development programs which hold promise of reducing the incidence and severity of retardation in high-risk poverty areas.

Community, public and private agencies working with the mentally retarded must move swiftly to assure that those retarded who reside in low income neighborhoods are afforded the same remedial services as those who live in more affluent areas. The needs of the retarded, regardless of economic status, must be recognized and included in plans for community comprehensive service programs now being developed. The retarded too often are still isolated from these community services, or the services are too fragmented to be effective.

We must enlarge the role of the nation's schools in the diagnosis, prevention, and treatment of mental retardation. The schools need to become more sensitive to the complex problems of the developmentally disabled. They need to increase and improve special efforts on behalf of the retarded and slow learners. Evidence now indicates that many children lose developmental potential during their school years because special programs are not available. The school environment should contribute more to intellectual, social and emotional growth of disabled children as well as foster attitudes of acceptance and tolerance among non-disabled children.

The goal of all programs and services for the mentally retarded is that the disabled individual receive the help he needs at the time and place he needs it. To achieve this goal all mental retardation program planners and providers must coordinate and expand their efforts.

We need to strengthen the linkages among services for disabled individuals at the community State and Federal levels. The old belief that human problems can be solved if only enough money and services are provided is not enough. Experience has shown there seldom is enough money, at least partly because our interest in helping the disabled as well as other vulnerable individuals has resulted in a wasteful and confusing proliferation of isolated services. These services urgently need to be brought together to facilitate their use by those who need them and to put an end to waste and duplication on the one hand while great gaps in service needs continue to exist on the other.

The Developmental Disabilities Act, a 1970 amendment to the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Health Centers Construction Act of 1963, is a major contribution toward the development of coordinated community based services for the developmentally disabled. The legislation authorizes grants to States to assist in the provision of services and the construction of specially designed public or other non-profit facilities. These facilities house programs for the diagnosis, treatment, education, training or personal care of the mentally retarded, including sheltered workshops which are part of facilities providing comprehensive services.

The program is administered in Indiana by the State Department of Mental Health. The State Developmental Disabilities Planning and Advisory Council sets the direction, development and growth of the program. The Council membership includes representatives of the principal State agencies and non-governmental organizations and groups concerned with services for the developmentally disabled and representatives of consumers of service. At least one-third of the representatives must be consumers of services for the developmentally disabled.

Funds under the Developmental Disabilities Program can support a wide range of activities, depending upon the needs and priorities of the State and the community. Specifically, funds may be used:

To develop and implement comprehensive plans to meet the current and future needs for services;

To assist public or private non-profit agencies in the construction of facilities for the provision of services;

For direct provision of services, including costs of operation, staffing and maintenance of facilities;

For State or local planning, administration or technical assistance relating to services and facilities;

For training of specialized personnel; and  
For research or demonstrations related to new or improved techniques for the provision of services to the developmentally disabled.

The act allows for a comprehensive definition of what kinds of services are needed as part of a program of services for the developmentally disabled. Services for which funds are available include: diagnosis, evaluation, treatment, personal care, day care, domiciliary care, special living arrangements, training, education, sheltered employment, recreation, counseling of the disabled individual and his family, protective and other social and socio-legal services, information and referral, follow-along services and transportation.

The Developmental Disabilities program is having a widespread impact on community efforts to meet the needs of the retarded. Public and voluntary agencies are already demonstrating increased interest in the pro-

vision of services, and community leaders and professional personnel are combining their efforts to stimulate the sponsorship of needed facilities and services. Despite accomplishments of communities like Logansport, there is still an enormous need for additional services and facilities to serve the mentally retarded. State plans developed under the Developmental Disabilities program have indicated the need for services for over a million retarded individuals not now receiving services.

I think that the decade of the seventies will be one in which decisive progress will be made in reducing retardation and its causes and in designing improved programs to treat those who are retarded. Exciting research is underway in many fields. Important progress is being made in our understanding of the causes and effects of retardation. Research in the bio-medical and behavioral sciences has already uncovered new knowledge about the causes and prevention of retardation. As stated earlier, it now seems possible that at least one major cause of retardation can be dramatically diminished by assuring all Americans of a nutritionally adequate diet. Research also indicates that the effects of retardation that cannot be prevented can be greatly reduced in many cases through education and training programs begun in early childhood. These discoveries must now be translated into practical programs with adequate service delivery systems in every community. You may take pride in the fact that the program developed and operating here in Cass County is in the vanguard of future community planning and development of services for the mentally retarded.

The purpose of all our efforts to help the retarded is to enhance the human qualities and abilities of a person throughout his lifetime.

This involves assistance in every appropriate way to enable the retarded person to enjoy as independent and meaningful a life as possible. It requires the disabled person and his family to be fully included in all human and community relationships. In this way the disabled person will find acceptance, respect, affection and a rewarding life. This is his due as it is of all others in our society.

#### WHITEWASH OF JUSTICE

#### HON. MORGAN F. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, recently, newspapers across the country carried a story concerning the sentencing of a French official to 5 years in prison for attempting to smuggle \$12 million worth of heroin into the United States.

I would like to comment on this action, Mr. Speaker, because I feel it is exactly this type of flagrant abuse of law and order which encourages others to engage in heroin smuggling.

The accused, Mr. Roger Delouette, received not only the minimum sentence but also praise from a U.S. attorney and a Federal judge for cooperating in the investigation that followed his arrest. I find it truly deplorable that praise would be heaped upon a man whose intent was to make money by selling misery to thousands of Americans.

It may be noteworthy that Mr. Delouette cooperated with officials, but it should be remembered that he was

caught and his motivation for cooperation was not the generosity of his heart or a mending of his ways but rather the realization that he would receive a light-sentence if he confessed.

That to me is in no way a praiseworthy act. It is rather a signpost to others who engage in illegal smuggling that if they are caught they can make a deal with officials for a reduced sentence.

And how then do we tell those who complain of our judicial system that it is fair to sentence someone to 20 years in jail for possession of an ounce of marijuana and give only 5 years to a man who possessed 96 pounds of deadly heroin?

From Delouette's statement it is apparent that other French Government officials have been involved in heroin smuggling and by all means they should be tracked down and apprehended. But Delouette's involvement cannot be diminished nor overlooked and his punishment should fit the crime. People have been clamoring for tougher enforcement of laws against pushers and smugglers and when the chance arose, it was not taken.

It should be further added that of that 5-year sentence, Delouette has already served 1 year because he has been incarcerated that long during his trial. While this may be normal procedure if the accused cooperates, it still seems like a whitewash of justice.

Delouette makes it appear that he was the victim of some sort of conspiracy by higher French officials who offered him \$50,000 to smuggle the heroin into the United States and then abandoned him after he was caught. And what of the people who would end up victims of the heroin he was trying to smuggle? Should we not have some sympathy for them? Should we tell them yes, we are sorry but the man who tried to make their lives more miserable will only spend about 3 years in jail? If we are ever going to end addiction we must first stop the smuggling into the country and we will never do that by handing out childish slaps on the hand as Mr. Delouette received.

# THE MARINE MAMMAL PROTECTION ACT—ALASKANS EXPRESS THEIR OPINIONS

## HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, as you know, the Marine Mammal Protection Act (H.R. 10420) recently passed the House, and is now under consideration in the Senate Commerce Committee. As I explained in some detail at the time of the vote, I supported the objectives of this legislation wholeheartedly, but could not, in conscience, vote for the bill as amended by the moratorium provision which deprives Alaskan Natives of so much of their livelihood.

Since the bill has been acted upon by the House, with the very late addition of the moratorium which totally altered the character of the legislation, Alaskans have sent a great many communications to me. I am inserting many of these communications here because I believe that all Members will be interested to know some of the additional facts of this matter, and because I believe the views of these people must have the widest possible exposure.

On May 12, 1972, the Senate subcommittee working on this measure will hold hearings in Alaska, chaired by Senator ERNEST HOLLINGS. Many of the people who wrote these letters will have a chance to testify. I hope you will all find these letters, reports, and expressions of opinion to be of interest. As you can see, the letters come from Alaska Natives, environmental groups, local government units, and a wide range of interests. I appreciate the opportunity to make these many communications available.

COOK INLET NATIVE ASSOCIATION,

Anchorage, Alaska, March 23, 1972.

Subject: CINA position of House bill 10420 known as the Dingle bill.

Hon. NICK BEGICH,

Congressman for Alaska, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BEGICH: Enclosed for your information is a copy of the Cook Inlet Native Association position on House Bill 10420. We further feel that this bill is in direct violation of the Land Claims Settlement Act 92nd Congress 1st Session Report No. 92-581, Sec. 2(c) (G).

The political issue at hand will definitely affect a large segment of our Native population. It would most likely, if passed as is, create a tremendous Welfare problem to the State and Federal governments. The Dingle Bill would intercept the life line of our Native artists, trappers and whale fishermen who use these by-products not only for food and clothing but for their sole means of family support.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT W. RUDE,

President.

The members of the Alaska Rural Development Council, being representative of the federal and state agencies and organizations concerned with improvement of the conditions of rural life in Alaska, are opposed to passage of House Bill 10420, in its present form, and any similar totally-restrictive bills in the Senate regarding protection of marine mammals. Our primary opposition is to Section 107(a) (3); that such taking of marine mammals for subsistence purposes by Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo peoples "is not done for purposes of direct or indirect commercial sale."

First, we feel that this bill, which will have a major impact on a large part of the population of Alaska, should at least be subject to public hearings in rural and metropolitan areas of Alaska before being considered. Second, if this bill becomes law, it immediately destroys the Native arts and crafts cottage-industry as it apparently precludes the sales of any parts of the sea mammals, or any items made from the tanned skins, or objects of art carved from the tusks or teeth. The cultures of these coastal Native peoples are firmly based on the full utilization of the sea mammals. To impose the dominant societies' cultural norm of waste of a valuable resource is not only counter to their cultural beliefs, but is also contrary to present U.S. policy on waste pollution.

In addition, this arts and crafts trade is,

in many villages, a major source of cash income for the village. Contrary to popular opinion, passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act will not solve the financial problems of these people for the near future. There is no money available to the Native people from this Act for the first two years, and total disbursements of cash over the first five years are estimated at \$550 per person. The lands allotted under this Act have value only for subsistence use for a long time to come, as it has been estimated that it will take about 25 years to complete the surveying on the 40 million acres at the present level of funding. So it can be seen, that to destroy this Native arts and crafts industry by legislative fiat is to condemn these peoples to a poverty and welfare existence within an inflated cash economy. We, therefore, strongly urge the Marine Mammals Bill not be considered for passage until public hearings are held in Alaska, and until the bill is amended to allow the continuance of the Native arts and crafts industry.

ALASKA NATIVE BROTHERHOOD, INC.,

Juneau, Alaska, April 3, 1972.

Congressman NICK BEGICH,

House of Representatives,

Longworth House Office Building,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR NICK: The Alaska Native Brotherhood Executive Committee in their executive sessions on March 25-26, 1972 in Juneau unanimously passed a motion to go on record opposing H.R. #10420—"Bill to protect marine mammals." This legislation is presently in Senator Hollings Committee.

Some of our reasons for opposing the legislation are: 90% of Alaskan Native arts and crafts products depend upon the use of marine mammals for their production; arts and crafts income is the only source of cash income for approximately 10,000 Native Alaskans; arts and crafts income is part of the cash income of approximately 30,000 Alaskan Natives.

If ocean mammals cannot be used commercially in arts and crafts activities, supplemental income of people in 90% of Alaskan Native villages will be affected. According to reports we have in regard to this legislation it appears as though the Senate will act on it sometime after the middle of April and before the middle of May.

In closing, the Alaska Native Brotherhood is strongly opposed to passage of this legislation. Anything you can do would be deeply appreciated. An early reply would be appreciated.

Yours in Brotherhood,

CARL C. NELSON,

Grand Secretary.

VILLAGE OF SAVOONGA,

Savoonga, Alaska, March 26, 1972.

Hon. NICK BEGICH,

Representative from Alaska,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We, the people of Savoonga, believe that the passage of the proposed bill prohibiting the commercial taking and usage of sea mammals will do us a grave injustice. Our village's economy is based on hunting and trapping. We are a coastal village where we depend on sea mammals.

We eat the sea mammals we take. We cannot eat the skins, ivory, or all the blubber of the sea mammals we catch. If the proposed bill is passed we will have to throw away the greater portion of the above items. We now use the skins, ivory, and blubber of the sea mammals to supplement our inadequate incomes. The incomes of most of us in the village are well below the poverty level. Our problem is coupled by the high prices we have to pay for the store bought goods. For example, we cannot afford to buy fresh milk, and even eggs sell for \$1.20 a dozen. The price of goods does not reflect a large



profit for the stores. The goods cost the stores almost as much.

Not only will the proposed bill seriously affect our economy, it will also deal a devastating blow to our culture. If we are not able to sell our ivory, the art of ivory will falter. Without a market, people will be dissuaded to carve. A strong cultural identification is necessary for persons who suffer great emotional stresses from the convergence of a dominant culture and a less dominant culture. Ivory carving is an integral part of our culture, thus, very important in maintaining our pride as individuals and as a people.

We desperately need your help in introducing a clause in the bill that would allow the commercial usage of the skins, ivory, and blubber of sea mammals taken for subsistence.

Believe us,

Yours very truly,

#### LIST OF SIGNATURES

Shirley Roohok, Clyde Roohok, Louisa Pungowicz, Ruby Roohok, Laura Pungowicz, Joseph M. Pungowicz, Moses Pungowicz, Betty Wongittlin, Bernice Wongittlin, and Elmer Wongittlin.

Reginald Wongittlin, Floyd Kingeekuk, Maynard Kaur, Bryan Kookok, Sr., David Seppih, Mary Seppih, Lois Seppih, Herman Goolie, and Clarence Waylugi.

Thomas Alowa, Joel Kingeekuk, Bradley Gologuger, Gabriel Gologuger, Clarice Gulozen, John F. Kulowicz, Alice F. Kulowicz, Albert Kulowicz, and Bryce Miklahook.

Vicki Miklahook, Clara Miklahook, Raymond K. Toolin, Elizabeth Toolie, Elton Kulowicz, Herbert Kiyuklook, Hallie Kiluklook, Marris Toolin, and Gertrude Toolie.

Carl Pelowook, Earl Tumbloo, Ina Sepelu, Beverly Innurgan, Daisy Kiyuklook, Fred Okonolingh, Annie Wongittlin, Sally Noongwook, and Nelson Alowa.

Ray Gologergen, Patrick Gologergen, Emerson Kogassogon, Ronald, Kingeekuk, Walter Wongittlin, Jacob Suppillin, Kermit Kingeekuk, Candy Penoyak, Dorothy Waglicz, and Mark Miklohook.

Jothan Seppili, Roland Alowi, Edward Gologenyen, Gilbert Pelowook, Vernon Wazluzi, Sr., Melvin Seppili, Gordon Iga, Michael Kiyukhook, Anthony Pelowook, and Cecil Suppillu.

Chester Noonguard, Harrison Mikahook, Sam Pengowicz, Abner Galogerz, Alexander Akeya, Denny Akeya, Franklin Klznkook, Lydia Akeya, and Dorcas Akeya.

Calvin Akeya, Calvin Akeya, Sr., Lila Akeya, Timothy Alowa, Agatha Mokujez, Jackson Mokujez, Sr., Agnes Immingan, Lewis Immingan, Dick Immingan, Sr., Merrill Arroyzah, and Madeline Kane.

Bobby Kawa, Sr., Elsie Kana, Danell Kava, Elvin Hoongwook, Jeanette Hoonwook, Cecilia Hoonwook, Henry Hoongwook, and Chridine Alowa.

ALASKA CHAPTER, SIERRA CLUB,  
Anchorage, Alaska.

HON. NICK BEGICH,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BEGICH: The Alaska Chapter of the Sierra Club shares the motives of those conservationists who are fighting to protect Alaska's sea mammals. We are especially eager for laws which will protect endangered species.

However, we feel that those who support a total ban on the killing of sea mammals need to be better informed on the situation in Alaska. According to the 1970 Census, the

median family income of Anchorage's outlying area (over 95% white) is \$14,537 per year. On the other hand, median family cash income for the Eskimo coastal district of Wade-Hampton is \$3270 per year. Eskimos depend on seal, walrus and whale meat for subsistence. Taking away this meat would be like taking away the white man's cow.

For thousands of years, in addition to the meat, Eskimos have depended upon the skins of these animals for clothes and on the ivory for tools. A small but still significant part of their limited cash income today derives from the arts and crafts items made from these resources.

The Alaska Chapter of the Sierra Club supports what Eskimo hunters themselves would very much like to have: comprehensive scientific studies relating to the relative numbers of sea mammals remaining. We support a moratorium on any future large-scale commercial sea-mammal hunting pending completion of these studies.

The Alaska Chapter is also concerned about what will happen to the North Pacific Fur Seal Commission agreements if a bill banning sea mammal killing passes. Would sea mammal killing on the high seas increase?

We feel certain that in your environmental concern, which we share, you will support substitute bills which will protect sea mammals without imposing the greatest economic hardship on the poorest segment of the Alaskan population.

Yours truly,

CYNTHIA WENTWORTH,  
Alaska Chapter, Sierra Club.

ALASKA CONSERVATION SOCIETY,  
College, Alaska, April 1, 1972.

HON. NICK BEGICH,  
U.S. House of Representatives, Longworth  
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BEGICH: Thank you very much for your letter to Bob Weeden and myself requesting our opinion as to the Marine Mammal Protection Act which passed the House of Representatives March 9, 1972. As you can see from the attached letter from Dr. Weeden to various national conservation organizations, and the attached copy of a telegram sent to Senators Gravel, Stevens and Hollings, the Society generally supports your position as stated in testimony before the House.

Of course, we support rigid controls on the unnecessary killing of any wild animal, marine or terrestrial. This particular legislation, however, was apparently generated by emotion, not fact. As Dr. Weeden ably points out, few, if any, of the animals brought under control by this legislation are seriously, directly, threatened as a result of man's harvest. Thus the legislation will have little effect on these populations, except in the case of the northern fur seal, whose population dynamics are dependent upon the current rate of harvest. If the harvest of this seal is stopped, the results may be serious indeed.

The only real effect of this legislation would be to remove the currently effective management plan of the State of Alaska, and replace it with an untried system administered by the Federal bureaucracy, and to eliminate the small subsistence of Alaskan Natives that depend upon these animals for raw materials. Both of these effects are undesirable and totally unnecessary.

In addition it is unfortunate and disgraceful that Congressman Dingell felt that Alaska's Natives have abrogated their traditional small takes of these animals in the light of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. I am sure that he was uninformed as to the Alaskan Native situation, and I am sure that you have corrected this unfortunate misunderstanding.

I hope that this letter and the enclosures help to answer your questions as to the position of the Alaska Conservation Society in

regards to this legislation. Thank you for this opportunity to share our opinions with you.

Sincerely,

ERNST W. MUELLER,  
President.

UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA,  
College, Alaska, March 27, 1972.

DEAR SIR: I am deeply concerned about marine mammals legislation now before Congress. Intended to afford protection to the dismaying number of marine homiotherms that are in serious danger from overexploitation, unintentional killing, and oceanic pollution, the majority of the bills have unintentionally overlooked two basic facts. First, some marine mammal species or regional populations are large, vigorous, growing, or already at the upper limit of their food resources. Second, these same species or populations provide sustenance to several thousand Aleut and Eskimo Americans, whose annual harvests for food, clothing, or articles of commerce in no way threaten the species in question.

It would be a serious mistake for conservationists to mislead the public into thinking all marine mammals would become more abundant if we only stop hunting them. It would be criminal to legislate an ancient and ecologically balanced native culture out of existence, forcing these people to leave their traditional homes or go on welfare, or both.

A few brief examples will show what I mean. I have enclosed other back-up material from respected biologists to give the details and provide you with the facts you need in your educative efforts.

The Pacific walrus was declining due to excessive hunting in the last half of the 19th century and the first two or three decades of this century. For at least twenty years, however, walrus populations have been increasing. There are at least 100,000 walrus in the Bering Sea now, and the herd shows a net gain each year. Simultaneously, Alaskan Eskimos are harvesting walrus for food, boat coverings, clothing, and ivory. Though more walrus are being lost after being shot than anyone likes, the total kill (retrieved and lost) is still less than the annual increment to the herd. The State's management program, based on exceptionally good research and surveys, incorporates both regulatory and educational aspects; it is a solid, successful program.

Sea otters are another case in point. The State's management work involves complete protection of otters from private hunting or trapping; an exploratory harvest by state personnel in areas where sea otter populations are existing on second-rate foods because preferred species have been reduced by the otters themselves; and substantial re-stocking programs to hasten the recolonization of former sea otter range from Oregon north to the Pribilofs. There are lots of sea otter in southwestern Alaska—at least 40-50,000. Federal legislation to "protect" the otter is not only unnecessary, it is an infringement on Alaska's responsibility, since these animals spend practically all their time in state-owned inshore areas.

Northern fur sales have also thrived under biological management, there being about one and one-half million of them scattered over the entire North Pacific in winter, and concentrated on the rookeries of the Pribilofs in summer. There were close to four million fur seals in 1948. The decline over the past two decades may well have resulted from the increasing exploitation of Bering Sea and North Pacific fish stocks by Japan, Korea, Russia, and other nations. In any case, the current harvest program is not limiting fur seal numbers. If we were to stop harvesting the seals, their populations would not increase. The seals would simply show an increased natural mortality from malnutrition or disease.

I feel no compulsion to maintain the fur seal commerce for its own sake. If people wish to stop buying fur seal coats, that is fine with me. I am only saying that stopping the harvest will not increase the abundance of the seals. We should also recognize the costs of such action. The United States would, for example, have to pay Japan and Russia an amount equivalent to the average loss of revenue following cessation of harvesting. The Aleut people on St. Paul Island would absorb the main costs: they would either have to be relocated or go on dole. (It has been suggested that a tourist industry could provide an equivalent substitute economy for these people, but the short-term prospects for developing such a trade are bleak.)

Beluga whales: Belugas, or white whales, are common from the Gulf of Alaska westward and northward to the Beaufort Sea. They are pelagic in winter but spend summers inshore, often in estuaries and river mouths where fish (especially salmon smolts migrating to the sea) are abundant. Belugas are taken by Eskimos for food from the Kuskokwim Delta north to Barrow, yielding some 200,000 pounds of beluga meat annually, plus oil for cooking.

Belugas concentrate in large numbers in some bays in summer, and apparently can be a serious competitor with commercial fishermen for salmon. Any legislation for marine mammal protection should allow for a continued modest harvest by people who need belugas for food, and for occasional population control measures (frightening or killing whales) where needed to protect fisheries. The State of Alaska has been extremely loath to conduct these control programs in the past ten years, and I see no reason to expect a change in this cautious attitude in the future.

Polar bears: The Department of Fish and Game has conducted a management program on polar bears since 1960. The program has included some excellent research, a progressively restrictive set of harvest regulations, and a valiant but none-too-effective enforcement effort. The Department has proposed regulations which would eliminate aircraft hunting for polar bears after the current season, and ban all sale of polar bear hides. If these proposals are acted upon—and my guess is that they will—the harvest of bears in Alaska will decline to one-fifth or so of its present level of 250-300 per year.

Thus, federal legislation is not needed to protect Alaskan polar bear populations. However, it seems clear that polar bear conservation is more and more an international affair, in which governments at the national level must have full power to negotiate with each other. For this reason I view U.S. federal control of polar bears as inevitable and desirable from the political standpoint, though unnecessary in strict biological conservation terms.

I urge you to lend your support to legislation that will take vigorous action to protect marine mammals that need protection, that will protect subsistence cultures that are ecologically balanced with their marine mammal resources, and that will not unnecessarily substitute an untested federal effort for a successful ongoing state convention program.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT B. WEEDEN,  
Professor of Wildlife Management.

RURAL ALASKA COMMUNITY  
ACTION PROGRAM, INC.,  
Anchorage, Alaska, March 23, 1972.

Congressman NICK BEGICH,  
House of Representatives, Longworth House  
Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BEGICH: Enclosed you will find the following regarding the sea

mammal legislation: Letter to Senator Hollings, \*Resolution passed by the Rural CAP Board of Directors, Report by Art Davidson, Editorial from the Anchorage "Daily News".

These are for your information and study. If there is any way that we can be of further assistance do not hesitate to call or write.

Sincerely,

NELS A. ANDERSON, JR.,  
Acting Executive Director.

RURAL ALASKA COMMUNITY  
ACTION PROGRAM, INC.,  
Anchorage, Alaska, March 23, 1972.

Senator ERNEST HOLLINGS,  
Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Oceans  
and the Atmosphere, Senate Office Bldg.,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HOLLINGS: Many Alaska natives are quite concerned about the Marine Mammal Protection Bill that has recently passed the United States House of Representatives. It is also our understanding that this bill is before the Senate and action on the bill will start very soon. The bill in its present form is felt to be a very real threat to many Alaska natives' livelihood and traditional way of life.

If traditional subsistence hunting is prohibited by law, Alaska native people will lose the type of livelihood they have used for many, many generations. There's no question in my mind that the fate of our Alaska native people will be seriously affected if they cannot pursue the type of life style that they have practiced since time immemorial.

If this type of legislation is being considered for immediate action we hope that there will be a delay that will allow Alaska native people to be heard so that their views may become known in Washington, D.C. If no time is allowed for the people directly affected by this legislation, then amendments must be considered that would allow Alaska natives to continue harvesting sea mammals as they have for generations.

I have enclosed a report presented to me by Mr. Art Davidson, who is a member of the Friends of the Earth. This report indicates that native people are not threatening sea mammals with extinction. Mr. Davidson also indicated that the Friends of the Earth were advocating an amendment to the Sea Mammal Protection Bill that would allow Alaska natives to continue their traditional use of sea mammals. Also enclosed you will find an Anchorage "Daily News" editorial of Thursday, March 23, 1972.

There is much concern about this bill in both the native and non-native communities within the State of Alaska. We sincerely hope that you will very carefully consider our request for hearings to be held in the State of Alaska so that the Alaskan native people might be heard. In addition, if this bill must go through without any hearings we sincerely request that an amendment be considered that would allow Alaskan natives to continue using sea mammals in their traditional ways.

Sincerely yours,

NELS A. ANDERSON, JR.,  
Acting Executive Director.

OCEAN MAMMAL LEGISLATION  
(By Art Davidson)

I. Native use of sea mammals in commercial arts and craft activities—

In 1967 the wholesale value of arts and craft items to native craftsmen was set at \$372,000 by an Ernst & Ernst study for ANAC.

In 1970 the wholesale value of arts and craft items to native craftsmen was set at \$500,000 in a study by Harold Wolfe for CEDC.

\*Resolution to follow at a later date.

90% of Alaska native arts and craft products depend upon the use of marine mammals for their production—(Mike Lindeman, head of Arts and Craft Division at CEDC).

Arts and craft income is the only source of cash income for approximately 10,000 Alaskan natives. (Lindeman)

Arts and craft income is part of the cash income of approximately 30,000 Alaskan natives. (Lindeman)

If ocean mammals can not be used commercially in arts and craft activities, supplemental income of people in 90% of Alaskan native villages will be affected. (Lindeman)

Wholesale and retail value of native arts and craft products is \$1,000,000 per year. (Lindeman)

II. The effects of native arts and craft industry on sea mammal populations—

Statements from testimony of Dr. Lawrence Irving and Dr. Peter Morrison, Directors of the Institute of Arctic Biology, and John Burns, marine mammal specialist for the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, presented by David M. Hickok, Director of the University of Alaska Sea Grant program.

(1) "Eskimos currently harvest fifteen to twenty-five bowhead whales annually for consumption as food and in the process the whaling period is celebrated in deeply significant cultural traditions."

(2) "Land-breeding harbor seals and sea lions, both the subject of former federal predator control programs, are now protected by seasons and limits. Commercial harvest of these species is regulated on a day to day basis by biologists at various harvest locations. Both species are abundant and regional harvest levels are below the rate of natural recruitment to the populations."

(3) "We believe the present (fur seal) program is an excellent example of successful and intensive species management, based upon the application of sound biological information. Through this program the Pribilof seal has increased from approximately 200,000 animals in the early 1900's to its present optimum of 1.3 million. It now sustains an average annual harvest of 50,000 seals."

(4) "The estimated annual harvest of all hair seals in Alaska is about 25,000 to 30,000 animals. Approximately half of these are taken by Eskimos and used for food, clothing and the home manufacture of articles for sale . . . these species presently appear to have stable populations."

(5) "There are estimated to be 70,000 to 110,000 walrus at this time and the population is continuing to increase."

(6) "If the marine mammal resources of Alaska and the world are to be perpetuated, sound resource management based upon scientific principles should not be rejected in favor of all uses of this resource."

(7) "Surely, when the populations being harvested are not endangered, are most appropriately regulated by the State of Alaska, the Congress could not possibly consider taking away an economic self sufficiency just encouraged by the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act."

\*Continuance of commercial use of marine mammals in Alaskan native arts and craft production is supported by Friends of the Earth, The Wilderness Society, and the Environmental Policy Center.

[From the Anchorage Daily News, Mar. 23, 1972]

AMEND IT

The marine mammal protection bill which recently passed the U.S. House and now is before the Senate is well-intentioned and necessary legislation. But it poses a direct economic and cultural threat to Alaska's Natives.

In the form it passed the House, the bill would prevent Natives in Alaska's villages from converting ocean mammal hides and



ivory into clothing and carvings and selling them.

Precisely what that would mean was spelled out to the Senate the other day by Sen. Ted Stevens (he and Sen. Mike Gravel are cooperating in seeking an amendment to the bill).

"These bills will protect the ocean mammals, but in doing so will exterminate the culture and economy of the Alaskan Eskimos," Sen. Stevens said.

"Many Alaska Natives, particularly Eskimos along the coast, depend upon ocean mammals for their existence. What little cash they are able to obtain in order to have even a marginal existence they are able to earn only through the sale of Native crafts, clothing and art works. These activities are vital for the social and economic welfare of the Alaska Native people . . .

"If Congress enacts provisions outlawing all but subsistence hunting by Alaskan Natives, not only will this proud group of Americans have their economic livelihood stripped from them, but they will face the certain fate of cultural extinction."

Mr. Stevens pointed out to his colleagues that benefits from the Native land claims settlement will not be forthcoming for at least two years and even then the land and cash "will not be enough to compensate him for the loss of his occupation." And beyond jobs, what price does one place on a culture?

The entirely proper objectives of the bill—protection of marine mammals from large-scale commercial abuse—can be obtained and Native culture protected by the simple expedient of adopting an amendment such as the one proposed by Sen. Stevens, which would allow Natives to continue using the animals in traditional ways. It is not, after all, the Natives who are threatening these animals with extinction.

But the bill in its present form is a distinct threat to the Natives' livelihood and culture. Congress must amend it—or face just opprobrium for once again arbitrarily and capriciously legislating the death sentence for one of America's first cultures. Surely, at this late date, we are beyond that.

ANCHORAGE, ALASKA,  
March 23, 1972.

Congressman NICK BEGICH,  
House of Representatives, Longworth House  
Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BEGICH: I am enclosing a letter stating the position that the Anchorage Chapter of the Isaac Walton League of America has adopted regarding the Marine Mammals Bill recently passed by the House.

We would appreciate your presenting this letter of position to the appropriate committee if and when a joint Senate-House conference committee is formed.

Your help will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT E. WILSON.

ISAAC WALTON LEAGUE  
OF AMERICA,  
ANCHORAGE CHAPTER,  
Anchorage, Alaska, March 23, 1972.

Re Marine Mammals Bill  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Committee on Natural Resources  
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: I believe that just about everyone is aware that the Isaac Walton League of America stands 100% behind good conservation practices in all fields, not just those connected with fishing. It is with this view in mind that the Anchorage, Alaska, Chapter of the League respectfully requests that the Marine Mammals Bill now before the Senate be changed or modified to permit the Alaska natives to continue to utilize this natural resource in the manner they have for years past.

The Alaskan coastal natives do not have a source of employment that is in any way steady or dependable. It will be many, many years, if ever, before the villages will have regular industry or employment due to their geographical location.

To bring their annual income up to the \$2000-\$2500 level they currently average, these people have sold the seal skins, ivory carvings, whale baleen, and a few items home manufactured from the animal skins such as mukluks (boots) and parkas. If you remove the right for these people to continue to earn their livelihood through the presently proposed legislation, you place them in the position of being completely dependent upon State and Federal agencies for handouts to live by. A nearly 100% welfare situation would be created among a people who want to be self-sufficient.

All of the meat obtained by a native, be it from whale, seal or walrus, is consumed in the village. Walrus hides are used to make skin boats, which they still use extensively. Except for the large whale, not even a bone is left after the dogs are fed. To ask that the native not sell the seal hides or walrus ivory that he does not use himself is a shameful waste of a valuable product. To take away his source of livelihood is a waste.

Statistically, this legislation is detrimental to the proper management of the Alaskan mammals. At the present time, there are 115,000 walrus in Alaskan waters with an annual increase averaging 6%. The yearly kill by natives is 3,000 with sportsmen taking 100. This is fewer than desired by the state game biologists. The seal populations and the beluga whale populations are also increasing at a healthy rate. In some areas, the beluga whale is becoming a distinct danger to the salmon stocks because of their great number and little hunting pressure. The large whales such as the sperm or blue are taken only for subsistence by the natives in small numbers.

To increase the economy of the villages, the State Department of Fish and Game would like to see an increased kill by sportsmen of the walrus. Natives are the only ones who can adequately guide such a hunt, and each walrus puts up to \$2000 into the village economy.

The Native Land Claims settlement may eventually benefit the individual native, but the terms of the settlement place this benefit years in the future. They need to live now.

The Anchorage Chapter of the Isaac Walton League of America strongly urges you to consider these points when making your final decision.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT E. WILSON,  
Chairman, Steering Committee on Marine Mammals.

NOME, ALASKA,  
April 1, 1972.

HON. SENATOR HOLLINGS,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HOLLINGS: Before I begin I would like to point out a few things about myself. I am forty eight years old full blooded eskimo from Gambell Saint Lawrence Island, Alaska. Before I come to Nome I have been dependent on the natural resources only like hundreds of others all over the state. Never have I ask for help from government even tho we sometimes have not a can of milk for our children. The eskimos all over the state is still doing the same thing nowadays.

In all my life I never see the mammals dease in quantities as I observe this everyday of my life. Not only this for centuries the people of Alaska was always dependent on these animals as they are created for our food and living. Very small amount of the mammals is killed every year as there is only one season to hunt these mammals.

We froze our hands, our feet, even lose our lives just to get a seal skin or a pair of tusks

just to get milk or shoes for our children. We hunted, hungry all day and come home without anything, very disappointing to all hunters.

And now there is nothing more disappointing than this bill passed by the house so quickly. To me this bill means if it is passed by the Senate our government will say, hey you, hard working self dependent man, you're fired from your good job. That's crazy isn't it? Look at the other countries, they are not working on the similar bill, so their people I mean their self dependent people will still hold their jobs.

And now let me show you across Alaska, look at all the gift shops and all the native stores who make everything possible to sell all these products for these self dependent people. As I see it, many of these native stores and the gift shops are open, because of the natural resources manufactured and sold. If this bill is passed Alaskans will be financially crippled.

Fighting the poverty program who ever created it, it is outstanding. The bill passed by the house is the opposite of fighting the poverty program. America must not go beyond what she's doing, we must think of the people who is making America functioning properly, not the animal controlled by the maker.

So here for all of you leaders we are doing what President Kennedy says, Ask Not What Your Country Can Do For You, Ask What You Can Do For Your Country. By manufacturing the natural resources we can do something for our country. This is the only way thousands of people can do something for their country.

I will be more than happy to get your reply.

Sincerely,

ROGER SILOOK, Sr.

UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA,  
College, Alaska, March 30, 1972.

MEMORANDUM TO ALL COUNCIL  
PARTICIPANTS

Attached are three resolutions passed at our recent Alaska Rural Development Council meeting. These have been forwarded to appropriate officials as requested at the meeting.

The summer quarterly meeting will be held in Kodiak, June 13 and 14. An agenda planning meeting is scheduled for early April. We will send the minutes of the March meeting to Council participants after the preliminary agenda has been determined. We do hope to focus a substantial effort of the June meeting on the management concerns of the marine industry and particularly the waste disposal problems of concern to that industry. We hope these dates will help you in planning your schedules.

We are hoping to update the brochure of the Alaska Rural Development Council prior to the June meeting. If your agency is not listed and you wish to be considered as a regular participant I would appreciate your designating your representative and alternate by return mail on or before May 1.

JAMES W. MATTHEWS,

Chairman,  
Alaska Rural Development Council.

#### RESOLUTION CONCERNING PROTECTION AND USE OF MARINE MAMMALS

The members of the Alaska Rural Development Council, being representative of the Federal and State agencies and organizations concerned with improvements of the conditions of rural life in Alaska, are opposed to passage of House Bill 10420, in its present form, and any similar totally restrictive bills in the Senate regarding protection of marine mammals. Our primary opposition is to Section 107(a)(3); that such taking of marine mammals for subsistence purposes by Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo peoples "is not done

for purposes of direct or indirect commercial sale."

First, we feel that this bill, which will have a major impact on a large part of the population of Alaska, should at least be subject to public hearings in rural and metropolitan areas of Alaska before being considered. Second, if this bill becomes law it immediately destroys the Native arts and crafts cottage-industry as it apparently precludes the sales of any parts of the sea mammals, or any items made from the tanned skins, or objects of art carved from the tusks or teeth. The cultures of these coastal Native peoples are firmly based on the full utilization of the sea mammals. To impose the dominant society's cultural norm of waste of a valuable resource is not only counter to their cultural beliefs, but is also contrary to present U.S. policy on waste pollution.

In addition, this arts and crafts trade is, in many villages, a major source of cash income for the village. Contrary to popular opinion, passage of the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act will not solve the financial problems of these people for the near future. There is no money available to the Native people from this Act for the first two years, and total disbursements of cash over the first five years are estimated at \$550 per person. The lands allotted under this Act have value only for subsistence use for a long time to come, as it has been estimated that it will take about 25 years to complete the surveying on the 40 million acres at the present level of funding. So it can be seen, that to destroy this Native arts and crafts industry by legislative fiat is to condemn these peoples to a poverty and welfare existence within an inflated cash economy. We, therefore, strongly urge the Marine Mammals Bill not be considered for passage until public hearings are held in Alaska, and until the bill is amended to allow the continuance of the Native arts and crafts industry.

#### PARTICIPANTS ALASKA RURAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL (MARCH 14, 15, 1972 AT ANCHORAGE, ALASKA)

Name, Agency, and Location.  
George Nishimoto, Bureau of Land Management, Anchorage.  
Eldon L. Young, HUD-FHA, Anchorage.  
Paul Pinard, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Anchorage.  
Lloyd Morley, Alaska Dept. of Health & Social Services, Juneau.  
Jim Bemis, Cooperative Extension Service, Fairbanks.  
Ralph Brown, Alaska Dept. of Fish & Game, Anchorage.  
Wayne Long, Soil Conservation Service, Palmer.  
Quentin L. DeBoer, ASHA, Anchorage.  
Alex P. Shadura, Office of Governor, Rural Dev. Agency, Anchorage.  
Dale L. Cutler, Linck/Thompson Engineers, Anchorage.  
Bailey O. Breedlove, National Park Service, Anchorage.  
Byron Mallott, Local Affairs Agency, Juneau.  
M.D. Wade, Jr., Corps of Engineers, Anchorage.  
Ed Nygard, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Juneau.  
Bert Hall, U.S. Dept. Health, Education, and Welfare, Anchorage.  
Dick Currington, Dept. of Labor, Anchorage.  
Alvin S. Ivanoff, YKHC, Bethel.  
Dale R. Sanner, Farmers Home Administration, Fairbanks.  
Russell L. Brown, Congressman Begich Office, Anchorage.  
J. Lee, Native Health Service, Anchorage.  
Ben Westrate, Cooperative Extension Service, Anchorage.  
L. J. Klebesadel, Agricultural Research Service, Palmer.

William S. Wilson, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

J. H. Kelly, U.S.D.A. Food & Nutrition Service, Anchorage.

George Neck, YKHC, Bethel.

Don Hartman, Alaska Division of Geological Survey, Anchorage.

Don Perkins, Rural Development Agency, Juneau.

Amos J. Alter, Alaska Water Lab, Fairbanks  
Lois Jund, Arctic Health Research, Fairbanks.

Barry Reid, Environmental Protection Agency, Fairbanks.

Mike Smith, Alaska Dept. of Fish & Game, Anchorage.

Dehn Welch, Forest Service, Juneau.

Ernie Brennen, Local Affairs Agency, Anchorage.

Wayne Burton, ISEGR, Fairbanks.

Don Tomlin, Institute of Agricultural Sciences, Fairbanks.

Dick Shepherd, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Anchorage.

Wally Kuble, U.S.D.A. Sec'y Program Rep., Anchorage.

Walt McPherson, Cooperative Extension Service, Juneau.

Bob Cross, Alaska Power Administration, Juneau.

E. N. Severson, Statistical Reporting Service, Palmer.

James Wiedeman, Governors Office, Juneau.

Esther Wunnick, Attorney General's Office, Anchorage.

Prent Gazaway, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Juneau.

Lloyd Hodson, A.V.E.C., Anchorage.

Ken Kuedel, Farmers Home Administration, Oregon.

Jerry Glore, Farmers Home Administration, Soldotna.

Daryl Bohman, Farmers Home Administration, Palmer.

Ted Freeman, Soil Conservation Service, Anchorage.

Sig Restad, Institute of Agricultural Sciences, Palmer.

A. L. Service, Bureau of Mines, Anchorage.

Ron Sheardown, Lost River Mining Corporation, Toronto.

Larry Oulette, Bureau of Land Management.

Nick Carney, Dept. of Economic Development, Anchorage.

Floyd Johnson, Division of Lands, Anchorage.

Jane Windsor, Cooperative Extension Service, Fairbanks.

MOUNTAIN VILLAGE, ALASKA,

March 8, 1972.

Senator ERNEST HOLLINGS,  
Old Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HOLLINGS: We, the people of Mountain Village do hereby oppose the five year moratorium bill in regards to the welfare of the people of Alaska.

Reasons for opposition:

- (1) Dependence of game for subsistence.
  - (a) Food
  - (b) Clothing
  - (c) Income
- (2) Regulation of animal population.
  - (a) Beneficial use of game as food, clothing, and income before nature kills them wastefully.
- (3) Inadequate jobs in villages.
  - (a) Not enough year round jobs for everyone in the village, must depend on furs, ivory, etc. for welfare.

In reference to the above reasons; most Alaskans depend on Natural Resources such as game for subsistence because we do not have the commodities that cities have. A large majority of the Alaskan food originate from land and sea. Unlike people with steady jobs we do not have a continuous flow of income to last us year round. The cost of living is high in Alaska and the money earned during the short summer jobs do not provide

financial security during the long winter months.

Due to the lack of jobs for everyone in the village, trapping and selling furs for additional income is a necessity for survival. Discontinuation of selling furs and ivory carvings will result in an increase of welfare checks to needy families. To limit the cost of our everyday living we make clothing out of furs such as winter parkas and boots for warmth.

Are Alaskan residents being blamed for the estimated 3000 Sea otters killed from the five megaton Amchitka blast? Imagine all the fur being wasted. Could not the pelts of the animals caught by Alaskans hereafter be sold as a way of paying for such great loss?

Games killed by Native Alaskans are not wasted. The meat is eaten, the skin is used for clothing or sold. It is the non residents of Alaska that come up to kill for sports and trophies. We feel they are hurting the natural fauna of our state. This type of killing should be more closely regulated or controlled.

Alaska as a whole depends on tourists for money. Ivory and baleen carvers, basket weavers, skin sewers, artists and painters of Native products will be unemployed and tourism will decrease eventually, thus harming the welfare of some Alaskans and Alaska itself.

Before the meat is eaten, the game must be killed and skinned. What will happen to all the precious ivory and fur if the five year moratorium bill is made into law?

This is our living, our tradition, our pride. Empathize!

Respectfully,

HERVY J. BROWN.  
(And 98 others.)

ANUPIAK DEVELOPMENT  
CORPORATION, INC.,  
Nome, Alaska, March 20, 1972.

Senator ERNEST F. HOLLINGS,  
Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Oceans  
and the Atmosphere, Old Senate Office  
Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HOLLINGS: From my own understanding of the "Bill" there are 10 other "Bills" familiar to the same "Bill" on "Sea Mammal Bill." At this time I have copies of neither of the bills; however, only by hearing it over Radio Station KNOM of Nome, Alaska, there are a number of ways that, if the Bill should pass, will greatly affect the subsistence livelihood of the Natives. From my own opinion, here is what will take affect:

A lot of Natives will have to go on Welfare, especially those whose subsistence living or livelihood depend on hunting walrus which can be utilized for ivory carving, sell of raw ivory within the State, marketing of meat to other outlying villages and exporting raw walrus hides.

Tourism and big game trophy hunters will be cut off from the State itself and from the Lower 48. Registered and Assistant Native Guides will be affected as well. I am a Native of St. Lawrence Island. I have hunted the Bering Sea all of my adult life. I feel that I can speak honestly for all the hunters of St. Lawrence Island. We were taught by our fathers that we bring meat back to the village. The only time I can remember leaving the meat behind was to take from our skin village.

Sale of whale baleen, meat and muktuk will be affected. Sale of seal skins, seal meat and seal oil and Eskimo artifacts will have to be banished. A lot of novelty stores will have to be closed out as well as those Native owned Cooperatives. Museums within the State will have no more additional collections. Eskimo cultural heritage will fade away.

Lets not forget the killer whales which can kill large masses of whales, seals and boat so we could make it back safely to our



walrus. I also know being a native long time hunter the loss of trying to retrieve the sea mammal is caused by a danger threatened by being caught in the ice, motor and equipment and harpoon gear malfunction, or at times the animal is lost wounded where it is even impossible to be reached by skin boat. I also know that a dead walrus just cannot be left when found floating in the iced waters. The tusk is subsistence economy of the natives therefore the tusks have to be taken off as the meat is in no condition to be eaten once it stays for several days. Other than this, the "Nature" itself has means to control the great sea mammals in Alaska, there is no danger of becoming extinct from their existence. There are more walrus and seals each year as they are increasing in numbers.

Not only by the looks of the natives are the sea mammals increasing, the Fish and Game has more knowledge so by their observations the sea mammals are increasing each year.

Furthermore, I strongly believe the hearing on the "Bill" should be held in Alaska in the very near future and the "Native Alaskan" be given a chance to testify his or her rights.

I hope that you will take every opportunity to discourage the "Bill" as many natives will be affected in their everyday livelihood and their subsistence living.

Sincerely,

JERRY WONGITTILIN, Sr.,  
Area Community Developer.

We the undersigned fully support this statement by our signatures.

JACK FULLER (and 59 others.)

ALASKA CHAPTER OF THE  
WILDLIFE SOCIETY,

Anchorage, Alaska, March 14, 1972.

HON. SENATOR TED STEVENS,  
U.S. Senate Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR STEVENS: I am writing in behalf of the Alaska Chapter of the Wildlife Society. The Alaska Chapter has approximately one hundred members comprising a majority of the State and Federal biologists within Alaska who are working in the field of wildlife management and research. The chapter is an affiliate of the Wildlife Society, an international organization with headquarters in Washington D.C. Our purpose is to assist in the management and conservation of the wildlife resource.

The passage of the Marine Mammals Bill by the House of Representatives jarred us out of our lethargy. We share the House's concern for the welfare of all marine mammals, in particular those that have been adversely affected by man's commercial exploitation or from man-caused pollution, but we firmly believe that most of the marine mammals inhabiting Alaskan waters do not fall in these categories and should be exempted from such legislation.

Some of the whales, notably the blue and the bowhead whale, do need protection especially from commercial whaling by other nations. In Alaska, the beluga whale is very abundant and it is used for food by many coastal residents. In addition, it is of concern to salmon management in some drainages where it preys upon our migrating smolts. The beluga whale does not need this protection.

Harbor seals, sea lions and sea otters are truly indigenous creatures seldom traveling outside of state waters and dependent upon state tidal lands for basic life processes. Placing these animals under federal jurisdiction would abrogate the established principle that indigenous species are held in trust for the people by the States.

The seals (ribbon, harbor, ringed and bearded) inhabiting the Northern Bering Sea and the Chukchi and Beaufort Seas qualify as international species as do polar bear and walrus. If the government is serious about entering into international treat-

ties to protect these species on the high seas, then it seems rather unusual to prejudice our case before we bargain. It is especially unfortunate since the species mentioned in this communication that the proposed law would protect are not endangered. Many people would argue that polar bear hunting with aircraft is not sporting but our analysis of the available data indicates the species is in healthy condition.

The State of Alaska has launched a considerable research and management effort on marine mammals since statehood with excellent results. Management regulations have been tailored to benefit Alaska's citizens and to insure the welfare of the species. Some of the proposed bills provide for subsistence hunting by Alaska Natives. These people still need the marine mammal resource for subsistence and a minimal cash industry based on the manufacturing of ivory and skins. State regulations now provide for these uses without introducing racial discrimination. We strongly urge elimination of subsistence provisions from all bills and providing for state regulations which apply equally to all residents. Discrimination on the basis of race will unnecessarily complicate management of our marine resources.

We have treated the subject most generally knowing that specific information has already been provided, however, if you should desire specific information on the status of any species of wildlife or its management, we would be pleased to provide the available information.

Alaska has the most to lose from the proposed legislation yet no public hearings have been held here. We urge you to continue in your efforts to schedule hearings on the proposed bills in Alaska so the people most affected can be heard.

We appreciate your persistence in attempting to obtain a reasonable bill for the management of marine mammals and realize that the fight must at times seem to be a lonely, uphill battle—please keep trying.

Sincerely,

ROBERT A. RAUSCH,  
President.

ALASKA CHAPTER OF THE  
WILDLIFE SOCIETY,

Anchorage, Alaska, March 13, 1972.

HON. NATHANIAL REED,  
Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife and Parks, Office of the Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. REED: I have attached a resolution prepared and approved by the Alaska Chapter of the Wildlife Society for your consideration. Unanswered correspondence to Dr. Linduska is also attached.

Management of the Nunivak Musk-ox is not a bright chapter in the annals of wildlife management. A continued failure to take action to rectify the situation will not abate the problem. The herd, if properly managed, could provide considerable benefit to the people of Nunivak Island while continuing to serve as a source of animals for establishing new herds on the mainland. The latter activity, however, should proceed only if suitable habitat is available.

Your consideration is requested.

Sincerely,

ROBERT A. RAUSCH,  
President.

RESOLUTION OF ALASKA CHAPTER OF THE  
WILDLIFE SOCIETY

Whereas, evidence collected by both state and federal biologists over a number of years conclusively shows that the muskox population on Nunivak Island exceeds its range carrying capacity, that the winter range is presently being damaged by over-use, and that the sex ratio of the muskox herd is severely distorted, and

Whereas, the federal-state agreement of

1962 concerning muskox management on Nunivak lists transplanting of muskoxen to their former range in Alaska and maintenance of a viable herd on Nunivak as primary goals of management, and

Whereas, productivity of the Nunivak muskox herd is declining and mortality is increasing, and

Whereas, it is imperative that the Nunivak muskox herd be restored to and maintained at a productive level to allow for production of animals for transplanting, and

Whereas, the number of adult bulls in the herd must be reduced to accomplish these objectives, and

Whereas, state and federal professional biologists in Alaska strongly recommend sport hunting as the most acceptable method of removal of adult bulls, and

Whereas, the state of Alaska has been prevented from exerting proper management on the Nunivak muskox by policies of the Department of the Interior,

Now therefore be it resolved the Alaska Chapter of The Wildlife Society urges the Secretary of the Interior to open, in the most expeditious manner possible, the Nunivak Island Refuge to public access for the purpose of big game hunting.

GREATER ANCHORAGE AREA BOROUGH,  
Anchorage, Alaska, March 29, 1972.

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,  
Chairman, U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The 19 member Anchorage Overall Economic Development Committee was jointly formed by the Greater Anchorage Area Borough and the City of Anchorage to study and recommend ways of improving the local economy and lowering our unemployment rate approximately 10%. We are vitally interested in the following bills relating to harvesting and use of sea mammals presently before your Committee:

SB 3161  
SB 685  
SB 2639  
SB 2871  
SB 3112

and would respectfully ask that hearings on these bills be held in Anchorage.

The arts and crafts connected with parts of sea mammals constitute a significant part of our economy particularly to that subsegment consisting of our 6,000 local Natives who comprise in turn a large part of our unemployment problem. Time and money prohibit these people from presenting their case to you if hearings are held in Washington, so we reiterate our request that you hold hearings on these bills in Anchorage so that the economic importance of arts and crafts associated with sea mammals might be demonstrated to you.

Respectfully,

FRANK AUSTIN,  
Chairman, Overall Economic Development Program Committee.

GREATER ANCHORAGE BOROUGH,  
Anchorage, Alaska, March 29, 1972.

HON. ERNEST F. HOLLINGS,  
Chairman, U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Oceans & Atmospheres, Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The 19 member Anchorage Overall Economic Development Committee was formed jointly by the Greater Anchorage Area Borough and the City of Anchorage to study and recommend ways of improving the local economy and lowering our unemployment rate approximately 10%. We are vitally interested in the following bills relating to harvesting and use of sea mammals presently before your Committee:

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Respectfully,

FRANK AUSTIN,  
Chairman, Overall Economic Development Program Committee.

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,  
Anchorage, Alaska, April 3, 1972.

HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: You are the sponsor of a bill that would place restrictions on the taking of ocean mammals. Your bill (and the other five (5)) is a very damaging measure to the Alaska Native people and it will deal a devastating blow to Alaska. Indeed, the very culture of Alaska Natives will be annihilated.

The Natives have depended upon the taking of ocean mammals for food as a way of life and the ivory and furs are used for clothing to survive in the most hostile climate in these United States. If the House-passed version of the "Sea Mammal Bill" is enacted into law, the very existence of the Natives will be threatened. I have hopes that this is not the intent of your bill, Senator.

As one of the few Senators who honored Alaska with a visit to our rural Alaska villages, I surmised you would have been sympathetic. You did tour our villages in April of 1969 during hearings on Indian Education.

I am pleading with you, Senator Kennedy, to save the Alaska Native, and the economy of Alaska, by withdrawing your bill and seeking appropriate amendment to allow continued use of ocean mammals for Native handmade artifacts and clothing.

Postulate, if you will, a bill that would stop the taking of cows—except for subsistence use. Obviously, the Congress will not cause such legislation to be introduced. And yet, the Congress, would take such action against Alaska.

I presume that the legislation is intended in the interest of conservation practices or preservation of sea mammals. There is testimony in Alaska though that will show that there are NO species in Alaska that are threatened. I believe our Congressional Delegation can bear this out.

I ask you again, Senator, help us Save Our State.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT WILLARD,  
Executive Director.

NEWS RELEASE FROM OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

ANCHORAGE.—The Executive Director of the Alaska Human Rights Commission has called upon Senator Edward M. Kennedy, D-Massachusetts, to withdraw his bill that would place restrictions on the taking of sea mammals—except for subsistence use.

In a letter to Kennedy, Robert Willard, the agency's director, asked Kennedy to seek amendments that would allow the taking of sea mammals for Native handmade artifacts and clothing.

"I fear the culture of the Alaska Native will be annihilated" Willard wrote, if the Senate follows the action of a House-passed bill. The House recently passed overwhelmingly a measure that placed very restrictive

provisions on taking of sea mammals. Willard said if the House version is passed "The very existence of the Natives will be threatened. Hope this is not the intent of your bill, Senator."

As a Senator who visited Alaska's Rural villages, I thought you would be more sympathetic, Willard told Kennedy.

PRESBYTERY OF YUKON,  
Wasilla, Alaska, March 22, 1972.

HON. ERNEST HOLLINGS,  
Chairman of the Oceans and Atmosphere Subcommittee, Senate Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HOLLINGS: The Presbytery of Yukon representing the Presbyterian Churches on the mainland of Alaska adopted the following recommendation at its Stated Meeting on March 10, 1972:

"The Presbytery urges and supports amendment to the bill prohibiting the taking of sea mammals. The Presbytery urges amendment to permit subsistence taking of sea mammals by the native people who have traditionally used these animals for food supply and other necessities."

Respectfully,

NICK J. BREWER, JR.,  
Stated Clerk.

ST. MARY'S HIGH SCHOOL,  
St. Marys, Alaska, March 6, 1972.

Senator ERNEST F. HOLLINGS,  
Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Oceans and Atmosphere, Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HOLLINGS: We, the undersigned members of the Alaskan History Class at St. Mary's High School, strongly urge you to oppose the passing of the Sea Mammal Bill. This Bill will cause a hardship to the native people of western Alaska as they are able, through ingenuity, to make fine products from the skins and tusks of the various animals they catch. By selling these products, the Eskimos are able to help support themselves and benefit their community.

Due to the fact that the animals in western Alaska are increasing, the Eskimos should in no way be affected by this Bill. The native people must not have this time-honored heritage taken from them.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

MARY BEANS,  
FRANCES EVAN,  
PRISCILLA HOOPER,  
THERESA JAMES,  
CECELIA SIMS,  
MARTIN TONUCHUK,  
WILLIAM WHALEN.

## COMMUNIST INFLUENCES ON AMERICAN POLITICS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's attempt at reconciliation with the Communist leaders of China and Russia, in order to project himself as a world peacemaker, should remind all Americans again of the past roles of the international Communist movement in influencing American politicians.

Perhaps the President's political advisers had planned the peace overtures to wrest the "peace" movement from the extreme left wing in the United States and set the stage for the President's po-

litical future. If so, his advisers have overlooked the hard lessons of history that the best laid plans of mice and men often go astray.

The President's attempt to exploit the Communist leaders offered them an entree into the American news and consequently gave them the opportunity to influence the next presidential election by aiding the candidate of their choosing. Witness the massive build-up of Soviet arms and material to North Vietnam, the assignment of Russian military advisers in Hanoi, the Soviet-encouraged invasion of South Vietnam and now the retaliatory U.S. bombing of North Vietnam and the recommitment of American fighting men.

Overnight, the new peace image of President Nixon has been destroyed and the presidential aspirant preferred by the Communists is catapulted into the political role of the new peace leader merely by expressing vocal opposition to President Nixon's actions, thus attempting to defeat his bid for reelection. An earlier account of how the Communists influenced American politics and destroyed the promising careers of several great Americans is contained in the "Reminiscences" of Douglas MacArthur, General of the Army.

In General MacArthur's comments on the Bonus March we find this statement:

In these days of wholehearted national unity, it is hard to believe that thirty years ago the President of the United States lived in danger, and that Congress shook with fear at the sight and sound of the marchers. It is hard to believe, too, that government employees and other citizens of Washington who bore witness to the tawdry street battles cheered the stoning of the Washington police force.

The movement was actually far deeper and more dangerous than an effort to secure funds from a nearly depleted federal treasury. The American Communist Party planned a riot of such proportions that it was hoped the United States Army, in its efforts to maintain peace, would have to fire on the marchers. In this way, the Communists hoped to incite revolutionary action. Red organizers infiltrated the veteran groups and presently took command from their unwitting leaders.

Four American leaders were involved in stopping this communist inspired and led confrontation. They were President Herbert Hoover; Gen. Douglas MacArthur, as Army Chief of Staff; Maj. Dwight D. Eisenhower, and Maj. George S. Patton. President Hoover was politically rejected by the American people; MacArthur remained under constant harassing attacks which resulted in his removal from command in the Pacific; and then Gen. George S. Patton was removed from his command.

I was to be publicly hanged on the steps of the Capitol. It was the beginning of a definite and ceaseless campaign that set me apart as a man to be destroyed, no matter how long the communists and their friends and admirers had to wait, and no matter what means they might have to use. But it was to be 19 years before the bells of Moscow pealed out their glee at my eclipse.

Strangely, the career of only one of the military officers directly involved in the stopping of the Bonus March was not destroyed. That one officer, Dwight D. Eisenhower, went on to become President of the United States, with Richard M. Nixon serving as his Vice President.



Tragically, history is so little studied that its lessons are not understood. Few Americans are even aware that President Eisenhower was involved in the Bonus March, while Generals MacArthur and Patton repeatedly came under merciless attack for their participation.

Those who fail to benefit from the lessons of the past must receive and suffer them.

I insert a selected portion of General MacArthur's book to follow:

#### REMINISCENCES

(By General of the Army, Douglas MacArthur)

The most poignant episode during my role as Chief of Staff was the so-called Bonus March. The country was in the third year of the great Depression, and heartache and hunger haunted the millions of unemployed. Men lost faith, and the spirit of the country sank to a low that had not been experienced since the financial panic of 1892. Late in May, an army of disillusioned and lost men who had served in the war, the vanguard of a starved band, arrived in Washington, seeking desperately to influence the Congress to grant an immediate cash bonus for veterans. For two fruitless months they lived in abject squalor, making their daily marches to the Capitol, to the White House, and to all of the other sacrosanct federal buildings where they hoped to loosen the pursestrings of government. In the end, their frustration, combined with careful needling by the Communists, turned them into a sullen, riotous mob.

In these days of wholehearted national unity, it is hard to believe that thirty years ago the President of the United States lived in danger, and that Congress shook with fear at the sight and sound of the marchers. It is hard to believe, too, that government employees and other citizens of Washington who bore witness to the tawdry street battles cheered the stoning of the Washington police force.

The movement was actually far deeper and more dangerous than an effort to secure funds from a nearly depleted federal treasury. The American Communist Party planned a riot of such proportions that it was hoped the United States Army, in its efforts to maintain peace, would have to fire on the marchers. In this way, the Communists hoped to incite revolutionary action. Red organizers infiltrated the veteran groups and presently took command from their unwitting leaders.

Walter W. Waters, a persuasive ex-service-man from Oregon with a gift for public speaking, was the leader of the Bonus Marchers. I conferred with him and reached an agreement that if the Army was called in, he would withdraw the veterans without violence. Many of them were bedded down in partly demolished buildings along Pennsylvania Avenue. To provide further shelter, I issued tents and camp equipment to be set up on the Anacostia Flats. I also ordered out a number of rolling kitchens to relieve any acute suffering. This latter step raised an outburst in Congress. A leader in the House of Representatives said from the floor:

"If they come to Washington, sit down and have three meals furnished free every day, then God knows what will happen to us. There are more than 8,500,000 persons out of work in the United States, most of them with families. If the Government can feed those that are here, then we can expect an influx that will startle the whole country."

The rolling kitchens were withdrawn. Senator J. Hamilton Lewis inspected the tired and, in some cases, shoeless veterans lying around the Capitol Building and then told his colleagues in the Senate that, "By abandoning the plea for justice and adopting in its place threat and coercion, veterans

are causing fellow countrymen to wonder whether their soldiers served for patriotism or merely for pay."

Through the month of June the tension mounted. The camps now occupied by an estimated 17,000 spread out to every sizeable vacant lot. At night, morose men squatted by burning campfires listening silently to the endless speeches, always tinged with the increasing violence of Communist propaganda. The privations, the punishing heat, the unsanitary living conditions, and the interminable hours of wishful waiting for the slightly more than one thousand dollars which was to be each man's share—if Congress relented—took its toll.

During June, the governor of New York, Franklin D. Roosevelt, informed New Yorkers among the Bonus Marchers that the state would pay their railroad fares if they left Washington immediately and returned to New York. President Hoover got a bill through Congress authorizing loans for transportation, and most of the real veterans left. But the hard core of the Communist bloc not only stayed, but grew. The Federal Bureau of Investigation reported that an examination of the fingerprints of 4,723 Bonus Marchers showed that 1,069 of them were men who had criminal records ranging from drunkenness to murder and rape. Not more than one in ten of those who stayed was a veteran. By this time Waters had been deposed and the Communists had gained control.

As the violence increased, Pelham Glassford, commander of the Washington police, twice consulted with me about calling on the Army for assistance. Both times I advised against it. But on July 28th, the crisis was reached. A mob of 5,000 strong began to move up Pennsylvania Avenue toward the Treasury Building and the White House. The police were outnumbered five to one. Glassford was mauled and stripped of his police superintendent's gold badge, gunfire broke out, two men were killed and a score or more badly injured. It was evident that the situation had gotten beyond the control of the local authorities.

A request was immediately made through the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia for federal troops. Commissioner Richelderfer, in requesting such assistance from the President, stated that it would "be impossible for the police department to maintain law and order except by the free use of firearms. The presence of federal troops in small number will obviate the seriousness of the situation, and it will result in far less violence and bloodshed."

The President then conferred with Patrick Hurley, the Secretary of War, who was immediately placed in charge. Hurley issued the following order:

"To: General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army.

"The President has just now informed me that the civil government of the District of Columbia has reported to him it is unable to maintain law and order in the District.

"You will have United States troops proceed immediately to the scene of disorder. Cooperate fully with the District of Columbia police force which is now in charge. Surround the affected area and clear it without delay.

"Turn over all prisoners to the civil authorities.

"In your orders insist that any women or children who may be in the affected area be accorded every consideration and kindness. Use all humanity consistent with the due execution of the order.

"PATRICK J. HURLEY,  
"Secretary of War."

Six hundred soldiers under the command of General Perry L. Miles had been drawn from units close to Washington. General Miles' orders to his unit commanders were as follows:

"We are acting on the order of the Presi-

dent of the United States. The cavalry will make a demonstration down Pennsylvania Avenue. The infantry will deploy in line of skirmishers in the rear of the cavalry. You will surround the area and evict the men in possession there. Use care and consideration toward all women and children who may be in the area."

In accordance with the President's request, I accompanied General Miles and brought with me two officers who later wrote their names on world history: Major Dwight D. Eisenhower and Major George S. Patton.

Not a shot was fired. The sticks, clubs, and stones of the rioters were met only by tear gas and steady pressure. No one was killed and there were no serious injuries in either side. By 9:30 p.m. the area was cleared as far as the Anacostia Flats. The show of force, the excellent discipline of the troops, and the proper use of tear gas had turned the trick without serious bloodshed. At Anacostia Flats I received word from the Secretary of War, as we were in the midst of crossing the river, to suspend the operation at my discretion. I halted the command as soon as we had cleared the bridge, but at that moment the rioters set fire to their own camp. This concluded the proceedings for the night.

I personally reported to the President and Secretary Hurley at the White House about eleven o'clock, and they expressed gratification at what had been accomplished. Secretary Hurley asked me to give a statement to the waiting newspaper men. After explaining the events of the preceding day, I continued:

"If President Hoover had not acted when he did he would have been faced with a serious situation. Another week might have meant that the government was in peril. He had reached the end of an extraordinary patience and had gone to the very limit to avoid friction before using force. Had the President not acted when he did he would have been derelict in his duty."

The day following the riot, the police rounded up thirty-six of the leaders, including James Ford, the American Communist Party candidate for Vice-President; Emmanuel Levin, a leading New York Communist; and John T. Pace, an acknowledged former Communist. This broke up the organization, and its remnants disappeared.

The most extravagant distortions of what had occurred were widely circulated. I was violently attacked, and even blatantly misrepresented before Congress. Speeches pictured me in full dress uniform astride a fiery white charger, bedecked with medals, waving a bloody saber, and leading a mad cavalry charge against unarmed and innocent citizens. Of course there was absolutely no foundation for such statements. There was no cavalry charge. There was no fiery white charger. There was no saber. There was no full-dress uniform. There were no medals. I wore the same uniform as the troops. When I challenged such distortions, they were merely shrugged off with the expression, "It was only politics." Franklin Roosevelt once said to me, "Douglas, I think you are our best general, but I believe you would be our worst politician." With his rare sense of humor, I wonder which side of that remark he thought was the compliment.

Three days after the uprising, *The New York Times*, in a front-page account, reported:

"The Communist Party, at its headquarters here, accepted responsibility yesterday for the demonstration that resulted in the bonus-army riots in Washington.

"We agitated for the bonus and led the demonstration of the veterans in Washington," a spokesman for the party said at the headquarters at 50 East 13th Street. "We stand ready to go to Washington again and fight for the working men. We started the march from here for Washington and we will lead the way again!"

In 1948, more of the Communist conspiracy was revealed when Benjamin Gitlow, an ad-

mitted Communist, wrote in his book, *The Whole of Their Lives*:

"On July 5 Earl Browder declared that the veterans were the shock troops of the unemployed. Said he, 'The Bonus revolutionary force in Washington is the most significant beginning of the mass struggle against the deepening consequences of the crisis.'

"On July 28 the government went into action. General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, stepped in to prevent serious bloodshed after a fight between communist led veterans and police resulting in the death of one veteran and the shooting of an innocent bystander. It was just what the communists wanted. It is what they had conspired to bring about. Now they could brand Hoover as a murderer of hungry unemployed veterans. They could charge that the United States Army was Wall Street's tool with which to crush the unemployed and that the government and the Congress of the United States were bloody Fascist butchers of unarmed American workmen."

In 1949, John T. Pace testified under oath before a Congressional committee:

I feel responsible in part for the oft repeated lie about President Hoover and General MacArthur.

"I led the left wing or communist section of the bonus march. I was ordered by my Red superiors to provoke riots. I was told to use every trick to bring about bloodshed in the hopes that President Hoover would be forced to call out the army. The communists didn't care how many veterans were killed. I was told Moscow had ordered riots and bloodshed in the hopes that this might set off the revolution. My communist bosses were jumping with joy on July 28 when the Washington police killed one veteran. The Army was called out by President Hoover and didn't fire a shot or kill a man. General MacArthur put down a Moscow directed revolution without bloodshed, and that's why the communists hate him."

During the Bonus March communist threats continued to be made against responsible officials. I was to be publicly hanged on the steps of the Capitol. It was the beginning of a definite and ceaseless campaign that set me apart as a man to be destroyed, no matter how long the Communists and their friends and admirers had to wait, and no matter what means they might have to use. But it was to be nineteen years before the bells of Moscow pealed out their glee at my eclipse.

#### THE 80TH ANNIVERSARY OF REDONDO BEACH

#### HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, April 29, 1972, the Redondo Beach Chamber of Commerce will sponsor the gala 80th anniversary dinner of the city of Redondo Beach.

At the dinner the Anchormen, the organization of past presidents of the Redondo Beach Chamber of Commerce, will present my friend Francis E. Hopkins, city manager of Redondo Beach, as honored guest for the evening.

The purpose of the dinner will be to focus attention on the rich, colorful, and unusually diverse history of the city, its people, its institutions, and its historical beginnings.

Four hundred and thirty years ago the Spanish explorer Juan Rodriguez

Cabrillo entered Santa Monica Bay on California's Pacific coast, claimed all the land within his sight for the King of Spain, and began the period of Spanish influence in our State.

One of the areas which Cabrillo's claim encompassed was territory in the south portion of the Santa Monica Bay occupied by Indians of the Tobikhar, Chownigna Lodge, for whom one of the attractions of the location was an inland lake where salt was plentiful.

In 1794 this area of the South Bay was part of the 75,000 acre Rancho San Pedro land grant to Juan Jose Dominguez by the Spanish Territorial Governor.

Through subsequent sale and resale, a portion of this acreage in 1887 became part of the Redondo Improvement Co. which was incorporated as the ninth city in Los Angeles County 5 years later in 1892.

By the turn of the century the city of Redondo Beach, with a population of less than a thousand, had three commercial piers; was the foremost shipping point between San Francisco and San Diego; benefited from direct service by three railroads; and enjoyed the patronage of Henry Edwards Huntington who had acquired most of the land and buildings in 1901.

But also by the turn of the century, even as the young city seemed to be growing increasingly prosperous, even as it was gaining statewide renown as a vacation retreat and tourist attraction, the process of a long and difficult economic downturn was beginning.

The construction of a breakwater, a preoccupation of municipal planners for almost the entire first 60 years of the city's life, was attempted in 1899, in 1917, and again in 1938 without success.

The once-thriving shipping business fell off. All three wharves were torn down between 1914 and 1926. The flourishing El Paso amusement zone, once a magnet for tourists, gradually disintegrated and became almost abandoned by the time of the city's 47th anniversary in 1939.

An inadequate half million dollar short breakwater was constructed in 1939 with Federal matching funds but the results were dire. In 1940 a major portion of the waterfront area, a number of buildings, and the Strand walk were washed out.

Attempts to halt the waterfront erosion with a variety of hastily constructed and inexpensive sea walls proved futile. In the early 1950's the city of Redondo Beach was a city without much prosperity and with virtually no hope.

And it is not possible fully to appreciate the city of Redondo Beach today without understanding the bleakness of its prospects less than two decades ago. What was to begin in the later 1950's and build with increasing momentum in the 1960's was almost a miracle of renewal and regeneration.

The long awaited breakwater was completed in 1958 at a cost of \$5 million. Additional and supporting construction followed in 1960 and shoreline service facilities were added 2 years later in time for the city's 70th anniversary.

Ten years ago a redevelopment agency was set up to restore 50 acres in downtown Redondo Beach. Fifteen million dollars were released by the Federal Government for this project in 1966 and property acquisition began.

One hundred and twenty of the one hundred and twenty-three parcels in this upgrading and modernization program have now been cleared for resale. And for all its accomplishments, for all of the changes which it has effected on the face of the city, the program continues to belong far less to Redondo Beach's past, than to its future.

A variety of supplementary projects, new streets and plazas, which represent the initiatives of some of the most vigorous and active community leaders in California, have already been drafted and await only the budgeting authority of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

With a superb city manager in Francis Hopkins, with one of the best mayors in the United States in William Czuleger, with one of the most effective and energetic chamber presidents in recent years in Gerald Hilby, and a great city council and municipal staff, and an outstanding chamber of commerce, the city of Redondo Beach is vital, dynamic, future-oriented and on the move.

And for such a city, with such a leadership, it is a good thing to hold an anniversary banquet every few years to take stock of all that has been accomplished, to recognize all those whose work has paved the way, and to feel that special sense of pride that only can come to people who have worked long and well together.

And, Mr. Speaker, that is what the people of Redondo Beach will be doing on April 29. And it will be my great pleasure on that day to be joining them.

#### NEWS BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

#### HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD the April 17 edition of the news bulletin of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission. I take this action to help my colleagues keep informed of activities preparing for the bicentennial. The bulletin is compiled and written by the staff of the ARBC Communications Committee. The bulletin follows:

#### BICENTENNIAL BULLETIN

The ARBC Executive Committee will meet in New York City on Thursday, April 20; the ARBC Communications Committee will meet at Headquarters on Tuesday, April 18, as will the ARBC Philatelic Advisory Panel. Also, on Tuesday, April 18, the Open House USA Committee will meet in New York City.

A session of the "Congress of 200" sponsored by the New Mexico American Revolution Bicentennial Commission met in Albuquerque recently. About 200 political, civic



and educational leaders from throughout the state heard Governor Bruce King and UNM President open the meeting and Dr. William Dabney, UNM history professor, deliver the principal address on the background of the American Revolution. The afternoon session divided the Congress into workshops to discuss projects suitable for New Mexico. Dr. Luther H. Foster, Commission Member, represented the ARBC.

The ARBC Performing Arts Advisory Panel held its first meeting on Monday, April 10 and the Creative and Visual Arts Advisory Panel met on Tuesday, April 11 at the National Gallery of Art. The Panels were briefed on the overall themes and goals of the Bicentennial and Miss Nancy Hawks, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, spoke on the relationship of that group to the upcoming commemoration. The main thrust of the meeting was a wide-ranging discussion of the nature of the involvement of the arts in the Bicentennial. The Performing Arts Panel members stressed their feeling that the Bicentennial Era should be a time for strengthening and highlighting America's young talent. The Creative and Visual Arts Panel members felt strongly that the Bicentennial should emphasize the multiplicity of creative talent across the country.

Chairman James Copley and the ARBC Communications Committee have announced that the official ARBC symbol will be featured soon in 10-second spot announcements on the Bicentennial by television stations across the nation.

The San Antonio (Texas) ARBC will coordinate and stage a June celebration in conjunction with the opening of the National University of Mexico's branch campus in HemisFair Plaza. "My feeling," explained Chairman B. J. "Red" McCombs, "is that it would be an important event for us to begin our Open House USA category." Mrs. Gene Riddle, associate director of the ARBC of Texas, said a June celebration would put San Antonio in the position of having the first Bicentennial Open House celebration in the nation.

The Florida ARBC in cooperation with the University of Florida's Department of History is sponsoring the first of a series of symposia on the American Revolution in Florida, May 18-20, on the University of Florida campus. The theme for this year's symposium is "Eighteenth Century Florida and Its Borderlands." Several Universities throughout the country are sending speakers and acting as commentators will be William Sturtevant (Smithsonian Institution), Paul Smith (Library of Congress), and Charles Van Ravensway (Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum). Dr. Samuel Proctor, professor of history and social sciences, University of Florida, and a member of the Florida ARBC, is serving as chairman of the symposium. The conference is open to the public.

A group of Philadelphia-based historians, writers, teachers and patriotic citizens are publishing a new tabloid newspaper, "The American Revolution—Illustrated." While appearing exactly as a modern-day newspaper it retells the trials of America's birth from 1769 to 1783. Each event is written as if it were happening today. Some schools are already using the tabloid as an aid to their curriculum. The full story of every event is told in easy-to-read pictured format, suitable for the average reader. For information on the newspaper, which is published in 12 issues annually for \$8.00 write Walter Kubillus & Co., 122 Greenwood Avenue, Wyncote, Pa. 19095.

The Bicentennial Council of the Thirteen States will meet in Charleston, South Carolina, April 13th-16th. The ARBC will be represented by its States and Regional Coordinators.

Colorado State Representative Floyd M.

Sack has been named interim Chairman of the Colorado Centennial-Bicentennial Commission. Mr. Sack will serve as Chairman of the Commission until September 30, 1972, completing the unexpired portion of the term of Mrs. Stephen Hart who recently resigned as Chairman.

Mr. Andrew Murphy, who represents the Activities Service of The Boy Scouts of America informed the ARBC this week that they are well along in the stages of securing Boy input to their preliminary planning for the BSA's part in the celebration of our Country's 200th anniversary. This is being done in 2 ways this Spring:

"Reactions and Suggestions are being secured from the more than 2,000 Explorer Post Presidents who will meet in Washington, D.C. next week at the Annual Explorer Post Presidents Congress. These are leaders of our high school age program and we should receive valuable suggestions and ideas from them."

"The Order of the Arrow, a B.S.A. Camping Fraternity, is being solicited by mail through their lodge chiefs to secure their suggestions. This group is made up of Boy Scouts as well as Explorers."

A target date of June has been set to secure this information and compile it.

Archivist of the United States James B. Rhoads said recently that the "most visible" of the Bicentennial accomplishments of the National Archives has been establishment of a Center for the Documentary Study of the American Revolution which is preparing guides to Revolutionary War records in the National Archives and a computer index for the Papers of the Continental Congress. He said that the Center is gearing up to provide "better tools for the historian who wishes to use Revolutionary War materials." Rhoads said that the National Archives also is stressing youth education programs as a Bicentennial project, working with the District of Columbia public school system in the preparation of teaching units on history and government. The Archivist spoke at a regional meeting of the American Association for State and Local History which was sponsored jointly by the Mississippi Historical Society.

Some twenty-five top professional, governmental and press women from national women's organizations will be guests of the ARBC on Monday, April 17th, to discuss women's involvement in the Bicentennial. Those attending have expressed interest in the possibility of nationwide projects in the Horizon's '76 concepts and are meeting to explore collective collaboration. And, on Sunday, April 9, the ARBC was represented at the Awards Luncheon of the Virginia Press Women where plans and proposals and the role of the media in informing the public of the Bicentennial goals were discussed.

Contact: F. C. Duke Zeller, Editor (202) 254-8007.

#### FEAR CAME LATER—PLUCK IN RESCUE

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, Claude Gravely and Roy Roar did not feel like heroes after they rescued a mother and her 10 children from a burning home—they "just felt good."

These two young men from Kansas City performed a brave and heroic deed when they charged into a burning house, and aroused and led 11 people through fire and smoke to safety. They are to be

commended for their courage and bravery.

I want to take this opportunity to bring the complete details to the attention of my colleagues here in the House by sharing with them a recent article that appeared in the Kansas City Star.

Following is the article:

FEAR CAME LATER—PLUCK IN RESCUE  
(By Andrew C. Miller)

Claude Gravely and Roy Roar don't feel like heroes after they rescued a mother and her 10 children from a burning home Friday night—they "just felt good."

Luck played a large part in their rescue, the two agreed while relating the incident yesterday.

"I guess the good Lord just sent us over there," Gravely said with a smile. "It sure made us feel good."

On their way to a friend's house Friday night, the two saw flames leaping from the roof of a home at 3817 Indiana.

While their dates phoned firemen, Gravely, of 3645 E. 57th, and Roar, of 5700 Swope Parkway, kicked down the front door, rushed upstairs yelling "fire," awakening Mrs. Marilyn Chamberlain and her 10 children.

First Mrs. Chamberlain went downstairs with her youngest child. Then, with Gravely in a second-story hallway and Roar on the stairs, the two young men directed each child downstairs to Mrs. Chamberlain.

Gravely and Roar both said they did not experience fear until their deed was completed and firemen had arrived.

The two have known each other for about 15 years. They both grew up in Newport, Ark., and after graduating from high school there, came to Kansas City for job opportunities.

The Friday night fire was a little more than they bargained for, but both said they would do it again.

"If we would have been by any house, we would have done the same," Gravely said.

Roar said that as the two approached the house, they saw flames covering the roof.

"We yelled 'come out, come out' for a while, but nobody did. So we kicked down the door," Gravely related.

"I stood by the bedrooms," Gravely said, "yelling 'fire.' They started coming out toward my voice. Some had their hair burned."

Roar said the last boy to escape must have been confused because he first started toward the stairway and then headed back into a bedroom.

Gravely said he grabbed the young boy, patted his pajamas to make sure they were not on fire, and then carried him downstairs.

Firemen said the blaze, at 11:30 p.m., did considerable damage to the upper story. The amount was undetermined. The family is staying with relatives.

#### AREND'S MORAL FIBER PRAISED

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, all of us have long known and appreciated the fine qualities of our able colleague, the minority whip, LES AREND. So it was gratifying to hear those qualities extolled at an appreciation dinner for Les in Danville, Ill., on April 15. The principal speaker at that affair, Dr. David C. Crane of Indianapolis, brought home to his listeners the essence of our colleague's political leadership by reminding us that Les "served to keep the thread of loyalty

continued over the years while many deviated."

LES has demonstrated political integrity throughout his career and his constituents know it, as proved by the large number of his friends in Vermilion County who turned out to honor him. The following report on Dr. Crane's speech is from the April 16, 1972, issue of the Danville Commerce News:

AREND'S MORAL FIBER PRAISED BY SPEAKER  
(By Randy Kirk)

The real crisis in America is a decaying of morality and men like Rep. Leslie C. Arends are needed to fight that crisis, Dr. David C. Crane said at an appreciation dinner for Arends Saturday night.

Dr. Crane, who is a practicing psychiatrist and lawyer from Indianapolis, said that we are told we live in an era of crisis, but the real problem is an "erosion of the soul."

It is time we started questioning the "so-called experts" who say there are population education and pollution crises, Dr. Crane said.

The school houses we built to house the post war babies were an answer to the "education crisis", but now "population is decreasing and these schools are needed more to house unemployed teachers than students," the lawyer and psychiatrist said.

"We are told there is a population crises, but all the people in the United States could live in Illinois and use the rest of the country as a recreation area," he quipped.

The United States has the capability to produce enough food to feed 10 times the current population of the world according to some studies, he added.

"We are told there is an air pollution problem," Dr. Crane said. He added that tests of air pollution conducted in 1910 and 1970 in 87 cities show that the air has not changed. Air pollution in Chicago and New York have actually gone down, he said.

"The crisis that we face is an invisible pollution," Dr. Crane said. The morality of some of our legislative leaders has eroded, he added.

Only 40 years ago, both parties believed in free enterprise, separation of powers between the state and national government and political integrity, but now some leaders don't even believe in the Constitution, Dr. Crane said.

Sen. William Fulbright called the House and Senate obsolete when a Democrat was president, but came back to the Constitution only when President Nixon took over, according to Dr. Crane.

"Rep. Arends has shown a moral fiber not seen in many of his colleagues," Dr. Crane said. He has served to keep the thread of loyalty continuous over the years while many deviated, the doctor and lawyer said.

The United States is the last bastion of hope for the free world. It can survive, but we must dedicate our lives during the next generation to getting the country back on the right track, he added.

"Political integrity must be reasserted and appreciation of America for what it is must be heightened," Dr. Crane said.

#### PLIGHT OF CAPTIVE NATIONS

### HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I have been quite interested in the plight of nations held captive by the Communists. In the last session of Congress, I

sponsored a resolution (H. Con. Res. 449) which calls for the expulsion of two puppet representatives to the United Nations General Assembly, the Byelorussian, and Ukrainian SSR, who, I felt should not be representing their nations in that world body, because they were not considered to be separate nation-states. Rather, they were and still are part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Today, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD a letter I received from the Byelorussian Congress Committee of America analyzing the plight of the Byelorussian nation suffering under the Communist yoke:

BYELORUSSIAN CONGRESS  
COMMITTEE OF AMERICA,  
Queens, N.Y., March 17, 1972.

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: March 25, 1972 will mark the anniversary of great significance for American citizens of Byelorussian descent. On that day Byelorussians everywhere in the United States and in other countries of the free world will celebrate the 54th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic. In Byelorussia, occupied by Soviet Russia today, this national observance is replaced by the commemoration of the Russian Bolshevik revolution. In this year the Soviet Russian government is also widely marking the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), to which Byelorussian SSR is annexed. The USSR is presented by Soviet propaganda as a voluntary union of sovereign nations. However, in reality the USSR is a prison of nations, reflecting the conquest, subordination, oppression and exploitation of Byelorussia, and other non-Russian nations by Soviet Russia.

The theoretical basis for the creation of the USSR was invented by Lenin, father of Russian Bolshevism. Many years before usurping power in Russia he composed a program for the Bolshevik's Party, in which he formulated a status for non-Russian nations, conquered previously by the Russian Empire. His theses are as follows: a) complete equality in rights for all nations; b) granting to all non-Russian nations the right for self-determination including separation from Russia and creation of independent states; c) merging of all nations in the single class organizations and educating them in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

These theses were designed for propaganda purposes. Their obvious contradictions were clarified by Lenin in articles, "On the Review of the Party Program". Lenin was stating this: "On our part we have not the desire for a separation. We want as large as possible state; a close as possible union of as many as possible nations, which are living in the neighborhood with Great-Russians". In this way Lenin injected in Russian Bolshevism basic contradiction between propagandistic declarations and intended real policies for non-Russian countries.

The same false tactics was used by the Bolsheviks after their usurpation of power in Russia in 1917. The basic document of Soviet government, "The Declaration of Rights for Nations of Russia", proclaimed liberation of non-Russian nations from national oppression, existing in Czarist Russia, has to be changed to the policies of voluntary and equitable union of nations, belonging to Russia.

The Bolshevik "Declaration of Rights of Working and Exploited People", proclaimed that Russian Soviet Republic has to be erected on the basis of voluntary union of independent nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics. However, the policies implemented by Russia in to non-Russian na-

tions presented a complete contradiction to these declarations.

On December 15, 1917 had assembled in Mensk the First All-Byelorussian Congress. It consisted of 1,872 representatives, elected by the people of all the ethnographical territory of Byelorussia. This was a national Byelorussian constituent, whose aim was to decide the future statehood of Byelorussia. Bolshevik-Russian delegates were in a small minority. They were not able to influence the Congressional decisions. After the Congress had chosen independence for Byelorussian state, the Soviet Russian Army dispersed this assembly.

The Council of this First All-Byelorussian Congress proclaimed independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, on March 25, 1918. In opposition to this independent Byelorussian state the Soviet Russian government created the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR). This fictitious state was created and its government was selected in Moscow. Official proclamation of the BSSR took place in January 1, 1919 in the city of Smolensk which at this time was conquered by Russia.

Subsequently, the Soviet Russian Army conquered most of Byelorussia. Concluding a peace treaty with Poland in Riga in 1921, the Moscow government, without representatives from the BSSR, divided the territory of Byelorussia as follows: the BSSR was allotted a territory of six counties of the Mensk district only, with a population of approximately 1.2 million. Poland was given approximately 100,000 sq.km. of Byelorussia with a population of approximately 4.0 million. Directly to the Russian SFSR there was annexed approximately 250,000 sq.km. of Byelorussian territory with a population of over 9.0 million. In this way the Soviet Russian government brutally suppressed the aims of the Byelorussian people for self-determination and independence, and turned them into a colonial people of Soviet Russia. The government of the BSSR always is selected by the Russian Communist Party. Its functions are limited to those of local administration for the central Russian government in Moscow.

The formal creation of the USSR took place later, after all non-Russian independent republics were conquered and destroyed by Soviet Russian armies, and instead of them were created satellite Soviet republics. On October 6, 1922 the session of the Central (Bolsheviks) accepted the draft by Lenin formulating the creation of the USSR. On December 18, 1922, the 4th Assembly of the Soviets of the BSSR accepted a declaration on the necessity for creation of the USSR. On December 30, 1922, the representatives of Soviet Republics signed the declaration and agreement formally establishing the USSR.

In the reality, the USSR is a continuation of the previously existing centralistic Russian Empire, using a different name, as well as different political, social and economic structure. The governing force in the USSR is the Russian Communist Party. This party presents a new Russian ruling class, substituting class of nobility, in the formerly Czarist Russia. The Polit-Bureau of this party is a totalitarian and dictatorial body, which establishes, executes and controls all policies for the USSR from Moscow, including non-Russian republics.

Consolidation of conquered countries by Russification of their population is a continuous political process, pressed by Moscow government. This action includes: 1. Suppression of ethnic cultures of non-Russian nations of the USSR and forcibly merging them in the one Russian stream; 2. Spreading of the Russian language by schools, publications, administrative use, etc; 3. Deportation of nationally conscious parts of the population, especially of the intelligentsia, to the other republics, with preference of Asian; 4. Sending in of many Russians for all leading positions; 5. Annih-



lation of those opposed to this denationalization; 6. Limitless and merciless exploitation of subjugated countries and their population for the benefit of Russian imperial aims; 7. Giving a high priority to the growth of the formidable military might and imperial expansion, neglecting the needs of incorporated non-Russian nations. As a result of these colonial policies of the Soviet Russian domination there were "liquidated" over six million of Byelorussian population.

Lenin envisaged creation of the USSR for the entire globe, obviously under Soviet Russian leadership. Subsequent governments of Soviet Russia are gradually realizing this goal. At present their military activities, covering many parts of the globe on the land, sea, underwater, in the air and stratosphere, often are surpassing those of other countries. This systematically growing threat to the security of free countries is the greatest menace to humanity of our time. It can be avoided by the liberation of Byelorussia and other non-Russian subjugated nations from Russian bondage and restoration of their truly independent states. The Russian state, limited to the ethnographical Russian territories, will not be capable of armed expansion in global dimensions.

At this time the Byelorussians under terroristic Russian domination do not have the possibility to defend their own national interests. Therefore, we take the liberty to ask you for support of the aims of the Byelorussian nation for liberation from the horrors of Soviet Russian occupation, and for restoration of an independent Byelorussian State.

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN KOSIAK,  
President.

#### KENNETH TRUE NORRIS

#### HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, the late Kenneth True Norris earned a reputation for himself in the State of California as an American in every sense that his middle name implied. His life story could well serve to illustrate some of the highest American ideals and aspirations. His list of contributions to the community and to the Nation need no acclamation they stand on their own and to enumerate them is the only form of tribute necessary. At this point in the RECORD I include an accounting of some of the accomplishments of this leader of industry, philanthropist and honored citizen.

#### KENNETH TRUE NORRIS

Kenneth True Norris was a great leader of industry whose nobility of mind and spirit brought him equal renown as a compassionate philanthropist, dedicated citizen, and benefactor of higher education.

Those who knew his life history saw in him the embodiment of the American Dream fulfilled. The boy who clerked in his father's general store became founder and board chairman of one of America's great industrial corporations, Norris Industries. The boy who didn't have a college education became Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University of Southern California and Occidental College. The young man who defied the Great Depression became a member of the Business Advisory Committee to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Chairman of the Committee for Economic Development for Los Angeles and Orange counties.

Kenneth Norris was born July 8, 1899, in East St. Louis, Illinois. He graduated from Manual Arts High School in Los Angeles, and worked in his father's general merchandise store from 1916 to 1920. During 1918, he served as a private in the United States Army in World War I.

It was by accident that he became involved in the metal stamping business. The Norris family was acquainted with a man who was a major partner in a metal stamping company. In 1920 Mr. Norris happened to be in the area of the Kittle Manufacturing Company, so he stopped in for a visit. The family friend was sick, and his partner rather abruptly said he was swamped. Mr. Norris asked if there was anything he could do to help—and was promptly made head of the shipping department! In a relatively short period of time, considerably less than a year, he became superintendent. He continued with the company and became assistant general manager with the responsibility for estimating, sales, purchasing, and production. In 1930 he proposed a plan that would guarantee him a certain salary and bonus in any year when the company enjoyed reasonable profits. The plan was turned down, so he quit.

He had saved his money, and at a time when many more companies were going out of business than were going into it, Norris Stamping and Manufacturing Company was born. As Mr. Norris liked to point out after his marriage, 1930 was the biggest year in his life with the birth of his son, Kenneth True Norris, Jr., and Norris Stamping and Manufacturing Company. With fifteen employees and a rented building, he hung out his shingle.

Kenneth Norris always took the position that a company could not stand still. In his opinion there were definite limitations to growth in strictly metal stamping operations, so he guided the company towards diversified expansion. Under his guidance it grew to become the Norris-Thermador Corporation.

Working in partnership with his son, whom he raised in the business, the company became known as Norris Industries, with headquarters in Los Angeles. Norris Industries, which employs more than 9,000 persons in 22 plants in four states and five countries, specializes in products for the home, industry, and government.

Through the years, Mr. Norris applied his courage, wisdom and determination to his ventures in behalf of his fellow man.

He was an honorary trustee of Occidental College, where he served on its board since 1951 and was its chairman in 1968-69. He served the School of Medicine of the University of Southern California from 1957 with brilliance, guiding their building program and serving as Chairman of the Board of Councillors. A USC trustee for nearly nine years, he was unanimously elected chairman of the university's Board of Trustees last October.

Mr. and Mrs. Norris were the principal donors for a library building on the USC medical campus and for a Dental Science Center on USC's main campus. The Norris Hall of Science and residence halls at Occidental also bear their names. He also helped foster Norris Industries participation in programs designed to develop the community's youth. Some of these programs include the YMCA Youthmobiles, Future Farmers of America, Boy Scouts and many more.

In addition, he served the community and the nation in such positions as: President, California Manufacturers Association; Director, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce; Director, Merchants and Manufacturers Association (Los Angeles); Chairman, Committee for Economic Development (Los Angeles and Orange counties); Chairman, Steel Committee, Western States Council; Regional Vice President, American Ordnance Association;

Trustee, National Security Industrial Association; and Chairman, Cartridge Case Committee, American Ordnance Association. Other positions held included: member, Business Advisory Committee to President Roosevelt; Director, National Association of Manufacturers; Director, Citizens National Bank (Los Angeles); and Director, Hoffman Electronics Corporation. He was also active as a trustee on the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, the Huntington Institute of Applied Medical Research, and the Kenneth T. and Eileen L. Norris Foundation.

Needless to say, Mr. Norris was an honored citizen within the communities where he worked, lived and served. Included among the recognitions he received were the Navy E and Army-Navy E Awards, World War II; the Presteel Award, American Metal Stamping Society, 1963; an Honorary Doctor of Laws Degree, Occidental College, January 6, 1965; California Manufacturer of the Year, California Manufacturers Association, 1968; an Honorary Doctor of Engineering Degree, University of Southern California, June 5, 1969; the Distinguished Citizen Award, Pepperdine University, May, 1971; and the William Hunt Eisenman Award, American Society for Metals, October, 1971.

Mr. Norris leaves his wife, Eileen; son, Kenneth T. Norris, Jr., President and Chief Executive Officer of Norris Industries; sister, Mrs. Dana Rozelle of Pasadena; brother, Virgil T. Norris of Salinas; daughter-in-law, Alice A. Norris and two grandsons, Bradley Kenneth Norris and Dale Corey Norris of San Marino.

HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF:  
RICHARD NIXON, AS DID THEODORE ROOSEVELT, MUST SPEAK OUT ON BEHALF OF THE JEWS OF RUSSIA

#### HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, I have this day written a letter to the President of the United States which is self-explanatory and which I insert in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues and the public. The letter follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., April 19, 1972.

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

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I urge you to speak out on behalf of the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union during your forthcoming trip to that country. I trust you will certainly find a place for this issue on your proposed agenda. Whether the subject is discussed formally or informally, publicly or privately, specifically or generally, directly or indirectly, is not at all as important as your earnestness in bringing it up, your persistence in terms of a follow-through and the results you achieve.

As a Member of the House of Representatives, I do not have the Constitutional duty, as do Members of the Senate, to advise you in the conduct of United States foreign policy. But being a Member of the House puts me in closer touch—at least in my District—with the feelings of the people. I want to report to you in that connection that, even though there are few persons of Jewish faith and background in my constituency, the people of Ohio's 20th District are on the whole outraged and appalled at the treatment accorded to Jews in the Soviet Union. Many of my constituents are Irish Catholics,

and I believe the unfortunate events in Ulster cause them to identify with the plight of Jews in Russia. The rest of my constituents are of diverse ethnic backgrounds, and they take pride in being what they are—and they also take pride in the fact that they live in a country that permits them, and even encourages them, to be what they are. This being the case, it is readily discernible why there should be advocacy on behalf of Jews in a Congressional District where there are so few Jews.

Not only does the Soviet Union deny Jews the right to be what they are, but that government also is taking a hand in perpetrating falsehoods—describing Jews in terms of what they are not. I refer, for instance, to that ancient and poisonous forgery, the long-since discredited "Protocols of the Elders of the Zion," which in recent years has again gained currency in some parts of the Soviet Union.

Naturally, the interests of the United States will predominate in your mind as you confer with the leaders of the Soviet Union. This is as it should be. But I have seen no evidence so far—and you, of course, have never intimated that there was any—of any clash between the interests of this country and those of the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union. Rather, it has always been in the broad interest of the United States to call attention to the persecution of people wherever it exists, and to the denial of human rights everywhere. I submit to you that America must assert itself again and again as a champion of freedom in order to retain its leadership of the free world.

We have arrived again at such a time. I am certain that you recognize this, and that you are aware that the need exists today, as it did even as far back as the time of President Theodore Roosevelt, for an American President to speak out, in the name of humanity, for an oppressed people on the vast Soviet subcontinent.

Yours very sincerely,

JAMES V. STANTON,  
Member of Congress.

#### TRIBUTE TO F. W. "BILL" BERGESON

### HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, Idaho lost a promising young leader recently in the senseless and tragic death of F.W. "Bill" Bergeson, who, like myself, was a candidate for the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate. Like thousands of others each year, he was the victim of needless error. Losing a friend like this kind of "brings it all home" so to speak. The emotions I have felt over the death of Bill Bergeson were aptly summarized by a photographer who recorded the grim aftermath of that accident, and I enter those words in the RECORD at this point:

THEY NEED NOT HAVE DIED

(By David Frazier)

Every couple of years after covering several fatal auto mishaps in rapid succession, I get fed up with driving habits of Idaho motorists and write a piece like this one.

In recent weeks I have had the unpleasant duty of photographing accidents involving four deaths—four needless deaths. There was the baby tossed out of a car that rolled over, the wrong way head-on killing a politician, and a one-car roll over killing a set of parents.

It is hard to not become involved in such tragedies. The police often ask me to take

pictures for their use because there are not enough officers to direct traffic, help the ambulance crews, and also make photos. The pictures would never appear in The Statesman, but I have them in my mind all too often.

How can you help a close friend and policeman and can hardly do his job taking care of a dead baby in the street? The cop is a father who also has the duty as a State Trooper to save lives and he can only shake his head and mumble, "It sure is a senseless loss of a young life."

After covering more than 100 fatal accidents, it isn't hard to see what preventive measures could have been taken. I can see no reason why anyone is ever killed in a one car accident. Seat belts keep people in cars instead of under them or flying through the air or windshield. Very few people actually fasten their seat belt each time they get behind the wheel. Do you?

The drinkers—not just the drunks—contribute to half of the fatalities in the country. Almost every fatal accident scene I have observed during late night hours reeks of the smell of booze. The pictures often have bottles and cans in them. There is also the smell of the combined odors of battery acid, gasoline, motor oil, anti-freeze, and burned brakes and tires. I call it the smell of death.

Then there is the onlooker who stops to get a peak of the corpse. I have always wondered if he is the same guy who calls the newspaper and complains that a hand or foot of an accident victim showed in a picture.

There is a standing question about news policy that goes something like: "Why do they always put pictures in the paper of bad wrecks? I think they are in poor taste!"

As a photographer I would much rather take pictures of live people—at least they can move around and smile. As a newspaperman, I take the pictures to bring home to readers the atmosphere of a fatal accident with all its misery and suffering.

Things like seat belts, defensive driving, no drinking, slower driving, and the like are known by everyone who drives a car. Unfortunately the rules are not always followed.

Please! Drive Carefully.

#### MANSFIELD AMENDMENT: NEW LIGHT ON THE LEGALITY OF THE WAR

### HON. JAMES ABOUREZK

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. ABOUREZK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to the attention of my colleagues a memo prepared for my use concerning the legality of the current escalation of the war in Indochina.

I would like my colleagues to note that on the only two times that the Mansfield Amendment—title VI of the Military Procurement Authorization Act of 1972—has come before Federal Courts, the Courts have held that it was binding on the President. At that time, the Courts also held that the policy being pursued by the President was not clearly in conflict with the Mansfield Amendment because of the recent disclosure of secret talks with Vietnam. But all that has changed in view of our breaking off of the Paris talks and the resumption of bombing in the North. This escalation bears no direct relationship to the protection of the safety of American troops;

indeed, it endangers the lives of our prisoners of war.

It, therefore, is clear that the policy currently being pursued in Vietnam is in violation of the law, and the memo supporting this statement follows:

#### THE MANSFIELD AMENDMENT—NEW LIGHT ON THE LEGALITY OF THE WAR

On November 17, 1971, President Nixon signed into law the Military Procurement Authorization for 1972 (P.L. 92-156). Title VI (Section 601) of this law stated, in essence, that it is "the policy of the United States to terminate at the earliest practicable date all military operations of the United States in Indochina", subject to only one condition: the release of all American prisoners of war. To implement this policy, the President is requested to "initiate immediately" the following actions:

(1) Set a final date for the withdrawal of all United States forces from Indochina.

(2) Negotiate with the Government of North Vietnam for an immediate cease fire.

(3) Negotiate with the Government of North Vietnam for an agreement providing for a "series of phased and rapid withdrawals" of United States forces in exchange for a corresponding series of releases of American POW's.

In commenting on Title VI (also known as the Mansfield Amendment), Senator Stennis said the following prior to final enactment of P.L. 92-156 (Cong. Rec., vol. 117, pt. 14, p. 40792).

"Mr. President, the Mansfield amendment in this bill in my opinion is far stronger than the one finally adopted as part of the Selective Service law. It is true that the House did not agree to a specific date. However, for the first time now we have as a proposed law, language which makes out withdrawal from Indochina 'the policy of the United States,' rather than the sense of the Congress as contained in the previous version. For those who supported the Mansfield amendment, I would urge that they closely consider the meaning of this change in language. As a policy matter it binds the Congress and the President of the United States."

Nevertheless, in signing the act, the President made the following statement (Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, November 22, 1971, p. 1531):

"Section 601 expresses a judgment about the manner in which the American involvement in the war should be ended. However, it is without binding force or effect, and it does not reflect my judgment about the way in which the war should be brought to a conclusion. My signing of the bill that contains this section, therefore, will not change the policies I have pursued and that I shall continue to pursue toward this end."

On February 16, 1972, Judge John F. Dooling of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York, in *DaCosta v. Nixon*, 72 C. 207, ruled on which of these two conflicting interpretations of the legal effect of Sec. 601, Senator Stennis' or the President's, is correct. As shown by the following language, he agreed with Senator Stennis.

"When the bill embodying Section 601 was passed by the Congress and approved by the President's signature it established 'the policy of the United States' to the exclusion of any different executive or administration policy, and had binding force and effect on every officer of the Government, no matter what their private judgments of that policy, and illegalized the pursuit of an inconsistent executive or administration policy. No executive statement denying efficacy to the legislation could have either validity or effect."

However, Judge Dooling went on to hold that, in view of the wide discretion given to the President by Sec. 601 and "the unverified disclosures of executive initiatives taken before and since" the enactment of the Section,



it could not be said that there was a clear divergence between the policy being pursued by the President and the policy defined in the Mansfield Amendment. It should be remembered that this opinion was handed down only three weeks after the President's January 25 speech revealing the secret Kissinger-Le Duc Tho negotiations, at a time when the war in Vietnam was at one of its lowest ebbs and the air was rife with talk of official and secret negotiations. In the meantime, the President has

(1) Broken off the official negotiations in Paris;

(2) Refused the other side's offer of resumption of secret talks;

(3) Escalated the air war in Vietnam to levels unprecedented in the history, not only of this particular war, but of warfare generally.

Judge Dooling's decision was affirmed by the Court of Appeals for the 2nd Circuit, without opinion, on February 23, 1972. If this holding is correct as to the binding force of the Mansfield Amendment, it must follow, in the light of the drastically changed intervening circumstances, that the administration's current policy of escalation without negotiations is in clear violation of the law.

### SPACE SHUTTLE SEEN A VITAL TOOL FOR THE FUTURE

#### HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, the space shuttle program is an investment in the future that will provide untold dividends for our Nation during the decades ahead.

On April 9, 1972, an excellent letter to the editor supporting the space shuttle program appeared in the Hartford Times. It was written by John N. Pionzio, a sales engineer with Hamilton Standard, which is located in my hometown of Windsor Locks, Conn. For the benefit of my colleagues, a large part of Mr. Pionzio's letter follows:

#### SPACE SHUTTLE SEEN A VITAL TOOL FOR THE FUTURE

To the Editor of The Times:

Don Noel's signed editorial on March 11th was entitled "The Case for the Space Shuttle—and Against It." It could more accurately have been titled "The Case Against the Space Shuttle", for virtually all his comments—some of them misleading and unfair—were hostile to the Space Shuttle program. Of particular note is his equating of the space budget with that for defense. They are two different entities administered by different agencies, with different objectives, and sharing only a common industry—aerospace.

The only benefit cited from the shuttle program is its positive impact on employment in Connecticut. Later he states he is not convinced as to the efficacy of "pouring money . . . into space". So far as I know, we haven't spent a nickel in space. The 1.5 per cent of our federal revenues that we spend on the space program (\$3.2 billion) takes the form of income for American families—income that keeps many of us off the unemployment and welfare rolls. This income, in fact, produces tax revenues which can be applied towards the over \$100 billion this country devotes to social programs.

There are many economists who feel that the job issue alone is sufficient justification for the shuttle program. Some psychologists theorize that the space program further serves as a mechanism to release man's aggressive proclivities towards peaceful pursuits

where historically these tendencies have resulted in wars. And the space program provides the only good by-products of war—technology development and prosperity.

In the recent past, America's general economic health and favorable balance of trade was a direct result of our high technology. Much of our technological strength came from the aerospace industry which (through programs like the space shuttle) developed techniques, equipment, and materials which allowed the U.S. to compete against the cheap labor markets of other countries. Today we are losing the international trade battle because of the anti-technology hysteria which is stripping us of our technical edge and which will likely result, in the long run, in more unemployment and fewer technical and financial means to solve our growing social problems.

The Space Shuttle is the essential element of a future space program that will exploit space for the direct benefit of man. Earth resource satellites, for example, will be valuable aids in a worldwide pollution control program. Utilizing sophisticated sensing mechanisms, these satellites can detect, analyze, and monitor air and water pollution over the entire globe, to an extent far superior and less costly than earth-bound techniques.

Due to the fast-growing world population, the production of food will become a major concern to future generations. Earth-oriented satellites can vastly improve our food production capability by finding new farming and grazing lands, by detecting plant blights, by locating fish, by predicting crop yields, and by locating new water sources.

Already, we are facing a world power shortage which will get worse if we don't develop new sources of power. A possible solution is power generation in space, where solar and radiation energy can be captured by large orbiting arrays, converted to electrical energy, and beamed down to earth. Admittedly, we do not have this capability now—but in 1959 few of us envisioned that man would land on the moon in 1969.

Everyone is aware of the tremendous value of NASA's network of weather and communications satellites. In the future our weather satellites will do more than just forecast the weather—they will allow us to better understand the forces that produce weather. This could ultimately mean actual control of the weather—the implications of which are staggering.

These are but a few of the real benefits a well-balanced, earth-oriented space program can provide. There are many others including benefits in medicine, navigation and opportunities for international cooperation. But without an economical space transportation system—the space shuttle we will never realize the tremendous opportunities space offers. It is the Shuttle which will launch, maintain, repair, and recover the satellites at a cost which is up to 90 per cent less than the current cost of a space operation.

The position against the space shuttle is based on its projected development cost of \$5.5 billion plus the \$10 million for each operational mission—500 over the next dozen years. Consider, if you will, the cost of those missions without the availability of a space shuttle. You favor applying the approximately \$1 billion per year (through 1978) that we would spend on the shuttle on "higher priority" social programs. Okay. Instead of an annual \$100 billion for social action programs you will have \$101 billion. Do you really believe that the extra \$1 billion will have any appreciable impact on our problems against the fantastic potential return that investment in the shuttle offers?

We have no obligation to the youth of our nation to solve all the problems of the future. Our legacy to them will include many such problems because that's the way it has always been. We do have the obligation to insure that our children and future generations

arrive in their adulthood with the tools to solve the problems that they will face. The space shuttle is one of those tools.

JOHN N. PIONZIO.

GOODBY, LES ARENDS;  
GODSPEED, GOD BLESS!

#### HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, in anticipation of the "LES ARENDS We Salute You!" appreciation dinner at Danville, Ill., last week, the editor of the Danville Commercial-News, Martin J. Gagie, a longtime friend of LES', hit the right note in his "Editor's Notebook" column.

Few people have known LES better than Martin Gagie. The following is his tribute "Goodby, LES ARENDS; Godspeed, God Bless!" as it appeared in the April 15, 1972, issue of the Danville Commercial-News.

The article follows:

GOODBY LES ARENDS; GODSPEED, GOD BLESS  
(By Martin J. Gagie)

I'm going to a party tonight along with some 325 others. Parties are usually happy events and this will be no exception.

We're going to honor Rep. Leslie C. Arends of Melvin. He is our able Republican whip of the House, a position he has filled since 1943, longer than anyone in history.

Arends has been honored innumerable times since he was elected to Congress in 1934. This testimonial is different, however, because it marks his last general public appearance as our man in Washington.

A three-judge federal court panel tossed him a curve by putting him in a new district on the outskirts of Chicago. We said at the time that it smacked of raw partisan politics rather than an honest attempt at fair reapportionment. It still does.

(Parenthetically, Les Arends, with typical zeal and energy, entered the primary in the 15th District and, against tough opposition, won the nomination. He is considered a favorite in November's general election to succeed the former Rep. Charlotte Reid, who resigned to accept President Nixon's appointment to the Federal Communications Commission.)

His biggest losses other than Vermillion County are McLean, Kankakee and Iroquois. In the next, or 93rd Congress, we will be in the 22nd District, currently represented by Rep. George E. Shipley, a Democrat from Olney.

Unlike his Senate counterpart, Charles Percy, Arends is a warm, likable, easy-to-see man. He's never too busy to see or listen to troubles from any of his area.

Some of the so-called pros in politics aren't smitten with Arends because he is not a man who will roll over and play dead at their beck and call. I admire him for that—always have.

This district really had something going when we had Arends and the late affable Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen. They could and did open doors in Washington when it was justified.

One incident is still vivid in my mind. I was asked to go to Washington and see our representatives about the abandoned Veterans Administration buildings.

These structures were under the management of the General Services Administration. Danville Junior College wanted them. Without GSA approval it would be impos-

sible. Ex-Sen. Paul Douglas, whom Percy defeated, had done the initial spadework.

Arends took me to dinner to hear our case. Dirksen kept me in his inner office for more than a half hour taking careful notes. Outside were waiting another half dozen petitioners. Percy? I couldn't get within five feet of him.

Danville's case prevailed, thanks to Douglas, Arends and Dirksen. And today just look how it has grown. Maybe we should name some of the buildings after these statesmen.

You may not remember it but Arends was honored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars with its eighth annual Congressional Award for Outstanding Service in 1971. That put him in a class with Sens. Henry Jackson, Carl Hayden, Dirksen, and Richard Russell and Reps. John McCormack, Olin Teague and Wilbur Mills. Some class!

There's another side to Arends that I have been privileged to see and sometimes pay. He's a giant killer on the golf links.

Don't let that gray hair or those added years fool you. Nor don't be smug because you may outthit him some yards. That Burning Tree Country Club handicap is a sleeper.

Burning Tree in Washington, the playground for most members of Congress, and the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower, is five to seven shots tougher than Danville Country Club.

If Arends shows you a 10 handicap from Burning Tree rate him at five. If you don't, it is like giving him a license to steal.

And from 50 yards out he is deadly, usually up and down with two shots. It gets a little monotonous unless he's your partner.

Arends said some months ago about losing all of us: "I am disappointed." So are we and we'll miss him both politically and personally.

I hope we get to play a few more rounds before time does us in. And if we do, I want shots!

#### NEED FOR HELICOPTER AT CORDOVA

#### HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, the citizens and commercial fishermen of the greater Cordova area in Alaska continually face a serious problem in their daily living activities. Each year these people suffer loss of life and equipment as a result of marine and aviation accidents.

The U.S. Coast Guard is responsible for research and rescue surveillance and enforcement of laws and regulations in the coastal waters of the United States. But the present Coast Guard vessel in the Cordova area is incapable of negotiating the shallow waters of the Copper River flats where most accidents occur, which costs essential minutes and often means the difference between saving or loss of life and equipment. It seems to me therefore that locally based all-weather helicopter would enable quick access to these victims and would be a great boon to the entire area.

I would like now to insert into the Record for my colleagues consumption a resolution adopted by the Alaska State Legislature requesting the U.S. Coast Guard to establish a lifesaving station with an all-weather helicopter unit within the greater Cordova area.

#### SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 61 URGING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LIFESAVING STATION AT CORDOVA

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Alaska:

Whereas the United States Coast Guard is responsible for search and rescue surveillance and enforcement of laws and regulations in the coastal waters of the United States; and

Whereas the City of Cordova serves several hundred vessels of commercial and sport fishermen; and

Whereas residents and commercial fishermen of the greater Cordova area annually suffer loss of life and equipment as a result of marine and aviation accidents; and

Whereas the present deep-draft Coast Guard vessel is incapable of negotiating the shallow waters of the Copper River flats where most accidents occur; and

Whereas a locally based all-weather helicopter would enable quick access to these victims; and

Whereas in many cases a matter of minutes means the difference between saving or loss of life and equipment;

Be it resolved that the Alaska State Legislature respectfully requests the United States Coast Guard to establish a lifesaving station with an all-weather helicopter unit within the greater Cordova area.

Copies of this resolution shall be sent to the Honorable John A. Volpe, Secretary of Transportation; Admiral Chester R. Bender, Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard; the Honorable Harold Z. Hansen, Director of International Fisheries, Office of the Governor; and to the Honorable Ted Stevens and the Honorable Mike Gravel, U.S. Senators, and the Honorable Nick Begich, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress.

#### THE MAGAZINE "TO THE POINT"

#### HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 17, 1972

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, there is a new current events publication entitled "To the Point." It deals in particular with Africa, the Mediterranean area, and Asian countries. Happenings in these areas are not fully reported in any previously existing publication having wide circulation in the United States. "To the Point" fills a definite need for detailed information on that very large part of the world. What happens there can be of great moment to the United States and to the free nations of the world. We know that the Soviets are busy throughout the area and particularly in the Mediterranean. The Chinese Reds have likewise displayed great interest, particularly in Africa, and they are exercising a dominant role in some African countries.

In the March 25 issue of "To the Point" there are an editorial on South West Africa and a guest column entitled "NATO's Backdoor." Both should be of significant interest to Americans. I submit them for reprinting in the Record and urge that my colleagues study them very carefully:

#### SOUTH WEST AFRICA

At its meeting in Addis Ababa on February 4 the Security Council asked the new Secretary-General of the UN, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, to initiate contacts with all parties

concerned with SWA (or Namibia) with a view to enabling the 700,000 inhabitants to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. In a whirlwind tour which ended 10 days ago the Secretary-General carried out his task with tireless energy and commendable tact. By his own admission he was able to see everyone, speak to anyone and go anywhere in the vast territory, twice the size of France. Dr. Waldheim not only had lengthy discussions with Mr. Vorster, the South African Prime Minister, whose country has been administering SWA for more than 50 years but also with leaders of the various indigenous peoples, including those implacably opposed to South Africa's continued administration.

The most significant fact to emerge from his visit is the Secretary-General's expressed view that South Africa and the Security Council shared the objective of self-determination for the peoples of South West Africa. Waldheim's remark was the first indication that South Africa's bona fides on this question are no longer the issue. However, the Security Council clearly wants to see the territory achieve speedy independence, not on a fragmented basis but as a unitary state whose government would be elected on the basis of one-man one-vote, thus providing the people with the opportunity for self-determination.

On the other hand, South Africa adopts the view that self-determination for the people is priority number one, not independence for a particular geographic area of Africa. Self-determination and *ipso facto* independence cannot be achieved in their view without due consideration being given to the diversity of the population. This must entail self-determination for each of the various groups ranging from 13,000 nomadic Bushmen to 340,000 settled Ovambos, each in their historic homelands.

The crux of the matter therefore is to find a *modus operandi* for achieving self-determination which would be acceptable not only to both parties but, more important, also the people of SWA, thus bringing to an end more than two decades of argument, including a six-year dispute before the World Court at The Hague, about South Africa's administration of SWA and the territory's international status. In this respect an enormous gap still separates the Security Council and South Africa. How arduous the task will be to bridge this gap, particularly in relation to the population structure and the economic requirements of an independent South West Africa is dealt with in African Background.

Dr. Waldheim's report to the Security Council must be submitted before July 31 of this year. If, as anticipated, it recommends further talks to narrow the gap on the *modus operandi*, it will contribute to an eventual solution. If not, or if the Council rejects anything but an immediate departure of South Africa as proposed by the great majority of African states, the deadlock on South West will simply continue.

#### NATO's BACKDOOR

In 1962 the world stood on the brink of war until Soviet ships carrying missiles to Cuba received orders from Moscow to reverse their course and steam home. Thus American sea power saved the world from nuclear war, and it was a lesson the Soviet Union will never forget. From that moment, one of the world's greatest land powers determined to become one of its greatest sea powers.

Under Admiral Gorshkov, who became Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Navy at the age of 31, that navy has become the second largest of the world's fleets. Russia now outnumbers NATO in nuclear submarines, her ships are fitted with surface-to-surface missiles superior to any in the West, 45 per cent of her fleet is under 10 years old,



and she has sufficient auxiliary vessels (such as tankers and store ships) to allow her to operate without bases on a world-wide scale. Her merchant fleet, now the sixth largest and expanding rapidly, is under Moscow's direct control, as is her fishing fleet of 4500 vessels and the largest hydrograph survey fleet in existence.

The 10 years that have seen such an astonishing growth of Soviet sea power have seen a corresponding contraction in the West; bases and dockyards have been given up in the drive for rapid decolonisation. Famous companies such as Cunard or the United States Line now only operate a few vessels. The British Royal Navy has scrapped its reserve fleet, and the USN has an increasing number of ships in mothballs, largely because defence expenditures is unpopular in a democracy. The political repercussions are already obvious to those prepared to look—first in the Mediterranean, where many Arab countries are now potentially hostile; in the Indian Ocean, where Soviet influence in the Third World is growing; and now in the Persian Gulf, where as a result of the British withdrawal, two-thirds of Europe's oil supplies are at risk.

Largely because of the fear of nuclear escalation, few believe that war will develop in Central Europe where NATO confronts the countries of the Warsaw Pact. This stalemate in the centre makes the flanks even more vulnerable. At first sight the main danger comes from the North, where the USSR maintains her largest and most modern fleet at Murmansk; but these ships, both surface and submarine, would have to run the risk of the narrow sea passage in the Greenland Straits or in the Norwegian Sea between Iceland and Norway. This risk makes a surprise attack on Norway possible, and defense of this northern flank is one of the problems NATO is now re-thinking.

Most people regard the Mediterranean as being NATO's southern flank. This was never wholly true, and since the closing of the Suez Canal it is clearly a dangerous fallacy. The real danger to NATO, and therefore both to Western Europe and to North America, lies at NATO's backdoor, the virtually undefended Cape Route.

Few appreciate that NATO's responsibilities end at the Tropic of Cancer and that the politicians of the West have not allowed even contingency planning in the South Atlantic because of the political problems inherent in Southern Africa.

Fifty per cent of Europe's oil comes round the Cape, over 90 per cent of the oil for European NATO nations. This amount is increasing each year, as is the size and therefore the vulnerability of oil tankers. If war convoys formed in the Persian Gulf, in Australia or in South Africa, three out of every five convoys would round the Cape carrying, as far as Britain is concerned, 50 per cent of her oil, 25 per cent of her food and five per cent of her mineral supplies. Yet these convoys are apparently to be unprotected until they have sailed north past the equator and across the Tropic of Cancer.

Even in World War Two, German U-boats created havoc in the Madagascar Channel and off the Cape. What an invitation for the 90 Soviet nuclear submarines, to say nothing of the 125 armed with missiles, or the 255 attack submarines, which may well, in the future, be able to use West or East African bases.

Today, the only link the West has with this vital area is through the Simonstown Agreement between South Africa and Britain. It is about time that this agreement was linked through Britain and Portugal to NATO and the necessary communications, exercises and planning provided for an area vital to the whole of the Western World.

PATRICK WALL.

## MITCH KURMAN ON CAMP SAFETY

### HON. STEWART B. McKINNEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. McKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, to those of us who serve in the legislative bodies of this Nation, the name Mitch Kurman might be a familiar one. Mitch, as many of us know, is the champion of youth camp safety; a one man citizens' lobby group who combines charm and wit with determination and irascibility to bring his story to the attention of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, Mitch Kurman wants nothing but safe camps for kids. It doesn't sound too difficult, but believe me, Mitch can tell you it is.

However, that's not the main point of this commentary. Recently, The Westport News asked Mitch to comment on what a parent should look for in the search for a safe camp. There's no more qualified expert in this field and I'd like to share his response with you today. It makes for interesting reading and sound advice.

The article follows:

MITCH KURMAN ON CAMPS, SAFETY, LEGISLATION AND TIPS FOR PARENTS

Most people in this area, and many across the country, are aware of who Mitch Kurman is. For those who are not, it may be a good time to become acquainted with him and his story.

Several years ago, Kurman's young son was attending a summer camp near Rochester, New York. The group was taken to Maine to experience a white water canoe trip. Young Kurman never returned. Since that day Mitch Kurman has taken it upon himself to become the guardian of camp and water safety. His extensive travels around the country, (Kurman owns a furniture business), have given him the opportunity to drop in, sometimes uninvited, on camp officials, newspaper editors, legislators and anyone else he thinks may aid his cause. The cause in question is a unified camp safety code. His work did bring results in the area of water safety where one law, requiring a life saving device for each person on a boat, was recently put into effect.

#### SOME 8 MILLION CAMPERS

"Eight million American young people go to camp each year," Kurman stated. "There are nearly 8,000 camps throughout the country. Camping and its various offshoots is a billion dollar industry. And yet there are virtually no rules or regulations setting down any requirements for these organizations." The Westport crusader rattles off facts and figures concerning the state of U.S. camps with an air of confidence. This comes from his vast file of statistics newspaper clippings and personal correspondences which he has collected over the years. "I might come on strong, and shoot my mouth off more than some people would like, but everything I say can be backed up by facts," Kurman claims.

"Shooting his mouth off" is one of camp safety crusader's weapons. Because of it he has found himself the subject of numerous newspaper articles, the guest on several radio and television shows as well as the self-proclaimed lobbyist for camp safety legislation. "Any time you push for something that will change the status quo you are bound to run into people who hold the opposite view," he explained. "When I was first looking into the life preserver rule the biggest opposition came from the boating industry.

But as soon as they realized that safer boating would be good for everyone concerned, they added their weight to the fight for legislation."

Kurman speaks of his attempts for stricter laws in terms of the "struggle" or "fight" or "battle." "It's been uphill all the way," he said. "I've watched so many bills that I have been promised would pass on the first ballot get buried or sent to committee, that I guess I have become a cynic. But things are changing. There are more states now with a camping code than there were five years ago. There are also several states which have no regulations at all in this area. When you think that eight million children are sent to camps each summer and that an average of a quarter of a million accidents requiring medical treatment are reported, it seems to me that it is time we had federal legislation for this industry."

#### GUIDELINES OFFERED

Mitch Kurman offers the following as general guidelines for parents planning to send their children to camp this summer. "If at all possible, visit the camp itself, check the facilities and find out exactly what activities your child will be expected to participate in. Talk to the camp director. Ascertain whether or not he will be on the site at all times. If there are any trips to another area planned, find out where the campers will be taken, what they will do when they get there, and the means of transportation. Any time a new area is to be camped on or explored make sure that a guide who is familiar with that particular region will supervise. The waterfront director should by all means be a Red Cross certified instructor. There is a difference between a certified swimmer and instructor. Obtain a list of names of some of the previous year's counselors. Talk to them personally. See what they think of the organization. If they are not returning this year, find out why. Do the same with the previous year's campers. Write to the Department of Parks and Recreation of whatever state the camp is located and obtain a list of state regulations concerning the camp. If there are yearly inspections, find out how this particular camp has done in the past.

"The main thing to keep in mind is to use common sense in selecting a camp for your child," Kurman continued. "It is better to take a little time now than to risk the well being of your son or daughter. Camps and camping are great fun for both adults and youngsters. But as a parent you must accept the responsibility of giving your child a safe and enjoyable summer."

#### WHITTIER HIGH SCHOOL CLASS OF 1932

### HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1972

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, next month the 1932 graduating class of Whittier High School will celebrate the 40th anniversary of their commencement with their first reunion.

The alumni committee, consisting of Richard Knox, Averill Munger, Robert Battersby, John August, Mildred Fitzgerald McGee, and Helen Hannah Campbell, has succeeded in contacting 185 members of the class of 1932. The date of May 13 has been set aside for the occasion at the Candlewood Country Club in Whittier.

I would like to extend my congratulations and best wishes to all of the participants in the event.