

If there is a second to that motion, the Senate will proceed to conduct a closed session. Rollcall votes could occur therein.

Following the closed session, the Senate will return to the consideration of the unfinished business, S. 3526. The pending question at that time will be on the adoption of the amendment by Mr. STENNIS' amendment No. 1175. Depending upon the hour at which the Senate returns to legislative session, at the conclusion of the closed session, the Senate

may proceed with further debate on the Stennis amendment tomorrow afternoon.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and at 6:59 p.m., the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, May 2, 1972, at 12 noon.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 1, 1972:

##### DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

John Michael Hennessy, of Massachusetts, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, vice John R. Petty, resigned.

##### DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Clinton L. Olson, of California, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Sierra Leone.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### PROJECT SANGUINE

#### HON. GAYLORD NELSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, it is only 10 days or so since I called to the attention of the Senate a very important and critical report on the Navy's proposed Project Sanguine communications system. At that time I said that it seems that the more the scientific community studies Project Sanguine, the more serious is the doubt expressed that the system can work.

Now just a few days later there is further evidence of this growing doubt with the issuance of an equally critical study of Project Sanguine by Drs. Michael McClintock and Alwyn Scott, both of the University of Wisconsin.

To clarify the record I would like to point out that Drs. McClintock and Scott issued a previous study on Sanguine and that the study I reviewed just recently was by Dr. Charles W. Harrison, Jr., of the Sandia Laboratories of Albuquerque, N. Mex., and a member of the review panel selected by the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering to study the feasibility of Project Sanguine.

In this latest study, Drs. Scott and McClintock not only agree with major premises of Dr. Harrison but point to scientific data that substantiates their earlier position that Sanguine would need an unrealistic amount of power or be an extremely slow method of communication. They also described as "highly doubtful" the Navy's proposal that the project can be powered from existing commercial electric power sources.

As I pointed out when discussing Dr. Harrison's report, the Navy apparently is satisfied that the necessary research and development work on Sanguine is very nearly finished and is proposing to advance the project to the so-called validation phase.

Obviously, much more careful analysis of the problems these studies point to must be made before the Congress agrees to this step.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the report by Dr. Scott and Dr. McClintock, entitled "A Further Technical Appraisal of Sanguine Type Signaling Systems," be printed at this point in the RECORD, to be followed by

biographical sketches of Drs. McClintock and Scott.

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

##### A FURTHER TECHNICAL APPRAISAL OF SANGUINE TYPE SIGNALING SYSTEMS

(By Alwyn Scott, professor of Electrical Engineering; Michael McClintock, senior scientists, Space Science and Engineering Center; and Paul Rissman, graduate student in electrical engineering)

##### I. INTRODUCTION

On May 3, 1971 the Wisconsin Committee for Environmental Information published a "Report on the Technical Feasibility of Project Sanguine" which concluded that Project Sanguine could not work at the power levels suggested by the Navy.\* The reason for this conclusion was that a buried transmitting antenna is extremely inefficient. Thus it must transmit data very slowly and can easily be jammed. Reports coming to a similar conclusion have been made public by Professor A. W. Biggs of the University of Kansas. [1, 2]

Since that time additional information has been made available by the Navy and by others which further weakens the case for Project Sanguine. The purpose of this paper is to review and summarize this additional information.

##### II. CHARACTER OF THE "LAURENTIAN SHIELD"

The calculations in the WCEI Report were made using the very low value of ground conductivity ( $5 \times 10^{-4}$  mho/meter) which was suggested by the Navy. [3] Such a low value of ground conductivity assumes that the geological structure of Northern Wisconsin is dominated by the "Laurentian Shield" a large piece of dry granite said to lie just below the surface. Discussions with geologists indicate that this simply is not true. The Wisconsin State Geologist says that the bedrock structure in Northern Wisconsin is very complex [4] (also see Appendix B). F. C. Frischknecht of the U.S. Geological Survey states in a recent report [5]:

"However there is a good possibility that locally the bedrock contains a sufficient concentration of electronically conducting materials [ref. in original text] to render it highly conductive. Previous ground measurements by the U.S. Geological Survey have shown that locally Ironwood Iron Formation and Tyler Slate of the Gogebic Range are highly conductive. Black carbonaceous or graphitic slates have been encountered in drill holes in the areas surveyed [refs.]; these slates [refs.] are likely to be conductive . . . There is also a possibility that water filled shear zones, which are relatively

\* The WCEI report was subsequently published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 17, 1971, pp. 15378-15386 and in "Environment" September 13, 1971 pages 17-19 and 42-45. It is included as Appendix A to this report.

good conductors at VLF frequencies, exist in the area."

and later:

"If a detailed VLF survey were carried out the magnetic field data should be evaluated carefully in an effort to trace bedrock conductors. Such bedrock conductors could have resistivities on the order of 1 ohm-meter or less [1 mho/meter or more], occur in bands hundreds of feet wide, and extend for several miles."

It is well known that as the ground conductivity goes up the efficiency of a buried antenna decreases and the system performance deteriorates. Until there is more detailed knowledge of the ground structure, therefore, the ground conductivity of  $5 \times 10^{-4}$  mhos/meter suggested by the Navy and assumed in the WCEI Report must be regarded as optimistic.

It is disturbing to note that although the Frischknecht Report was commissioned by the Navy in support of Sanguine it is not mentioned in a recent Navy discussion of the project [6].

##### III. SURFACE CONDUCTIVITY

It is assumed by the Navy that the antenna currents will loop several miles down into the low conductivity "Laurentian Shield". This effect is absolutely necessary in order to provide even the marginal system performance anticipated by the Navy. But the bedrock in Northern Wisconsin is covered with a surface layer of ordinary soil which may be up to several hundred feet thick, and, according to the Wisconsin State Geologist, the depth profile of this surface layer has not been surveyed [4]. In the springtime the surface layer will become wet and the conductivity may be as large as  $5 \times 10^{-2}$  mho/meter or a factor of 100 larger than the value assumed by the Navy for the ground conductivity. Thus the antenna current may be almost entirely shunted through this surface layer during the springtime rendering the system *totally useless*. The Navy asserts that "only 3 to 5%" of the antenna current will flow through the surface layer but it has been unable to provide either theoretical or experimental arguments to substantiate this claim [7].

##### IV. PERFORMANCE OF A BURIED ANTENNA

The Navy continues to assert that effects introduced by burying a Sanguine antenna can be neglected [ref. 6, page 14]. They even state incorrectly that this is the position of Professor Biggs and of the authors of the WCEI Report. Beyond the observation that "no contrary theory has been proposed in the literature" they support their assertions only by some recent comparisons between the receiving properties of loop antennas (of five foot diameter) above and below ground. These experiments were carried out at Wendover Air Force Base in Utah and at Plum Island near Ipswich, Massachusetts [9]. These experiments tell *absolutely nothing* about the effects of burial upon a large Sanguine type antenna; the results are only valid for

the antenna which was studied, a small loop antenna.

These are many problems of real engineering concern which arise when an antenna eighty miles long is buried. Some of these are reviewed in this section. To provide a basis for this review the electromagnetic character of a buried antenna has been discussed in some detail in Appendix C.

1. *Thermal expansion problem.* Assuming a winter to summer temperature change of 30°C and an antenna length (L) of 80 miles or  $1.3 \times 10^5$  meters, the linear expansion would be about 100 meters. This is not a serious problem for an above ground antenna; the wires can simply sag. For a buried antenna it could be extremely serious. For example, 100 "sliding joints" each capable of accepting a meter change may be required over the 80 mile length of a single antenna element.

2. *The driving voltage.* The near field inductive reactance is easily obtained by multiplying the value of R given in Part 3 of Appendix C, by 25] to obtain

$$X_L = 185 \text{ ohms}$$

This reactance will be seen at the input terminals of the antenna if the insulation capacitance, and conductance is made small enough. For an antenna current of 150 amperes the input potential would be about 25,000 volts. For a short, above ground antenna the driving voltage is not a problem because it is decreased with the length and the necessary voltage can be more easily sustained. For a long buried antenna it could be a very serious problem.

One way to reduce this excessive driving voltage would be to match the antenna to the grounding resistors at the ends. Let us assume that

$$R_G = 2 \text{ ohms}$$

and from (12') we note that the series inductance per unit length

$$l = \frac{25\mu_0}{2\pi}$$

Setting

$$\sqrt{\frac{l}{c}} = R_G$$

yields

$$c = 1.25 \times 10^{-6} \text{ farads/meter.}$$

This is considerably larger than the value calculated for the simple insulation assumed in Appendix C. Thus "loading" of lumped capacitors would be necessary to obtain a match. But then

$$\sqrt{lc} = 2.5 \times 10^{-6} \text{ seconds/meter}$$

and the antenna would exhibit a transient delay

$$T_D = \frac{1}{2} L \sqrt{lc}$$

$$= .17 \text{ seconds}$$

This is unacceptable because the Navy asserts that the antenna will be switched on and off much faster in order to avoid "repeat-back" jamming.

Although antenna inductance appears in design formulas quoted by the Navy [ref. 6, p. 15, eq. 8], its importance is not taken into consideration.

3. *Shunt conductance.* Let us suppose that we make the capacitance per unit length very small and attempt to drive the near field inductance as is discussed above. Then from (5) and (6) of Appendix C

$$\gamma^2 = j\omega l g$$

and this must be small compared with  $1/L^2$ . If not, there would be significant leakage current through the insulation. Thus

$$g < \frac{1}{\omega L^2}$$

or

$$g < 1.3 \times 10^{-7} \text{ mho/meter.}$$

This means the shunt resistance to ground for every meter of length of the antenna wire must be maintained large compared with 10 megohm. Once again this is not a difficult problem for an overhead wire, but for a long buried wire it is a very difficult restriction. This problem is not recognized by the Navy because a formula for the shunt admittance per unit length is assumed [ref. 6, p. 13, eq. 11] which simply ignores the effect.

Other difficulties connected with distribution and switching may appear if the Navy actually attempts to operate a buried Sanguine antenna grid [7]. When one considers the time and money which has been spent on Sanguine feasibility research (about \$55 million over 11 years), the importance of the buried antenna to the performance of the system, and the ultimate cost of the systems, it is shocking to discover that a buried Sanguine antenna has never been tested by the Navy.

#### V. CALCULATION OF SIGNAL STRENGTH FOR A GRADUAL IONOSPHERIC BOUNDARY

The model used by the Navy to calculate radiated field strengths assumes for analytical convenience a sharp boundary between the upper atmosphere and the ionosphere [6]. In fact the ionosphere appears gradually over an altitude range of about fifteen miles. Recently a new technique for computing radiated field strengths at ELF has been published by Johler and Lewis [10]. This technique (called the zonal harmonic series) has been used to reproduce the classical field strength calculations assuming a sharp ionospheric boundary and then extended to provide a more accurate calculation of radiated field strength assuming the true gradual nature of that boundary.

The results of this study show that the radiated power level is a factor of 100 smaller for the actual graduated ionospheric boundary than for the sharp boundary assumed by the Navy. This work was published in 1969. Over a period of more than two months during the fall of 1971 it was rechecked to see if any error could be discovered. None was found [11].

The Navy chooses to ignore this work which has been carefully prepared, published in the open scientific literature, and carefully rechecked. Consequently all statements made by the Navy concerning power levels and/or integration times should be multiplied by one hundred on the basis of this factor alone.

#### VI. NOISE LEVELS

It is generally agreed that it is the ratio of signal strength to noise level at the receiver which limits the rate at which information can be transmitted. In the WCEI report only atmospheric noise was considered and a standard average value (80 dB below 1 volt/meter-cps.) available from the open scientific literature was used in the calculations.

The Navy asserts that by using nonlinear clipping this noise level can be reduced by a factor of 100 (to 80 dB below 1 volt/meter-cps.) which would improve the system performance by a factor of 100 [6]. The reference which they give is simply "A. S. Griffiths, Lincoln Laboratory, Lexington, Mass. Private Communication."

Furthermore the Navy ignores the effects of noise generated by the receiving antenna, the receiver or from other equipment within the submarine. While it is appropriate for the critics of Sanguine to ignore such effects in making an optimistic or "best case" analysis, it is by no means allowable for the defenders of the system who should be required to carry through a pessimistic or "worst case" analysis.

Receiver and submarine noise become progressively more important as the submarine goes below the surface. This is because both the signal and the atmospheric noise suffer a re-entry loss of 86 dB and an additional penetration loss of 10 dB for each 45 meters of submerged depth [7]. The Navy indicates that one component of receiver noise could be as large as -150 dB [ref. 6, p. 25, Fig. 7]. At a depth of only 20 meters the atmospheric noise level would be about 90 dB below the assumed surface value of -80 dB or -170 dB. Thus at this depth the atmospheric noise would be 20 dB less or only one hundredth as large as one component of the receiver noise according to the Navy's own data. This does not take into account any other sources of noise.

Another difficulty mentioned in the recent Navy report [6] is the dispersion of atmospheric noise as it travels through the sea water to a submerged submarine. This dispersion would destroy the supposed "spike-like" character of the atmosphere noise which in turn makes possible the reduction by "clipping" described above. The Navy proposes to get around this difficulty by employing an "inverse ocean filter" (which would need to be carefully adjusted for each submerged level) in order to "re-assemble" the frequency components and permit the reduction of atmospheric noise by a factor of 100 by clipping. It is not clear whether the "inverse ocean filter" has been designed, built and tested, or whether it exists merely as an exploratory concept.

It may be possible for the Navy to reduce the Sanguine noise to the levels suggested in their recent report [6]. But considering the disturbing tendency of Sanguine proponents to ignore any effects which make the system look worse and to assume always that the best case will become an operational reality, one must ask that the theory, design and experimental data for the entire noise reduction scheme be published in the open scientific literature and reviewed by the scientific community before it can be accepted.

#### VII. JAMMING

The key point in deciding whether a Sanguine type signaling system would be useful depends upon whether or not it could be jammed by a threatened enemy nation. If Sanguine could be jammed by a system which costs roughly the same amount or less, then the U.S. would simply waste money and effort. It is important to note that the Navy has admitted verbally that Sanguine can be jammed "as any system can" but that it would cost an enemy nation "too much" to do so. The Navy claimed to have calculated how much more a jamming system would cost than a Sanguine system but says that the result of this calculation is classified [12]. Let us consider various aspects of the jamming question in detail.

1. *Can any system be jammed?* Transmission systems become more difficult to jam when the signal is broadcast from an unknown transmitter location at an unknown frequency and at an unknown time. Clandestine high frequency communication systems in which the transmitting and receiving operators insert matched crystals at a prearranged time are, for all practical purposes, immune from jamming. But a Sanguine signaling system would exhibit none of the characteristics which lead to jamming immunity. The proposed location of the transmitting antenna and the broadcast frequency are well known throughout the world. And since the primary function of Sanguine would be as insurance against a preemptive nuclear strike by another nation, the time of broadcast would also be known to that nation.

2. *Repeat back jamming and bandspreading.* One of the many jamming options for a nation threatened by a Sanguine type system would be to rebroadcast the Sanguine

signals with a random phase shift. For an antenna system with about the same size and power input (i.e. cost) as that used for Sanguine, jamming noise would be introduced at the signal power level. The time delay associated with this "repeat-back" jamming scheme would be limited by the time for an electromagnetic signal to travel from Wisconsin to Central Asia. This time is 1/20 second or 50 millisecond. In order to counter repeat back jamming the Navy proposes to switch (or bandspread) to a new frequency (say from 45 cps to 46 cps) every 50 milliseconds.

Although proponents of the Sanguine concept suggest band-spreading as a simple answer to repeat back jamming, it would in fact be very difficult and costly. Consider some of the engineering problems which must be faced. After each two cycles of transmission the entire antenna must be changed to a different frequency. This must be done under operational conditions when the antenna field and its associated power stations are under substantial nuclear attack. It must be done according to a prearranged code or signaling schedule while the antenna power input is changing over to local diesel generators as the commercial power is knocked out. It must be done while a significant fraction of the antenna elements are being destroyed by nuclear blasts and the currents in other elements are being increased to compensate for the damage.

This sounds like an *engineering nightmare*. The transient dynamic performance of large power networks is not well understood under the best of conditions and a Sanguine antenna must operate during the random destruction of the enemy attack. It is *incredibly naive* to ignore the noise associated with this destruction. It may be possible for the Sanguine optimists to solve all these problems and come up with an operational scheme for bandspreading at an acceptable cost, but the public and the scientific community deserve more than vague promises.

3. *The economics of jamming.* The Navy asserts that it would cost an enemy nation "too much" to jam a Sanguine type signaling device. This optimistic assertion ignores the following factors:

a. The enemy would radiate jamming power only during the pre-emptive strike. At all other times his power generating facilities could be applied to economically productive activities.

b. The enemy would not need to design and construct the very complex receiving equipment (band limiting filters, inverse ocean filters, clippers, detectors, cross correlation computers, etc.) which the U.S. would be required to supply for each submarine.

c. The enemy would not need to design, construct and maintain in operational condition a buried antenna. Conventional power lines could be employed or special above ground wires could be deployed camouflaged. These would have the double advantage of much lower cost and higher radiation efficiency.

If the Navy expects to be taken seriously with its assertion that the jamming of Sanguine would be too costly, it must supply some carefully prepared and balanced estimates for the detailed scrutiny of the general public.

#### VIII. CONCLUSIONS

Additional information on Sanguine type signaling systems which has become available during the past year supports those critical of the project. In particular it is evident that:

a. The Navy ignores the opinions of competent geologists in continuing to assert that the "Laurentian Shield" is a simple piece of low conductivity granite. In a study carried out as part of the Sanguine feasibility research, F. C. Frischknecht of the U.S. Geological Survey has indicated the strong

possibility of inclusions of electronically conducting materials and water filled shear zones in the rock structure of Northern Wisconsin. This opinion is shared by the Wisconsin State Geologist and is also supported by recent mining interest in northern Wisconsin. Such conductive regions could *seriously affect the performance* of a Sanguine antenna.

b. The Navy ignores the effect of the surface layer which could render the buried antenna completely useless by shorting out the antenna return currents. The Navy has stated that only 3-5% of the antenna current will flow through this layer but offers *no theoretical or experimental evidence* for this statement.

c. The Navy continues to assert that a buried antenna will operate in a manner identical to an above ground antenna. This assertion is *seriously questioned* by many experts in electromagnetic theory.

d. The Navy ignores the very high shunt resistance which must be maintained by the insulation of a buried antenna wire. This resistance must be maintained as the wire thermally expands and contracts, as the ground freezes and thaws, as the wire is attacked biologically, and as the ground is shaken by explosions during a nuclear attack.

e. The Navy ignores the large driving voltages required to force large currents through the large inductive reactance of the antenna wires. These could be 25,000 volts or more and present a very serious design difficulty for an underground antenna.

f. The proper performance of a buried grid antenna is vital to the Sanguine signaling concept. If the antenna will not perform as predicted by the Navy, the entire system will be worthless. The Navy, after 10 years and \$55 million of feasibility research, has *never tested a buried Sanguine type antenna*.

g. The Navy ignores recently published field strengths calculations for ELF waves which take into consideration the gradual nature of the ionospheric boundary. These calculations, which have been carefully rechecked, indicate radiated power levels *100 times less* than those assumed by the Navy.

h. The Navy continues to evaluate the performance of the system on the basis of atmospheric noise alone. However using data supplied by the Navy it is easily shown that one component of the receiver noise will *exceed* the low value of atmospheric noise assumed by the Navy by a factor of 100 at a depth of only 20 meters. The receiver noise will become ten times more important for each 45 meters of additional depth.

i. The Navy proposes to respond to the threat of repeat-back jamming by switching the entire antenna field to a new frequency (according to a preassigned code) every 50 milliseconds or about two cycles of the broadcast frequency. The *immense difficulty* of implementing such a modulation scheme under operational conditions of nuclear attack (when the power is changing over from commercial to local diesel units and surviving antenna wires must be raised to higher current levels to compensate for destroyed elements) is ignored by the Navy. Transient problems of this sort are very difficult to analyze under the best of conditions. During a situation of nuclear warfare such transient effects would constitute a *very serious* additional source of system noise.

j. The Navy continues to assert that it would cost "too much" for an enemy nation to jam a Sanguine signaling system, but detailed support for this assertion has not been presented. The assertion appears very doubtful because a) an enemy would need to supply power to a jamming system only during a pre-emptive strike, b) he would not need to design, build and operate the complex receiving equipment proposed for Sanguine, and c) he would not be required to design, construct, and maintain in operational condition a buried antenna.

Considering the time and money which have already been spent on Project Sanguine, the Navy's "feasibility research" must be judged entirely inadequate.

#### REFERENCES

1. A. W. Biggs and D. L. Marier, "A Technical Feasibility Analysis of Project Sanguine," Northern Environmental Council Report No. 5, September 14, 1970.
2. A. W. Biggs, "Communication between buried antennas at extremely low frequencies," *Congressional Record* May 17, 1971, 15378-15386.
3. F. J. Fitzpatrick, "Alternative Sanguine systems," attachment to a letter to Senator Gaylord Nelson, 8 April 1971.
4. G. F. Hanson, Wisconsin State Geologist, private communication (see also Appendix B).
5. F. C. Frischknecht, "Results of some airborne VLF surveys in northern Wisconsin," Prepared in cooperation with the U.S. Navy Underwater Sound Laboratory and released by the U.S. Geological Survey on June 7, 1971, pages 3 and 26.
6. M. L. Burrows and C. W. Niessen, "ELF communication design data," Lincoln Laboratory, 7 January 1972.
7. C. W. Harrison, Jr. personal communication.
8. A. C. Scott, "Transmission line equivalent for an unmyelinated nerve axon," *Math. Biosci.* 13 (1972) 47-54 and "Effect of the series inductance of a nerve axon upon its conduction velocity," *Math. Biosci.* 11 (1971) 277-290.
9. C. W. Niessen, "Note on the performance of buried loop antenna versus above ground loop antenna" Lincoln Laboratory, 5 November 1971.
10. J. R. Jöhler and R. L. Lewis, "Extra low-frequency terrestrial radio-wave field calculations with the zonal harmonic series," *J. Geophysical Research* 74 (1969) 2459-2470.
11. R. L. Lewis, personal communication.
12. Discussion with W. K. Hartell and associates in Madison, Wisconsin on April 29, 1971. This conversation was tape recorded by employees of Computer Sciences Corporation in Alexandria, Virginia.

#### APPENDIX A: A TECHNICAL FEASIBILITY STUDY OF PROJECT SANGUINE

[From Environment, September 1971]

#### TALKING TO OURSELVES

(By Michael McClintock, Paul Rissman, and Alwyn Scott)

(NOTE.—Michael McClintock is senior scientist at the Space Science and Engineering Center, Paul Rissman is a graduate student in electrical engineering, and Alwyn Scott is professor of electrical engineering, all at the University of Wisconsin. The authors are also members of the Wisconsin Committee for Environmental Information. The views expressed in this article are those of the authors and are not intended to represent those of the University of Wisconsin.)

It will take nearly two hours to transmit a simple message via a billion-dollar, last-ditch communication system being developed by the Navy. During this time the signal would be hopelessly jammed by the enemy or the nuclear destruction of the world would already have occurred.

In 1969, the U.S. Navy announced plans to build a worldwide communication system which would employ extremely low-frequency radio waves between the continental United States and the U.S. nuclear submarine fleet.<sup>1</sup> About \$50 million has already been spent on feasibility studies, and the projections of ultimate cost have been between \$750 million and \$1.5 billion.<sup>2</sup> What is the U.S. taxpayer receiving for this huge expenditure? Our investigations strongly indicate that the system, called Project San-

guine, would be unreliable as a last line of defense in our military communications network, the role for which it appears to be designed. As we shall demonstrate, the system is too slow—and therefore subject to electronic countermeasures (jamming) from an enemy—to be useful in the nuclear age. Our calculations show further that even if the amount of electrical power needed to make Sanguine work were increased to the equivalent of three large-scale nuclear power plants for its exclusive use, at greatly increased additional cost, transmission time would still be long enough to make the system easily susceptible to jamming.

The heart of the project is an underground antenna in the form of a huge grid that would cover 6,400 square miles, according to the most recent design. The tentative site for the project is in Wisconsin, and the Wisconsin Committee for Environmental Information became interested because of the possible effects on the environment. During our investigations, however, we became aware of certain technical problems which cast serious doubts on the scientific feasibility of the entire Sanguine concept, environmental questions aside. Our report and research by Professor Albert Biggs of the University of Kansas prompted Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin to question Naval officials, and as a result, the Navy has indicated that it will request a review of the technical feasibility of Project Sanguine from the National Academy of Science and the National Academy of Engineering.<sup>3</sup>

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE SYSTEM

The principles of the Sanguine communications system are indicated schematically in Figure 1 [not printed in the RECORD]. The system essentially consists of a buried transmitting antenna which radiates an extremely low-frequency (elf) electromagnetic wave (45 or 75 cycles per second) into the air space between the surface of the earth and the ionosphere (about 50 miles above the earth). The transmitting antenna must have physical dimensions comparable with the wave length of the signal. Thus, the extremely low-frequency (very long wave length) radiation of the Sanguine system requires the very large antenna installation discussed here. The wave propagates through the air space to a position above a submarine. A small fraction of the wave power then leaks downward through the rather highly conductive sea water and is received by the submarine<sup>4</sup> along with atmospheric noise (commonly called "static") which originates at many sources.

The Sanguine antenna, of course, is really one link in the transmitting system. Immediately associated with it is electronic equipment that fulfills the basic functions involved in radio communication. The equipment is powered by electricity, in the case of Sanguine by very large amounts of electricity. The first step in the process is generation of a carrier current, which is necessary for production of radio waves. The carrier current is then modulated, which in essence means that the information to be transmitted is impressed on the carrier current in the form of an electrical signal. The transmitting-antenna system then converts the now modulated carrier current into electromagnetic waves which are radiated by the transmitting antenna (Sanguine, in this case) and detected by the receiving antenna (on the submarine). In the submarine, the signal is tuned, amplified, and demodulated to recover the original signal, which can then be reproduced by a teletype printer, loudspeaker, or other devices. Since the Sanguine frequency is so low, noise modulation is impossible, and a more elemental form of modulation must be used. This can be thought of as being analogous in some respects to the

familiar Morse code keying of a transmitter, although the more sophisticated method of frequency shift keying will actually be used in Sanguine.

The power fed into the transmitting antenna is indicated schematically in Figure 1. A fraction of this power is actually launched into the wave which propagates through the air space. This fraction is very small for underground antennas operating at low frequencies, and constitutes one of the most serious losses of the Sanguine system. In other words, the underground antenna has inherently low efficiency. The power per unit of surface area in the radiated wave becomes less intense as it propagates away from the transmitting antenna because it spreads out and covers a wider area. There are other propagation losses as well, but we ignore them.

Atmospheric disturbances, such as lightning, radiate random waves into the air at the Sanguine frequency. Such waves can interfere with the proper reception of a Sanguine signal. One of the main requirements of the system must be to insure that the Sanguine signal in the vicinity of a submarine is sufficiently large, compared with the noise power intensity, so that the signal can be reliably received.

The technical data and equations at the end of this article show that a Sanguine system with a sub-surface antenna operated at the power levels suggested by the Navy will have an extremely low data-transmission rate. In our calculations, the benefit of every doubt has been given to Sanguine. Yet a conservative estimate indicates that at least 100 seconds would be required to transmit a single bit of information (a bit, or binary digit, is the binary unit of information capable of expressing such quantities or concepts as "0," "1," "yes," "no," "off," or "on"). About 1.7 hours would be needed to transmit a simple twelve-letter message. Furthermore, Sanguine would be a one-way communication system from the transmitting antenna to the submarine fleet.<sup>2</sup> Thus it would not be a "communication system" in the normal sense. It is clearly a highly specialized system for the transmission of very limited messages (perhaps code words, which convey more complex meaning by indexing to a code book) under conditions that would prevent the use of normal, more efficient communication devices. Such emergency conditions could arise, for example, if a nuclear exchange between nations had ionized a portion of the earth's atmosphere, preventing transmission by conventional systems.

From its easily determined characteristics, then, we conclude that Sanguine's main purpose is to serve as the communications link in a "last strike" capability of this nation. This would be a way to insure the launching of Polaris and Poseidon missiles from our submarines toward preselected targets even if the start of a nuclear war prevented use of normal communication systems. Indeed, an indication of this has already been provided in a news story carried in the Madison, Wisconsin *Capital Times* of March 9, 1971. This story quotes the Navy's John R. Hennessey, director of public and congressional affairs for the Naval Electronic Systems Command in Washington, as saying in reference to Sanguine, "It's got to be survivable. The fact that you can hit back is a good reason for the other guy not to hit you." In other words, the merits of Project Sanguine would appear to rest upon its credibility as a "last strike" weapon system to deter an enemy attack. If a Sanguine signal can be easily jammed, however, the system's credibility is seriously impaired.

#### JAMMING OF SANGUINE

A recent study of Biggs and Marier<sup>5</sup> pointed out that the Sanguine system is indeed very susceptible to jamming by an enemy nation. An unreliable Sanguine system has little "last strike" strategic value.

A conventional high-frequency communication system is difficult to jam because it can broadcast information very rapidly (in a fraction of a second) and at any one of many available frequencies. Thus it is almost impossible for an enemy to know when and at what frequency he must radiate a jamming signal. Furthermore, in a two-way communication system the receiving station can always request a confirmation of the message.

We shall show that Sanguine would necessarily be a slow "communication system." With greater input power the transmission time can be reduced, but no reasonable power input can reduce the transmission time of even a simple message to less than one minute. The Sanguine frequency would therefore be precisely known to anyone who chose to monitor its radiation. Thus an enemy would not need to overpower the Sanguine signal; he would only need to introduce errors into the transmitted message. A submarine commander, of course, would require absolutely reliable information before he launched a nuclear missile.

For the following reasons, the power required to jam a Sanguine system would likely be less than the power needed to operate such a system:

1. A much more efficient above-ground antenna could be used for jamming, since its survivability would not be crucial. For example, a section of a conventional power line could be employed on a part-time basis or specially constructed for the purpose.
2. The jamming antenna could be closer to the submarine than the submarine is to Wisconsin. In this case also, the jamming antenna would require less power.

#### CONCLUSIONS

We have shown that a Sanguine-type communication system with a buried transmitting antenna either would have an excessively slow message transmission rate or would require an excessive amount of input power. One disadvantage can be traded for the other, as shown in Figure 2. With the power input to the antenna announced by the Navy, for example, the time required to transmit a message of twelve letters would be almost two hours. These conclusions can easily be calculated from both experimental and theoretical work in the scientific literature. The conclusions cannot be contradicted by the assumption that sophisticated receiving equipment will be used since they are an inevitable result of the extremely poor efficiency of underground, low-frequency transmitting antennas.

It should be noted that it is not the low antenna efficiency in itself which casts doubt on the feasibility of Sanguine, but the fact that low antenna efficiency leads to a low data-transmission rate. The slow transmission rate of the Sanguine system makes it susceptible to jamming by another nation. If such a nation were willing to use a long above-ground transmitting antenna for jamming—an easily available power line for example—the power requirement would be far less than that of the Sanguine system. Sanguine would therefore be easy to render ineffective.

Thus, on the grounds that it either requires an unrealistic amount of power or is an extremely slow system of communication, and that these features lead to its susceptibility to jamming, the Sanguine system must be regarded as technically infeasible.

#### CALCULATING SANGUINE'S EFFICIENCY

In our analysis of the feasibility of the Sanguine system, we first determined the approximate radiation efficiency of the most plausible of the Navy's designs for a Sanguine antenna from well-known relations published in the standard technical literature. There are more accurate ways to do this, but we resorted to the simplest, one which finds agreement among the several investi-

Footnotes at end of article.

gators who have published in this field, and which furthermore can be supported by plausible physical arguments. It was adequate for the estimation we made.

Using a power input to the antenna that has been announced by the Navy, we next calculated the signal strength at a point one-quarter of the earth's circumference from the antenna. We then required that the signal strength per unit bandwidth be at least equal to the mean atmospheric noise at the Sanguine frequency, and thus obtained the maximum bandwidth for a receiver designed to detect the Sanguine signal.

Since the bandwidth is inversely related to the response time of the receiver, the time necessary to transmit one elementary "bit" of information is next obtained, and from this, the minimum time required to transmit a message of 60 bits. The time is long, approximately two hours using numbers that are generous to the Sanguine system at every turn. Furthermore, no reasonable power input to the antenna could reduce this transmission time to the fraction of a minute that is required to be certain of sending a message before a jamming antenna were put into operation.

#### Determination of antenna efficiency

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the antenna efficiency,  $F$ , (or the fraction of antenna input power which is actually radiated into the propagating wave) is an important system parameter. The Navy has indicated that<sup>4</sup>

$$F \leq 10^{-4}$$

We will show here that this value is very optimistic and that a more reasonable value is

$$F = 10^{-6}$$

The problem of transmission from an antenna buried in the earth has been thoroughly discussed in the scientific literature. In 1942 Sommerfeld and Renner investigated the radiation fields of both vertical and horizontal buried dipole antennas.<sup>9</sup> They showed that the radiation into the air from a buried horizontal antenna (the "Nutzstrahlung" or useful radiation) falls rapidly to zero as the ground conductivity increases. Some of these results were confirmed experimentally by Proctor<sup>7</sup> and summarized by King.<sup>8</sup> In 1952 Wait considered the radiation efficiency of a submerged magnetic dipole,<sup>9</sup> and in 1961 Wheeler published simple formulas for calculating the radiation efficiencies of a buried vertical loop and a buried horizontal dipole.<sup>10</sup> The Sanguine antenna is only a slight modification of the first of these, and the difference is not significant to the calculation of the radiation efficiency of the antenna.

In 1962 Biggs studied the radiation fields of a buried horizontal electric dipole in detail<sup>11</sup> and showed that the effect of burying an antenna to a depth  $h$  is equivalent to reducing the radiation field intensity by a factor  $e^{-2h/\xi}$  where  $\xi$  is the electromagnetic skin depth of the earth. Hansen gave a thorough review of the performance of buried antennas in 1963, paying particular attention to the calculation of radiation efficiency.<sup>12</sup> Experimental confirmation of these results was provided by Hasserjian and Guy.<sup>13</sup> More recently Biggs has carried out an extensive study of the performance of antennas buried in the arctic and antarctic regions.<sup>14</sup> Thus, there is no shortage of scientific literature applicable to the Sanguine system, and the application is straightforward.

As the Navy points out, the Sanguine antenna is equivalent to a current loop lying in a vertical plane which penetrates into the earth a distance of the order of  $\xi$ , the electromagnetic penetration depth.<sup>4</sup> This antenna is often referred to as a grounded

horizontal dipole. The entire antenna system will consist of an array of such elements, the implications of which are considered later.

The efficiency of one element of the antenna for radiation into the appropriately polarized mode (electric vector vertical) can be calculated from the formula<sup>15</sup>

$$(1) \quad F = 8\pi^2 \delta^2 L / \lambda^3$$

This applies to a buried antenna near the surface of the earth. Eq. (1) neglects power loss in the end (or grounding) resistance and in the conductor (or wire) resistance,<sup>10</sup> factors which would reduce the efficiency further. This efficiency will be reduced in addition by the factor

$$(2) \quad e^{-2h/\xi}$$

if the antenna is buried a distance  $h$ , where<sup>8</sup>

$$(3) \quad \delta = 1 / \sqrt{\pi f \sigma \mu^0} \text{ (meters)}$$

is the electromagnetic penetration depth, and

$L$  is the total length of the antenna (meters)

$\lambda$  is the wave length in free space (meters).

$h$  is the depth of the antenna (meters).

$f$  is the transmission frequency (cycles per second).

$\sigma$  is the ground conductivity (mhos per meter).

$\mu^0$  is the magnetic permeability of free space ( $4\pi \times 10^{-7}$  henrys per meter).

The ground conductivity in Northern Wisconsin is taken by the Navy as<sup>16</sup>

$$(4) \quad \sigma = 5 \times 10^4 \text{ mhos per meter}$$

For a system frequency<sup>4</sup>

$$(5) \quad f = 45 \text{ cycles per second}$$

(We have used the value 45 cycles per second since ionospheric losses become unfavorably high at 75 cycles per second).<sup>17</sup> We find from Eq. (3) that

$$(6) \quad \delta = 3.3 \times 10^6 \text{ meters}$$

The free space wave length for a frequency of 45 cycles per second is

$$(7) \quad \lambda = 6.7 \times 10^6 \text{ meters}$$

Several alternative antenna systems have recently been mentioned in a communication from the Navy to Senator Nelson.<sup>18</sup>

These are divided into "nonsurvivable," "surface survivable," and "deep underground" antennas. As has been pointed out, Sanguine would be primarily useful to provide a "last strike" nuclear capability; thus "nonsurvivable" antennas are of little practical interest. A "surface survivable" system might be of limited practical interest. The most efficient "surface survivable" system suggested by the Navy is a grid 81 x 81 miles buried near the surface. Of the systems of practical interest proposed by the Navy, this system leads to the most optimistic calculation of antenna efficiency, so this is the one we will consider in detail. Suppose the grid consists of ten elements each 81 miles long running parallel to each other, crossed by another such array perpendicular to the first. For a submarine at a given location, only ten elements are effective in transmitting a signal, so the total antenna length would be 810 miles or

$$(8) \quad L = 1.3 \times 10^6 \text{ meters}$$

Substituting (6), (7), and (8) into (1) yields  $F = 3.9 \times 10^6$ . Taking conductor and grounding losses into consideration would reduce the efficiency to at most<sup>20</sup>

$$(9) \quad F = 10^{-6}$$

for a "surface survivable" antenna, that is, for a Sanguine-type antenna near the surface of the earth. For shallow depths, the reduction factor given by Eq. (2) can be neglected, but for a "deep underground" antenna the efficiency would become even smaller. Suppose, for example, that the antenna were buried to a depth

$$(10) \quad h = 10^8 \text{ meters}$$

then the factors given in Eq. (2) would be equal to 0.55. Such an antenna would necessarily be considerably shorter than 810 miles because of the high cost of such long tunnels. Thus we should expect the efficiency to be at least as small as

$$(11) \quad F = 10^{-7}$$

for a "deep underground" antenna. For the present, however, we adopt the more optimistic figure of  $10^{-6}$ .

#### Feasibility of Sanguine

To evaluate the feasibility of the Sanguine communication concept as outlined by the Navy<sup>4</sup> we have used the following system parameters:

1. Generator power.<sup>4</sup> (Level suggested by the Navy)

$$P_0 = 3 \times 10^7 \text{ watts}$$

2. Radiated fraction of generator power. (We use the more optimistic of the two figures calculated in Section III of this report for a "surface survivable" antenna.)

$$F = 10^{-6}$$

3. Height of ionosphere.<sup>17</sup>

$$H = 8 \times 10^4 \text{ meters}$$

4. Circumference of the earth.

$$C = 4 \times 10^7 \text{ meters}$$

As discussed above, only  $FP_0$  watts of input power will actually be radiated into the propagating wave. This wave "spreads out" over a greater area as it propagates, and is weakest one-quarter of the way around the earth, assuming no losses into the surface of the earth or to the ionosphere. For submarines located one-quarter of the way around the earth, the cross-sectional area of the atmosphere through which the wave passes equals  $HC$ . Thus, at most, the

$$(12) \quad \frac{\text{signal power}}{\text{area}} = \frac{FP_0}{HC} = 10^{11} \text{ watts/meter}^2$$

Actually, this power would be considerably smaller due to refractive losses into the ionosphere and ground.<sup>17</sup> An alternative way to make this calculation involves consideration of the space between the surface of the earth and the ionosphere as a resonant cavity. This approach would include ionospheric losses which, for simplicity, we have chosen to ignore.

This power level must be compared with atmospheric noise (generated by natural phenomena at the Sanguine frequency) which will interfere with reception of the signal. The atmospheric noise level can be expected to vary greatly with local thunderstorm activity. A mean value for Boulder, Colorado is about 60 decibels below 1 volt per meter in a cycle per second between 10 and 100 cycles per second.<sup>20</sup> (We do not suggest that submarines will actually be located at Boulder. This is simply one of the stations at which reasonably reliable mean atmospheric noise data in the 50-to-100-cycle-per-second range is available.) This corresponds to a

$$(13) \quad \left[ \frac{\text{noise power}}{\text{bandwidth area}} \right] = 2.5 \times 10^{-9} \frac{\text{watts}}{\text{cycles per second-meter}^2}$$

Dividing (12) by (13) gives a receiver bandwidth of  $4 \times 10^{-8}$  cycles per second for which the signal power level will be equal to the mean atmospheric power at Boulder, Colorado. In practice, one would certainly wish to have the signal power level greater than the mean atmospheric noise level because of seasonal and local variations.<sup>21</sup> This would place even more severe requirements on the Sanguine antenna. But again ignoring this effect and adopting the most optimistic

figure for the system, the receiver bandwidth must be at least as small as

$$(14) \text{ [receiver bandwidth]} = 4 \times 10^{-3} \text{ cycles/second.}$$

(This narrow bandwidth, of course, can be obtained by using electronic filters at the receiver input, cross-correlation of the receiver output with a known signal wave form, or some combination of the two.)

The receiver bandwidth directly limits the response time of the receiver. It is related to the bandwidth by:<sup>22</sup>

$$(15) \text{ [response time]} = \frac{0.4}{\text{bandwidth.}}$$

From (14) and (15) it is evident that the (16) [receiver response time] =  $10^2$  seconds or almost two minutes.

The receiver response time is the time required for the receiver to determine that the transmitter has changed its state. It is the time necessary to transmit one "bit" or fundamental unit of information. To send a message in the English alphabet, for example, a 5 bit symbol is required for each letter. Thus to transmit a twelve-letter message (for example, "FIRE MISSILES") would require 60 bits of information. Via this system, the sending of such a message would require  $6 \times 10^3$  seconds or 1.7 hours of transmission time. Other codes might be used, of course, but for such weighty matters as those communicated to missile submarines, this many bits or more would be desirable to prevent error.

Such a lengthy transmission time for a short message is clearly unacceptable for reasonable communications. The receiver bandwidth could be increased and, through Eq. (15), the receiver response time could be shortened if the power input to the antenna were correspondingly increased. To decrease transmission time of "FIRE MISSILES" from 1.7 hours to one minute would require an increase of antenna input power by a factor of 100. This would imply,

$$(17) P_0 = 3,000 \text{ megawatts}$$

or about three nuclear power stations each producing 1,000 megawatts. The design dilemma according to this very optimistic analysis may be epitomized in the following way:

$$(18) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{Number of 1,000} \\ \text{megawatt power} \\ \text{stations} \end{array} \right] \times \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{Number of minutes to} \\ \text{transmit the message} \\ \text{"Fire Missiles"} \end{array} \right] = 3.$$

This relation is illustrated in Figure 2 [not printed in the RECORD] where one sees the necessity of trading an increase in input power to obtain a shorter transmission time. No point on this curve would appear to present an attractive prospect for a reasonable communication system, and yet the Sanguine system can do no better than this.

But even one minute falls far short of acceptability. When the transmission time exceeds a few seconds, the ease of jamming the signal by a foreign nation increases greatly.

It must be emphasized that Eq. (18) is not the result of a "worst case" analysis. On the contrary, whenever there was an uncertainty, we have chosen those parameter values most favorable to the system. In particular we have neglected to consider the following effects which could degrade system performance:

1. Higher ground conductivity near the surface. In calculating antenna efficiency we have used a value for deep-ground conductivity estimated by the Navy.<sup>23</sup> The conductivity near the surface, where near-field losses predominate, will be larger,<sup>24</sup> especially dur-

ing rainy weather. Due to this factor alone, the antenna efficiency could easily be an order of magnitude (factor of ten) smaller than the value given in Eq. (9).

2. Ionospheric losses. As Wait has shown,<sup>25</sup> ionospheric losses cannot be neglected in a realistic calculation of elf-wave attenuation. Thus Eq. (12) considerably overestimates the signal power per unit area a quarter of the way around the globe. If we had evaluated the system at 75 cycles per second, the antenna efficiency would have increased by a factor of about three, but the increased ionospheric losses would have more than cancelled out this slight advantage.

3. Fluctuation in the noise level. Our calculations were made for an observed average value of atmospheric noise. The instantaneous noise level can be expected to vary considerably about this mean. The system, of course, must be designed to operate reliably at peak noise levels.

4. Reduced efficiency of "deep underground" antennas. We have estimated in Eq. (11) that the efficiency of a "deep underground" antenna would be at least an order of magnitude less than that for a "surface survivable" antenna. We have not, however, used this lower value of efficiency in our calculations.

5. Attenuation of the signal in sea water. The Sanguine signal will be strongly attenuated as it attempts to penetrate the sea water to a deeply submerged submarine. Eventually the signal would become so weak that other noise sources (thermal noise, electrical noise generated in the submarine, etc.) must be taken into account. We have not considered this effect.

6. Antipodal cancellation. The waves propagated from the Sanguine antenna will cancel at the antipode of Northern Wisconsin. Thus the system would be relatively useless for a large area in the Indian Ocean.

Consideration of these effects would lead to a system evaluation several orders of magnitude less favorable than our "best case" results of Eq. (18) and Figure 2.

#### Navy tests

After a preliminary version of this report was prepared, we received data from the Navy on the tests which were conducted using a transmitting antenna at Site Alpha in Western North Carolina and Virginia.<sup>24</sup> Important data from these tests are:

1. Power to antenna: 120 kilowatts at 78 cycles per second.

2. Power radiated from antenna: 0.96 watt at 78 cycles per second.

3. Antenna length 175 kilometers on 10-meter-high telephone poles. Effective elevation angle zero; azimuth angle 23 degrees east of north.

4. Maximum distance to submarine 3,864 kilometers.

5. "Minimum observable power" at receiver with an integration time of 300 seconds. (We take this as the response time of the system.)

6. Tests conducted during the first several months of 1963 with receivers at New York, Labrador, Iceland, and Norway.

The results of these tests can be compared with the calculations for response time presented above.

It is important to note (Item 6) that these tests were run in the Northern Hemisphere during the winter months. Noise levels in the 10-100 cycle-per-second frequency range can be expected to be 15 decibels (or a factor of 30 in power) higher during the summer months.<sup>26</sup> Thus the system's response time would be increased by a factor of 30 to about  $10^4$  seconds in order to operate at "minimum observable power" during the summer with a radiated power of one watt and a range of 3,864 kilometers. The figure should be increased even more to allow for reception at 10,000 kilometers and a more reliable receiver power level.

Our calculations in Section IV [see Eq. (16)] indicate a response time of  $10^2$  seconds for a radiated power of 30 watts. The corresponding response time for a radiated power of one watt to allow direct comparison with the Navy's feasibility test would be  $3 \times 10^3$  seconds,

in acceptable agreement with our own calculations. Thus on the basis of the Navy's test data it appears that our calculations are conservative in the sense that our results tend to make the Sanguine system look better than it actually would be. The main reason for this discrepancy, aside from the difference in path length, is probably that we have neglected to include in Eq. (12) the refractive losses into the ionosphere and into the ground (propagation losses).<sup>27</sup>

Note, however, that while the Navy's test established that a submarine at "significant depth" can receive an elf signal, it confirmed the essential weakness of the Sanguine concept: The transmission time is too long to prevent jamming.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Brand, F. L. (Captain, USN), "Project Sanguine: A New Voice in the North Wood," speech given at Madison, Wisconsin, March 5, 1969.

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Navy figures in T. J. Murray, "Evaluating Project Sanguine: A Non-Scientist's View," University-Industry Research Program, The University of Wisconsin, Madison, January 1971, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Private communication from the office of Senator Gaylord Nelson.

<sup>4</sup> "Sanguine System Environmental Compatibility Assurance Program (ECAP) Status Report," Appendix A, *The ELF Communication Concept*, December 1970.

<sup>5</sup> Biggs, A. W., and D. L. Marler, *A Technical Feasibility Analysis of Project Sanguine*, Northern Environmental Council Report No. 5, September 14, 1970. Professor Biggs is a highly respected scientist with an established research position in the design of underground antennas (see Notes 11 and 14). This report seriously questions the Sanguine communication concept on the basis of the inherent inefficiency of buried antennas at low frequencies. Some questions have been raised concerning the credibility of this report (see Note 2). These questions appear to be misunderstandings of the ambiguities which which often arise in the attempt to explain scientific technicalities to a nonscientific reader. We have examined the NOREC Report No. 5 in detail and feel that its Summary and Conclusions should be given serious consideration.

<sup>6</sup> Sommerfeld, A., and F. Renner, "Strahlungsenergie und Erdabsorption bei Depolannten," *Annalen der Physik*, 41:1-36, 1952.

<sup>7</sup> Proctor, R. F., "Input Impedance of Horizontal Dipole Aerials at Low Heights Above the Ground," *J. Inst. Elect. Engrs.*, (London), Pt. 111, 97:188-190, 1950.

<sup>8</sup> King, R. W. P., *Theory of Linear Antennas*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1956, pp. 799-808.

<sup>9</sup> Wait, J. R., "The Magnetic Dipole Antenna Immersed in a Conducting Medium," *Proc. IRE*, 40:1244-1245, 1952.

<sup>10</sup> Wheeler, H. A., "Useful Radiation from an Underground Antenna," *Journal of Research of the NBS*, 65D, 1961, pp. 89-92.

<sup>11</sup> Biggs, A. W., "Radiation Fields from a Horizontal Electric Dipole in a Semi-Infinite Conducting Medium," *Transactions of the IEEE on Antennas and Propagation*, AP-10, 1962, pp. 358-362.

<sup>12</sup> Hansen, R. C., "Radiation and Reception with Buried and Submerged Antennas," *Transactions of the IEEE on Antennas and Propagation*, AP-11, 1963, pp. 207-217.

<sup>13</sup> Hasserjian, G., and A. W. Guy, "Low-Frequency Subsurface Antennas," *Transactions of the IEEE on Antennas and Propagation*, AP-11, 1963, pp. 225-231.

<sup>14</sup> Biggs, A. W. and H. M. Swarm, "Radiation Fields from an Electric Dipole Antenna in Homogeneous Antarctic Terrain," *IEEE Transactions on Antennas and Propagation*, AP-16, 1968, pp. 201-208. Biggs, A. W., "Dipole Antenna Radiation Fields in Stratified Antarctic Media," *IEEE Transactions on Antennas and Propagation*, AP-16, 1968, pp. 445-448. Biggs, A. W., "Influence of Inclination Angles for Antennas Buried in Arctic Terrain on Space Wave Radiation," *IEEE Transactions on Antennas and Propagation*, AP-17, 1969, pp. 790-795.

<sup>15</sup> Wheeler, loc. cit. Hansen, loc. cit. Private communications from A. W. Biggs.

<sup>16</sup> "Sanguine System Environmental Compatibility Assurance Program (ECAP) Status Report," December 1970, pp. 2-28.

<sup>17</sup> Wait, J. R., *Electromagnetic Waves in Stratified Media*, Pergamon Press, 1970, Ch. X.

<sup>18</sup> "Alternative Sanguine Systems," Sent by Rear Admiral F. J. Fitzpatrick to Senator Gaylord Nelson on April 8, 1971.

<sup>19</sup> "Some technical aspects of Project Sanguine," received from W. K. Hartell, March 25, 1971.

<sup>20</sup> Watt, A. D., *VLF Radio Engineering*, Pergamon Press, 1967, p. 479, Fig. 5.3.6.

<sup>21</sup> *World Distribution and Characteristics of Atmospheric Radio Noise*, Report 322, International Telecommunication Union, Geneva, 1964, p. 45.

<sup>22</sup> Stewart, J. L., *Circuit Theory and Design*, Wiley, 1956, p. 331.

<sup>23</sup> Fine, H., "An Effective Ground Conductivity Map for Continental United States," *Proc. IRE*, 42:1405-1408, 1954.

<sup>24</sup> "Some technical aspects . . ." loc. cit. Merrill, J., "An Overview of ELF Propagation Investigations prior to July 1970," presented at CSC, Falls Church, Virginia, February 17, 1971.

#### APPENDIX B: MINERAL REPORT FROM NORTHERN WISCONSIN

[From the Capital Times, Oct. 25, 1971]

NEWS FROM THE NORTHERN COUNTIES—ONCE AGAIN, MINING FIRMS HAVE STRUCK IMAGINATION

(By Dan Satran)

For decades there have always been those who just couldn't shake the notion that there may be valuable minerals under the forestland and lakes of upstate Wisconsin.

Other than for iron in where else but Iron County, there have been no discoveries. But under cover of a lot of secretive exploration it seems some ore deposits have been found—and this is being greeted with a mixed reaction. Those with investments in tourism—and many recreational property owners—are horrified at the thought that mining towns may desecrate the almost-pristine forestland.

This was the reaction in Ashland and Iron counties when it appeared known taconite reserves might be mined—and it is the reaction from some today when they read headlines in which state geologist George F. Hanson confirms that north central Wisconsin is undergoing an exploration boom by mining companies looking for valuable minerals. They think they may find them in the Canadian Shield—a rock formation underlying much of northern Wisconsin.

UW area extension agent Herman Smith at Rhinelander says "they are continuing to look over portions of Vilas, Lincoln, Oneida and an area north of Marathon." He said they have discovered deposits and leased land north of Ladysmith.

What kind of minerals do they expect to mine? Smith sees copper "as a subterfuge." He thinks it is something else but he won't go any further for fear he would be considered violating a confidence. One of the mining companies had rented an office in

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Rhinelander and for several years has been operating a PBY World War II flying boat aircraft in its survey work.

Even when the original plane crashed last year killing several people, the company apparently thought there was sufficient reason to continue the search so they got another PBY into service in the same general area of northern Wisconsin.

Smith said they are utilizing a sophisticated aerial detection method in which underground deposits are discovered in some type of photographic method.

Apparently promising clues led some of the explorers to the suspicion that valuable minerals may be at such locations as: south and west of Eagle River, the Enterprise forest south of Rhinelander and Vilas County forester Walter Mayo said "it seems very possible they have discovered lodes in the Crandon area and Marathon County."

The state geologist's speculation certainly whets the appetite of anyone interested in the prospect of a mining boom at one or more locations in northern Wisconsin.

He indicated in a news story out of Madison last week that there is a good chance the exploratory operations "would lead to economical mining operation." He talked of the probable minerals as being zinc, silver lead and copper.

The suspicion that there may be valuable minerals in northern Wisconsin has persisted since the territory was discovered. Northeast of Eagle River a stream to this day bears the name, "the Golddigger." This is founded on the fact some gold nuggets were found along a tributary around the turn of the century. Primitive-type abandoned mine shafts still exist.

Smith confirms that several years ago mineral explorers had been "drilling out near Deep lake west of Eagle River and north of the city on the west side of the Wisconsin River."

With visions of gold, silver and copper dancing through the heads of the explorers it is evident the search will continue. But Smith says it appears more than idle speculation or daydreaming. He said they may already have a good line on where the minerals are located. But he said the companies "may be trying to tie up land for development in future years."

The state geologist's comments do nothing to cool the enthusiasm and speculation when he is quoted as saying they could "make an announcement that they would start mining any minute."

When the geologist stressed everything is highly secret that is no exaggeration according to Smith. It is a lot more difficult to keep the modern day prospectors from talking about where they're "fishing" than it is to get a musky angler to tell you where he thinks the big lunkers are. But no one doubts they're fishing—and many suspect they're on to something.

#### APPENDIX C: DESIGN OF A BURIED ANTENNA

In this appendix the design of a buried antenna is discussed in sufficient detail to provide the basis for an evaluation in Section IV.

1. *Antenna material.* Although copper is often mentioned as the basic material, the resistivity-density-price product is about 3½ times that of aluminum. Thus aluminum is clearly the most economical choice. The data to be used are:

conductivity— $3.52 \times 10^7$  ohm/meter

density—2.7 grams/c.c.

linear expansion coefficient— $25 \times 10^{-6}/^\circ\text{C}$

price—\$0.29/pound

2. *Wire diameter.* It seems reasonable to take the wire diameter to be twice the electromagnetic skin depth. For aluminum at 45 cps, the skin depth is

$$\delta_1 = 1.25 \text{ cm.}$$

so a wire diameter

$$D = 2.5 \text{ cm or } 1 \text{ inch}$$

should give a minimum resistance per unit length without going to the added expense and structural problems associated with tubing.

3. *Wiring resistance.* The wire resistance per unit length will be

$$r = \frac{1}{\pi \delta_1^2 \sigma} = \frac{\mu \sigma \omega}{2\pi}$$

$$= 5.65 \times 10^{-5} \text{ ohm/meter.}$$

which is independent of the metal used for the wire. The total resistance for an antenna length

$$L = 80 \text{ miles or } 1.3 \times 10^5 \text{ meters}$$

is

$$R = rL \\ = 7.4 \text{ ohms}$$

4. *Wire cost.* The cost of the aluminum for the wire can be calculated assuming 20 wires, each 80 miles long. This would weigh  $3.44 \times 10^6$  pounds and cost

$$\$2.2 \text{ million}$$

The corresponding cost for a copper system would be a 3.5 times as great.

5. *Insulation capacitance.* Suppose the aluminum wire is simply wrapped with a 2 mm. thick insulator of relative dielectric constant 5 and buried. The capacitance per unit length would then be

$$c = 1.74 \times 10^{-9} \text{ farad/meter}$$

and the total capacitance for an antenna length of 80 miles would be

$$C = 2.26 \times 10^{-4} \text{ farads.}$$

The reactance of this capacitance at 45 cps. is 15.6 ohms. This is not negligible in comparison with the total resistance and indicates that the effect of the admittance per unit area of the insulator should be carefully considered.

6. *Transmission line equivalent circuit.* The electrical character of a buried antenna wire can be investigated in detail using some results which have recently been obtained for the transmission line equivalent circuit of a simple nerve axon in a conducting medium [8]. In this analysis an inner conductor (or core conductor) of conductivity  $\sigma_1$  is separated from an outer conductor of conductivity  $\sigma_2$  by a boundary at radius  $a$  with an admittance per unit area  $Y$ . The inside and outside impedances are

$$z_1 = \left( \frac{1}{\pi \sigma_1 a^2} \right) \left[ \frac{k_1 a I_0(k_1 a)}{2 I_1(k_1 a)} \right] \quad (1)$$

$$z_2 = \left( \frac{1}{\pi \sigma_2 a^2} \right) \left[ \frac{k_2 a K_0(k_2 a)}{2 K_1(k_2 a)} \right] \quad (2)$$

where

$$k_1^2 = j\omega \mu_0 \sigma_1 - \gamma^2 \approx j\omega \mu_0 \sigma_1 \quad (3)$$

$$k_2^2 = j\omega \mu_0 \sigma_2 - \gamma^2 \approx j\omega \mu_0 \sigma_1 \quad (4)$$

and field quantities vary in the (longitudinal) x-direction as exp

$$(\gamma x + j\omega t).$$

The propagation constant along the nerve (or wire) given by

$$\gamma^2 = y(z_1 + z_2) \quad (5)$$

where

$$y = 2\pi a Y$$

$$= g + j\omega c \quad (6)$$

In (6)  $c$  is the capacitance per unit length of the insulation and  $g$  is the corresponding conductance per unit length.

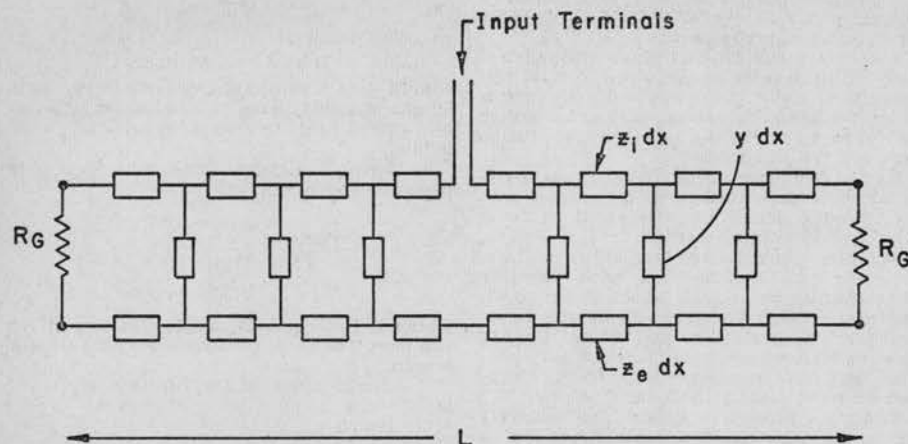


Fig. 1. Transmission line equivalent circuit for a buried sanguine antenna

Some simplifications can be made in this description. First, as is noted in (3) and (4), the penetration depths ( $\delta$ 's) are always small compared with  $|\gamma|^{-1}$  so the radical arguments of the Bessel functions in (1) and (2) are governed by the electromagnetic penetration depths. Then, as we saw above, the internal impedance is just the simple resistance.

$$\begin{aligned} z_i &= r \\ &= \mu_0 \omega / 2\pi \end{aligned} \quad (7)$$

The external impedance can be written using the small argument approximations for the Bessel functions in (2) since  $|k_2 a| \ll 1$ .

Thus

$$z_e \approx \frac{(k_2 a)^2}{\pi \sigma_2 a^2} \log \left( \frac{1}{k_2 a} \right) \quad (8)$$

where a factor of  $1/2$  has been omitted to account for the fact that the external current cannot flow above the ground for a shallow buried antenna. Thus

$$z_e = \frac{\mu_0 \omega}{2\pi} 2j \log \left( \frac{1}{k_2 a} \right) \quad (9)$$

and

$$\frac{1}{k_2 a} = \frac{\delta_2}{\sqrt{2}a} e^{-i\pi/4} \quad (10)$$

so

$$\log \left( \frac{1}{k_2 a} \right) = \log \left( \frac{\delta_2}{\sqrt{2}a} \right) - j \frac{\pi}{2} \quad (11)$$

The total series impedance per unit length is then

$$z_i + z_e = \frac{\mu_0 \omega}{2\pi} \left[ 1 + \pi + j2 \log \left( \frac{\delta_2}{\sqrt{2}a} \right) \right] \quad (12)$$

The antenna can then be represented as in Fig. 1 where the resistors  $R_e$  at the end are the grounding resistors for injecting the antenna current into the earth.

Using the value of ground conductivity

$$\sigma_2 = 2 \times 10^{-4} \text{ mho/meter}$$

$$\delta_2 = 5.4 \times 10^3 \text{ meters}$$

and for  $a = .0125$  meters we find that

$$\log \left( \frac{\delta_2}{\sqrt{2}a} \right) = 12.5$$

but this is not very sensitive to its argument. Thus (12) becomes

$$z_i + z_e = \frac{\mu_0 \omega}{2\pi} [1 + \pi + 25j] \quad (12')$$

The first term in the bracket gives the resistance of the antenna wire. The second

term gives the resistance of the ground return path (excluding, of course, the grounding resistances at the ends). The last term gives the near field inductance.

It is important to notice that the near field inductance dominates and the series impedance per unit length is almost a pure inductance.

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#### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

1952-54: Sylvania Physics Research Laboratory, Bayside, N.Y. Development of traveling wave tubes and backward wave oscillators.

1954-57: Department of Defense, Washington, D.C. Development of transistor circuits and microwave antennas.

1957-62: Sylvania Data Systems Laboratory, Needham, Mass. Research Engineer and consultant on computer circuit problems.

Summer 1960: Member of Technical Staff, Bell Telephone Labs., Murray Hill, New Jersey. Development of solution alloy, germanium tunnel diode fabrication.

September 1961-June 1962: Postdoctoral Fellow at MIT. Development of dot alloy gallium arsenide tunnel diodes.

July 1962-July 1963: Assistant Professor, Department of Electrical Engineering, University of Wisconsin.

July 1963-July 1965: Associate Professor, University of Wisconsin.

July 1965 to date: Professor, University of Wisconsin.

#### THE LOUISIANA "GIANT STEP" PROGRAM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, while efforts have been underway for several years to upgrade living conditions in the Nation's cities through such innovative programs as model cities and urban renewal, my State of Louisiana has since 1968 been engaged in a 5-year program to help people in rural areas help develop their communities.

In a recent address to a National Security Management Course at Louisiana State University, Dr. John A. Cox, director of the Louisiana Cooperative Extension Service, gave a description and the results of the 5-year program designated the Louisiana "Giant Step" program.

Since our colleagues with a rural constituency may find of interest this program which has been successful in making rural Louisiana a better place in which to live, I insert the text of Dr. Cox's remarks at this point:

#### GIANT STEP IN LOUISIANA

A state-wide action based five year educational program called Giant Step was launched by the Louisiana Cooperative Extension Service in January 1968. Leadership by public agencies and private organizations at state, parish community levels were invited to join the university in this undertaking. The broad goals of the program were to:

Bolster the Louisiana economy by helping Louisiana farmers to achieve a 50% increase in gross annual income by 1972.

Strengthen family life as an essential requirement for continued economic, social and cultural progress.

Extend the educational benefits of 4-H club work from 75,000 to 100,000 young people enrolled, then to an additional 30,000 to 40,000 annually by 1972.

Assist the communities of Louisiana in community and resource development activities aimed at providing greater economic and cultural opportunities and preserving the qualities of the rural environment so important to the American character.

To begin the program each subject matter group in agriculture, home economics, 4-H and rural development held a meeting of leaders throughout the state to discuss the situation, establish bench marks and set goals. Likewise, similar meetings were held in each parish, where leaders set goals for their individual parishes. This Giant Step program, as far as the Louisiana Cooperative Extension Organization is concerned, is our total plan of work. The Extension Service leadership recognized that any program progress would be due to the work of many organizations, agricultural agencies, and related groups and without the assistance and cooperation of all groups, the program would be doomed to failure. The program is due to end in December, 1972. During the years, many innovations, changes and new technology have come into being. We in the Extension Service think that progress has been made.

In some areas goals were set too low while some were set too high. Also, forces such as weather, government programs and changes in marketing procedures that could not be foreseen five years ahead altered the ultimate



outcome. We feel, however, that the program has been worthwhile and, in most cases, goals will have been met or exceeded by the end of 1972. A review of our methods and our progress through 1971 will summarize the major thrust of extension work in Louisiana.

Our major goal in agriculture is to increase 1967 gross income from 1.9 billion dollars to 2.8 billion dollars by 1972. Let's see how well we have been doing.

We have made giant steps in the field of plant sciences. In 1967 plant science farm income was approximately 508 million dollars and value added by processing and marketing firms was 791 million dollars for a total income of 1.3 billion dollars. Through the combined efforts of farm leaders, agri-business leaders and extension workers, plant science farm income was increased to 660 million dollars and value added income to 1.1 billion dollars for a total income of 1.8 billion dollars, approximately 100 million dollars below our goal for 1972. With good weather this year, we should exceed our total farm and value added goal for plant science of 1.9 billion dollars.

In 1967 farm income from animal science enterprises was about 243 million dollars and value added was about 147 million dollars for a total income of 390 million dollars. Increased emphasis by extension workers on improving calf crop percentages, extensions educational programs on utilizing winter pastures, special dairy management programs and increased efforts to increase swine production resulted in animal agriculture taking a real giant step. By 1971 income at the farm level reached 325 million dollars and value added 196 million dollars for a total income of 521 million dollars. This is only 24 million dollars below our 1972 goal of 545 million dollars.

What have been some of our major gains? Just to list a few, we have increased gross income in 1971 over 1967 for soybeans by 62 million dollars, for cotton by 37 million dollars, for cattle and calves by 32.5 million dollars, and for forestry by 31.4 million dollars.

We in Louisiana Extension have long realized the need to help rural people make their communities a better place to live and we can point with pride to many programs in this important area that were developed long before national attention focused on the rural areas. In addition our community, resource development work in contrast to many other federal agency efforts, can be characterized as a coordinated agency approach aimed at helping the total community.

At the state level we have a state rural development committee. This committee includes representatives from all the USDA agencies, most state agencies that have an interest in rural development and key individuals representing all economic segments of the state.

Attached to the overall committee are six working committees; i.e., agriculture and forestry, industry and commerce, research and information, education and training, recreation, tourism and wildlife, and health and housing. The chairman of each of these working committees, if not already a member of the state committee, is automatically included as a member.

The working committee members are key lay leaders from across the state and state staff level people from the Land-Grant University, state colleges, and state and federal agencies. Actually the membership is relatively fluid as Ad-Hoc committees within the working committee structure are formed to work on a particular problem and then dismissed as soon as the problem is solved.

This enables the various chairmen of the working committees to make use of the best brains available in the state to work on a particular problem.

At the parish level, most of our rural development committees are made up of the

four USDA agencies as the core group. However, we subscribe to the idea that the people living in the communities best know what their problems are and we believe that with our help can solve many of them.

Consequently we are helping parish rural development committees conduct problem identification surveys. The surveys have these basic objectives:

1. To identify a group of individuals who are considered, on the basis of their good judgment, as representatives of all the people of the parish.

2. To obtain from these individuals their opinions as to the basic problems of the parish.

3. To urge them to form action groups aimed at solving the problems they have identified.

At this point in time, eight parishes have completed the surveys and now have a core group of respective citizens who have identified their problems, set priorities and formed action groups to work on solving the problems. Since we have initiated this method, we have been amazed at the interest and enthusiasm of both the lay leaders in the parishes and the parish staff people. For example in one of our communities bordering on the Gulf of Mexico an action group composed of camp owners and natives are working together to solve a beach erosion problem and other problems in the community. Previous to the survey these two groups had worked against each other most of the time because of misconceptions stemming from lack of communication. After the survey, leaders from the two groups were amazed that they shared common problems. In another parish, after the survey indicated solid-waste was a major problem the police jury passed a resolution indicating they were going to work with the action group in seeking alternative solutions to the problem.

Gentlemen, this is our Giant Step story. We feel that in Louisiana, the Cooperative Extension Service together with other state and federal agencies and key lay leaders have helped the agricultural community, the agri-business community and the people of the State of Louisiana to take a giant step towards making Louisiana an even better place to live.

BRIEF OF SENATOR GRAVEL IN  
CASE OF GRAVEL AGAINST  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN  
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED  
STATES

HON. MIKE GRAVEL

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, in the interest of making the record complete and readily available, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, by all interested parties, the brief which I filed in answer to the Solicitor General's brief on my case currently before the Supreme Court.

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

[In the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term 1971, Nos. 71-1017 and 71-1026]

REPLY BRIEF OF SENATOR MIKE GRAVEL

Mike Gravel, United States Senator, *Petitioner*, v. United States of America, *Respondent*.

United States of America, *Petitioner*, v. Mike Gravel, United States Senator, *respondent*.

On writs of certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit.

PART I

The Speech or Debate Clause Prohibits Grand Jury Investigation into the Legislative Acts of a Senator Through the Interrogation of Persons Who Assisted Him in the Performance of His Duties.

1. The Solicitor General has obfuscated a central issue before this Court by creating and then rebutting a non-existent claim. The Solicitor General characterizes this case as involving the question of whether the Speech or Debate Clause "extends" to protecting those who assist a senator from *accountability* for the commission of illegal acts. In fact, this matter is of absolutely no relevance to the narrow issue which is before this Court—namely, whether there is a *privilege against inquiry* under the Clause by the Executive and grand jury into a senator's privileged acts. Throughout these proceedings, Senator Gravel has never ventured a view with respect to whether or not any party with whom he dealt is "bathed" with any kind of immunity from prosecution or accountability.<sup>1</sup> Even assuming, *arguendo*, that an aide or printer may be held accountable for violating a criminal or civil act, see *Powell v. McCormack*, 395 U.S. 486 (1969), and *Kilbourn v. Thompson*, 103 U.S. 168 (1880), it certainly does not follow that testimony may be procured in violation of the Senator's own privilege. *United States v. Johnson*, 383 U.S. 169 (1966); *Ex parte Wason*, L.R. 4 Q.B. 573 (1868); *Rex v. Rule*, 2 K.B. 372 (1937). In this respect, the Clause operates precisely as do other testimonial privileges familiar to the courts, such as the attorney-client privilege and the priest-penitent privilege.<sup>2</sup> And the Executive has heretofore stressed the distinction it now blurs; although assistants to the President are clearly accountable for illegal acts, the President has invoked his privilege to prevent them from testifying before congressional committees. (See Brief of Senator Gravel at 110-112).

2. The Solicitor General argues strenuously that the privilege belongs only to senators and representatives (Brief, at 13-17, 31-38). We agree. But this begs the issue of whether the Senator's own privilege is violated when his protected activities are inquired into through an Executive and grand jury interrogation of persons who assisted him. No one would argue that the attorney-client privilege, which belongs exclusively to the client and exists for his benefit alone, could be defeated by questioning the attorney. As the Senate cogently stated in its brief *amicus curiae* (at 5):

"For if the activities are protected as [the Solicitor General] assumes, they should be beyond inquiry."

3. The Solicitor General, while asserting the absence of historical evidence to cast light on the meaning of the Speech or Debate Clause, reasons by purported analogy from the historical development of the freedom from arrest clause (Brief, at 17-22). Apart from the fact that the two clauses appear in the same section of the Constitution, they have no relation to each other. These two privileges are historically distinct. The sole purpose of the privilege from arrest was to protect members from the molestations of civil arrests emanating from suits lodged in inferior tribunals and never had any applicability to criminal proceedings. See generally, T. P. Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History*, 340-348 (4th edition, 1890). The freedom of speech privilege, on the one hand, was specifically designed to preclude harassment and intimidation by the Executive. *Id.*, at 336, 340. Further, there was never any justification, in light of the limited purpose for the privilege from arrest, to "extend" the privilege to aides

Footnotes at end of article.

in order to vindicate that purpose; and this unwarranted extension was reversed by Parliament itself prior to our Revolution. See generally, C. F. Wittke, *The History of English Parliamentary Privilege*, 39-42 (1921). The abuses and checkered history of the privilege from arrest were well understood by the Framers, who severely limited its scope. *Williamson v. United States*, 207 U.S. 425 (1908). See *Long v. Ansell*, 293 U.S. 76 (1934). There is no evidence of similar abuses by the exercise of the free speech privilege, and the Framers viewed it as an essential bedrock of separation of powers. *United States v. Johnson*, 383 U.S. 169, 178 (1966). That aides can be arrested for robbing a bank or not paying alimony simply has no bearing upon whether they may be interrogated about how and why a senator decided to speak or vote as he did.

4. In the related manner, the Solicitor General argues that the "linguistic precision" of the clause reveals that only senators and representatives may not be questioned before the grand jury. He reaches this result by contrasting the wording of the clause with the subject matter wording of its predecessors in the English Bill of Rights, the Articles of Confederation and the state constitutions. As we pointed out in our brief (at 92-93, n. 123), the Committee on Detail wrote the Clause in subject matter terms, and the present language was changed by the Committee on Style without any indication that it intended this difference to be substantive. If indeed the change were substantive, one would have expected, first, that it would have been made other than by the Committee on Style, and that the change would have provoked at least some debate. Not only was there no debate in the Convention, but an exhaustive review of the ratification debates has failed to uncover even a single comment that the Speech or Debate Clause might have a different meaning from that of its predecessors. See, e.g., II *Elliot's Debates* 52-54 (1788) (Massachusetts); II *id.*, at 325, 329 (New York); II *id.*, at 550 (Maryland); III *id.*, at 73 (North Carolina); III *id.*, at 368-375 (Virginia).<sup>3</sup> And this Court has twice affirmed that the Clause is substantially the same as that in the English Bill of Rights. *Powell v. McCormack*, supra, 502, n. 20; *United States v. Johnson*, supra, at 177-178.

5. In an apparent attempt to reconcile with the case at bar inconsistent positions taken by the Justice Department in prior and pending cases, see, e.g., *Doe v. McMillan*, 442 F. 2d 879 (D.C. Cir. 1971); *Barr v. Matteo*, 360 U.S. 564 (1959); *Dowbrowski v. Eastland*, 387 U.S. 82 (1967), the Solicitor General proposes that those who assisted a Senator should be absolutely immune from civil tort suits, but should be freely inquirable by the Executive and the grand jury about the Senator's privileged acts (Brief, at 24-31, 37-38). The Solicitor General apparently realizes that public policy mandates a court-made rule to protect the operation of the legislative process from unrestrained questioning of aides in civil suits, but he refuses to recognize the much stronger, fundamental public policy which led the Framers to protect that process from unrestrained inquiry by co-ordinate but separate branches of government. As this Court said in *United States v. Johnson*, supra, at 181:

"[T]he privilege was not born primarily to avoid private suits . . . but rather to prevent intimidation by the executive and accountability before a possibly hostile judiciary."

Thus, the yardstick for measuring the scope of the legislative privilege in this case is not, as suggested by the Solicitor General, to be borrowed from civil suits such as *Dowbrowski v. Eastland*, supra, and *Powell v. McCormack*, supra, which speak of protect-

ing the legislator from pocketbook loss and distraction. Rather, this Court must look to the historical purposes articulated in *United States v. Johnson*, supra, which speaks of preserving separation of powers and of preventing executive intimidation and harassment and hostile judicial action.

In this respect, it is of dispositive weight to note that the United States Senate, in its brief *amicus curiae*, acknowledges the limited application of the Clause in civil suits brought to protect individual constitutional rights, but the Senate strongly asserts the absolute applicability of the Clause in separation of powers cases to prevent the grand jury from being turned into an executive instrument of harassment and intimidation. (See Senate's Brief, at 9, 12-13.) As both the Senate and Senator Gravel recognize, the basic flow in the Solicitor General's argument is that it turns the Speech or Debate Clause on its head. It would be a supreme irony for this privilege, which was designed to protect against executive intimidation and was placed in a Constitution which obliges the courts to protect individual rights, to be construed so that the courts deny relief for the violation of secured rights but lend their assistance to the Executive in breaching the wall of separation of powers.

6. The Solicitor General asserts, without any citation of authority, that legislative assistants are not subject to the disciplinary powers of the Senate (Brief, at 9, 34). Even if supportable, the relevance of this assertion is at best dubious, inasmuch as the case at bar does not involve the accountability of such assistants. But, in fact, this assertion is not supportable; for the Senate possesses and has exercised the power to punish wayward aides and assistants of the Senate and of individual members. For example, the Senate tried and expelled its own Sergeant-at-Arms for publishing a libellous article. *Senate Journal*, January 10, 1933, 159-160, 172-173. Moreover, this Court has recognized that the enumerated powers of each House to make rules for its proceedings (Art. I, sec. 5) necessarily implies the power to punish anyone—member, aide, or complete outsider—who violates those rules. *Anderson v. Dunn*, 6 Wheat, 204, (1821); *Journey v. MacCracken*, 294 U.S. 125 (1925). See *Groppi v. Leslie*, U.S. , 92 S.Ct. 582 (1972). In fact, in the exercise of that power, the Senate has adopted Rule 36, which specifically provides for the punishment of members and assistants who "disclose the secret or confidential business or proceedings of the Senate." *Senate Manual*, sec. 36 (1967 ed.).<sup>4</sup> Under this same rule, the Senate has established a procedure to waive the testimonial privilege to prevent a miscarriage of justice. Thus, Rule 36 has uniformly been read to permit a Senate aide to testify in any judicial proceeding after being authorized to do so by Senate resolution. See also 2 U.S.C. § 130b (g); *United States Servicemen's Fund v. Eastland*, Civil No. 1474-70 (D. D.C., decided October 21, 1971, and discussed in the Solicitor General's brief at 27, n. 15).

In addition, the conduct of a person who assists a senator in the performance of his duties is subject to the restraints of the legislative process because the senator himself is responsible to the electorate and to his House for the conduct of such persons. Directly on point is the 1928 censure of Senator Jonathan Bingham of Connecticut who was punished by the Senate because his aide violated the standing rules of the Senate by being present during closed executive committee sessions and leaking confidential information to corporate officials. Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Election, Expulsion, and Censure Cases* (Doc. No. 71, 1962, at 125-127).

In any event, we reiterate that the case at bar does not turn on or involve issues of accountability.

7. The Solicitor General suggests that there would be staggering consequences to law enforcement if the Executive and grand jury cannot investigate into the privileged legislative activities of congressmen. First of all, in the past 195 years of the Republic's history, there have been only a handful of cases in which the Executive and grand jury have seen fit to so much as attempt to delve into legislative activity for any purpose. The case most directly on point, the 1797 grand jury investigation of Congressman Cabell for issuing newsletters critical of the Administration's policy toward France, was condemned as a blatant violation of the Constitution. (See our brief at 53-58).<sup>5</sup>

The Solicitor General's ultimate hypothetical of possible abuse is a conspiracy between a senator and others to deceive the Senate in a speech which he knows to contain false information (Brief, at 34-36). In 1868 this precise situation occurred in England and was the subject of the celebrated decision of *Ex parte Wason*, L.R. 4QB. 573, where the Queen's Bench held that no criminal proceeding, including the mere filing of an information, could be instituted against a member or outsider for such a conspiracy, for to do so would be impugned the free speech privilege. It is now 104 years later, and England seems to have survived.<sup>6</sup>

#### PART II

The Publication by a Senator of an Official Public Record of a Subcommittee, of Which He is Chairman, Critical of Executive Conduct in Foreign Relations, is Privileged From Judicial Inquiry by the Speech or Debate Clause.

8. To support his position that the publication of committee reports is not encompassed by the free speech privilege, the Solicitor General places principal historical reliance upon the 1688 case of *Rex v. Williams*, 13 How. St. Tr. 1370, 2 Show. K.B. 372, Com. 18, 89 Eng. Rep. 1048 (Brief at 46-47). However, as we discussed in detail in our brief (at 67-75), that prosecution was a classic example of intimidation of a critical legislator by the Crown and of accountability before a hostile judiciary. This case was deemed so violent a breach of the free speech privilege that it was the principal cause of the exile of James II and of the codification of the free speech privilege in the English Bill of Rights. The decision was later condemned as a disgrace to the country and as "decided in the worst of times." *Rex v. Wright*, 8 Tr. 293, 141 Eng. Rep. 1396 (1799).

Certainly, no one would suggest that the notorious prosecution of Sir John Elliot in 1629, which led to the first comprehensive declaration of the privilege, can be resurrected as a precedent to narrow the scope of the free speech privilege. The real importance of the *Williams* case lies in the fact that it was "one of the immediate causes of the Revolution . . . [and] the occasion of one of the most important clauses in the Bill of Rights, and probably therefore of the like provision in the Constitution of the United States." C. H. McIlwain, *The High Court of Parliament and Its Supremacy*, 242 (1910). The *Williams* case, therefore, affords significant support to the position that publication of committee records is protected by the privilege.

9. The Solicitor General concedes that certain forms of publication are protected from judicial inquiry by the Speech or Debate Clause. He includes therein, to the exclusion of all other forms of publication, committee reports delivered to Members only, and the Congressional Record (Brief, at 40), because "they are the means Congress has selected for informing its membership about its business." Directly contrary to this assertion is the position of the United States Senate, which is more qualified to determine what methods of publication are necessary for its own processes:

Footnotes at end of article.

"One of these duties, important as any other, is the duty of informing other Members, constituents and the general public, on the issues of the day. This is done in many ways, most of which were not technically possible in 1789. Floor debate and belated newspapers reports were practically the only means available at the time of the founding. Now, there are many means of disseminating information: wire services, radio and television, telephone and telegraph, as well as floor debate, newspapers, books, magazines, newsletters, press releases, committee reports, the *Congressional Record*, and legislative services. In today's hectic and complicated world, the various methods of informing vary in effectiveness. Each Member must decide for himself from time to time which issues require ventilation and what methods to use. It is not for the Executive to challenge nor for the Judiciary to judge a Member's choice of issues to publicize or methods of publication regardless of whether they may be considered ill-advised." (Brief of Senate as *Amicus Curiae*, at 6.)

The doctrine of separation of powers and the principles of comity require that this determination by the Senate be adopted by the courts. Otherwise, the courts will adopt for themselves the role of final arbiter of "the means Congress has selected" to inform itself and the electorate (Solicitor General's Brief, at 40).

10. The Solicitor General raises a red herring when he suggests the publication involved herein is somehow different for purposes of the privilege from publication done with official approval of the House (Brief, at 11). This suggestion should be dismissed for four reasons:

(a) At least since *Coffin v. Coffin* 4 Mass. 1, 27 (1808), it has been settled that the privilege is personal to the legislator himself and does not depend on "whether the exercise was regular according to the rules of the house, or irregular and against their rules."

(b) The logic of the Solicitor General's argument is that the privilege would protect only Congressmen who are in accord with the majority's sentiment. In terms of importance to democracy, it may well be more important to protect a dissenter.

(c) If an act of a congressman is *ab initio* unrelated to the legislative process, a simple approval of the House cannot magically transmute a nonlegislative into a legislative act.

(d) In any event, even if the approval of the Senate is relevant in this case, the Senate has joined Senator Gravel in the assertion of the privilege in this instance of publication (Brief of Senate, at 6).

11. In his argument concerning the alleged lack of relationship of the publication of the Subcommittee record to the legislative process, the Solicitor General sets forth two "facts" which are unsupported in the record and which simply are not true.

(a) The Solicitor General asserts that the chairman of the parent committee "apparently recognized that the republication was not necessary or appropriate to the proper performance of any legislative function, since he refused to authorize it" (Brief, at 42). When this assertion was made by counsel for the Internal Security Division in the District Court before the finder of fact, on the sole basis of an unsubstantiated and hearsay statement in a newspaper article, Judge Garrity refused to so find (App. 88-89). This "fact," even if true, would be irrelevant; but it just so happens, as Senator Dole stated on the floor of the Senate, that it is false. Cong. Rec. S. 4620 (daily ed., March 22, 1972).

(b) The Solicitor General also proffers the following "facts": "[The publication of the Subcommittee record] involved no supplying to the members of Congress of information that they needed in performing their legislative duties. The contents did not relate to

any pending Congressional business. The material was neither the product of a Congressional hearing, nor something supplied to Congress to be considered in connection with pending legislative business" (Brief, at 41). There is not even a scintilla of support for these naked assertions in either the record of this case or in the opinions of the courts below. Were judicial notice to be taken about "Congressional business," it would be observed that, at the time of the Subcommittee hearing and of the publication of the record, the Senate was debating the Mansfield Amendment and other pending and potential legislation (e.g., the draft and military appropriations bills) which relate directly to the contents of the Subcommittee record. Surely, the Solicitor General is not suggesting that the war in Vietnam is not the business of Congress.<sup>7</sup>

12. The Solicitor General has taken great liberties in his discussion of prior English and American precedents.

(a) While conceding that "certain republications of Parliamentary debate are now privileged" in England (Brief, at 47), the Solicitor General denies that earlier decisions holding to the contrary were repudiated. In this connection he cites language from *Wason v. Walter*, L.R. 4 Q.B. 73 (1868), which treats with approval part of the decision in *Stockdale v. Hansard*, 9 Ad. & E. 1, Eng. Rep. 1112 (1839). But that part of *Stockdale* did not deal with whether the privilege encompassed publication; it dealt instead with the ruling that a resolution of one House is not binding on the courts. The court in *Wason* agreed with this ruling, but stated that it had "no application where the question is, not whether the act complained of, being unlawful at law, is rendered lawful by the order of the House, or protected by the assertion of its privilege, but whether it is, independently of such order or assertion of privilege, in itself privileged and lawful." *Wason*, *supra*, at 87, quoted in Solicitor General's brief, at 49. And the court had no trouble in concluding, on the basis of the informing function, that publication of legislative proceedings is "in itself privileged and lawful" because "it is essential to the workings of our parliamentary system, and to the welfare of the nation." *Id.*, at 95. (See Brief of Senator Gravel at 79-80.)

The Solicitor General also appears to take some solace from the fact that *Stockdale* had been overruled by a statute, the Parliamentary Papers Act, 3 & 4 Vict., c. 9 (1840). Yet this act was passed by both the Commons and the Lords, the latter being the High Court of England, and the act declares that the *Stockdale* court misapprehended existing law, including, e.g., *Res v. Wright*, 8 T.R. 293, 101 Eng. Rep. 1396 (1799). The statute's effect is the same as if the House of Lords had reversed the King's Bench on a writ of error. (See Brief of Senator Gravel at 116-121.)

(b) The prior American cases cited by the Solicitor General do not hold "that the legislative privilege for speech or debate does not extend to republication" (Solicitor General's Brief at 49). The comments about "republication" in *McGovern v. Martz*, 182 F. Supp. 343 (D. D.C. 1960) were clearly *dicta* since there was no publication except in the Congressional Record; and even in *dicta*, the court suggested that a privilege, albeit qualified by a malice requirement, would apply to other publications. *Id.*, at 347. *Long v. Ansell*, 69 F. 2d 386 (D.C. Cir.) aff'd 293 U.S. 76 (1934) was not even a Speech or Debate Clause case; it involved a claim of a Senator that he was immune from service of process because of the privilege from arrest. The only reference to the free speech privilege is in *dictum* in a final, brief paragraph. *Id.*, at 389. On review, this Court did not even refer to the Speech or Debate Clause. 293 U.S. 76 (1934).

In *Hentoff v. Ichord*, 318 F. Supp. 1175, 1179 (D. D.C. 1970), the Court held that of juris-

dition to entertain a complaint against congressmen "seeking any remedy" for the publication of a committee record. The Public Printer was enjoined under the doctrine of *Powell v. McCormack*, *supra*, because it was assisting in an action which threatened to violate individual constitutional rights. *Id.*, at 1180. See also, *Hearst v. Black*, 87 F. 2d 68 (D.C. Cir. 1936), and *Methodist Federation for Social Action v. Eastland*, 141 F. Supp. 729, 731 (D. D.C. 1956) (3-judge court), which dismissed, on principles of separation of powers, actions which sought to enjoin congressmen from publishing information in their possession.

13. We did not in our brief treat the Solicitor General's certified question as to whether congressional aides have a common law privilege to refuse to testify before a grand jury about publication of material introduced by their employers into an official subcommittee record, because we had difficulty understanding the precise thrust of the question and therefore preferred to see the Solicitor General's contention in his brief and deal with it in our reply brief.

However, the Solicitor General appears to deal with the question in three pages (at 52-54), without citation of any relevant authority. In particular, the Solicitor General has not explained how it is that those who assist the President have a privilege, apparently derived from the common law, to refuse to testify before congressional committees about the President's privileged conduct, but that those who assist a congressman do not have the same privilege to be free from interrogation by co-ordinate branches about the congressman's privileged conduct. We therefore feel that *certiorari* with respect to this issue should be dismissed as improvidently granted.

Should the Court nevertheless reach the merits of this question, Senator Gravel feels that there is nothing that he can profitably add to the arguments set forth by the Unitarian Universalist Association in its brief *amicus curiae* in this case (at 30-33), and Senator Gravel thus adopts those arguments. Senator Gravel does, however, re-emphasize his position that no common law privilege is here needed, where the privilege is explicitly set forth in the Constitution, and this Court neither has to resort to implications nor has to fashion judicial substantive law.

#### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we join the United States Senate in urging this Court to hold that "[n]either Senator Gravel nor his aide should be required to testify before the Grand Jury, and no other witness should be permitted to testify as to the activities of the Senator or his aide." (Brief of Senate, at 21.)

Respectfully submitted,

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CHARLES L. FISHMAN,  
HARVEY A. SILVERGLATE,  
ALAN M. DERSHOWITZ,  
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Of Counsel.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Consolidated brief of Senator Gravel, at 92-93.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably, for example, the Justice Department could obtain an indictment against Beacon Press officials without resort to questioning parties about the Senator's protected activities, since Beacon's publication of the Subcommittee record is a matter of public record, replete with public announcements and the readily obtainable physical document itself in four volumes. In prosecuting such an indictment, the Justice Department would, of course, be limited in its introduction of evidence by the guidelines set forth in *United States v. Johnson*, *supra*, and this Court, if faced with the question, might decide that, as in England (see Parliamentary

Papers Act, 3 & 4 Vict., c. 9, and *Wason v. Walter*, L.R. 4 Q.B. 73 (1868)), printers of such papers are immune from criminal and civil liability. But as we have said, these difficult issues are not present in the case at bar.

<sup>8</sup>In the above debates, the Speech or Debate Clause received only cursory mention and was approved without dissent. In each of the other state debates, there is no recorded mention of the Clause.

<sup>4</sup>The adoption of this standing rule resulted from the censure of Senator Benjamin Tappan of Ohio in 1844 for causing to be published in *The New York Evening Post*, a secret message from President Tyler to the Senate concerning the annexation of Texas. Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Election, Expulsion, and Censure Cases* (Doc. No. 71, 1962), 11-13. In at least two other memorable cases, the Senate has sat as a judicial body to determine whether members had abused the exercise of their informing function. In the case of Senator Robert M. LaFollette, the Senate dismissed a censure resolution charging disloyalty and sedition based upon a speech given before a political convention, during the First World War, because "the speech did not justify any action by the Senate." *Id.*, at 110.

In the most recent case, arising in 1954, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin was charged with the "receipt or use of confidential or classified documents or other confidential information from Executive files." *Id.*, at 153.

Although Senator McCarthy was censured for other reasons, the Committee did not recommend censure on these charges because it found "mitigating circumstances." *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup>See also *Lyon's Case*, Case No. 6646, 15 Fed. Cas. 1183 (C.C.D. Vt. 1798) (our brief at 64-67); *United States v. Johnson*, 419 F. 2d 56 (4th Cir. 1969), where the Court of Appeals stated that testimony about Johnson's speech before the grand jury had been "constitutionally impermissible"; *United States v. Brewster*, No. 1025, Jurisdiction Postponed, 401 U.S. 935, No. 70-45 (restored to the calendar for reargument) 40 U.S.L.W. 3351.

<sup>6</sup>And, if we may be permitted to observe, the decline of the Empire has never been traced to the decision in *Ex Parte Wason*.

<sup>7</sup>The mere fact that the President saw fit to send the "Pentagon Papers" to Congress rebuts the very assertion of the Solicitor General that the contents of the Subcommittee record do not relate to pending Congressional business.

A third misstatement of fact by the Solicitor General, although of lesser importance, should be brought to the attention of the Court. The Solicitor General states that all 47 volumes of the Pentagon Papers were entered by Senator Gravel into the Subcommittee record and then published by Beacon Press (Brief, p. 3). In fact, however, Senator Gravel did not enter certain documents, including four volumes on negotiations, into the record; and, accordingly, they were not published. This same material also was not published in the Department of Defense's edition of the Papers, which was printed by the Government Printing Office.

### LEGISLATION TO PROTECT POLICEMAN GAINS SUPPORT

**HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, last year I joined with over 125 House Members in introducing legislation that would insure

the police officer a fair shake and guarantee him the same justice that he is responsible for enforcing. Specifically, the bill would recognize and protect the civil rights of police officers, establishing a Law Enforcement Officers Grievance Commission which would investigate complaints of police officers that arise out of any infringement of rights.

The proposed measure would also formulate a "Law Enforcement Officers Bill of Rights" providing statutory protection for the constitutional rights and privileges of all local law enforcement officers. In this regard, policemen would have the right to bring civil suits against others for damages arising out of official duties and would be given assistance when requested to bring such suits.

Today, we have made some headway, with this legislation being sent to the House Judiciary Subcommittee, chaired by Representative PETER RODINO. Public hearings are the next important step and in this regard I am proud to announce that the International Conference of Police Associations has indicated that they will launch a nationwide mobilization of law enforcement officers to bring about these hearings, and, hopefully, the passage of this important legislation.

The job of a policeman was never easy. Today it is more difficult and hazardous than ever. Surely we must marvel at their ability to maintain a sense of duty, their willingness to submit themselves to the danger inherent in their jobs.

The physical and verbal abuse received by police officers from dissident groups and militants has caused not only police injuries and fatalities, but also a morale crisis among the frontline law enforcement officers of our country. Past efforts at reducing the tensions and eliminating the atmosphere of an adversary relationship between the police and certain segments of the community have largely been concentrated on increasing the rights of defendants without enough regard for the civil rights of police officers.

What we must do is to guarantee to law enforcement officers accused of wrongdoing the same rights and privileges available to any citizen who stands before the bar of justice. I urge all House Members to join with me, and the International Conference of Police Associations, to work toward this goal.

### BILL BATES HONORED

**HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, our late, great colleague, Bill Bates, was one of our strongest proponents in Congress for the development of research for the peaceful uses of Atomic energy. It is heartwarming to know that his efforts are remembered by those who looked to him for leadership in that field through the naming in his memory of the new William H. Bates Linear Accelerator at MIT on April 7, 1972. I believe our colleagues would want to share with the Bates fam-

ily some of the great satisfaction of that day by reading the announcement provided for the guests at the dedication ceremony.

The dedication ceremony follows:

THE WILLIAM H. BATES LINEAR ACCELERATOR—  
RESEARCH FACILITY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS  
INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

(Named in memory of William Henry Bates 1917-1969—Distinguished Member of the United States House of Representatives from the Sixth Massachusetts Congressional District 1950-1969, and Member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy 1961-1969. His intellect, Compassion and Integrity Made Him A Respected Leader and an Honored Champion of Research in the Development of Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy)

WILLIAM BATES—APRIL 26, 1917—JUNE 22, 1969

William Henry Bates, a native of Salem, Massachusetts, entered the U.S. House of Representatives as Congressman from the Sixth Massachusetts Congressional District in 1950. In February of that year he was elected to fill the seat left by his father, Congressman George F. Bates, who was tragically killed in an airline crash over Washington, D.C., in November, 1949. Like his father, death suddenly claimed William Bates at the pinnacle of his distinguished career, bringing to a close 32 years of continuous and renowned service in the U.S. Congress by an honored family.

Congressman Bates received his B.A. degree from Brown University in economics and political science in 1940 and, while a member of the U.S. Navy, received his M.B.A. degree in 1947 from Harvard University. He began his career of service to his country in 1941 when he enlisted in the U.S. Navy as an apprentice seaman, remaining on active duty until 1950 when he ran for the Congressional seat left by his father. At the time of his election he was a Lieutenant Commander and subsequently rose to the rank of Captain in the Naval Reserve, a rank he held at the time of his death. In November, 1969, he was awarded the National Reserve Officer Association of the United States "Minute Man Hall of Fame Award."

Regarded as an expert on military and defense matters and an ardent spokesman for his constituents, he was elected to eleven terms as U.S. Representative and was a high-ranking member of the important and powerful House Armed Services Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Beginning in 1965, he was appointed to serve as a member of the United States delegation to the NATO Parliamentarians Conference where he was assigned to the Conference's Military Committee.

THE WILLIAM H. BATES LINEAR  
ACCELERATOR

In 1951, a small linear accelerator was completed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology by a team of research groups working in both the Institute's Research Laboratory for Electronics and the then Laboratory for Nuclear Science and Engineering. This machine, developed under the leadership of the Department of Physics faculty and staff, found itself among the prototype linear accelerators that emerged following the stimulus of the advances in microwave radar power sources and techniques during World War II.

Operated by the Laboratory for Nuclear Science and Engineering as a research tool, the "17 Mev Linac," as it was known, served over the next decade to generate a number of studies using the accelerator as a source of electrons and gamma rays with which to examine the properties of the atomic nucleus. The machine also provided the focus for the growth of a small but competent group of researchers who, with their students and others in the field, recognized the

increasing importance of electrons as probes with which to look at the nucleus of the atom. By the early 1960's, and after a steady progression of pioneering machines developed at M.I.T. and elsewhere, it was clear that further experimental progress required the advantage of electron beams of higher energy and better precision and yield. At this point, the M.I.T. group undertook the task of developing a facility of advanced design suitable for the next generation's effort, leading to the development of the plan for the present 400 million electron volt William H. Bates Linear Accelerator. The formal proposal for a machine of the present specifications was submitted in 1964 to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, and Congressional authorization for construction funding was granted in the following year. Permission to proceed with actual construction occurred in 1967, after the establishment by M.I.T., through vital assistance from Congressman Bates and others, of the present site in Middleton, Massachusetts, for the accelerator's location. Funds for construction and site of the basic facility have totalled about \$7 million, of which approximately 20 per cent has come from M.I.T. non-government funds and the balance from the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. In addition, funds for research apparatus for experiments have been acquired by additional Atomic Energy Commission equipment funds allocated through the Laboratory for Nuclear Science research contract with that agency. The Accelerator's operation as a facility and research projects to be undertaken with it are planned through Laboratory for Nuclear Science-Atomic Energy Commission support and, where appropriate, by scientist-users from other universities and institutions through their own research contracts with the AEC, the National Research Foundation, and other sponsors with relevant interest in this field.

With most nuclear exploration beyond the unaided reach of man, experiments and tools needed in such study have become highly complex and costly. During the past few decades, the study of the nucleus and its components has necessitated equipments of such size that require them to be available essentially as national facilities and to a wide community of investigators. The William H. Bates Accelerator, though funded by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission through M.I.T. for use within its Laboratory for Nuclear Science, will be accessible also, through a formal user's organization, to eligible researchers in the New England area and in the surrounding regions within practicable working proximity. To the extent that its facilities, accommodations, planned extensions, and support will provide, the Accelerator will be made available as broadly as possible to experimentalists throughout the nation as a whole. Toward these ends a Policy Board and a Program Advisory Committee for the Accelerator have been established comprising representative non-M.I.T. membership from among recognized leaders in the field.

As currently being completed, and in the form that will, at first, be usable, the machine will have its major application to research involving the scattering of electrons from a variety of nuclei. Taken together with a large novel magnetic analyzer being built to detect the scattered electrons, the high quality of the Bates Linear Accelerator beam will make possible a large number of precisely controlled experiments.

Such a source of "illumination" for the nucleus of the atom has applicability to a very wide range of scientific studies. The limitations on the immediate development of additional projects is the need for experimental areas and apparatus well beyond the scope of present funding. However, definite extensions to the Accelerator are planned for future years to make it progressively improvable as a tool and increasingly available

for research in nuclear physics throughout the United States as truly a national facility of importance.

MARJORIE G. LEMLOW—IN SUPPORT OF HOUSE RESOLUTION 620

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on April 27, Mrs. Marjorie G. Lemlow, of San Francisco, Calif., chairman of Mothers Support Neighborhood Schools, Inc., appeared before the House Judiciary Committee in support of House Resolution 620. I take this opportunity to share her remarks with my colleagues:

REMARKS BY MARJORIE G. LEMLOW

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee: My name is Marjorie G. Lemlow, the chairman of Mothers Support Neighborhood Schools, Inc.; of San Francisco, California.

I wish to express my appreciation for this opportunity to appear before you to express the views of Mothers Support Neighborhood Schools Inc. and Parents & Taxpayers, Inc., as well as thousands of individual citizens of San Francisco.

The public school system of the City and County of San Francisco has had an ongoing fight over the issue of "forced busing" since 1961. My own personal involvement began in 1961, and has continued to date.

I feel certain I can speak safely for 78% of San Francisco's voters, who voted "No" in June 1970 on Proposition H, which posed the following questions:

"Shall the San Francisco Unified School District assign or move elementary school children to schools outside their immediate neighborhood without parental consent?" The vote was Yes 39,484—No 139,007 (see records of the Registrar of Voters, City and County of San Francisco.)

In spite of their mandate from an overwhelming majority of San Francisco's voters, our appointive seven member Board rammed through a major "busing for racial balance" program in September of 1970. This program was known as the Richmond Complex. It involved the pairing of 12 elementary schools, designating 6 schools as grades K-3 and 6 as grades 4-6. This complex required the busing of 6,000 students. The plan originally called for all kindergarten children to remain within the neighborhood school, however, this plan was circumvented in the final program and children of 4 yrs., 9 mos. were forced into the busing program!

In September 1971 our district began Phase I of the largest and most massive movement of public school children in the entire country. A hastily drawn computerized program began the city-wide assignments of 47,000 elementary students, with 25,000 scheduled to be bused solely on race in an attempt to achieve racial balance in San Francisco's 99 elementary schools. Heartless computers separated children from home environment, parental jurisdiction and family ties. Children from one family were known to be assigned to as many as 4 or 5 different schools all over the city.

A phase in program was to begin almost immediately for "racial quotas" within the secondary schools. A board vote has delayed temporarily the racial balance program for the Junior High Schools, with the Senior High program yet to be considered.

The elementary busing program was ac-

complished because San Francisco has had an appointive board of education for approximately 40 years (with a confirming yes or no vote on the appointments) by the voters.

This system gave San Francisco a Board of Education with a single political philosophy hinging on the political whims of City Hall! We went the usual route of other urban areas! Citizen's committees were chosen and stacked by the board so that the majority's anti-busing opinion was totally ignored. We had countless expensive studies of the district done by fancy consulting agencies such as SRI (Stanford Research Institute). We had and continue to have these same studies plus new administrative positions for implementing racial balance and many outside consultants including a \$200.00 per day psychologist. San Francisco has had innumerable "carpet-baggers" coming and going since 1965. They have told us how to racially balance and re-balance our schools, how to psychologically adjust our children, our parents, our teachers and our community. We even had Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) fund the district in the amount of \$1,800,000.00 this year under ESAP (Emergency School Aid Program) in order to gain acceptance of total racial balance of our schools! This is nothing more than a sensitivity program aimed at changing values and the directions of academic education. This program concerns itself more with attitudinal changes than with academic achievement and provides the general acceptance of varying substitutes for academic accountability! All of this has happened in a cosmopolitan city renowned for its tolerance, racial harmony and where integration came naturally within its 49 square miles.

In San Francisco, as in Washington, D.C. and other cities where local boards and Federal Courts have enforced similar racial quotas there is an accelerated exodus of middle-class families. The 1970 Census shows a declining white population of 10.2% whereas the non-white population increased 10.2%. (For a complete ethnic census, please refer to the final sheet of this statement.)

Since the beginning of the massive busing program at the elementary level in September 1971, according to the State Average Daily Attendance Report of October 12, 1971, our Unified School District has lost 6,650 elementary students, a loss of 14%. Where have these children gone? Our district is still searching for the 5,967 students who left without transfers as only 562 students left with legitimate transfers. As of October 1971, 48 new private and parochial schools were established with a known enrollment of 3,918 students. Many of these "freedom schools" were established by parents protesting the destruction of their neighborhood schools. This involvement by the parents so convinced them of the poor quality of public education that it will be difficult to get them to return to the public schools.

In the 4 year period between September 1967 and October 1971, the student enrollment of grades K thru 12 dropped 12,501, whereas the budget increased during the same period approximately \$44 million dollars.

San Francisco's Board of Education spends in excess of \$140,000,000.00 from all sources per year. This provides approximately \$1,750 per student per year, undoubtedly the biggest expenditure in the Nation. Notwithstanding such an exorbitant expenditure per student the achievement scores continue to decline.

In a district where the budget and pupil expenditure have substantially increased each year and achievement scores have declined, the reported incidents of violence are steadily increasing. Since the beginning of the massive busing program September

1971 more violence is prevalent in the elementary schools by far than in the secondary schools—and is not lessening according to the school district's own reports.

In order to guarantee the implementation of racial balance programs already proposed and begun in the district, it was necessary that our Board of Education select a superintendent compatible with these goals. Such a man was found in Dr. Thomas A. Shaheen, a reject from Rockford, Illinois. As a point of interest, Dr. Shaheen was chosen after the district failed to obtain the services of Dr. James E. Allen, former U.S. Commissioner of Education. San Francisco now has the task of ridding the district of Dr. Shaheen whose "innovations" have completely demoralized the administrative and teaching staffs as well as the citizenry at large.

It is for these and many other reasons that I have been delegated to urge this Committee to bring forth House Joint Resolution No. 620 to the floor of the Congress and allow the elected representatives to vote the voice of their constituents!

Honorable Members of the Committee, San Francisco—loved the world over for its cosmopolitan spirit and international good will—stands indicted as a city of de jure segregated schools! How can this be?

Judge Stanley A. Weigel, Federal District Judge, ruled in favor of an N.A.A.C.P. suit filed against the district. The suit alleged San Francisco was a city practicing de jure segregation in its schools. This we refute as no child in San Francisco was being refused admission to any public school because of his race, creed, color or national origin. Because of housing patterns San Francisco did have some schools predominantly of one of its quadri-racial components—Spanish Speaking, Chinese, Black and "Other White"—that's me! Judge Weigel's decision dealt only with Black and White, completely disregarding the Spanish and Chinese Communities which are integral parts of the whole. The decision gave the district six weeks to produce a plan for racial balance which disregarded both the Chinese and Spanish school population. As a result, in spite of the massive bussing many schools that formerly were balanced naturally became more imbalanced and students now face reassignment in September. This could become a perpetual numbers game!

The irony of this entire decision lies in the fact that the N.A.A.C.P. filed an almost identical suit against the district in 1962. Our present Mayor, The Honorable Joseph Alioto, was hired as consulting counsel to defend the school district's policies. The failure of the plaintiffs to appear on the trial date required depositions which were given by the N.A.A.C.P. president and education chairman. These depositions completely exonerated the district of all charges of deliberate segregation and stated there was no gerrymandering of boundaries nor obligation to transport students from their neighborhood schools. The suit was dismissed on December 2, 1964.

In 1967 the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights released a report entitled "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools." This report contained inaccuracies and distortions regarding the San Francisco Public Schools. At that time Mothers Support Neighborhood Schools Inc., did a critical review of the report. It was mailed to President Lyndon B. Johnson, every U.S. Congressman, U.S. Senator, every governor and to the major news media throughout the nation. It was shocking for us to discover within Judge Weigel's decision the same report "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools" being used as a basis on which the finding of de jure segregated San Francisco Public Schools was being established. Clearly contained within this same report was also the table showing San Francisco Public Schools to be among the

most highly integrated of the Nation and integrated long before our massive bussing programs began.

Nathan Glaser writing for Commentary Magazine states a case against bussing extremely well when he writes . . . "something very peculiar has happened when the main impact on an argument changes from an effort to expand freedoms to an effort to restrict freedom." This very important article by Mr. Glaser should be read by every person in this country concerned with the education of young Americans.

Gentlemen, is it not time for control of our schools to be returned to the people through their elected representatives, rather than to have the decisions in the hands of the N.A.A.C.P. and the Federal Courts? In San Francisco, we think it is:

We respect President Nixon's statement on racial balance and his desire for Congress to declare a moratorium on assignment of students for racial balance. In all fairness, however, we must ask, how can there be an effective moratorium on bussing—with millions of children already riding buses involuntarily.

We urge again that this committee bring out Resolution No. 620 to the floor of Congress to enable the democratic processes to function. Only then can we get on with the job of educating all of America's children.

Let us Pray!

#### SAN FRANCISCO RACIAL/ETHNIC CENSUS—PER CENSUS BUREAU

	1970		1960	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
White.....	511,186	71.4	604,403	81.6
Nonwhite.....	204,488	28.6	135,913	18.4
Black.....	96,078	13.4	74,383	10.0
Chinese.....	58,696	8.2	36,445	4.9
Japanese.....	11,705	1.6	9,464	1.3
Filipino.....	24,684	3.5	12,327	1.7
American Indian.....	2,900	.4	1,068	.1
Other nonwhites.....	10,415	1.5	2,226	.3
Total.....	715,674		740,316	

#### POPULATION OF SAN FRANCISCO BY ETHNIC GROUPS—U.S. CENSUS, APR. 1 OF EACH YEAR

Ethnic group	1970	1960	1950	1940
Total.....	715,674	740,316	775,357	634,536
White.....	511,186	604,403	693,888	602,701
Nonwhite.....	204,488	135,913	81,469	31,835
Negro.....	96,078	74,383	43,502	4,846
American Indian.....	2,900	1,068	331	224
Other nonwhite.....	105,510	60,462	37,636	26,765

#### PERCENT IN EACH GROUP

	1970	1960	1950	1940
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White.....	71.4	81.6	89.5	95.0
Nonwhite.....	28.6	18.4	10.5	5.0
Negro.....	13.4	10.1	5.6	.8
American Indian.....	.4	.1		
Other nonwhite.....	14.7	8.2	4.9	4.2

Source: Francis J. Curry, M.D., Director, Department of Public Health, Oct. 11, 1971.

The April 1, 1970 U.S. Census population for San Francisco was 715,674 a decrease of 24,642 or 3.3% from the 1960 figure of 740,316 and 50,683 or 7.7% from 1950. The only figures yet available for ethnic groups are listed above. The white population decreased to 511,186 in 1970, a loss of 93,217 persons or 15.4% since 1960. Nonwhites increased by 68,575 or 50.5%. Negroes increased by 21,695 or 29.2% while all other nonwhites increased by 46,880 or 76.2%.

#### WELCOME HOME, APOLLO 16

#### HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. CASEY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure this past weekend to be in Houston to officially welcome three brave men home from a history-making journey to the moon and back.

The faces of the crowd at Ellington Air Force Base in Houston told a story of dedication and work and self-sacrifice on the part of John Young, Charles Duke, and Ken Mattingly, and on the part of the thousands of technicians and family members who backed up these three men during their space odyssey.

No matter how many journeys this country makes into space or onto the surface of the moon, the excitement and the challenge still make these trips the most valuable and historic missions in the history of the world.

From the moon trips, we continue to gain knowledge about the history of our permanent satellite and of our own planet. We also continue to benefit in the form of a sense of national unity in backing these three frail men as they set out on a course of danger into the unknown, carrying the American flag in peace to the ultimate frontier.

Apollo 16 was an exciting mission—it started on a sour note but eventually turned into "sweet 16" through the superhuman efforts of our astronauts and the crew at Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston.

The faces of the crowd in Houston reflected all the drama, pathos, emotion, and value of our whole space effort. There were smiles, grimaces, tears, anxiety and love.

Three brave men were returning home after advancing the field of science another great step and boosting the world's hopes of finding not only knowledge, but peace, in space.

It would have been hard for a doubting Thomas to retain his reservations about our space program after witnessing that "welcome home" in Houston.

The homecoming atmosphere was dominated by an air of anticipation—the travelers were home and another yet more productive and exciting phase of the space program is around the corner, waiting for those welcoming technicians to begin work.

The Earth Resources Satellite, the Space Shuttle—both promise new and challenging programs to further our knowledge and advance our cause. The Voyage of Apollo 16 has once again shown the world that America can accept and meet every challenge and yet not ignore our own problems here on earth.

I do not believe that anyone will accept the defeat of demonstrating to the world that America is incapable of solving more than one problem at a time, that we are unwilling to meet more than one challenge without neglecting another.

Standing on the platform at Ellington Air Force Base, I felt a sincere wish that all my fellow members of Congress could have been there to welcome home these three heroes and feel the dedication and commitment to our space effort expressed by that crowd.

I sincerely feel that the few doubters we have left in the Congress would have been converted.

Welcome home, Apollo 16, and congratulations to John Young, Charles Duke and Ken Mattingly for a job most well done.

#### STREAMLINING APPROPRIATIONS PROCESS

### HON. RICHARD G. SHOUP

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. SHOUP. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with you and my colleagues the full text of a letter from a constituent on an improved approach to our recurring and historically cumbersome task of making fiscal appropriations decisions. Mr. Gerard J. Pesman of Helena, Mont., a retired Federal employee with 24 years of service in Government contracting, has proposed some constructive improvements to our appropriations process. His report deserves your review in our continuing efforts to make Governmental operations more efficient, economical and responsive to the needs of our citizens.

The letter follows:

A few weeks ago Congress passed the Government appropriation bill, several months after the money should have been available. Thus, the abuse of which the Houston Post complained four years ago, in an editorial on January 5, 1968, "Fiscal Year Causes Confusion," is still approved Congressional procedure.

You, Gentlemen, demand that federal employees handle their funds in an economical, business-like manner. Particularly you demand that employees follow sound contracting practices, and your General Accounting Office personnel check our performance and report financial blundering back to you. Yet you, by your actions, force civil service personnel to follow unsound financial practices in order to get their work done. Two of your actions, in particular, make it impossible for federal civil service personnel to use funds economically: your procrastination in considering and passing appropriation bills, and your refusal to set aside adequate contract monitoring travel funds within the amounts appropriated.

Apparently you have the impression that when the appropriation bill is passed the working levels of the Administrative Branch can proceed. Not so! Before bids on proposals can be accepted the funds appropriated must be divided several times down through administrative levels. Contracting officers cannot obligate funds until this division is completed. This dividing procedure also takes time. Thus, except for preparing work statements, contracting work must be held in abeyance while the Senate and House deliberate, or argue with the Administration, and while funds are being distributed. For efficient management it is obvious that the appropriation bill should be passed well before the beginning of a fiscal year.

Inefficiency in contracting is further compounded by the ruling that all funds revert to the general fund at the end of the fiscal

year. Thus, contracting personnel have only four or five months in which to issue work statements, evaluate proposals, and award the contracts. Bidders must also make their estimates and submit bids during this interval. Consequently there is a rush at the end of the fiscal year to get funds spent or lose them. Waste of the taxpayer's money is unavoidable under such circumstances.

With respect to travel funds, the rules and regulations for supervising contracts specify that each contractor is to be visited at set intervals. Larger contracts are to be monitored more frequently. This travel requirement is supposed to be listed as a separate item in budget requests, and the funds needed are based upon the requirements specified in the rules and regulations. In spite of this I am told that Congress always cuts travel funds to suit themselves. How then are contract monitors to do their work effectively?

If you interpret the above paragraph as a subterfuge so that civil service personnel can use funds for travel boondoggles you are mistaken. Hotel and motel rooms are monotonously similar, and except for business that is about all the time one has available. Furthermore, airline hostesses are neither that alluring or available. The night clubs? by the time that civil service personnel are monitoring contracts they are of an age such that a hangover is no novelty. Civil service personnel generally travel from necessity, not from choice.

As elected officials I would expect that you would welcome procedural changes that increase governmental efficiency, and that you would take pride in this increased efficiency. Changing the fiscal year to correspond to the calendar year, making one budget for eighteen months, and thereafter completing budget action by January first as suggested in the Houston Post editorial would accomplish this worthwhile objective. Why not make the change?

#### NIXON POLICY COMMENDABLE

### HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues three editorials from daily newspapers located in my congressional district. All three editorials deal with President Nixon's reaction to North Vietnam's invasion of the South, and all three support the President's policy as the most realistic. The editorial written by Mr. Franklin R. Little appeared in the Ogdensburg, N.Y., Journal on April 19, 1972. The editorial written by Mr. Lee Lapensohn appeared in the Plattsburgh, N.Y., Press-Republican on April 19, 1972. The editorial written by Mr. Clark Morrison III appeared in the Oswego, N.Y., Palladium-Times on April 25, 1972.

The editorials follow:

[From Ogdensburg Journal, Apr. 19, 1972]

WE COMMEND PRESIDENT NIXON FOR HIS POLICY IN VIETNAM  
(By Franklin R. Little)

We support President Nixon's bombing of North Vietnam 100 percent. We admire him for the stand he has taken and we think he deserves the support of every true American.

President Nixon did not involve the U.S. in Vietnam. This was done by Democratic Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. President

Nixon is not responsible for committing one American soldier to Vietnam. He inherited the situation. He has made forthright and sincere effort to withdraw American forces from Vietnam and to end our involvement there. He has taken the initiative on a number of occasions and has gone far more than halfway in his proposals for peace to the North Vietnamese. When he was elected he announced that he would withdraw American forces from Vietnam and he has kept his word. American forces there are down to a small fraction of what they were when he succeeded President Johnson and American losses were almost at zero until the Communists made their recent brazen invasion.

President Nixon's honest and sincere efforts to end the war have met nothing but perfidy, treachery and calumny from the North Vietnamese. The North Vietnamese Communists have made a farce of the Paris "peace conference." Instead of meeting the President even part of the way in his sincere efforts to end the war on terms fair to all sides they have heaped scorn and ridicule on the U.S. and on the President. They have consistently lied and mocked the President's honest efforts to end hostilities.

They massed their troops for an invasion of the south just before the President was scheduled to go to China. The purpose of this, of course, was to disrupt his China visit and humiliate him. For some reason the invasion didn't come off just then but it did come off on the eve of his visit to Moscow next month. If there ever was a cold blooded and unprovoked attack, this is it. The South Vietnamese have not attacked the north. All they were seeking was peace and the right to live their own lives in their own country. Suddenly and without warning practically all of the North Vietnamese regular divisions were hurled at the South in an undisguised attempt at quick conquest. The attack was timed so that it would force the President and the U.S. into a most humiliating situation when the President visits Moscow in May. It was confidently hoped by the North that the President would go to Moscow after a major military defeat of our allies, the South Vietnamese, and the destruction of our remaining forces in Vietnam. This would surely put the President in a most embarrassing position when he visits the Kremlin to seek a lessening of world tensions. The only lessening would be strictly on the Communists' terms.

We have never been able to understand how the Communist mind works. The Communists knew that the President was withdrawing American forces from South Vietnam. They could have waited until they were all gone and then could have sought to take over South Vietnam either from within the country or by attack from without. Instead, they waited until the eve of an important international conference between President Nixon and the leaders of Russia in the Kremlin. Their attack cost the needless sacrifice of thousands of lives, incalculable destruction of property, and it placed the lives of every American still in South Vietnam in jeopardy.

Then the Vietnamese had the gall to say that they would resume secret peace talks if the U.S. ended its bombing of North Vietnam. "A halt in the escalation of the war over North Vietnam and the resumption of the Paris talks must be simultaneous," Xuan Thuy, Hanoi's chief Paris delegate said. "Without these two acts there can be no basis for private meetings." No mention was made of the gigantic all-out invasion of South Vietnam by North Vietnam regulars. For some reason this is quite cricket.

We think the President has been extremely patient and forbearing in his attitude toward the hypocritical and deceitful Communists of North Vietnam. He has certainly gone the limit in seeking the end of the war and to let South Vietnam decide its own

fate by the free vote of its own people. He has taken abuse and insults for long enough. If he were to walk away and abandon South Vietnam in the face of this brazen invasion no foreign country could ever have any confidence in the word or pledge of the U.S. Our standing in the world would go down to zero. If the blood thirsty Communists of North Vietnam are allowed to degrade and defeat the U.S. and the U.S. is so weak as to surrender, what country can have any confidence in the integrity or the promises of the U.S. in the future?

We commend the President for bombing Hanoi and Haiphong and we hope that he bombs them again and again if necessary to stop the Communists in their tracks. We also commend him for not shaking in his boots for fear the Russians might not like it. The Russians are supplying all of the tanks, artillery, planes, bombs and bullets to the North Vietnamese. We think the U.S. has worried too long whether the Russians would be displeased or not. We believe that honor and the integrity of the U.S. is at stake and we are proud that the President is standing up to defend them and not running away.

We hope that the weak-kneed leftist, dovish, self-seeking politicians in the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives who are supporting the Communists in this unabashed cold-blooded invasion will be smacked down by those Senators and Representatives who still have some red blood in their veins and who still have some loyalty to their country, its promises, its obligations and its word.

[From the Plattsburgh Press-Republican,  
April 19, 1972]

WHILE THERE, HIT HARDER  
(By Lee Lapensohn)

The United States bombed the politically dangerous targets of Hanoi and Haiphong over the weekend and official Washington remained rather mum about the whole thing. Even Vice President Agnew kept his cool and wouldn't respond to the prodding of zealous news reporters.

But the rest of the world, including veteran White House critics, didn't let the event go unnoticed. The Russians beefed and Communists in general castigated us once again for taking what many consider to be drastic steps in an ever-present conflict.

Although we have criticized Mr. Nixon and his administration for falling in the past to cease U.S. involvement in the Southeast Asian war, we cannot criticize him on the recent spate of critical bombings.

It has been our feeling for a long time that we, as a nation, ought to disengage ourselves from the Vietnam war; that South Vietnam ought to stand on its own or fall alone to the North. But to say that while the President keeps us in the war we should not take advantage of available military trump cards would be wrong in every sense. As long as our men are in Vietnam—whether we want them there or not—it is important that we protect them against increasing attacks from the North.

As we have said before, we ought to get out of Vietnam. But until such time as we do that, we ought to take advantage of every military opportunity that's available to us, and that includes the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong.

[From the Oswego Palladium-Times,  
April 25, 1972]

THE DOVES IGNORE VIETNAM SUCCESS  
(By Clark Morrison III)

In a letter to the New York Times, eight members of the U.S. House of Representatives deplore the escalation of the war in Vietnam. A central paragraph puts the blame squarely where the congressmen believe it belongs:

"The President of the United States has called off the regular meetings of the negotiators at the Paris peace talks. And only this week the United States launched a massive air attack of both South and North Vietnam. In short, there are no signs of any moral leadership on the part of the administration to end the killings and the destruction of countries now."

In the 254 words of the letter, not a word alludes to the massive invasion of South Vietnam by North Vietnamese troops, nor to the killings of South Vietnamese civilians and destruction of their villages by North Vietnamese tanks, mortars and howitzers.

In a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State William P. Rogers was asked if the stepped-up fighting was not proof that the administration's policy of Vietnamization had failed. None of the senators suggested that North Vietnamese's invasion, to which it has committed more than 90 percent of its regular forces, might mean just the opposite—that Vietnamization is working.

But a funny thing has been happening on the way to the embarkation ports in Vietnam. That it is ignored by those who, for some reason, hope for the discrediting of Vietnamization, is one thing. That the nation's representatives in Congress seem to be totally unaware of it is quite another.

The fact is that not only has the war been increasingly "Vietnamized," meaning that South Vietnam has taken over more and more of the burden of ground fighting, but the war has also become increasingly "North Vietnamized."

In the Tet offensive of 1968, which was such a telling psychological blow to the American public and to the Johnson administration, nearly every village and city throughout the length and breadth of South Vietnam was subjected to attacks by Viet Cong guerrillas, who seemingly sprang out of the earth—despite the fact that U.S. forces were at a peak of more than half a million men.

At that time, the argument that the conflict was a civil war against a repressive regime in Saigon which we were immorally supporting had more than a little credibility. Little remarked in the United States, South Vietnam since then has made significant strides in land reform and in truly pacifying the countryside.

Today, when U.S. troop strength dwindled to well under 100,000 and no units are engaged in active combat, the current fighting is almost entirely a North Vietnamese operation—a textbook operation involving frontal assaults by armored columns across the Demilitarized Zone, artillery support, logistical lines of supply and all the rest, an operation made possible by weapons and materiel from the peace-loving Soviet Union.

At the Senate hearing, Sen. J. William Fulbright could ask the secretary of state, in sincere anguish at the continued killing and destruction: Why have you (the administration) placed us in the position where we have a Hobson's choice between either surrender or escalation?

Yet when President Nixon undertook to begin the withdrawal of American troops, with the full support of Congress and the vast majority of Americans, each reduction in our strength increased the possibility that we would be faced with one or the other eventually. North Vietnam was repeatedly warned what our reaction would be.

The real question that should be asked is, why has North Vietnam chosen to attempt an all-out military conquest of South Vietnam, and to humiliate the United States in the bargain, at a time when U.S. withdrawal was so near to being accomplished?

And why aren't more Americans asking that question?

FEDERAL DECISION COULD HELP  
COUNTRYSIDE

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago I went back to Minnesota to testify at an ICC hearing at Redwood Falls in an effort to save a branch railroad line from abandonment.

I cannot stand idly by while yet another obstacle is placed in the path of our people of Countryside America.

We need the railroads in our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District to provide vital transportation for the huge grain crops which we produce because many of our highways are load restricted.

There has been a universal rallying to save our branch line railroads.

Typical of the sentiment is an editorial written by James Ayres, managing editor of the Marshall Messenger, which, with your permission, I would like to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that my colleagues and the thousands of others who read this journal may share in his thinking:

FEDERAL DECISION COULD HELP COUNTRYSIDE  
(By James W. Ayres)

Because of federal tax laws, the Chicago and North Western Railway is a company which says it lost money last year.

The revenue derived from the 8.2 miles of track between Sanborn and Wanda garnered a \$1,900 profit for the company, say those close to its operation.

Why then abandon a line which is the heart of the economy to Wanda area farmers and members of the Farmers Cooperative Elevator.

Logic doesn't give a reason nor did any of the first-day testimony at Redwood Falls Monday.

When the railroad officials took the witness stand, they told of the unsafe track, the uneven rails, the grass-covered sidings.

They claimed earlier it would cost \$300,000 to make the 8.2 miles safe for its use.

Who is to blame for the bad trackage . . . certainly not the elevator of the Wanda civic leaders.

The railroads, which once let its passenger service do anything but service, is now letting its freight service follow the same route.

It would be great if the Interstate Commerce Commission would buck the big business and instruct them to repair and replace worn tracks and continue to serve the small communities of America.

The railroads were first given land by the government and have done little in past decades to keep their free property in shape for the customers.

Perhaps with the aid of a U.S. senator, U.S. congressman, a governor, an attorney general, the chairman of the state Public Service Commission and legislators the federal authorities will see the plight of the countryside.

Too many events are taking place today to give people reasons to leave their small home towns for the large metropolitan areas.

The right decision by the Interstate Commerce Commission could be the start of a fresh approach toward keeping people away from the metro areas in favor of living where they want to live given a choice.



## PERFIDY MASKED AS PATRIOTISM

## HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, some things that used to, as a matter of course, mean the gallows or a firing squad or at the very least a good long jolt behind bars are now hailed in certain sick quarters as the "in" thing to do.

The following, by Ben Cole, Washington correspondent of the Indianapolis Star, does an excellent job of telling it like it should be. Ben takes on the latest cheap kick of the antiwar and anti-U.S. fanatics—leaking American military secrets.

As Ben points out—and I agree with him—there is more reason to admire Col. Rudolf Abel, the Soviet Union's master spy, who worked so diligently for Moscow and against this country. At least, here was an honest enemy. And that type is to be preferred any day of the week over home-grown traitors who are so good at knifing their own countrymen, all in the name of being "spies for peace."

The article, from the April 28, 1972 Star, follows:

## PERFIDY MASKED AS PATRIOTISM

(By Ben Cole)

WASHINGTON.—A column in the Washington Post recently gave glowing praise to an organization in Boston called the Ad Hoc Military Buildup Committee which has set up shop to leak American military secrets.

Its object, of course, is to hamper the United States effort in Vietnam.

According to the columnist, Nicholas von Hoffman, the Boston group collects intelligence on troop deployment, ship movements and Air Force assignments from dissident servicemen who phone in collect with their reports.

In a time of declared war, the servicemen and the Ad Hoc Committee would be subject to espionage laws. And, in fact, "spies for peace" is how Von Hoffman characterizes them in his laudatory account.

Perfidy is a strange quirk. It is not unusual to find it masquerading as patriotism.

The logic of the antiwar fanatics is that American involvement in Vietnam is wrong, therefore to make the nation's task there more difficult is a demonstration of love for America.

The possibility that such devotion can get a neighbor's son killed, or cause some young mother's husband to be shot down, or might sink a ship—these prospects evidently don't figure in such patriotic idealism.

This is, in fact, not different from the kind of sentiment that motivated Julius and Ethel Rosenberg when they gave the nation's atomic secrets to Soviet spies and became the only Americans executed for such an act.

It is, however, an altogether different kind of patriotism from the kind that brought Col. Abel from the Soviet Union to America to collect such secrets as any volunteers or mercenaries might be willing to supply to their country's Cold War enemy.

Rudolf Abel—nobody knew his real name—was the Soviet spymaster who lived inconspicuously in New York City, gathering American secrets for the Kremlin until he was caught, convicted and sentenced to 30 years in prison. He maintained sphinxlike silence throughout, and he would have served out his term, no doubt, if the U.S. had

not at last traded him for U-2 pilot Gary Powers.

Somehow, it is possible to manage a little grudging admiration for Col. Abel, who risked his neck and was silently willing to take the penalty. He lived a lonely and furtive life far from Moscow where his family remained, probably as a kind of surety for his loyalty. Nonetheless, he served his native land faithfully.

His silence contrasts sharply with the behavior of Victor L. Marchetti, who worked for the Central Intelligence Agency as a high-level official. The Justice Department is in the process of seeking court action to keep him from disclosing secrets entrusted to him while he was in the government service.

Marchetti, it is clear, disapproves of the CIA and has said as much in interviews and articles; and he is now said to be writing a book on the subject.

He, too, probably sees this as a form of patriotic protest.

Granted the Vietnam War is unpopular—as manifestly it is with a great number of Americans. Granted, also, that it is a vexing business for a free country to require the services of an agency like CIA.

In a republic, however, there are available many methods of protest. Activity that can hurt fellow countrymen oughtn't be one of them.

## SECRETARY BUTZ ON RURAL AMERICA IN THE 1970's

## HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, during a 12-month period, in any year, we have numerous experts looking into the future of agriculture, but none more profoundly and thoughtfully than Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz as revealed by his talk in Atlanta, Ga., on April 20.

The Secretary told the land grant college and university presidents, and administrators of agriculture, that farming is going through a period of great transition that will require the "best leadership it can get."

Shifts in patterns of production, and emphasis on new means of providing the Nation and the world with better food and fiber, and making it a better buy for the consumer, are particularly obvious in Southern States. The Secretary called attention to these changes, but also reminded his audience, and farmers generally, that "other tasks and other opportunities of the first magnitude must be faced during the years of this decade."

He cited the problems involved for the Nation's greatest industry, but said the Department of Agriculture prefers to think of them in terms of opportunity in order to provide rural America with the viable base economic plant that will remain on top of all demands of the future.

I commend Secretary Butz' talk to my colleagues, and include it for the RECORD at this time.

## AGRICULTURE AND RURAL AMERICA IN THE SEVENTIES

(Address by Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz)

For farmers and the agricultural industry, these are times of unprecedented change—

significant, deep-seated change that will continue through the decade of the Seventies and make a lasting impact on the very face of America. Presidents and Administrators of Agriculture of the Land Grant educational institutions are certain to be catalysts and motivators of the changes to come.

Take a good look at the current scene, at events happening right now, and you see a great industry going through transition. New crop programs under the Agricultural Act of 1970, for example, are accelerating shifts in cropping patterns—production is concentrating in regions of greatest efficiency and profitability.

## AGRICULTURE IS MOVING TOWARD MARKET-ORIENTED PRODUCTION

With quotas, penalties for over-production, and similar controls removed from production of major crops, farmers are exercising new managerial freedom to plant what and where they want for best market opportunities. We are making determined efforts to curb excess production and work down excess stocks. Farmers are enrolling farms and acreage in set-aside programs at a record-breaking pace for a second straight year.

We are seeing the Nation's biggest industry—with 4.5 million workers—undergoing a fundamental change of course to gear production to the real demands of markets at home and abroad. We are seeing farmers attain a new place of importance as they contribute \$6 billion to the U.S. commercial trade balance, which is vital to the stabilization of our international economic relationships.

We are seeing the world's finest food production system improve its efficiency, outpace the growth rate of productivity per man-hour of manufacturing industries, and amply meet the needs of our growing population while increasing exports to foreign markets at record-breaking rates. Food is the first law of life—the first claim any society has on its total resources is to assure sufficient food to keep the people well fed and productive—and American agriculture is proving dramatically its ability to fulfill that vital law.

## AGRICULTURE IS WINNING THE BATTLE OVER HUNGER

Because of the unrivaled productive power of American agriculture, farmers are able to play a leading role in conquering mankind's ancient enemy—hunger and malnutrition. The battle is far from over; it will be long; it will be difficult; it will have to be fought domestically and internationally, by private and public means alike. But we are making dramatic progress.

Here at home, President Nixon's campaign to banish poverty-caused hunger has brought about—during the past three years—the most massive effort ever undertaken in world history and now nearly 15 million people are receiving family food assistance; more than 8 million needy youngsters have free or reduced-price meals in school; and close to 25 million children participate in the National School Lunch Program.

Internationally, millions on millions of people can look forward to more food improved diets because trade avenues are being opened up so that American farm commodities can flow to Europe, the Soviet Union, Japan and many other countries. My recent mission to Russia was quite in keeping with the changes that are occurring.

## AGRICULTURE IS GAINING STRENGTH FOR GREATER TASKS AHEAD

Agriculture's continuing primary responsibility will be to assure our growing population an ample supply of wholesome food. Yet farmers will face other tasks and other opportunities of the first magnitude during the years of this decade. These missions are being imposed by our affluent and increasingly enlightened society—a society of people

concerned with the total economic, social, and natural environment, the total setting in which people will live, do their work, and seek their recreation.

We are beginning to see signs that agriculture is gathering strength. Gross farm income this year is expected to reach an all-time high. Phase II economic controls are helping retard the rise in farm production costs. This leads us to anticipate that farmers' realized net income will also set a record this year. If 1972 turns out the way it now looks that it will, farmers' total realized net income will average \$16.4 billion for the four years, 1969 through 1972, compared with an average of \$13.8 billion from 1961 through 1968. That's a 19 percent increase—even though it's not enough to satisfy me. The figure for 1972 is expected to range from \$17.2 billion to \$17.7 billion.

Income per farm is up, on the average, and the same is true of per capita income of farm people. The average disposable income of farm people is catching up some, compared with averages for non-farm people. During the last three years, average disposable income of farm people has averaged 75 percent of that of non-farm people—which is up from 68 percent in the 1961-68 period. We want this to improve, but it's another sign of progress.

We want farmers to do better so that they and their rural neighbors will have more opportunity and a greater incentive to stay in the countryside. We are making progress in that regard, too. The average decline in the number of farms per year during the last three years has been 47,000—compared with the loss of 106,000 farms a year from 1961 through 1968.

The new programs encourage crop specialization, and this is another source of increased agricultural strength. The programs emphasize opportunities for farmers to cash in on improved efficiency and increased productivity. Yet in its broad dimension, modern American farming also has a remarkable capacity to be diverse and flexible, and this likewise is a significant source of strength. Nowhere is the dynamism of agriculture better illustrated than here in the Southland.

Once this region was largely a one-crop economy, when cotton was king. Your institutions and the experiment stations have been intimately involved with the transformation that has taken place—a process of growth and change still underway and certain to continue. Only two decades ago, few persons could have visualized what wonders the combined forces of research and farm enterprise would perform. The South's agricultural base has vastly expanded with the rapid growth in the broiler and egg industry, the increase in livestock production, revolutionizing of peanut production, expansion of soybean output, and the emergence of wood pulp as a leading commodity.

Double cropping, livestock feeding, catfish farming—new products and new methodologies are looming on the southern agricultural scene. We intended to give real meaning to rural development—the generation of opportunities, economic, cultural, and social, all across the board for farmers, for farm families, and for people who prefer to live and work in the rural countryside.

#### AGRICULTURE WILL HAVE MANY PROBLEMS TO SOLVE

Whether we of the Department and you of the Land Grant institutions are occupied with commercial agriculture or the broader interests of rural America, we can foresee problems ahead that will call on our best brainpower and manpower to solve them.

Many of these problems—which we prefer to approach as opportunities—relate to the national picture; they relate to trends in the attitudes of city people as well as farm people, to research and technological approaches that ought to be pushed now in order to cope with tomorrow's needs. Tomorrow's needs,

and tomorrow's standards, are more easily discernible today than they could have been just a few years ago, because we are becoming more sophisticated in our collection and use of knowledge.

When we speak of tomorrow's needs, we refer, for example, to constraints on natural resources that are likely to be imposed on farmers and other users of land and water. We refer to such controversial issues here in the South as clear cutting in forests and clear channeling of streams—not to mention mirex and the urgency of controlling fire ants. I refer, of course, to the whole question of how best to preserve and enhance the natural environment, without jeopardizing agriculture's ability to produce sufficient food and fiber.

There is also the all-important problem—and opportunity—of how best to achieve balanced national growth, so that rural America can share meaningfully in the Nation's economic expansion during this decade. Here there is no real line of demarcation between agriculture, per se, and rural development, as far as you and I are concerned. We cannot afford to compartmentalize our attention or confine our efforts to bits and pieces—we need to take the broadest possible view of rural America's future.

The Department of Agriculture is deeply committed to the involvement of young people in all aspects of rural development. Young men and women who are now under your charge will be tomorrow's decision makers. We urge you to give them opportunities through youth programs and junior leadership experiences to become actively engaged in the work of infusing new energies into our rural economy. Help them get a feeling for community planning, help awaken their awareness of the need for practical land-use policy determination, help them relate to the work of State and local Rural Development Committees, help them assume some part now in the responsibilities for bringing about controlled, healthy change.

The rural development tasks ahead will call for all the talent, imagination, and energy that each of us can muster—and the involvement of today's young people will be vital.

The same is true of our persistent efforts to improve rural income levels, to improve commodity and livestock production methods, or to improve the flow of products from farms to markets.

And the passage of time will uncover new challenges in food quality and wholesomeness. Science is providing more sophisticated detection devices and techniques. They give us greater ability than we had even a few years ago to observe the relationships between animal health and human health, and the potential effects of feed additives, food preservatives, and other substances. Science is providing new insights into people's nutritional needs and the potentials that lie in food production and food processing to meet those needs.

#### AGRICULTURE WILL MAKE INCREASING DEMANDS ON LAND GRANT INSTITUTIONS

Who knows what wonders may lie ahead for agriculture and rural America—in chemurgy, hybridization, artificial photosynthesis, genetics engineering, and what some might call biological farming? Who can guess what impact advances like these may have on our productive capacity, and on our future use of land and water resources? The present pace of change in our world of science and technology is so explosive that they can occur much sooner than we expect.

For the more immediate future, we must prepare now—as we are doing—to take entirely new approaches to crop production with emphasis on biological pest controls, for instance. To achieve success, we will need a "total systems approach" to this and all the other problems of agriculture and rural

America—better decision-making techniques, better skills, better ideas. And this is where your role takes on paramount importance.

We shall need to mobilize all the resources of education and research to serve all the people of America—because to a greater degree than ever before, the task of agriculture during this decade will indeed be that of serving all the people. Supplying their food. Producing their fiber. Providing much of their home building materials. Safeguarding their precious environmental assets. Creating new opportunities for enjoying life in the countryside. Relieving the pressures of overcrowded cities.

The scope and multiplicity of the tasks ahead are so great that the maximum cooperation of Federal agencies, State institutions, local governments, private organizations, and rural people themselves will be essential. We of the Federal Government can help in many ways—we are already doing so and intend to do more. To cite some examples that come readily to mind—the new Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, designed to advance health protection and save farmers money; the commodity marketing teams that are making a crash effort to develop new and innovative guidance for small farmers; the new Rural Development Service and expanded credit programs of the Farmers Home Administration; the current intensification of research on pest management methods.

But as we zero in on the problems of farmers and rural America during this decade, it becomes increasingly obvious that critical responsibilities will rest on you. Agriculture will need the best people it can get. Rural America will need the best leadership it can get. The complex of business and industrial enterprises that serve and supply farmers or process agricultural commodities will need the best personnel they can get. And governmental organizations at all levels that are serving agriculture and rural America will need the best talents they can get. Your institutions will be the chief source of supply.

The decade ahead will be full of excitement and accomplishment. We are linked together in a great agricultural industry. We are bonded together by that industry's great needs. We are joined in service to great people—the farmers and rural residents of our country. And our greatest challenge—our greatest need—our greatest opportunity of all—will be to develop people who can carry forward the missions of agriculture and rural America triumphantly.

#### LAKE BLUFF COMMEMORATES ARBOR DAY

#### HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, Arbor Day 1972 will be commemorated in my home community of Lake Bluff, Ill., on Saturday, May 6. The Lake Bluff observance will take place appropriately in Artesian Park, an historic portion of the community dedicated to activities related to conservation and outdoor recreation.

Mr. Speaker, the Lake Bluff Park District, under the direction of the President of the Park District, Mr. John Donald, will participate in this ceremony. The program has been organized and is being directed by Mrs. Virginia Magnus—a member of the Lake Bluff

Park District Board—and a devoted conservationist in her own right.

Mr. Speaker, it is appropriate that the American Legion and Cub Scouts are cooperating in this ceremony and that the main theme of the event is the planting of new trees. According to my understanding, more than 75 trees have been donated for this purpose—and will be planted throughout the community for the benefit of this and future generations of citizens.

Mr. Speaker, the Arbor Day ceremony this year is particularly significant in that it marks the 100th anniversary of the first Arbor Day established in 1872 by the then Secretary of Agriculture—the late Julius Sterling Morton.

Mr. Speaker, in his Arbor Day message, President Nixon has noted that:

Today, at a time when our people recognize more than ever before the necessity to preserve, protect and enhance our environment, Arbor Day has a message for each of us.

He concluded that:

Through the simple but profoundly symbolic act of planting trees, we can build into the American dream the kind of environmental quality we want.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Mrs. Magnus for this commemoration of Arbor Day in Lake Bluff and all who have arranged similar activities in other areas, which, according to the President, have resulted in the planting of millions of trees which would not otherwise have been planted.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to look forward to my participation in the Lake Bluff Arbor Day observance.

### NDEA III HELPS REDMOND HIGH SCHOOL

#### HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, I have become familiar with many education programs funded by the Federal Government. Some have proven themselves and Congress has seen fit to continue or increase funding. Others have been dropped for lack of demonstrated value.

One program which I believe has proven its effectiveness, yet may be dropped because the administration's fiscal year 1973 budget includes no funds for it, is title III of the National Defense Education Act. This title provides support to local educational agencies on a 50-50 basis for the purchase of instructional equipment and materials in 10 subject areas, covering the range of the academic curriculum. It reaches schools in all areas, regardless of geography or economic level.

I am disturbed to note that the administration's fiscal year 1973 budget has no mention of this program. I feel that this is one of our educational programs, sparked by the Sputnik concern, that has borne fruit and deserves continued support.

NDEA III has enjoyed wide bipartisan support in the past from Congress and is presently included with an authorization of the \$130 million in the higher education amendments. We are deeply concerned with finding more effective teaching tools and methods. This, to me, is one of the ways to do it.

In my own district in Washington State, NDEA III has made possible the development of a new approach to the study of journalism. Using a multimedia approach and a broadened concept of goals, journalism class enrollment has tripled and the entire student body of Redmond High School has become involved to some degree. To me, this is what education is all about.

I include an article describing this project which appeared in the March 1972 English Journal in the RECORD at this point:

#### MULTIMEDIA IN HIGH SCHOOL JOURNALISM—IT REALLY WORKS

(By Joan A. Newman)

The multi-media approach to journalism at Redmond, Washington, High School has stimulated new enthusiasm from our students, more reactions from their audience, and new growth for the program, all at no extra cost. Our journalism staff produces a newspaper, a newsfilm, and an in-school radio broadcast, as well as doing the darkroom work in black-and-white photography for the paper and the yearbook. The two years we have experimented with the program have convinced us that the multi-media approach is a really workable method for teaching journalism.

We turned to media other than our school newspaper in 1969-70 because printing costs were rising and enrollment in our journalism course was sagging. In the five years since Redmond High School had opened, the cost of printing a four-page paper had risen from \$115 to \$175, though the annual budget we were allowed had remained fixed at \$2500. At \$300, the cost of one eight-page issue would have been more than the budget for a whole month.

Furthermore, although the student body had grown from about 1000 to 1450, enrollment in the only journalism class had remained at twenty to twenty-five. An introductory journalism class never had attracted a large enough enrollment to justify keeping it in the curriculum. For instance, one semester nine students had enrolled in the introductory class; another semester a very small introductory journalism group had been rounded out with students who needed an English class to graduate but had no particular interest in journalism.

The school principal was concerned that a disproportionate share of the school budget went to a course that was not growing as the student body expanded. Yet if we had attracted more students to the program, we could not have afforded to publish their efforts anyway.

A film criticism course at Redmond was already drawing an enrollment of 350, so we knew student interest in film was high. We knew that about fifteen minutes of Super-8 film cost a total of \$20. Students could make eight fifteen-minute films of school events for the cost of one four-page paper. We decided to try film as a news medium and offered newsfilm production as an elective in the journalism program.

The idea worked! The first year the staff alternated one eight-page newspaper, the *Blaze*, with a twelve- to twenty-five minute *Blaze Newsfilm* each month. Halfway through the year, our principal and the district administration obtained for us a state-Federal grant of \$600. We were then able to pur-

chase a Super-8 camera, a Super-8 projector, and editing equipment to replace that which students had brought from home to use. (We also bought a reserve supply of film that we still use for special projects and to keep the program going until regular supplies arrive each fall.)

Newsfilms were shown to the student body in our little theater or on the cafeteria stage during all study periods on show dates. We estimated the audience on any given day at about eight hundred. Content included everything from impromptu snowball fights, visual explorations of the school roofs and storage rooms, and the "Car of the Lot" in action, to gymnastics meets and cross-country practices, the all-school Environment Day, and the girls in the woodshop program. Periodically, students produced reruns for smaller groups who might have missed the original showing or were anxious to see themselves again in a particular sequence.

At the start of the following year, enthusiastic journalism students requested an additional elective, the in-school broadcast. The *Blaze Radio*, as they called it, was incorporated into the program. This project ran into considerable difficulty with equipment, all student-owned except for the school tape recorders. Nevertheless, the broadcast staff put together a bi-weekly program of interviews, sports reports, some spot news, editorials and music commentary, interspersed with "commercials" advertising school events.

Midway through the year, the student body officers all resigned their positions, saying they were unable to accomplish their goals regarding such things as the school dance policy and student desire for open campus because they had no power. The next *Blaze Radio* broadcast included interviews with students and faculty who were asked whether or not they thought the student body officers had been justified in quitting in the middle of the year.

In other broadcasts, editorials covered that question and broader topics such as mass media responsibilities and ethical questions about scholarships offered by groups which discriminate against blacks. In one broadcast feature, two students spoofed educational jargon: "Do you know what a 'building leader' is, Ed?" Another feature took students on a tour of the tunnels underneath the school: "Hey, John, what is this thing, now? (Clank, clank)." A third feature was a visit with the cooks who answered questions about their work schedule and the sources of their recipes. One local business firm actually bought two spots to advertise records. These broadcasts were aired every other Friday during study periods in the cafeteria.

In 1970-71, the staff produced a bi-weekly, four-page newspaper alternating with the broadcasts. The fifteen-minute newsfilms ran on a three-week production schedule. Our budget remained the same, since the broadcasts cost nothing.

During both these years, we found it a good idea to keep the *Blaze* newspaper publishing as much as possible because many of the students still felt most at home working with the print media (newspaper and yearbook). We also retained and expanded somewhat the work the students could do in photography, which some students felt was very important to them. With a larger darkroom we could have accommodated even more students. In fact, the darkroom was one area in which our costs did rise slightly—about \$50 for supplies. However, since most of the additional work done in the darkroom was used in the yearbook, that budget absorbed the increase. Students did their own camera work, developing, and printing for just about all the black-and-white photographs in the yearbook. They also did all the photography for the paper and screened the prints for offset reproduction.

By 1971 students could elect to work in any of the four media. Many of them

worked in two, some in all four. There was no clear pattern in their choices, except that those who did well in one area seemed anxious to try all the others. At the end of the year, the school acquired a videotape recorder. Some journalism students made plans to videotape and broadcast interviews with the student body and panel discussions of student concerns.

What gains in the teaching of journalism resulted from all this activity? Enrollment in the class jumped from thirty to ninety-four in the two years. These figures include the yearbook staff, which grew from nine to twenty-four in a kind of corollary action. The yearbook was transferred to journalism from the art program in the second year of the multi-media experiment. We assume that either the chance to work in photography or the general shot-in-the-arm given the journalism program by the new approach was responsible. A number of yearbook staff members tried their hand at work on the broadcast and newspaper also.

About 85 per cent of the students' work was used in one medium or another. Some material was channeled into the local weeklies as press releases from the school, but students preferred to see their work in the *Blaze*. From time to time, material originally intended for the newspaper was shortened and used for broadcast instead. One casualty with the larger staff was the use of editorials written by students not on the journalism staff. This situation was unfortunate because the *Blaze* editorial page had drawn students not on the staff into some pretty lively forums in previous years. The content of Redmond journalism now became more exclusively the project of just those students who were able to take the course.

However, we were certainly able to teach many more kinds of students than before. Traditionally, we had enrolled all comers who gave a coherent reason for wanting to take the course, but we had warned applicants that they should have "B or better" grades in English or they might not do well in journalism. Now writing skill was no longer the chief requirement for success, although the ability to organize was still highly important. We could now work with students who could organize by methods other than writing. We could also give more attention to other important communications skills, such as the ability to interview other people successfully, the ability to judge an audience, and the ability to sense how a subject will come across on movie film or in a black-and-white print.

One of the first things we did with a story possibility was to determine whether it could be told best in print, on movie film, in a broadcast, or in a single photograph or series of photographs. At that point the story was assigned to a volunteer working in the medium the staff had selected. Soon, students in editorial or management positions led their own staffs in making these decisions for themselves. They learned the advantages of the four media. They also learned to tell what parts of the same story would have greater effect in one medium than in another.

One such story was the controversy over admitting girls to the Lettermen's Club. The story was covered in the usual way in the news and editorial columns of the *Blaze*. The *Blaze Radio* collected on tape and then broadcast a cross-section of student and faculty opinion on the matter. *Blaze* photographers made pictures of the major personalities in the controversy. The newsfilm contained sequences showing the girls' athletic teams in action while the sound track explained that these were the girls who were asking to be admitted to the all-male club.

The students enjoyed making these decisions. The teacher was able to use this en-

thusiasm to advantage in teaching them to communicate responsibility. When it came to deciding how a story should be treated, no one said, "Oh, but that's so dull!" in those two years. If anything, students (rather than the teacher) became conscious of possible reactions from authorities and other students. Reactions from students and faculty kept them alert to the effect their work was having on their audience. The more difference there was between what the staff thought they had said and what their audience heard or saw, the more the staff members learned.

On one occasion, broadcast staff members decided to treat a schoolwide grumble about losing basketball games by asking a haphazard sample of students and faculty, "What do you think should be done to improve school sports?" When one interviewer asked this question of a coach, he was told that his question was inflammatory and broadcasting the answers wouldn't do any good anyway. No one else had to explain to the student that rewording the question was necessary if he was going to get the kind of information he was looking for.

The students who wrote an editorial series on student conduct in the *Blaze*, called "Dick and Jane at Mickey Mouse High," learned the same lesson a different way. They attacked lunch line panhandlers and especially the "Weedies for Lunch Bunch." Their work was reprinted in two other Washington school papers as well as being quoted on our own campus. Their success taught them very efficiently how to reach at least one kind of audience with at least one message they felt was important.

There have been, of course, some drawbacks to the multi-media approach, at least as we have used it. We found it difficult to organize the program at first. It has been important to the students in our program for each one to be able to choose his own medium. It has also been important to them to be able to change to another medium or to add another to their repertoires. But it is hard to keep to a production schedule with an unstable staff. Fortunately, the printers are the only people outside the school to whom we are responsible for keeping to production schedules. If enrollment in the course stabilizes in the future, perhaps advanced students will settle into managing positions in the separate media and solve the problem.

It has also been difficult in this program to supervise all the production steps, since so many projects are in the works at once. To overcome this problem, we are thinking with the different media. The broadcast, for instance, could be supervised by a speech-journalism-electronics teaching team. Another possibility is using paraprofessionals, or "teacher aides," to help students with specific techniques, once the techniques have been explained by the teacher.

A third interesting possibility is using individualized instruction materials such as short films, filmstrips, charts, and tapes which explain the separate steps for producing stories in each of the media. Students could use any of these on their own to review or reinforce their understanding of specific techniques, at the time when they needed to use them.

This year, one of our advanced journalism students made a short film accompanied by a sound tape which explained the proper ways to film a moving subject. Another planned a similar lesson to demonstrate the proper use of panning with a movie camera. The teacher made a filmstrip with a sound tape to accompany it, designed to help a student write an effective headline. These are only secondary materials, of course, but using them could take much pressure off the publications advisor.

The drawbacks of the multi-media journalism program we have been working with at Redmond can certainly be overcome. The potential is great for teaching students to communicate effectively. Of course, our program is very young and many possibilities for improving it will have to be explored. But already, we have found, it really works!

## BAILING OUT OF VIETNAM

HON. ROGER H. ZION

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, the attached editorial by Mr. Michael Grehl of the Evansville Press expresses my thoughts entirely. Those "would be" Presidents who have recently demanded that the President "end the war" really mean that he should permit the massacre to start. He cannot end the war by surrendering. You do not end the killing by having one side lay down their arms and stand naked before the Communist murderers.

The article follows:

[From the Evansville (Ind.) Press, April 21, 1972]

### BAILING OUT OF VIETNAM

The Democratic caucus in the House of Representatives has voted to pull the rug from under President Nixon's Vietnam policy—a move as unwise as it is badly timed.

By an overwhelming vote of 144 to 58, the Democrats denounced Mr. Nixon's renewed bombing of North Vietnam.

Then they ordered the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which the party controls, to draft within 30 days a bill promptly ending all U.S. military involvement "in and over" Indochina, subject only to a return of American prisoners and an accounting of the missing.

Finally, almost as an afterthought, they condemned the "military invasion of South Vietnam by North Vietnam."

This latter move revealed the cynicism and political motivation of the Democrats' maneuver. In the same resolution, they (a) disapproved of the current communist invasion and (b) sought to deprive South Vietnam of its best chance of beating back the invasion: Support by U.S. air power.

In the past the House had been a strong bulwark of the President's policy of gradual and responsible withdrawal from Vietnam. It had steadily toned down or sidetracked extreme antiwar measures coming from the more dovish Senate.

We would like to think that the caucus' turnabout resulted from war weariness or a genuine change in conviction and not the heady approach of election day.

Whatever the motive, the move itself enormously complicates Mr. Nixon's efforts to pull out of Vietnam, leaving behind a regime that has a chance of defending itself.

The timing of the vote was perfect—if its purpose was to encourage Hanoi during its invasion and to dishearten our South Vietnamese allies in a moment of great peril.

At the Democratic caucus there was much talk about it being the time to make peace, but nobody was brutally honest enough to say what an abrupt withdrawal of American air power from Indochina would mean.

It would mean peace all right—the peace of the grave—imposed on South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos by the ruthless clique of commissars from Hanoi.

## A NEW LOOK AT NUCLEAR SCIENCE

## HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, I had the privilege of keynoting a nuclear science seminar sponsored by the American Physical Society here in Washington.

In my remarks, I tried to paint a picture of the growing national energy crisis and how nuclear energy fits—or does not fit—into the scene. For the information of my colleagues and those interested in this general subject, and extract plus the remarks follow:

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE CRAIG HOSMER

Extract: The United States faces an energy and pollution crisis. No immediate alternatives to conventional sources and nuclear power are in sight during this century. Substitute clean nuclear KWs for imported oil. Other suggested remedies include: National Energy Council, increased status for National Laboratories, pollution abatement taxes, Yankee high technology, reactor licensing reforms and self-restraint by scientists in statements beyond their fields of expertise.

At the beginning of the atomic age when the consciences of scientists working for the Manhattan District became uneasy over the destructive potentialities of their efforts, the good, placating thought was always that peace would bring quiet to the nuclear beast and nuclear science would be turned to mankind's eternal blessing.

While in the Philippines waiting aboard a combat loaded Navy assault transport to move out for the invasion of Japan, I heard of the atomic bomb and learned of the quick surrender. At that time, I personally equated nuclear science with some brand of miracle which had blessed me with the prospect of life rather than death on a hostile beachhead. As a matter of fact, somewhat reasonable estimates have been made that the 105,000 deaths at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were a trade off for more than a million that did not occur because the invasion was rendered unnecessary.

What I have said is a grim way to indicate my feeling that nuclear science is neither all good, nor all bad. As with other sciences its blessings are mixed, and the uses to which it is put may at one and the same time be beneficial to some people and detrimental to others. Individual endeavors with which nuclear science may assist are many—medicine, biology, oceanography, agriculture, industry, energy—you name it. But for whatever activity it enables, replaces or augments, there are side effects which may be troublesome to someone:

The thermal effluent of nuclear power plants must be reckoned with;

Isotopes still radioactive after use for medical treatment are creating problems in sewers;

We are stymied in the use of irradiation to preserve foodstuffs because they taste funny;

We have accumulated enough long-lived high-level radioactive wastes to warrant permanent disposal, but nobody wants the stuff in their state; and

Just because things nuclear cannot be seen, heard, felt, smelled or tasted there are people who, 200 years ago would have been out gleefully burning witches, that are today intervening in nuclear reactor licensing cases and enjoying it every bit as much.

During the 25-years since the Atomic Energy Commission has been on the scene I sup-

pose we have got the stars out of our eyes and achieved a realization that nuclear science is not something unique and extraordinary and apart from the real world. We also face up to the fact that nuclear scientists are not really isolated from the ordinary problems that ordinary mortals face. Not that achieving this change in outlook has been easy—but perhaps it has been necessary if the profession and those allied with it are to make the contributions they can and must toward solving the problems of our age and serving the people of our times.

In my remarks today I shall focus on the energy supply problem, but in doing so I must emphasize that most of what I say will also apply to other current and future challenges and opportunities in nuclear science.

## THE POWER CRISIS

Despite a growing flood of gloomy warnings, America has yet to grasp the real dimensions of the emerging gap between this country's gradually diminishing energy resources and its rapidly escalating energy demands. As a nation, our attitude is somewhat like that of the man who leaped off the top of a 40-story building. As he passed the 20th floor on the way down, he was heard to remark, "so far, so good." As he passed the 10th floor, he says, "this is beginning to look serious." With respect to an energy crisis, America is just about down to the 5th floor, and soon even the least observant amongst us must come to a realization that things are beginning to look serious.

With respect to electricity, soon we will hit bottom in some regions of the country. If it is not this summer or next winter, it will be sometime within the next 18 months. Brownouts and blackouts are inevitable and when we reach that point nationwide, it may take years, even decades to regain a power sufficiency status.

There are those who recall the early promises by nuclear scientists of practically limitless quantities of power from the peaceful atom at practically no cost at all. We truly believed that we were on the threshold of perpetual plenty. Thus it is not illogical that some people believe—or at least profess to believe—that this entire "energy crisis" thing is some underhanded machination by the electric companies and the coal and oil industries to frighten the public and hornswoggle Congress into repealing the environmental protection, anti-trust and rate regulation laws.

To those people, let me quote from page one of the Washington Post for just two weeks ago today:

"The richest nation in the world has discovered that it is energy poor, and that this sudden poverty threatens the balance of trade, our attempts to clean up the air and water . . . in fact the energy crisis in America threatens the American way of life."

And there are other warnings. General George Lincoln, Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, has cautioned the American public, industry, and government to avoid unnecessary uses of electricity. The President's Consumer Advisor, Virginia Knauer, has started a program to teach people how to conserve electricity. The Labor Department is doing the same for industry. And, the current testimony to the House Interior Committee, a spokesman for the Defense Department expressed very deep concern over the national security implications of power shortages.

Perhaps the most chilling of the recent public statements on the subject came from Federal Power Commissioner John Carver who stated:

"I think our energy shortage is not only endemic, it's incurable. We're going to have to live with it the rest of our lives."

## OBSTACLES ON THE ROAD TO POWER

Personally, I am not yet that pessimistic, but it would almost seem that there is a

conspiracy afoot to make sure that Carver's prediction comes true.

Despite economic, political and national security hazards our reliance on fossil fuels continues to expand. Oil imports grow at the same rate as our realization that overseas access to this product grows more tenuous. Petroleum exporting countries are becoming price conscience and expropriation minded. Almost every wellhead in North Africa is ultimately under political control of the Kremlin while those of the Middel East are growing more and more vulnerable to Soviet naval and military interdiction. Even without interruption of the supply line it is estimated that by 1985 United States dependence on imported petroleum will double, amounting to \$34 billion per year, and no one has any clear idea how that much foreign exchange can be generated to pay for it.

The natural gas situation is likewise bleak. An Interior Department study indicates that under the best conceivable circumstances—domestic production, pipeline imports from Alaska, Canada and Mexico, imported LNG, and coal gasification—this nation can supply only two-thirds of its projected 1990 demand. We will be short by 15 trillion cubic feet a year with virtually no present hopes of getting it. The gas company here in Washington and others nationwide already are restricting service to new customers. In southern California, where the use of natural gas is vital to air quality, the El Paso Natural Gas Company, citing short supply has asked the Federal Power Commission to permit a 26% cut back in gas deliveries.

Coal, fortunately, we have plenty of. But, unfortunately, environmental considerations limit its availability for conversion to energy. Tough new laws on sulphur discharges proscribe its use in urban areas and impending strip mining restrictions in rural areas may make it difficult to get much of it out of the ground.

We may be able to achieve some modest self restraint in the pro-rata use of electricity, gasoline and oil by individuals, but nationally our primary consumption of energy in all forms will about double between now and 1985 because of population growth and the trend toward increasing industrialization. Electricity demand will double in less than a decade and account for more than its proportionate share of the overall increase because it is the most efficient source of power for many complex industrial operations and the cleanest form of energy at most points of end use.

Cleanliness where it is put to work looms even larger as a plus factor for using electricity when the work it is put to turns out to be cleaning up messes in the air, the water and on the land which are accumulating around us because we now create trash at a faster rate than nature can recycle it. We have made a national commitment for hundreds of new sewage treatment plants, air pollution control devices and mass transit systems. Recycling technologies can beneficially use large blocks of electric power, particularly where we can generate it in less polluting ways than we have in the past.

Nuclear generated power would seem ideal for this purpose because it does not require chemical combustion. The principle pollutants from chemical energy processes are nitrogen oxides, hydrocarbons, particulates, sulphur oxides and carbon monoxide. Dr. James H. Wright, Director of Environmental Systems for Westinghouse has estimated that chemically non-polluting nuclear generated electricity could replace 60% of the primary sources of energy now used for transportation, 30% of that for process heat, 25% for space heat and 30% of the chemical primary energy used for all other purposes.

Such substitutions together with other antipollution efforts would permit United States energy uses to rise unimpeded to the level predicted for the year 2000 while hold-

ing overall pollutant emissions from energy use at today's levels. By reason of the substitution, however, the impact of the emissions on individuals would be considerably less than that borne today because principal points of release would be substantially removed from where people are concentrated.

Regrettably, however, after 25 years of development by nuclear scientists, engineers and technicians, and the expenditure of billions of dollars by government and industry, the nuclear alternative enjoys in many quarters about the same affection as Typhoid Mary. At the precise time when the potentialities of both nuclear electricity and Plowshare stimulation of natural resource production are so badly needed, they have been singled out as whipping boys by a highly-vocal, mixed-bag of tenacious opponents. We are being urged to forego the perfection and use of these technologies on environmental, health, and safety grounds and propositioned to turn to a variety of alternative technologies that are so far off and far out that their possible environmental health and safety deficiencies cannot even be estimated.

#### ALTERNATIVES TO NUCLEAR POWER

Anyone from a U.S. Senator to a Michigan housewife can concoct new schemes and dust off old ones for generating cheap, clean, environmentally pristine electric power.

We have suggestions for harnessing the wind, the tides, the sun; we should use the energy in the Gulf Stream, the Humboldt Current and the thermal gradients in the oceans; we should tap the bowels of the earth and the outer limits of space for our power. The lady in Michigan plans to generate non-polluting electricity with the methane gas given off from manure piles, an idea which undoubtedly struck her after she read some Senator's speech. A common suggestion is that we by-pass thermal and breeder reactors and go directly to hydrogen fusion which, since we do not know much about it, we cannot deny will be safe, simple, economic, esthetic and great for the environment.

Almost without exception, these pipe-dreams are accompanied by a demand that this nation abandon nuclear power and spend the money on something else. The trouble is that this nation just cannot wait 30 years for some exotic kind of kilowatts to start flowing down the line. We need energy now and all during those 30 years.

In Joint Committee on Atomic Energy hearings last November we learned that the consensus of the scientific fraternity is that practical, electricity producing fusion reactors cannot be expected until the year 2000. By an enormous additional expenditure that date might be accelerated by a scant 10 years. But even so, it still leaves two decades during which we must look to fossil fuels and the light water and fast breeder reactors because solar cells, manure piles and the like just won't bridge the gap.

The only technically feasible alternatives for augmenting any of these sources of energy during this century appear to be coal gasification, preferably *in situ*, and clean, fully contained Plowshare underground explosions to stimulate recovery of petroleum products. Magnetohydrodynamics is practically alone on the horizon as a technique for improving the conversion efficiency of fossil fuels.

As for Plowshare, geologists estimate that through nuclear stimulation our recoverable natural gas reserves in tight gas formations in the Rocky Mountain region alone could be more than doubled-increased by 317 trillion cubic feet. Similar techniques in impervious oil shale formations might gain access to two trillion barrels of petroleum, which is more than the entire present world supply and past production combined.

Yet, edginess about nuclear bombs and

hypersensitivity to environmental critics have prevented our nuclear scientists from really being turned loose on these resources. Despite lipservice for several years, the Plowshare program has suffered a steady decline in funding. The program needs both more money and new legislation to spell out the government's authority to offer Plowshare explosive services to industry on a businesslike basis.

#### SUGGESTIONS

I suppose that in recommending a particular nuclear program such as Plowshare I am neglecting my obligation as a keynoter to omnipotently and oracularly obfuscate the obvious and the ordinary. Therefore, I shall now return to that duty with fuzzy thoughts on several matters which you may enjoy the luxury of disregarding as the symposium progresses.

#### NATIONAL ENERGY COUNCIL

On several occasions during the last few years, I have suggested a truly coordinated and unified approach by government to our energy problem. Oil companies have bought up coal and uranium companies and changed into energy companies. A proper response to this consolidation by industry is a similar bunching together of government's related responsibilities for regulation, promotion, pricing, policy, national security and so forth. Moreover, it is a necessity now that we must gear up to overcome serious national energy crisis.

If I did not originate the idea of a National Energy Council patterned along the lines of the National Security Council, I certainly endorse the concept. And, I would hope that if we set up a new Energy Council it will be run with the same flare and wizardry that Henry Kissinger exhibits over at the Security Council.

#### NATIONAL LABORATORIES

In support of the Energy Council and all other governmental units requiring highly competent in-house scientific research, our excellent Atomic Energy Commission National Laboratories should be elevated within the AEC framework to the status of truly United States National Laboratories. Numerous specialized laboratories and research institutions supported as non-defense federal activities ought either to be consolidated into the National Laboratory structure or intertwined with it for programmatic and budgetary purposes. Existing technical activities which are, or even reputed to be, bureaucratic anachronisms should be abolished forthwith. I can think of no finer service to the American public than cutting away the deadwood and getting our scientific talent into an organizational structure actually geared for real results.

#### YANKEE SUPER-TECHNOLOGY TRADERS

And, real technological results are looming ever larger as the master key to United States fiscal and economic health. Take the projected need I mentioned to import \$34 billion worth of petroleum. Our only conceivable opportunity to generate that kind of foreign exchange lies in a concentrated drive to increase our exports where the money is, that is, in high technology items.

Once our trade philosophy sheds the remaining fragments of its do-gooder hang-up left over from Marshall Plan days and begins to cope with the international trade pirhanas of the real world 1970's, the exchange value of our technology capabilities will fast become evident. I suggest that we begin now with orderly programs, rather than later with crash programs, to mobilize American scientists and engineers in the National Labs, universities and industry to back up a new breed of Yankee super-technology international traders.

For one thing, we must deliberately plan and scheme to capture the lion's share of the huge uranium enriching business now de-

veloping overseas. Nor should we forget that trading in even the smallest item of export also ought to be arranged on a basis by which the United States, if it is not advantaged, at least is not disadvantaged.

As an example, the AEC is selling radioactive americium to European corporations for fabrication into commercially sold neutron sources for reactor start up and oil well logging. This foreigner buys his americium in bulk and can spread the high cost of shipping it from the US over several sales of finished neutron sources. By contrast, an American fabricator will have to pay almost as much to get each one of his finished sources to the European market because a heavy, bulky shipping cask is required. American industry (a) will be disadvantaged until AEC requires individual shipment of purchases intended for resale and (b) will not be advantaged unless a straightforward embargo is imposed on export of americium for commercial resale.

Americium is but one small example of our failure to turn a U.S. high technology asset into a competitive trade advantage. In the aggregate these neglected opportunities could add up to many billions of dollars of annual profit and foreign exchange. We can no longer afford to give away or to forego that much cash.

#### POLLUTION ABATEMENT

In a matter closer here to home I am impressed by the statements that our magnificent interdisciplinary National Laboratories are ideally equipped to march at the forefront of the anti-pollution army because they have had so much experience dealing with the chemistry and physics of minute particles. However, I am less impressed by nuclear and other scientists and engineers in our midst who would have the government rush out and set standards for permissible pollution, hire an army of inspectors to monitor all emissions and impose penalties for failure to comply.

We will have to deal with lethal substances directly, tax incentives may be needed in certain fields, but I think that tax disincentives for polluters is the most efficient way to handle the lion's share of pollution abatement problems. President Nixon wants to try emission charges or taxes on sulfur oxides and the same principle is applicable to other kinds of pollutants. Such taxes will force today's external costs of pollution back to the offending factory's doorstep and on to its account books as cost items for emission controls. Today we spend about \$9.3 billion on pollution abatement and \$7 out of every \$10 is from government. We probably need to spend about \$100 billion annually and via the tax route \$9 of every \$10 could come from industry, without further tax burdens on the citizens.

Ordinarily a dissertation on pollution would have no place in a discussion such as this, but, like Vietnam, today the subject so overwhelms us that we must get solutions behind us so we can devote our energies to other problems.

#### REACTOR LICENSING REFORM

If a comment about pollution has relevance to this audience today, so also does a comment on the licensing, building and operating of nuclear power stations which is confronted with a seemingly endless series of legal, administrative and public relations problems. A substantial part of our misery is self-inflicted, according to Dr. Louis Rosen of Los Alamos, because "we have not taken seriously that part of our responsibility to society which dictates that we explain and interpret and justify our activities in language understandable to the nonspecialist."

If indeed, our problem is education of the public—and I think it is—I recall that when we amended the Atomic Energy Act to provide for public hearings on reactor licensing we did so because we thought the

people around where the plant was to be built would come in and listen and learn how to be happy while living around a thousand megawatts or so of nuclear fission. Hardly any of the locals turned out and they still don't. But like no other sport in American history, intervening in nuclear reactor licensing cases has become a coast-to-coast avocation for the fun-loving and a pot-at-the-end-of-the-rainbow for their lawyers. Without particular enhancement of public understanding of the atom or any tangible contributions to nuclear safety, the AEC licensing process has been brought to a screeching halt.

The question whether a reactor is safe has been turned into a courtroom type Perry Mason adversary procedure in which the AEC is maneuvered into trying to prove beyond all reasonable doubt that each reactor it proposes to license is safe. Now, "safe" is an adjective and nobody can prove a description. So bearing the burden of this proof is never possible and legal technicalities afford sharp lawyers endless days to pound home the intimation that so long as a reactor cannot be proved safe, it must be unsafe.

The real issue in licensing a reactor is assessing the relative degree of risk involved and determining whether that risk is acceptable in return for whatever benefit is anticipated. Individuals do this constantly in choosing their occupations, places of residence, sports preferences and so on. Where the risks and benefits affect large numbers of people, like the availability or non-availability of nuclear electricity, this kind of decision cannot be made individually but is made collectively, by society.

As can be seen, the decision mechanism established by society a few years ago for nuclear power plants has proved inefficient. The judgments involved have been more impeded than assisted by adversary courtroom procedures. And, as bad as the adversary procedure is for this purpose there is a worse way to go about it and that is to turn the whole matter over to the electorate for a vote. That is being attempted by initiative Proposition Number 9 on the upcoming California ballot. Amongst other tasks, Proposition 9 hands California's individual lay voters the job of making all technical judgments relating to the costs and benefits of a proposed five year moratorium on nuclear power reactors.

To my mind, a better way than these of going about licensing or not licensing nuclear reactors would be hearings which permit a citizen to come before a public licensing authority and speak his peace about health and safety, environmental matters and so on. After he has done so, the authority, in this case the AEC, can and should seek expert advice on significant technical questions that have been raised. It could and should inform itself otherwise sufficiently to come to a reasoned, rational informed risks/benefits judgment about a particular license application.

No doubt I will be criticized for taking a "big brother will take of you" stance on licensing, but let's face it. Some things are best left to people who know what they are doing . . .

Would you buy an emergency core cooling system—new or used—from a lawyer?

Or, let me put it this way . . .

You cannot anymore adopt seismic design criteria by popular referendum than you can, by act of Congress, repeal the law of gravity.

#### SHOEMAKER, STICK TO YOUR LAST

As long as I am passing around free advice, I will now direct some of it at forensic minded members of the scientific community who pop off on any subject at any time because they apparently believe that the Almighty has created their brains in closer image to His own than He has for others.

Disregarding the fact that they are laymen in disciplines other than their own, some of

them flock together such titles as Union of Concerned Scientists to pronounce olympic judgments on subjects wholly outside the areas of their expertise. Others will act individually. We find a Nobel physicist pushing vitamin pills, an ordinary physicist pontificating on infant mortality, a pediatrician calling for a fast breeder moratorium. Many more who call themselves scientists make a habit of forgetting that they are not qualified to give advice universally on all subjects. Only we politicians enjoy that prerogative. And, being what we are, the public is well equipped to give what we say the attention it deserves. Unfortunately, the public is not similarly sophisticated about scientific types and that imposes upon them obligations of self-restraint.

I am not, of course, suggesting that individuals in the scientific community should not share the blessings of liberty or enjoy the protections of the Bill of Rights. Nor do I believe that in subjects other than those in which they earned their Ph.D.'s they should be intellectually caponized. But where we find a loud mouth member of the fraternity repeatedly prostituting his degree by declaring himself expert in subjects which he is not, maybe somebody ought to be thinking in terms of some means to "de-doctor" him.

#### CONCLUSION

By this time my abrasive comments must surely have started the adrenaline flowing and awakened you sufficiently to cope with the day's proceedings. Therefore any function as keynoter has been discharged. So I leave you to your symposium.

You honored me by asking me to be with you and I close by expressing my deep appreciation for that honor and for the splendid contributions that each of you distinguished leaders in nuclear science make to our country.

### GENERAL OHMAN HONORED ON RETIREMENT

#### HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday one of the great military aviation leaders of our Nation retired at Bolling Air Force Base after 35 years of distinguished service. He is Maj. Gen. Nils O. Ohman, commander of the Headquarters Command, and his is a unique story—one which truly embodies the precepts upon which our country was founded.

"Swede" Ohman was born in Stockholm and came to these shores, passing through Ellis Island, at age five. His father was an immigrant toolmaker who relocated his family in Massachusetts.

A child of the depression, Swede developed a lasting love affair that has endured throughout his life—the object of this affection being machines that fly. Young Nils Ohman entered West Point and proved to the world that a young Swedish immigrant could match any and outstrip most of his contemporaries. Not only did he excel in scholastic achievement by ranking 18th in his class of 300 but he was an outstanding athlete, having been named to the all-time "All Army" team.

Young Lieutenant Ohman was at

Hickam Field, Hawaii, just prior to the infamous Pearl Harbor attack. He returned to the mainland and later set a high-altitude record for the Z-17. No one had ever surpassed 19,000 feet, but this daring young airman set a world record of 42,500 feet without the aid of ground communications and without knowing what fate lay above for him and his crew.

Later, while flying over the Rocky Mountains, all four engines of his aircraft quit. After literally heaving bodily the first man out of the plane, he then made certain the rest of the crew was out, and then grabbed a parachute for himself, only to find that it was not his personal one. Despite serious injuries suffered in his fall, and overriding medical advice, General Ohman returned to serve valiantly in the European theater. Later he flew heroically in Korea and I first had the pleasure of meeting this outstanding American in 1957 when he assumed command of Carswell Air Force Base in my Fort Worth district. Prior and successive assignments have included positions as a West Point instructor, vice commander of Air Training Command and commander of Headquarters Command, the most diversified organization within our Air Force.

Although he was born in Sweden and reared in Massachusetts, we are proud to call General Ohman our very own for Texas. He is retiring there and we hope will afford our area and the entire Nation his continued service as a private citizen.

On Friday, May 5, the citizens of Fort Worth will honor General Ohman for his tremendous contributions to military aviation. And I am proud to note that my 1958 appointee to the U.S. Air Force Academy, Capt. Nils "Bo" Ohman, is presently on duty to follow in his father's distinguished steps.

### THE HONORABLE F. BRADFORD MORSE

#### HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I share with my colleagues disappointment in the retirement of F. BRADFORD MORSE. After serving 11 years in the House he has accepted an important position with the United Nations.

During his service here BRAD MORSE has established an enviable record of devoted, conscientious service to his district, the State of Massachusetts, and to the Nation. He is a gifted man, very knowledgeable, and has made valuable contributions in the endless search for solution of many vexing legislative problems. Above all, he is honorable in every respect.

Our colleague is particularly well equipped to serve in the United Nations. His energy, alertness, and capability will be put to good use in that organization. I extend to BRAD my very best wishes for a pleasant and most successful experience at the United Nations.

## LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD AID TO COMMUNICATIONS WITH DEAF

## HON. CHALMERS P. WYLIE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Speaker, it has been my good fortune recently to have seen a remarkable reproduction of the ages-old children's story, "Little Red Riding Hood." What makes this document particularly noteworthy to me is that it contains a translation of that old nursery story into Signed English—the manual language by which those who cannot hear nor speak communicate with one another and with hearing people.

The story, "Little Red Riding Hood"—in Signed English—is but the first of a series of colorful booklets and posters dealing similarly with other children's stories and nursery rhymes which will be produced in the next several months by the joint effort of a six-member team and three art students at Gallaudet College—the only accredited liberal arts college in the world dedicated to the education of the deaf.

The purpose of this series of nursery stories and rhymes in Signed English, together with a series of nursery-type posters also using the manual language, is, I am told, twofold. In the first place, these documents, beautifully illustrated in color, will enable deaf children for the first time, as far as I can discover, to enjoy the nursery rhymes which all of us enjoyed as hearing children. But, more importantly, the series will, in effect, provide a sign language teaching manual for hearing parents of deaf children and thus provide a means of improving communications between those parents and their handicapped children.

The first of this series has been of particular interest to me because there is a substantial colony of deaf people in my hometown of Columbus, and also because the State of Ohio maintains there a school for the deaf. Many of its students, after completing the course there, come to Gallaudet for advanced education at the college and graduate levels. I am proud to say that Ohio's State school is progressing in its own programs of education for the deaf as is evidenced by the fact that in the 1961-71 decade, the enrollment of students from Ohio at Gallaudet, where admission is, of necessity, on the basis of competitive examination has increased by 480 percent.

There is another aspect of the production of "Little Red Riding Hood" and the rest of the children's stories that has impressed me. I am told that this project is a "total team effort" carried out by a group of six specialists as a voluntary addition to their normal duties at Gallaudet or, in one case, in private enterprise.

What that adds up to is that the preliminary explorations of the underlying theory of this newly created instructional aid, and the initial productions of the project, have not cost the taxpayers of this Nation one additional penny. Those on the team—five salaried full-time em-

ployees of Gallaudet, which is supported in part by Federal appropriations, plus one privately employed commercial artist who himself is deaf—in effect have donated to the project untold hours of overtime, thought, and work involved in its design and execution.

This type of dedication to service to humanity is unfortunately becoming all too rare in our society, but it is the type of dedication that, when put together on the basis of teamwork, can result in an exceptional and valuable product.

I believe the Gallaudet team has done just that in conceiving and developing this phase of what is known at the college as the preschool signed English project. I congratulate the team on its success, but more than that I congratulate Gallaudet College on having within its community staff members and friends who make up a team so dedicated.

This dedicated team is made up of Ralph R. Miller, Sr., the deaf commercial artist who so deftly created the sequenced illustrations for "Little Red Riding Hood," Karen Luczak, the preschool teacher who adapted the text to teach deaf children, and the professional staff of the preschool signed English project, including its director, Dr. Harry Bornstein, who is also director of Gallaudet's office of institutional research, Barbara M. Kannapell—IOR—Lillian B. Hamilton—OIR—and Dr. Howard L. Roy, chairman of the department of psychology.

## DRUGS AND YOUTH

## HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, for many years now I have had the privilege of working with a remarkable woman who has been in the forefront of the battle against drug addiction. Dr. Judianne Densen-Gerber has made an invaluable contribution to the development of drug rehabilitation theory and practice as founder and executive director of New York City's Odyssey House, a psychiatric treatment center for narcotic addicts.

Besides excelling as a professional in every sense of the word as a medical doctor, psychiatrist, and lawyer, Dr. Densen-Gerber is an exemplary mother of three children. She has recently coauthored, with her 13-year-old daughter Trissa, a most excellent topical and highly relevant book entitled: "Drugs, Sex, Parents and You."

Mr. Speaker, this impressive book uses as its format dialog between a mother and daughter about the difficulties of growing up in a drug-oriented society. Drugs, Sex, Parents and You emphasizes Dr. Densen-Gerber's firm belief that honest discussion and a direct relationship between young people and their parents is the single most effective way of preventing narcotics abuse.

The striking message of this amazingly straightforward book will be of im-

mense benefit to teenagers and parents alike. Mr. Speaker, I wish to congratulate Dr. Densen-Gerber and her daughter Trissa, and to recommend to my colleagues the product of this mother and daughter's praiseworthy efforts.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

## HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, ever since I have been in the Congress I have made a practice at this time of year in placing my financial statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I include my statement for this year herewith:

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF LAWRENCE J. HOGAN AND NORA E. HOGAN, HIS WIFE, APRIL 30, 1972

Assets	
Cash (see schedule A)-----	\$11,981.90
Investments (see schedule B)---	7,530.00
Real Estate (see schedule C)----	133,000.00
Automobiles:	
1969 Oldsmobile-----	2,200.00
1971 Ford-----	1,600.00
1972 Buick-----	4,000.00
Household furnishings-----	7,000.00

Total assets----- 167,311.90

Liabilities	
Accounts payable (misc.)-----	2,200.00
Central National Bank (auto loan)-----	3,096.81
Mortgages (see schedule D)-----	60,667.03

Total liabilities----- 65,963.84

Net worth----- 101,348.06

Schedule A—Cash	
Congressional Employees Credit Union (sav. acct.)-----	\$200.13
John Hanson Savings & Loan (savings account)-----	1,205.83
Maryland National Bank (checking account)-----	7,188.00
Sergeant at Arms (checking account)-----	\$3,187.94
Cash on hand-----	200.00
Accounts receivable-----	none

Total ----- 11,981.90

Schedule B—Investments	
Central National Bank of Maryland stock-----	\$5,200.00
John Hanson Savings and Loan stock-----	2,330.00

Total ----- 7,530.00

Schedule C—Real estate	
Townhouse, Ocean City, Md.-----	\$50,000.00
House, Landover, Md. (residence)-----	55,000.00
91.4 acres, Allegany County, Md.-----	28,000.00

Total ----- 133,000.00

Schedule D—Mortgages	
Townhouse, Ocean City, Md.-----	\$20,800.00
House, Landover, Md.-----	36,786.00
91.4 acres, Allegany County, Md.-----	3,081.00

Total ----- 60,667.03



## WAR DISTORTION

**HON. GLENN R. DAVIS**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, an editorial recently printed in the Milwaukee Sentinel articulately reminds us who is the enemy and aggressor in Vietnam. This statement legitimately implicates some of our vacillating political partisans for causing distortion in the reports concerning the present situation in Southeast Asia. The Milwaukee Sentinel is a newspaper competent to present this case. Its chief editorial writer, Mr. Loyal Meek, has had considerable experience as a Senate staffer on Capitol Hill. I commend this reading to all. It separates fact from distortion. The article follows:

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Sentinel, Apr. 25, 1972]

## WAR DISTORTED

There is a war going on in South Vietnam. In the light of what has been flooding the news columns and airwaves in the United States, that statement may seem a bit obvious and unnecessary.

Yet from what we have read and heard we get the distinct impression that the fact of the war—that not only are armies clashing but that South Vietnamese civilian men, women and children are being killed and wounded and driven from their homes by invading forces—is being all but forgotten while partisans here in the United States grind other axes.

For instance, there are those partisans apparently so consumed with hate for President Nixon that they can be completely blind to the fact that North Vietnam has invaded South Vietnam. Thus, when President Nixon orders American bombers to react to the Hanoi violations, these blind haters turn things upside down by asserting that it is Mr. Nixon, not the North Vietnamese, who escalated the war.

The sputterings of protest demonstrations also indicate that the fact of the war is mostly forgotten. These scattered activities are described as demands to "end the war." But here again the fact that the latest outburst of killing and suffering was touched off by the Communist invasion is ignored. Instead, the protest is focused on the US for helping the South Vietnamese to defend themselves. The only end to the war they are in effect demanding is total victory for the enemy.

The complete distortion of the facts of the war have reached into the depths of absurdity in Congress. House Democrats adopted a resolution describing the bombings of North Vietnam as a dangerous escalation of the war. Only as an afterthought did they denounce the North Vietnamese offensive.

All of this blindness and distortion about the war has been abetted by the dominant voices of the American news media, which, skillfully using well developed techniques, play up the news and views favoring the other side and play down anything favoring our side.

Sick and tired of this long involvement in Indochina, buffeted by the forces of dissension in their midsts, American citizens understandably are quite willing to ignore the fact that there is a war going on in South Vietnam, that innocent civilians are being killed and wounded and driven from their homes by invading forces.

As practically everyone now agrees, America made a mistake getting into this war. But we can't correct the first mistake by making

a bigger one in the way we get ourselves out of the war. And it would be a tremendous mistake to abandon South Vietnam completely and immediately in this, its moment of truth.

The situation calls for the US to remain steady on course. That course was set by President Nixon when he took office in January, 1969. He began a program of troop withdrawal which has seen the number there reduced from nearly 550,000 to under 100,000. He instituted a program of Vietnamization—preparing South Vietnam to fight its own war—and meanwhile sought in vain to get the Communists to negotiate in good faith. Steady as you go, Mr. President.

## THE PROBLEMS OF RFD-USA

**HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, most people are aware of how the American people have gravitated into the cities, leaving the wide open spaces more abandoned each year. Not only is the South littered with abandoned tenant farmhouses, but in every section of the country can be seen relatively good houses no longer occupied. Estimates are that 97 percent of the people live on 7 percent of the land.

People have moved into the cities primarily in search of jobs. Mechanization of the farms has made many farm jobs obsolete. Some who have left the farms have been caught up in the excitement of the cities and the so-called good life of suburbia. Even when their city jobs have played out, they insist on remaining, even to the necessity of taking unemployment insurance while they wait for another job. Moving back to the country is probably not the choice of most of the people, once they are accustomed to the offerings of city life.

The R.F.D.-U.S.A. program emanating from the Congress looks promising at first glance, but there are problems. Assuming that rural jobs were available and people left the cities to take the jobs, what then would become of the cities? Finding a balance in the transition will be necessary if no one is to get hurt. Suburbia itself is between the inner city and the rural area, belonging to neither, and yet a big part of the problem.

The present rate of national growth requires that a decision be made soon about relieving the imbalance. It all boils down to how the cities and rural areas can "share their benefits, without aggravating their individual faults."

The lead editorial in the Savannah Morning News of April 20, 1972, entitled "Only the Surface" presents our dilemma in excellent fashion, as follows:

## ONLY THE SURFACE

While the attention of Americans is turned more and more to the potential of rural development, advocates have only scratched the surface of seeking this Promised Land.

RFD-USA indeed looks promising. Various congressmen and even the President have sung its praises; former Arkansas Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller made a strong pitch on its behalf this week before the county commissioners gathering at Jekyll Island; the urge to rediscover the wilderness is contained in

this year's political cliché called "populism"; and anybody can look out his window at the smog or at the rows of bumper-to-bumper traffic and feel that certain yearning for wide open spaces.

The emotion is there. The cities are rotten; let's make it to the country.

But in these times, to be aware of an alternative is only to increase our frustration. For it is far easier to dream of rural development than to achieve it, and even urban smog is preferable to clean air where there is no cash to be had.

The problems are many as well as complex. Even if an outward migration was possible, there is the question of what to do with the city. Metropolis, though we might desire it, cannot so easily be tossed on the junk heap like an old car. A balance has to be struck to accommodate both urban and rural lifestyles, and neither government nor the people exercise sufficient control of their respective fates to bring this about without mistakes. Indeed, few have really thought about this process of transition; it sounds attractive, but one also invites more controls and regulation in hopes of obtaining a greater freedom.

If rural areas did offer a greater opportunity for making a living, then the process of transition would be pretty much taken care of. Generally, the work force follows business, rather than the other way around, and job opportunities shifted to rural areas would reverse the population assault on the cities. But again the problem is one of control, for cities can be relieved but not deserted. In fact, one of the greatest complications of modern life is that many people today live neither in the city nor in the country but in the suburbia in-between, and both urban and rural areas are starting to share a mutual decay because of it.

Any Sunday drive in the countryside will convince the average citizen that too many of us are crammed together in too few places, that there is plenty of room elsewhere if only someone would do something about generating its potential. While one romances the country, one also sees her faults. It would be nice to live there, but what about work, or water systems, or health care? The city resident waits for such things to be done before he decides to move; the rural resident waits for such things to be done and, after giving up hope, moves to the city.

Nearly everyone admits the present situation is deplorable, what with 93 per cent of the population crowded into 7 per cent of our land mass—and threatening to get worse. But aside from a few scattered studies and a few committees, the problem which is the cause of many other problems has a lower priority than those very same troubles that it causes. How does one really accomplish this reversal of America's upheaval? How does one save both the cities and the countryside? How can they share their benefits, without aggravating their individual faults?

At the present rate of national growth, we will eventually have to come to some decision. But there is more than enough cause at present for more seriously examining the way we can obtain a proper population and economic balance, without waiting until it gets even more out of control.

**MR. S. EUGENE YOUNTS MEETS CHALLENGE****HON. DAWSON MATHIS**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. MATHIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, 1 year ago last month, the University

of Georgia opened its newest and one of its most promising service units—the rural development center—on the campus of Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College in Tifton.

The center's first director was Dr. S. Eugene Younts, a native of North Carolina, but now an adopted Georgian. My good friend, Gene Younts, brought to the center the effective leadership needed to achieve the goal of helping rural Georgians realize a better life through economic, educational, and cultural growth.

Georgia's rural development center now serves as a model program for the rest of the Nation.

Dr. Younts is no longer director of the center, but he is still a guiding force behind the program. He has been promoted to the post of vice president for services at the University of Georgia and brings with him impressive credentials and outstanding qualifications. This new job must be demanding even for a man like Gene Younts for the University of Georgia has one of the most extensive service programs of any institution of higher learning in the Nation.

The one unfortunate aspect of Dr. Younts' promotion is that he had to move from Tifton to Athens. He is no longer a resident of the Second Congressional District, but we fully realize that our loss is the State's gain.

I would like to share with my colleagues the following article about Dr. Younts from the winter 1972, issue of Service Report, a publication of the University of Georgia:

**VICE PRESIDENT FOR SERVICES: YOUNTS ASSUMES NEW POST**

The University of Georgia has a new Vice President.

On January 1, 1972, Dr. S. Eugene Younts assumed the post of Vice President for Services, succeeding J. W. Fanning, who retired after more than 42 years as a public servant.

On the announcement of Dr. Younts' appointment, Mr. Fanning said, "Gene Younts is uniquely trained and qualified to give outstanding and effective leadership to the Service Program of the University of Georgia. I'm sure he will find in this program the same challenges and opportunities for service which I have over the years."

A young man with wavy brown hair and eyes that crinkle when he smiles, Dr. Younts brings to his new office both impressive credentials and a varied background.

A native of North Carolina, he holds both the bachelor's and master's degrees from North Carolina State University and a doctorate from Cornell University.

Prior to assuming his new post, Dr. Younts was the associate dean of the College of Agriculture and director of the Rural Development Center in Tifton. He has also served as vice president of the Potash Institute of North America headquartered in Atlanta. In this capacity, he was responsible for coordinating educational and research programs of the Institute in 13 southern states and Latin America.

An outstanding educator as well as an administrator, Dr. Younts served on the staffs of both the University of Maryland and North Carolina State University. While at N.C. State, he was twice selected as an outstanding instructor in both his school and department and, in 1964, received the annual educational award presented by the Soil Science Society of North Carolina.

Dr. Younts has undertaken his new job with insight and enthusiasm. "We hear much about challenge and opportunity in today's

changing world," he says. "Both words are very appropriate for the comprehensive features of the service programs of the University of Georgia.

Dr. Younts has assumed the leadership of one of the most extensive service programs of any university in the nation. In the past, the University has succeeded in marshaling its resources to offer aid, assistance and guidance to the citizens of Georgia . . . but with every day comes a new challenge. And Dr. Younts is determined that the University will meet each challenge and change it into an opportunity.

"It is my good fortune to be in the service role at this point in time," he says earnestly. "The University has opportunity to shape the development of the state as it has never had before. The challenge is to deliver the expertise to fit the changing times."

#### FRANCO-AMERICAN PARLIAMEN- TARY EXCHANGE PROGRAM

### HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, recently, nine Members of the House returned from a most worthwhile visit to France where, for 10 days at the invitation of the French Government, we were the guests of our French counterpart Members of the Assemblée Nationale. As co-chairman of the congressional delegation, I would like to describe briefly my impressions and reactions to what we observed during this period.

Our visit was the last half of a second Franco-American parliamentary exchange program; the first half having been the visit to the United States last October of 13 French Deputies, with whom you will recall meeting at that time.

This program was first conceived by Mr. Sargent Shriver later in 1968, when, as Ambassador to France, he saw the need for promoting greater understanding and friendship between France and the United States during a period when relations were at times less amiable than could be desired. He felt—and it appears rightly so—that relations could be improved by promoting a greater understanding of the legislative processes of both countries and of the views of individual legislators of the problems and issues that were of common concern to both countries.

He, therefore, proposed an exchange program for members of both parliamentary bodies, with each member participating in one complete exchange—once as a guest of his counterpart and once as a host of his counterpart in his own country. He further proposed that the participating members would be young—the usual age being somewhat less than 40 years—and represent a wide range of interests, of ideologies, of geographic locations, and of committee responsibilities.

After much planning, the first such exchange took place in September 1969, when 15 French deputies came to the United States. They were given an opportunity to observe at first hand the workings of our Congress, they were re-

ceived by the Speaker of the House and many other dignitaries and were able to ask and to respond to an infinite number of questions on a wide variety of topics. Within a very short period of time, they were able to acquire a knowledge and understanding of not only the issues and problems that were of concern to us, but also the manner in which we went about resolving our problems and determining our policies.

Equally as valuable, however, was a feature that is unique to this program. Not only did the visiting French deputies stay at the homes of their American hosts, but they also went with the Member to his congressional district for a 2- or 3-day period, seeing the region the Member represented and talking with local officials and constituents. This particular feature of the program was most appreciated by the French deputies and has remained an important part of the subsequent visits.

After the first return visit of nine Congressmen in May 1970, it was recognized by all concerned that the success of the program fully warranted its continuation. Our latest visit confirms more than ever the value to both nations of the exchange. We can assure you that differences in politics and in nationality in no way impeded a full and frank discussion of mutual problems. Despite differences in philosophy, background and language, we were able to develop both an awareness and an understanding of each other's problems and were able to gain new insight into possible solutions of these.

Without going into detail, I would like briefly to outline for you the content of our recent visit, so that you might have a fuller understanding of the nature of the exchange program.

Our first meeting in Paris took place with Ambassador Arthur Watson and we were able to touch upon a variety of topics, of which I might especially mention the problem of narcotics. During our short stay, we were able to discuss this subject—which is of vital concern to both countries—with numerous officials. As a result of our discussions, I am most pleased to report that it is the consensus of our delegation that the French officials are taking all possible measures to counteract what they feel is a potential danger to their citizens and that the extent of cooperation between our two countries in this field is all that could be desired.

We were the guests of Mr. Robert Schumann, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and talked with him of the international topics that were most pertinent. We were introduced as a delegation to the Members of the Assemblée Generale and delivered to the President of that body, Mr. Achille Peretti, your letter of introduction, Mr. Speaker. He, in turn, asked us to convey to you his kindest regards.

We subsequently met with the chairmen and the members of the Judiciary Committee, the Armed Forces Committee, and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Assemblée Nationale.

Later, we had the opportunity of meeting with the Minister of the Interior, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Chaban-Delmas

very graciously received our delegation and we had a most interesting exchange of views with him.

I must also mention our reception by the municipal council of Paris who presented us with the silver medal of the city and gave us a most interesting tour of the city hall, scene of so many historic events.

We were also the guests at luncheons hosted by Mr. Lucien Neuwirth, Questeur of the Assemblée Nationale and finally of Mr. Peretti on behalf of the entire Assemblée.

Departing from Paris, each Member spent the weekend with his French counterpart in that person's district. For most of us, this was viewed as an unparalleled opportunity to meet the French citizens and the local officials. Without exception, their welcome was warm and sincere. We were able to see the democratic process at work in the towns and villages we traveled to and to enjoy the renowned French hospitality in all its charm.

Our visit also took us to Toulouse, where we were the guests of the regional prefect and the mayor of that city. While there, we also had the opportunity of visiting the French Space Center and seeing the French supersonic "Concorde"; being greatly impressed by this emblem of French technical prowess.

I cannot forget to mention our visit to the medieval city of Carcassonne, which provided so perfect a contrast to the space center and, viewing the one after the other, made us aware not only of the long history and the glories of France of the past, but of the fact that this nation is also in the forefront in terms of future glories.

There were many others whom I have not been able to mention who made our visit a delight. I speak for all the other Members—and, I am sure for those wives of Members who accompanied us—when I say "merci, mes amis" and add, the wish "a bientôt."

#### DEERE & CO. AND CONSUMERISM

### HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, the public has become more and more aware of their rights as consumers, and the Congress and the administration have tried to respond accordingly. However, I believe it is highly important to pay special tribute to those companies that are already working in the consumer's interest.

One such company, Deere & Co. is located in Moline, Ill., which I am proud to represent. This manufacturing firm produces John Deere farm tractors and equipment, industrial tractors and equipment, and lawn and garden tractors and equipment.

Recently, Deere & Co., as well as the other top 200 companies on the Fortune 500 List, were asked by Senator Moss what their efforts were in this area. Frank Dickey, vice president of Deere &

Co., informed me of the response to Senator Moss. The communication I received will be of encouragement to all who are concerned about the American consumer.

Text of Mr. Dickey's letter follows:

APRIL 18, 1972.

HON. THOMAS F. RAILSBACK,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RAILSBACK: Recently, Senator Moss asked Deere & Company and the other top 200 companies on the Fortune 500 List to tell him and the Senate Consumer Subcommittee what steps we have "taken voluntarily to meet the increased demands of consumers." Senator Moss' expressed purpose for soliciting such comments is to "balance the public record" and to "remedy a gap in the fabric of consumerism" which now "roundly scores the flaws of business," but fails "to give credit for the good consumer protections which business performs."

We at Deere & Company agree there is a need to balance the record in this regard and, feeling that wider knowledge of the various ways in which Deere responds to the needs and demands of its customers would contribute to this effort substantially, we welcomed the opportunity to pass on to Senator Moss the kind of information he was seeking.

As Deere & Company is a major constituent of yours we thought you would also be interested in becoming aware of Deere's record in this area. Consequently, I'm writing you at this time to pass on to you the same information which we passed on to Senator Moss.

We felt there was a need to respond to Senator Moss' inquiry even though 95% of our sales are to commercial users in agriculture, logging, and the construction industry rather than to "consumers" in the ordinary sense.

Our customers are both knowledgeable and demanding concerning our products. Responding to their needs and requirements better than our competitors do is our principal business challenge—the warrant on which our long-term commercial success depends. Some specific "programs" directed at particular customer needs will be described in this letter. However, nearly every part of our operation is related in some way to this end, and we think the quality of our total performance is more significant (though harder to measure) than any enumeration of formal programs.

From the standpoint of our customer, satisfactory performance consists of doing a good job of producing quality products (at the lowest possible cost to him) and of assisting him in getting the most out of those products. In addition to the obvious prerequisites for doing this job of having modern, efficient production facilities, we believe there are five main areas in which our Company has an excellent record; product selection and design, reliability, service, safety, and education. We will comment on each of these areas.

#### PRODUCT SELECTION AND DESIGN

The design of agricultural equipment is part of a technological effort in which a whole complex of public and private agencies participates. Developments in machinery are inextricably linked with those in seeds, fertilizer, herbicides and insecticides, and farming methods like new crop spacings and minimum tillage techniques. "Public" bodies such as the United States Department of Agriculture Farm Services, state government extension services, and agricultural colleges perform research in these areas and work directly with "private" enterprises such as suppliers of seed, chemicals, machinery, and, of course, the farmer himself.

The result is there are few industries where technology is as dynamic or important as it is in agriculture, or indeed, where technology

has been so dramatically successful. For example, in 1950, one farm worker produced enough to feed and clothe 15.5 people. This increased to 25 to 30 people in 1960, and, by 1970, each farm worker produced enough to take care of 50 people. We have made a major contribution to this advancement through our own development work and through cooperation with agricultural colleges and other contributors to agricultural technology.

In the industrial area, the number of agencies participating in development and, indeed, the variety of problems involved are not nearly as numerous. Nonetheless, productivity, though harder to measure, has increased substantially. For example, in the area of construction contracts, each hour of labor today generates better than 80% more output (i.e., miles of road or square feet of housing) than it did in 1950 and 30% more than in 1960.

As its contribution to these areas, Deere last year spent \$56.4-million (4.8% of sales) on research and development, and has consistently devoted a similar portion of its budget to this endeavor.

Once the need is ascertained, the job of meeting that need is turned over to our factories, each of which has a product design group which is familiar with the needs of the customers who purchase the types of products their factory produces. As part of the design process, many hours and much of our research and development budget are devoted to "make sure" testing and retesting in the laboratory and field. In the latter stages, farmers in their fields, industrial customers on their job locations and consumers at their homes test prototype machines in their own way and speak their opinions. It usually requires from five to eight years at Deere to move from the original idea to the finished product coming off the assembly line.

As part of our design goals, we do not believe in the policy of created obsolescence through such devices as annual model changes. Most products retain their model designation and basic appearance for a number of years, though evolutionary changes designed to improve their performance take place on a continuing basis.

#### RELIABILITY

Deere has set up reliability goals for every product in terms of quality and performance to meet the customer's needs. At every stage of development, beginning with engineering blueprints and specs and extending through engineering testing of prototype parts, assemblies and complete machines, reliability specialists study the data, evaluate it, and make recommendations that will help meet these goals.

These recommendations cover not only the characteristics of individual parts, but the manufacturing processes, tolerance and specification checks, and inspection procedures aimed at delivering a reliable product off the assembly line.

We have established Product Reliability groups which are responsible for carrying out a formal Reliability Program to accomplish these objectives. They use modern techniques to predict reliability in the design stage and to monitor field performance to catch unanticipated reliability problems as soon as possible. To assure objectivity and freedom from possible bias on the part of the engineers responsible for the basic design, the factory Product Reliability Departments operate independently from the basic design group, reporting directly to the factory manager. Their mission in the manufacturing operation is to constantly upgrade products and increase the hours of successful operation between shop service requirements of all mechanical products.

Of the 38,000 people employed by Deere, 1,200 are directly involved in studies and checks to insure that products meet quality and reliability standards.

## SERVICE

Providing service for users of agricultural and industrial equipment is by its very nature even more demanding than the service requirements for users of strictly "consumer" products. For one thing, the farm or industrial operator is usually a "pro," extremely knowledgeable in the operation of his equipment and sure to be critical of its performance. He uses it for one purpose—to make a profit—and is well informed on costs, work output, and returns. The machines he uses are often large and extremely complicated. Because of these circumstances, the availability of prompt, efficient service weighs more heavily in the customer's choice between competitive makes than is true of many other kinds of products. As a result, Deere and its competitors commit a very large share of their marketing effort to service and parts availability.

All Deere dealers, including those who sell only consumer products, are required to provide adequate facilities to service the products they sell, and we attempt to assist them to provide better service in several ways.

First, since service cannot be any better than service training, Deere carries on an intensive training program. It starts at the factory where engineers present information on the function, characteristics, and service and maintenance needs of the equipment, including recommendations of such things as assembly and disassembly procedures, allowable wear tolerances and service procedures, to the members of the Factory Service Department. Next, the Tractor Service Department people conduct a school for each of our branch office service managers and their area service managers. Finally, at the branch office training facilities, last year well over 7,800 dealer servicemen, representing 90% of the dealers, received formal training during the winter and carried their knowledge back to the local service shop.

The winter schools, usually on tractors, are followed by spring and summer evening dealer service "refresher" seminars to prepare servicemen to work on seasonal equipment, such as corn planters, balers, cubers and combines. Ten thousand servicemen and parts men attended these seminars last year.

For dealer service management, the branch offices hold clinics to improve the effectiveness of service managers. Dealers are taught the importance of good service to their business and encouraged to develop a service attitude that "complaints are valuable" because they give the dealer a chance to keep a customer that he might otherwise lose.

For "freshmen" servicemen, many branch offices hold elementary schools limited to 20 "students" who, as part of their training, take a current model used tractor, tear it down completely and then rebuild it, thereby learning through doing all of the major repair techniques required to service our equipment.

Second, we try to help the dealer learn to manage his service operation effectively and have developed a Service Administration Manual to guide them to manage all phases of their service operation in the most effective ways.

Third, we have set up procedures for responding to customer complaints within one or two working days, which focus on seeing that the problem is properly handled by the dealer.

Fourth, we have a modern system of satisfying the customer's need for parts. The average dealer carries 8,000 different parts in stock and strives to provide a 90% "fill ratio." Backing him up are eight Deere U.S. factories and 14 strategically located parts depots. These are now tied together with high speed computers so the total inventory is available to any single customer. The average depot has 65,000 different parts. Hooked together with factories, the depots offer 225,000 different parts. Usually it takes less

than an hour to locate a part and less than two hours to put it in the mall. Emergency shipments almost always go by air.

Fifth, when farmers are in the field with a breakdown, the time and distance factor can be critical. To provide "close-by" repair service in areas where regular dealers with shop facilities are far apart, Deere has promoted the "Service Center" concept. Owned by regular full-scale dealers, the Service Centers are operated separately from the main stores for the exclusive purpose of providing repair service and parts. They are located between full-scale dealership operations, substantially reducing the time and distance required to obtain service.

Sixth, last year Deere produced more than 1,400,000 copies of 638 different service publications to help customers operate their equipment properly and help shop people locate parts and make the right kind of repairs. As part of this effort, Deere provides factory written, professionally-edited Operator's Manuals. An important objective of these manuals is to call attention to important safety practices in operating the machine.

For service training, Deere offers three levels of material: (1) "FOS" (Fundamentals of Service) Manuals on the basics of such functions as engines, transmissions and hydraulics, 12 books in all. Created originally for the use of our own dealer personnel, these books are so highly regarded that they are now sold throughout the industry, to colleges and to independent schools. The price charged is nominal, encouraging the training of more competent mechanics for dealers in all makes. (2) Service School Textbooks, which are used at dealer service training meetings along with 35 mm slides. (3) Service or Technical Manuals, complementary to FOS, which deal with the specifics of current John Deere machines with instructions on how to make adjustments and repairs. Though designed primarily for dealer servicemen, these manuals are also available to customers.

An important aspect of service is warranty. We currently extend warranties which, in some situations, are as long as two years. Furthermore, all of our dealers, including consumer product dealers, are required to perform warranty work on the type of products which they sell, regardless of whether they sold the particular unit needing service. This increases the availability of warranty service to the customer. We have consistently improved our warranty service reimbursement policies to insure that dealers are motivated to perform warranty service. In addition to furnishing the parts necessary for warranty repair, we pay dealers at their regular retail service labor rates plus an additional premium on both labor rates and the cost of parts to cover incidental expenses a dealer incurs in performing warranty work. Every effort is made to see that our warranties clearly state the obligations of ourselves, our dealers, and the customer.

## SAFETY

Last year, after extensive hearings, the Department of Transportation concluded that the agricultural industry had aggressive and effective tractor safety programs and recommended against setting tractor safety standards under the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 at the present time.

Operating under the Manager of Safety and Environment at our Moline headquarters, the Product Safety Department staff works directly with the Product Safety Committee at each factory, which is responsible for reviewing proposed products for hazards and making corrective recommendations to the factory manager. The safety recommendations carry great weight in final design decisions.

Deere has always been conscious of safety problems and in three of the most important safety areas, roll-over protection, power take-

off shielding, and vehicle lighting and reflective marking and delineation, we have taken a leading part in the development of industry standards.

Deere pioneered in developing tractor roll-over protection, starting in 1959, and began marketing "Roll-Gard" roll-over protection frames in 1966. To overcome the customer's slow response to this safety innovation, Deere gave away \$1 million dollars worth of Roll-Gards as prizes at dealer meetings throughout the country to expose farmers to the benefits of these safety devices and speed up their acceptance.

Subsequently Deere allowed the industry to adopt the same concept without restrictions and in 1971 gave the Roll-Gard idea, royalty-free, to the public, so that all manufacturers could make them. Deere played a leading role in the development of standards for roll-over protection for both bars and protective cabs. Today, Deere pictures its agricultural tractors with roll-over protection in all promotional literature. As an example to others, all tractors driven by company employees in experimental work or demonstrations are equipped with roll-over protection.

Late in 1972, Deere expects to introduce another major safety device, a new, fully-shielded power takeoff coupler, which is now in the final stages of design and testing. For many years, traditional power takeoff shields have been a problem because too many farmers considered them inconvenient and removed them, thus exposing themselves to direct accidental contact with the revolving shaft. The new design is so simple, functional and efficient that few farmers are likely to tamper with it.

In the agricultural area and outdoor power equipment area, we have been a leader in industry committees working toward improved safety standards. In addition, Deere has been a leader in developing operator controls similar to those used by the aircraft industry in which control movement is related to function and controls are keyed by shape and color to distinguish them from each other and reduce the chance of operator error.

## EDUCATION

While training dealers to improve their service capacity is one of our larger educational goals, we think some other areas are worth mentioning.

First, there are the customer service clinics. Deere's 100 area service managers try to hold at least one Customer Service Clinic per dealer per year. The purpose of this is to acquaint owners with the operation, adjustments and maintenance of their machines—regardless of make—to get better results and greater satisfaction. Deere believes that customer clinics give owners a chance to air their problems, discuss them with other operators and learn how to get top performance from their machines. Special attention is given to safe operation of machines.

Now being developed is a new series of publications, FMO (Fundamentals of Machine Operation) designed to acquaint operators with the "why" of basic machine operation to complement the "how" of traditional operator's manuals. These will give the operator an even better understanding of what it takes to make machines run properly. The FMO Manuals will be basic, written without bias, and will be applicable to other brands as well as John Deere. They will deal with such subjects as Combine Harvesting, Logging, and Preventive Maintenance, Lawn Care and a special book on Safety. These new books will be especially useful at customer clinics.

Finally, in the last several years we have promoted numerous customer tours during which dealers bring in upwards of 15,000 customers annually to our headquarters and factories. This gives our customer's a chance to see exactly how the products they buy

are being made and learn of the thinking that goes into all of the elements of the design and manufacturing process that affects them. Time is allowed on each tour for users to meet with people responsible for the design and manufacture of these products and to air their complaints with them.

In an attempt to be brief, the foregoing merely stresses the highlights of the actions we are taking to better serve our customers. Very truly yours,

FRANK DICKEY,  
Vice President, Government Relations.

TAX REFORM

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is plenty of rhetoric, but very little progress being made in sound reform of our tax laws.

The excessive rhetoric and the temptation to use demagoguery in a campaign year is very effectively pointed out in an editorial by WMAQ-TV, channel 5, NBC, Chicago, which was broadcast April 19.

The editorial follows:

EDITORIAL

The political issue this year that has the greatest popular appeal is tax reform. Everyone wants tax reform, especially now that we have completed the unpleasant task of filing our federal income tax returns.

Tax reform is popular with people running for office, too. If a candidate handles this tax issue adroitly, every person who listens to him will be persuaded that his own taxes will be lower if the candidate is elected.

That is a pleasant pipe dream for a spring day. It is satisfying to stand up and cheer when a candidate promises to close the tax loopholes. No one likes loopholes.

But, if the candidate says he wants to eliminate your tax deductions, you might not feel like cheering. Really there is only a subtle difference between a loophole and a deduction. Our definition of a loophole is a legal deduction that allows the other guy to pay less in taxes.

It is also popular these days for political candidates to say they want to get started on tax reform by going after all those nasty millionaires who do not pay a dime in income taxes. In fact, these wealthy non-taxpayers are doing nothing the laws do not permit them to do.

Here's an example. If you are fortunate enough to have an income that puts you in the sixty or seventy per cent bracket, it makes sense to buy municipal bonds. The income from them is tax free, so even if the interest is only four and a half per cent, you get to keep it all instead of paying most of it to the government.

Without this law, local governments would have a problem. They could not borrow money at low interest rates for major improvements because no one would buy the bonds. Governments would have to pay higher rates and all of us would have to make up the difference.

Another tax law allows you to deduct all the interest and local taxes you pay. If you own a house, you know how important this is. If this incentive is removed, far fewer people could afford to buy homes. The construction industry would suffer, which would create a lot of new unemployment.

Our point here is that tax reform does sound like a great idea. Our tax laws are

incredibly complicated and full of inequities. But for every reform, there is some consequence that must be considered. We suggest that you listen to the political candidates skeptically. Don't believe anyone who tries to buy your vote with a wild-eyed promise that reform is a simple way to solve all our problems and lower all our taxes.

DINAH SHORE, FIRST LADY  
OF SONG

HON. ROBERT McCCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. McCCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the First Lady's Breakfast honoring Mrs. Richard Nixon, celebrated before a crowd of more than 1,000 at the Shoreham Hotel last Thursday, April 27, was highlighted by the guest appearance of the celebrated singer and entertainer, Miss Dinah Shore. This highly successful event took on special significance in that it commemorated the silver anniversary of the arrival of President and Mrs. Nixon on the Washington scene. Members of this body are proud to recall that the President's first Washington experience was as a Member of the House of Representatives from California's 12th District from which he was elected in 1946.

Mr. Speaker, the silver anniversary theme was observed in the striking of a new White House Medal for which arrangements were made by the Congressional Club with the U.S. Mint and its Directors, Mrs. Mary Brooks. Each of the guests at the First Lady's Breakfast received one of these new White House Medals containing 40 percent silver and also an attractive silver compact donated by Estée Lauder.

Mr. Speaker, the "surprise" feature at this historic First Lady's Breakfast was, of course, Miss Dinah Shore, whose charm and melodic songs thrilled the great audience which included wives of most of the Members of this body and the other body as well as Mrs. Agnew, spouses of Cabinet Members, Justices of the Supreme Court, Diplomats, and other public and governmental leaders.

Mr. Speaker, special reference should be made of the leadership of the Congressional Club whose President, Mrs. Hale "Lindy" Boggs presided with the skill and grace which typifies this grand woman. The chairmen were Mrs. James Harvey and Mrs. Richardson Preyer.

Mr. Speaker, the program was reported to me to be eventful and highly successful. It ran somewhat ahead of schedule with the result that Miss Dinah Shore was called on to perform 10 minutes ahead of her scheduled appearance.

Mr. Speaker, Miss Shore projected her personality in a manner which was to be expected and she capped her performance with an inspiring rendition of "America the Beautiful." As the program chairman for this event observed in her introduction, "To the First Lady of the land, I present our Nation's first lady of song, Miss Dinah Shore!"

OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND  
HEALTH ACT OF 1970

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, I am sure my colleagues are often asked the question, What current issue does constituent mail reflect as the No. 1 concern of the congressional district? I am asked this question either by the press or interested constituents.

It is for that reason I would like to commend to the attention of my colleagues two newspaper articles regarding the issue that is currently causing the most concern within my congressional district. I am sure every American is concerned over the paramount issue of doing all that we can to achieve peace in Southeast Asia as well as our efforts to halt inflation and to work to restore law and justice for all of our citizens.

However, as important as these issues are today, the No. 1 concern of citizens in my congressional district is with the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 and the related topic of what Government can do to you as well as for you. The following editorial from the Topeka Sunday Capital-Journal newspaper and the column from the Salina Journal written by John Schmiedler, I think, summarize this particular issue very well. The editorial points out some common-sense drawbacks to this legislation. The column by John Schmiedler concerns the larger issue summarized by the now famous expression, "Please, Uncle Sam, I'd rather do it myself." I commend these articles to the attention of my colleagues: [From the Topeka (Kans.) Sunday Capital-Journal, Apr. 30, 1972]

INTENT GOOD; LAW CUMBERSOME

Intentions of Congress in passing the massive Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 doubtless were good.

Unfortunately, acts of Congress and enforcement by federal bureaucrats often don't work the way they are intended. A recent news report in the Capital-Journal indicated that's the case with this law.

Purpose of the act was laudable—to protect workers by requiring safety precautions be taken by employers. It spells out work standards to be followed.

These standards have caused much confusion here. They are contained in a book in such great detail a businessman must wade through pages which do not apply to him to find the rules which do.

The act has many local contractors worried for fear they cannot comply with its provisions—or that if they can, compliance may increase costs 20 to 30 per cent.

The government, which on one hand seeks to encourage construction by holding down costs, may—by this law—push them up sharply.

The law applies to most businesses, but strikes hardest at small contractors. Some here say the regulations may force them out of business.

Apparently enforcement of the act will be strict. Employers may call the Occupational Safety and Health Administration for advice on rules. But inspectors will not visit work sites and advise on how to come under the law. If they visit the site and see a violation, the businessman must be cited.

Most fines it is said will be \$100, though they can go as high as \$1,000. But a Lincoln, Neb., firm was assessed penalties of \$36,000 because of alleged continued infraction, and the penalty now is being considered in a hearing.

Few outside of government have the legal and engineering knowledge to advise on the new law.

Responsibility for compliance is on the employer. If an employe is caught breaking a safety rule, the employer is cited. It seems this should be a shared responsibility.

It is too early to judge how the law will operate when employers learn to work under it, but it seems new standards have come rapidly, and are massive and inflexible.

The law raises again the question of whether zeal hasn't taken the place of reason where federal regulations are concerned. The question was raised earlier by Kansas feed-lot owners, some of whom went out of business because they couldn't afford to meet state regulations and if they did, they did not know whether federal regulations would let them continue. It has been raised by all drillers whose offshore operations have been limited for fear of oil leak pollution.

Certainly lives and safety of employes must be protected and air and water pollution must be halted. But regulations must be reasonable. They must be enforced in a way that will permit businesses to fill needs of the public for buildings, beef and oil.

Blanket federal regulations sometimes are too inflexible to take into account individual conditions.

More regulatory functions should be left to state and local governments. They are closer to the situation and probably would enforce rules more reasonably.

[From the Salina, Kans., Journal]

**DON'T WRAP US ALL IN COTTON!**

(By John Schriedeler)

I know there are times when we need to be protected from ourselves. In almost every instance of "accident", examination uncovers carelessness or a disregard for the rules, many times with tragic consequences.

But, holy smoke, some of the stories coming out of experiences with the inspectors from the Department of Labor's Occupational Safety and Health Act scarcely are to be believed.

A friend of mine with long experience in the construction trade tells of estimates of a 30 percent increase in building costs if OSHA rules are followed religiously.

And another friend, a bricklayer tells of the plastic hard hats now required of everyone down to sidewalk superintendent salling about in the brisk Kansas wind. "Talk about a hazard! We were chasing those condemned hats all afternoon," he grouched. He also complained of the steel-toed shoes which cut into his feet each time he reached for a brick. Won't take much of that to put him off the job with an "occupational illness".

No one can argue that unsafe and unhealthful work conditions should be allowed. And there appears little question some regulation is needed to insure occupational safety.

The problem is to get some kind of even-handed administration of the reasonable regulation. Do you recall how the "solution" to unsanitary conditions in some urban slaughtering plants closed many community frozen food locker plants in Kansas? Because filth and danger were found in some urban plants, the all-knowing federal government was certain filth and danger abounded in the small country locker plants as well.

Applying a blanket "solution" didn't clean up the cities and left many rural communities unresponsive to the needs of people. And, at the same time, the federal govern-

ment mouths pious promises about enhancing rural life. I'm danged if I see that it makes sense.

The same kind of blinders-on administration of a safety act—seeking hazards everywhere which may exist someplace—will result in the same kind of destruction.

Big Brother simply cannot roll each of us in protective cotton and expect us not to smother.

Incidentally, did you know mining isn't covered by OSHA? That's because Big Brother already has made the coal mines safe and healthful places in which to work. Try telling that to a miner's widow.

Meanwhile, better wear your safety glasses if you use a spray deodorant. Stuff's under pressure, you know.

#### WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, so that my colleagues may be aware of the information therein contained, I insert the text of an April 21, 1972, release from the Wildlife Management Institute at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The text follows:

#### ANTICONSERVATIONISTS POUNDING CONGRESS ON MARINE MAMMALS

Anti-hunting and animal protectionist groups have launched the second phase of a national newspaper advertising campaign designed to frighten Congress into enacting a law upholding their stated aim to stop all taking of whales, seals, sea otters, polar bears, and other marine mammals, according to the Wildlife Management Institute. Their goal is contrary to what leading marine specialists advise is best for the animals, but that does not deter their emotional stand on this issue.

Current targets for their ire is the Senate Committee on Commerce, chaired by Senator Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.) and its Subcommittee on Oceans and Atmosphere, headed by Senator Ernest F. Hollings (S.C.). Hollings' group recently ended public hearings on H.R. 10420, previously passed by the House, and several Senate bills.

The anti-dumping and protectionist associations are trying to force Magnuson and Hollings to report their bill. Their newspaper ads are stimulating a huge volume of mail to sway the committee's decision. Much of the mail is from persons seriously concerned about the future of marine mammals, but who have little actual understanding of the undesirable result their efforts may bring. Oversimplifications, half-truths, and misleading statements are being used to encourage them to take action that could be contrary to the well-being of marine mammals.

By use of the same tactics, the protectionists succeeded in getting unwise provisions written into H.R. 10420 when it was voted on the House floor. They seek now to gain still more concessions in the Senate version.

Leading wildlife experts and conservationists have advised the Hollings subcommittee that the House-passed bill is seriously deficient. Its greatest and least recognized weakness is its substitution of emotion for proven scientific judgement in the management of marine mammals. H.R. 10420 would forbid any killing of marine mammals, except by special permit, for a period of five years. The Senate subcommittee is considering increasing the moratorium to 15 years. Leading marine experts have told the House and Senate

committees that a blanket moratorium is negative, that it could result in more harm than good. Many of the animals are international in their movements and distribution, and the prohibition against taking the animals by Americans will have no effect whatsoever on other nations. In fact, the State Department testified that continued efforts to force a worldwide moratorium could sabotage rational efforts to establish needed and workable international agreements. Some countries are increasingly dependent on marine mammals for food and U.S. blanket closures, will have absolutely no effect on their take. Only international agreements can reduce and regulate such taking.

Experts are advising the House and Senate committees to authorize greatly expanded federal-state cooperative research, enforcement, land acquisition, and management programs for marine mammals. H.R. 10420 virtually rules this out, choosing instead to exert federal preemption over all marine mammals, even those most common to state waters. Federal agencies lack both personnel and equipment to do the job. A bill introduced by Senator Ted Stevens (Alaska) S. 3161, includes the protective measures recommended by marine experts and wildlife specialists. It is receiving little attention, however due to the chaos generated by the emotional proponents of total protection.

Everyone wants the marine mammals protected from future harm. The real question is how it should be done—by emotional reaction which historically has failed or by scientific management that already has all marine mammal populations either under total protection, stabilized, or increasing. Senator Magnuson, Senator Hollings, and other members of the Senate and House are receiving many requests from conservationists that any legislation enacted assure that scientific effort will be focused on the animal's well-being.

#### CONCERN FOR PLIGHT OF SOVIET JEWS

### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, the city council of Lynn recently spoke out eloquently on the plight of the Jewish population of the Soviet Union. I believe their forceful affirmation of the rights of Soviet Jews—as of all people—to political and religious freedom—is timely and important and at this point I wish to insert it in the RECORD:

PROCLAMATION—1972

CITY COUNCIL,  
Lynn, Mass.

Whereas, the Jews of the Soviet Union are denied the right to practice their religion; to study their holy books; and to teach their children the ancient tenets of their faith; and

Whereas, the Jews of the Soviet Union are denied the rights of other nationality groups as guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR, and are denied the freedom of emigration as guaranteed by the United Nations declaration of Human Rights; and

Whereas, individual religious activity is branded as treason as manifested by the recent closed trials as well as imprisonment without trial.

Whereas, the citizens of Lynn, in the spirit of humanitarianism, call upon the Soviet Government to cease the persecution of their Jewish Citizens and abide by their

own constitution in granting to them the right of religious practice and education and the right to emigrate if they so desire.

Now, therefore, we, the City Council of Lynn, join with other cities across the United States in observance of the forthcoming National Soviet Jewry Solidarity Day, Sunday, April 30, 1972, and urge all citizens to demonstrate our concern for the desperate plight of the Soviet Jew.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eleventh day of April in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Two.

WALTER F. MESERVE,  
President.

NADER DIDN'T CHECK FACTS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Chamber of Commerce Washington Report:

CHAMBER BACKS CONSUMER PROTECTION, BUT \* \* \* NADER DIDN'T BOTHER TO CHECK THE FACTS

Ralph Nader's "disregard for the facts" is evident in his unfounded charges of irresponsible conduct by the National Chamber concerning pending consumer legislation.

That criticism came from Arch N. Booth, executive vice president of the Chamber, in rejecting Mr. Nader's distorted views reported in his syndicated column. In letters to Mr. Nader himself and editors of 29 newspapers, Mr. Booth said the misleading column validated the need for the Chamber to inform its members. Excerpts of the letter to the editors follow:

"If all of Ralph Nader's facts are as inaccurate as those in his recent attack on the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, consumers would do well to examine his accusations and proposed solutions very carefully."

"In a recent column, Mr. Nader said the National Chamber was circulating a 'secret propaganda kit' that contained 'wild statements' concerning a bill for a new federal Consumer Protection Agency. Mr. Nader said the Chamber called the bill 'the most furious (sic) threat to free enterprise and orderly government ever to be proposed in Congress.'

"These statements are not true. Nor is it true that the National Chamber produced this 'secret propaganda kit' suggesting how business groups should protest, hold strategy meetings and engage in other propaganda and lobbying activities. The fact is, the National Chamber has neither produced nor distributed the kit to which Mr. Nader refers.

"What the National Chamber has done regarding the pending consumer protection bill, S. 1177/H.R. 10835, is to produce and distribute various bulletins and papers which analyze the bill and its impact; suggest constructive amendments, and inform our members on this vital issue. Nowhere in this material are the phrases found that Mr. Nader quotes as originating from the National Chamber.

"We regard the furnishing of information on such issues to be our duty, and we will continue to do so. We also would have been happy to provide copies of our material to Mr. Nader, had he bothered to check the veracity of his charges with us.

"In this same column, Mr. Nader's decep-

tive statements about the bill illustrate further his disregard for the facts, and indicate all the more why we need to inform our members about the true nature of this bill.

"For instance, Mr. Nader states that the Consumer Protection Agency would have 'no authority to regulate or prosecute anybody;' that the agency 'must operate on a tiny yearly budget,' and that it 'must stay within the rules of the commissions doing the regulating.'

"None of his three statements is true, based on careful analysis of the pending legislation. From his point of view, Mr. Nader obviously would prefer to minimize the impact of legislation that has passed the House and is nearing a vote in the Senate.

"The fact is, under the proposed legislation, the CPA could cause the regulation or prosecution of nearly any case in which the agency felt consumers were being adversely affected. It would operate on a budget approximately as large as that of the Federal Trade Commission—and this by any measure is not 'tiny.' It would have many investigatory and other powers far beyond those of the commissions doing the regulating. And, as usually happens, the agency would undoubtedly grow in size once created.

"Had Mr. Nader researched his facts, he would have found that the National Chamber has for some time favored increased and strengthened representation for consumers in the councils of government. The National Chamber has consistently testified in favor of a strengthened Special Advisor on Consumer Affairs in the White House. We still continue to maintain that position as more logical and effective, rather than favoring the establishment of yet another federal agency which will be deficient of the clear focus necessary to achieve its objectives.

"As for Mr. Nader, he will serve the public interest better if he will stop to check his facts, and prove his charges before condemning the business community and government through sweeping generalities and innuendoes."

TELEPHONE PRIVACY—XX

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, I am presently circulating a "Dear Colleague" letter on the telephone privacy bill (H.R. 13267), which has already been cosponsored by 28 Members.

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

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

As I noted in a statement on March 9, I have received an enormous amount of correspondence on this legislation from all over the country. Today, I am placing a 18th sampling of these letters into the RECORD, since they describe far more vividly than I possibly could the need for this legislation.

These letters follow—the names have been omitted:

CLINTON, CONN.,  
April 18, 1972.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ASPIN: I was most pleased to read in the Congressional Record of your Telephone Privacy Act (H.R. 14097). To be sure, passage of this bill would be a godsend to millions of people plagued and harassed by over zealous companies.

Telephone soliciting has become one of the most annoying aspects of my life as a student. These businesses seem to think college students are a goldmine eager to spend their parents' money on almost anything. While this may be true to a certain extent, certainly enough soliciting is already done through the omnipresent third-class mail and detachable cards in magazines to satisfy everyone's wants or needs. Besides, unopened junk mail is far more readily ignored than a ringing telephone.

The Telephone Privacy Act has my unequivocal support and hopefully that of a majority of your distinguished colleagues in the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

SOLON, OHIO, April 16, 1972.

Representative LES ASPIN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ASPIN: The enclosed clipping from *The Christian Science Monitor* gives me hope that at last something may be done about one of the many advertising annoyances Americans are subjected to. I am a middle-aged housewife, and I couldn't possibly keep track of the "selling" calls I get during the week, from aluminum siding to photographs, cosmetics and recently most persistent of all, real estate developers. They're the worst, with their false, taped messages slanted to seem deceptively personal.

I certainly back your efforts 300%, because I think every American has the right to take a bath, repair a cut finger, get Rover in out of the rain, or just plain collect his thoughts, in peace. I do disagree that nonprofit groups should be exempted. Ever since I helped collect for several health funds for two or three years until about four years ago, they have nagged me to do it again. For four years I have been explaining that, due to health problems, I cannot walk from door to door any longer, & still they call, though each time I ask to be removed from their list. I'm so mad, I won't give them a dime.

Keep it up, & if this ever comes to a vote, Mr. Vanik will get my backing.

Sincerely,

ALEXANDRIA, VA., April 5, 1972.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ASPIN: Please add my name to those who support your bill to stop unsolicited phone calls. I am tired of running with a half diapered baby to answer a phone and learn a development in Pinehurst, N.C. is sending me an "expressogram," or that a salesman from the Lake Leganore will be in my area "tomorrow night." Magazine and newspaper solicitations run a close second on my list of nuisance callers behind land developers.

Sincerely,

## PAPERWORK VERSUS EDUCATION

**HON. ANCHER NELSEN**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago I received a letter from Mr. Darwin Lochner, superintendent of schools, Jamesville Public Schools, Jamesville, Minn., objecting to the amount of paperwork that is necessary to apply for title I aid under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Superintendent Lochner points out that the total budget for his school district's operation amounts to about \$700,000 a year and that there is more paperwork involved in qualifying for \$11,000 in title I aid than there is in handling the district's entire budget.

I brought Mr. Lochner's comments to the attention of the U.S. Office of Education and received a reply from Director Richard L. Fairley of the Division of Compensatory Education. It seems that the statutory requirements of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act have led to a proliferation of paperwork requirements on the part of State and local educational agencies. For the edification of my colleagues I am including this exchange of correspondence in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

JANESVILLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS  
IND. DISTRICT 830,  
Janesville, Minn., March 16, 1972.

HON. ANCHER NELSEN,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. NELSEN: Yesterday I attended an all day seminar on Title I for 1972-73. The purpose of the meeting was to explain what schools had to do to write projects for Title I application.

Federal money is needed in our schools. In fact, it is needed very badly. However, if we have to spend days, weeks, and months writing projects, the value of the money decreases rapidly.

For example, in our school district we are eligible for \$11,000.00 in Title I aid. To qualify for this \$11,000.00 we must complete in triplicate ten different documents, form a parental involvement committee, designate target schools, etc. We must list every child in our school along with family income data, age by year and month, minority status, intellectual development, emotional development, work habits, behavior and adjustment, nutrition and health status and achievement test scores. All of the above requirements are necessary just to complete Part I. They haven't told us what is in Part II yet!

I could go on and on—but I hope my point is clear. Our regular budget is \$700,000.00 per year. The school district must prepare more paperwork to qualify for \$11,000.00 than it does in preparation for its entire budget. Federal money is needed—not mickey mouse! Please do something to change this deplorable condition soon.

Sincerely,

DARWIN LOCHNER,  
Superintendent.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,  
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,  
Washington, D.C., April 18, 1972.

HON. ANCHER NELSEN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. NELSEN: This is in response to your inquiry of March 29 addressed to Commissioner Sidney P. Marland on behalf of

Superintendent Darwin Lochner, Janesville, Minnesota. His letter concerned the paperwork involved in the preparation of the Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, application.

The State educational agency is required to approve only those applications which meet all the requirements of Subpart C of the Title I, ESEA, Regulations, some of which are those types of information your constituent listed. Section 141(a)(1) (enclosed) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act requires that the Title I programs must be "designed to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children in school attendance areas having high concentrations of children from low-income families." To assure itself and Office of Education that it is approving programs which meet the requirements of the law, Minnesota State Department of Education must have sufficient documentation to show 1) that those attendance areas in the school district having high concentrations of children from low-income families have been selected properly, 2) how the educationally deprived children were selected to participate and 3) how the proposed program will meet the special educational needs of the children.

Unfortunately, the law does not exempt local school districts receiving small allocations from any part of the planning or documentation of that planning in the preparation of a Title I application. If there is not sufficient administration funds to defray the expenses, the local district may wish to form a cooperative Title I project with another district.

According to a State Title I official an analysis of the cost of doing a needs assessment showed that in Minnesota school districts it ranged from \$.10 to \$.20 per pupil.

If we can be of further assistance, please contact us.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD L. FAIRLEY,  
Director, Division of  
Compensatory Education.

## BRING BACK THE \$2 BILL

**HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, until its discontinuance in 1966, the \$2 bill had been an integral part of the currency of the United States throughout its history. It was first issued during the American Revolution by colonists who preferred their currency denominated in dollars rather than in the pounds, shillings, and pence of the English. When a national currency was provided for under the National Bank Act of 1863, the \$2 note became a part of that system. It continued to be so throughout the various changes in the system until 1966 when the Treasury announced that these notes would cease to be printed, because there was little demand for them.

The time has come, I feel, to reevaluate this decision and the role of the \$2 note in facilitating the Nation's monetary transactions. The \$2 note can occupy a very strategic place in the Nation's array of notes. By volume the vast majority of transactions are, of course, carried out by check. However, there are millions upon millions of small but es-

sential transactions which are best executed in cash—the purchase of bread and milk at the corner store or the payment of a taxicab fare, for example. The \$2 note would appear a particularly useful denomination to assist in carrying out these kinds of small payments.

The potential demand for the \$2 note seems implicit in a number of developments. Ours is a growing population which is steadily increasing its real per capita income. This means that more people will be engaging in more transactions and using more and more coins and bills. The need for the smaller denominations is accentuated, because our population is young. According to the 1970 census nearly 40 percent of the population was under 21. In addition, a richer population is able to afford more kinds of goods and services, the average size of our small transactions, therefore, will tend to increase. A \$2 bill will permit us to reduce the number of notes which we must carry to conduct our daily business. It would provide our currency system with added flexibility. Given today's price structure the \$2 bill would be a useful bridge between the \$1 and the \$5 notes.

If the \$2 bill is reissued, I feel, its use will be widespread. The American population, perhaps more than any other people, is open minded to new ideas and new products when their worthwhileness and convenience have been demonstrated. This characteristic has been at the foundation of much of the great progress which we have made through the years as a Nation. Once the convenience and flexibility which the \$2 note can bring to our currency is appreciated by the public, the \$2 note will become again a very valuable and integral part of our system of money.

INSURANCE AGENTS ASK FOR  
HABITUAL OFFENDER LAWS**Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY**

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the House of Representative's attention to a particularly noteworthy effort on the part of one of the country's largest organizations of independent business people on behalf of the Nation's motoring public and auto insurance consumers.

The organization is the National Association of Insurance Agents which has developed a model law through which it hopes to strike a blow against the unconscionable number of deaths on the highways of the United States.

Of unique interest in their approach, these insurance people do not ask the Congress to take action or make available public funds. They believe that the 50 States can bring about a marked reduction in the total of 55,000 highway deaths each year through enactment of legislation which contains certain criteria.

The NAIA model law, known as an



Habitual Offender Act, provides these basic criteria for the identification of the most dangerous drivers sufficient time for such drivers to establish their records; a legal process which is painstaking in its attention to providing due process; and firm and decisive penalties for those who continue to flaunt the traffic code and endanger themselves and others using the public roads.

I might add that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts recognized the need for legislation in this area and put into effect an Habitual Offender Act in 1971. It joined the Commonwealth of Virginia and the States of North Carolina, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine in taking action against dangerous drivers. I understand that the Governor of Indiana has recently signed a similar bill into law.

It would seem that the independent insurance agents' association has accurately discerned a national movement through the enactment of habitual offender legislation. It has made the fostering of this movement a matter of policy and recommended to its affiliated State associations that they undertake active campaigns to obtain enactment in all 50 States.

The habitual offender is defined by the NAIA as the driver who is convicted three or more times for such offense as: vehicular manslaughter; drunken driving; reckless driving; driving without a license or while his license is suspended or revoked; perjury in statements to motor vehicle authorities; and, any felony involving a motor vehicle. Additionally, it provides for the same designation for anyone convicted of 10 or more lesser moving violations.

The penalties include revocation of driving privileges. This revocation stays in effect for at least 5 years and can be lifted only by the court. The court may, at the same time, impose any restrictions it deems necessary when reinstating the habitual offender's license.

The habitual offender who drives following his judgement and is caught and convicted, receives a mandatory prison sentence of 1 to 5 years.

The NAIA stipulates that it is not interested in jailing thousands of drivers. It states that the many worthy educational efforts concerning highway safety of the past have not succeeded. It states further that the threat of severe punishment does have an effect on the number and severity of highway accidents. It points out several examples both domestically and overseas where death and accident statistics dropped when concerted get tough policies were initiated by authorities.

It would seem that the National Association of Insurance Agents has stated the problem accurately. Its recommended solution seems logical. The apparent severity of its penalties are warranted.

Mr. Speaker, I would ask the Members of the House to lend their moral support to the high ideals established by the National Association of Insurance Agents as it moves forward to reduce the tragic number of traffic deaths.

## THE PRICE OF EAST-WEST FRIENDSHIPS

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, simultaneous with the announcement that Quang Tri has fallen to Soviet armor, we are advised that several of the major New York City banks are preparing to make 6-percent loans to the Soviet Union to buy U.S. machinery.

U.S. Maritime Administrator Andrew E. Gibson has been meeting with his Soviet counterpart and announcements are expected that all American ports are to be opened to Soviet vessels, including Soviet flagships departing from Cuban ports.

Secretary of State William Rogers, while denying that the foreign policy of the present administration tends to favor foreign interests at the expense of American interests, is quoted as saying:

We must pay greater attention to economic matters and pay particular attention to our relationships with our major economic partners.

He is reported as having said the State Department is stepping up export promotion particularly to expand trade with Communist countries.

The Soviets continue to pour military supplies into North Vietnam and, following Henry Kissinger's secret Moscow visit, sent three top Communist officials to Hanoi to reassure that nation of continuing Soviet support against American aggression.

In Germany, the minority coalition government of Brandt is threatened by hostility from the Soviet Union if West Germany does not ratify the Bonn-Moscow treaty which U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers insinuates is the keystone of a new East-West climate, mutual and balanced forces reduction—SALT—trade agreements and even President Nixon's mission to Moscow, scheduled for May.

What a price the free world is having to pay so that President Nixon's Moscow junket is not canceled.

I include related newscippings:

[From the Evening Star, May 1, 1972]

ROGERS CONDEMNNS PROTECTIONIST POLICY

(By Lee M. Cohn)

Secretary of State William P. Rogers warned American business leaders today that protectionist policies in international trade would be "disastrous." He also pledged that the State Department will insist on fair treatment by foreign competitors.

"In walling out imports we would run the grave risk of walling in the very U.S. exports that we want to encourage," he said in a speech prepared for the annual meeting of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

"Building protectionist walls may seem tempting, but it can lead to retaliation and counter-retaliation," he said.

NONE BE "BEGGAR"

"Today no single country, no matter how powerful, can succeed in a unilateral policy

of beggaring its neighbors or of exporting its domestic adjustment problems. It could be disastrous to our national interests to abandon our commitment to a more open world in which our economy, above all others, has flourished."

But Rogers emphasized that other countries must recognize that "openness in one direction means openness in both and that negotiation is a two-way street."

In negotiating international monetary and trade reforms, he said, "We must advance our own interests forcefully and without apology."

Treasury Secretary John B. Connally has obliquely criticized the State Department's approach to international economic negotiations. Connally has implied that some State Department officials have tried to undermine his "tough" bargaining tactics.

#### DENIES ALLEGATION

Responding to such allegations, Rogers said: "Some segments of the American business community may still believe that the State Department tends to represent foreign interests at the expense of American interests. Nothing could be further from the truth."

Connally has complained that international economic policies are too "fragmented," and that some parts of the government downgrade these issues.

Calling a strong economy essential to U.S. foreign policy, Rogers said, "We must pay greater attention to economic matters and pay particular attention to our relations with our major economic partners."

He said the State Department is stepping up export promotion, and noted particularly efforts to expand trade with Communist countries.

#### [From the Washington Star, Apr. 30, 1972] THREE RUSSIANS VISIT HANOI TO RENEW AID PLEDGE

Moscow.—The Soviet Union disclosed yesterday it dispatched three high-ranking officials to North Vietnam just after U.S. presidential adviser Henry Kissinger's secret Moscow visit in order to assure Hanoi of the Kremlin's continued support.

The official Tass news agency identified the Soviet officials as Deputy Foreign Minister Nikolai Firyubin, Communist party Secretary Konstantin Katyushev and Communist party official Igor Ognatov. It said they visited Hanoi from Wednesday to yesterday.

Western diplomatic sources in Moscow said it was possible the Soviet officials might have been carrying some specific proposals that grew out of the talks last weekend between Kissinger and Soviet Communist party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev.

Tass also announced the arrival in Moscow of Le Duc Tho, North Vietnamese politburo member and special adviser to Hanoi's delegation to the Paris peace talks. It said Tho was passing through en route back to Paris from Hanoi.

#### "INVARIABLE SOLIDARITY"

The developments followed Kissinger's talks with Brezhnev on the Vietnam war and other policy problems during his surprise visit between April 20 to 24.

Kissinger's trip was in advance of a scheduled visit by President Nixon to Moscow beginning May 22 for talks with Soviet officials.

Tass said the three-man Soviet mission conferred with North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong and other Hanoi officials.

"The delegation expressed the feelings of the invariable solidarity of the Soviet people with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the American aggression," Tass said.

"Questions connected with the development and strengthening of Soviet-Vietnamese relations as well as some questions of mutual interest were discussed in the course of the conversations that passed in an atmosphere of cordiality, fraternal friendship and mutual understanding."

#### REASSURING VISIT

Western diplomatic sources said they rated the mission as a bid to "assure the North Vietnamese that we're still friends and everything is all right, in the wake of the Kissinger visit and prior to the President's arrival."

They said they thought it was also possible the Soviet officials were acting as "mailmen"—that is, carrying some specific proposals or Soviet appeals that might have grown out of the Brezhnev-Kissinger talks.

The diplomats noted that the United States had agreed to return to the Paris peace talks a few days after Kissinger left Moscow.

The presence of both government and party leaders in the Soviet mission indicated the task was one of the utmost importance and not just a routine review of policy matters, diplomatic sources said.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 28, 1972]

#### UNITED STATES-SOVIET ACCORD ON PORTS REPORTED

(By Marilyn Berger)

A wide-ranging shipping agreement that would open American ports to Soviet vessels and allocate a substantial part of the trade between the two countries to Soviet-flag and American-flag ships is expected to be concluded next week.

Details are to be worked out when Maritime Administrator Andrew E. Gibson meets next Thursday with his Soviet opposite number, Igor M. Averin, according to a report appearing today in Business Week magazine.

According to the report the fundamentals of the Soviet-American agreement provide that:

Each country will open 40 ports to the other's vessels on four days' notice of intention to enter. This will replace the existing complex entry clearance arrangements.

The United States will permit Soviet vessels departing from Cuban ports to pick up cargo at U.S. ports, an arrangement not possible now.

Freight rate details on allocated tonnage remain to be settled but are expected to include some subsidy on both sides.

The United States has agreed for the first time to sell bunker fuel to Soviet ships.

Business Week also reported that a "substantial" part of any trade between the two nations will be allocated 50 percent to Soviet freighters and 50 percent to U.S. flagships. "Substantial" is interpreted to mean a minimum of half the total tonnage. Third-country ships will be allowed to compete for what is left. Informed shipping sources told The Washington Post however, that this part of the deal would not be included in the overall arrangement but would become a side agreement.

Since East Coast Gulf and Great Lakes ports have been closed to Soviet ships, partly because of the refusal of longshoremen to unload them such an agreement would require the assent of the unions. It was learned that Gibson, who is known to have a close working relationship with maritime union leaders was in New York yesterday, apparently to meet with some of them.

It is understood that there is some disagreement among the unions, with the seagoing unions essentially in favor of any agreements that would expand tonnage for U.S. ships and the longshoremen under Thomas W. (Teddy) Gleason tending to stick to an anti-Communist stance that would favor limiting access for ships from the Soviet Union.

However, informed sources in the shipping industry believe that the unions would be willing to go along with an agreement with Moscow that would provide for bilateral shipping arrangements. Gleason has frequently said he would favor measures that would increase tonnage for American-flag vessels and thus increase the number of jobs available for American seagoing unions.

[From the Evening Star, Apr. 28, 1972]

#### BONN MANEUVERS FOR SHOWDOWN ON OSTPOLITIK

(By Andrew Borowiec)

BONN.—Politicians held almost constant and tense meetings after yesterday's failure of an opposition no-confidence motion in Chancellor Willy Brandt.

At stake in the maneuverings was not only another test of Brandt's survival as chancellor but also the whole concept of West Germany's controversial Ostpolitik or bridge-building toward Communist Eastern Europe.

Opinions vary as to what exactly will change in Europe and the world if the Bundestag, lower house of the West German parliament, refuses to ratify the peace treaties with Moscow and Warsaw.

Brandt's argument is fairly simple and, to many, convincing: The treaties are not only the basis of West Germany's coexistence with her former foes but also the cornerstone of a whole series of diplomatic maneuvers for a permanent east-west detente.

Failure to ratify them, Brandt's supporters say, would sap virtually all east-west negotiations, including the proposed European Security Conference, the project of mutual and balanced forces reductions, trade agreements and even President Nixon's Moscow summit meeting scheduled for May.

#### RUSSIANS OUTSPOKEN

Above all, they would damage the implementation of the carefully negotiated, agreement to reduce the East German stranglehold on Berlin. The Russians have threatened not to sign the agreement if the Bundestag rejects the treaties. And in the words of U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers, the Berlin pact is the touchstone for the achievement of a new east-west climate.

The Russians have not minced their words in various warnings carefully issued over the past few weeks. An analysis of the many attributed and unattributed statements coming out of Moscow shows that the Russians would not hesitate to freeze the dialogue with West Europe, refuse to engage in further arms talks and even consider cutting their trade links with West Germany.

Said Mikhail A. Suslov, member of the Soviet Union's ruling Politburo:

"If the treaty fails to enter into force, West Germany, by losing its political thrust, would also lose its significance to the Soviet Union as an important economic partner."

Added Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko:

"The treaty furnished the necessary political foundation for a radical turn in Soviet-West German relations and their all-round development. West Germany now faces a choice of either friendship or hostility with the Soviet Union."

In Bonn, not all politicians and diplomats are alarmed by this clearly stern tone of Soviet warnings.

The opposition Christian Democratic Union, trying to unseat Brandt, feels that the Russians are bluffing. It feels that the treaties in the form signed by Brandt do not give West Germany any advantage and should be renegotiated—something the Russians have already refused.

The argument against the ratification goes like this:

So far, the Russians have given very little. Most tangible concessions in the east-west

dialogue have been made by the west. By refusing to sign the Berlin pact, the Russians would stand to lose the European Security conference, a pet project of Soviet diplomacy from which the west stands to benefit precious little.

#### NATO IS IGNORED

The Security Conference—if it is ever held—would mainly solidify the status quo in Europe, or more precisely sanction formally the already existing Soviet sphere of influence reaching into the heart of the continent.

It is pointed out that the Russians have been cool if not hostile to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's proposed talks for mutual and balanced forces reduction. Until now there has been no invitation from Moscow to receive NATO's special envoy, Manlio Brosio, who has given up all hope and asked to be stricken off NATO's payroll.

In any case, the argument goes, any further troop cuts would only weaken the west, faced with a massive Soviet and satellite conventional army on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

The whole concept of Brandt's policy, his opponents argue, is highly unrealistic and based mainly on wishful thinking. The Soviet Union CDU spokesmen say, has shown no signs of moving toward Brandt's avowed goal of permitting a free dialogue and the movement of persons, goods and ideas between its satellites and Western Europe.

Russia continues to hold its grip on its East European empire and the ratification of the treaties would not change this attitude, Brandt's opponents argue.

The much-heralded Security Conference would achieve little except provide another forum for endless speeches. In the past, all practical negotiations with the Russians have taken place in small, technical committees or on a bilateral basis. One example is Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) being conducted by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Hence, Brandt's opponents add, the rejection of the treaties would not change much—and even might force the Russians to make a more conciliatory stand.

Still, Ostpolitik is an eye-catching idea which projected a new image of West Germany on the world scene.

The decision as to whether it will continue or die an ignominious death is up to the German parliament with its domestic policy considerations, internal feuds and personality squabbles. That is why Brandt is considering the question of the parliament's dissolution and new elections.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 28, 1972]

#### RUSSIANS STILL POUR SUPPLIES INTO HAIPHONG

(By Paul Wohl)

Russian matériel, which is the backbone of Hanoi's current offensive, continues to pour into North Vietnam via its Port of Haiphong.

By bombing Haiphong, Washington may have hoped, or may yet hope, to stop or curb the inflow of further supplies—even though the effect on the present campaign is debatable.

The Soviet note of protest over the most recent bombing raids against Hanoi and Haiphong admitted the presence of four Soviet cargo vessels. In addition, there were eight Soviet tankers in the port.

And there may well have been more such vessels in the estuary or in the Port of Hon Gai, as well as in Ha Long Bay (north of Haiphong), which was inspected in March by the young and enterprising Soviet Minister of Merchant Marine Timofei B. Guzhenko.

For the past few years the Soviets have taken the calculated risk of sending ships with civilian and military equipment to North Vietnam, taking advantage of the fact that the United States, since 1968, has carefully avoided air raids which could have interfered with Soviet shipping.

#### BIG "IF" LINGERS

Some observers think that the Vietnam war might have petered out or become a mainly Chinese-supported guerrilla operation if Washington had decided to destroy Haiphong and to blockade or mine the accesses to North Vietnam's ports. It was not done because no one knew whether or not this might have led to a war with the U.S.S.R.

In its reply to Moscow's protest the United States has squarely placed responsibility for the bombing of Haiphong on "the countries which supply offensive equipment to the North Vietnamese and enable them to mount an invasion of South Vietnam."

The Soviets have noticeably stepped up their aid to North Vietnam. A Soviet military mission, led by the commander in chief of the Soviet Air Force and including high-level specialists in both radar technology and missile defense, was in North Vietnam shortly before the present offensive started.

#### STUDY PUBLISHED

During the first two weeks of March, Soviet shipping minister Guzhenko, accompanied by a bevy of engineers, visited North Vietnamese port facilities and stated that the Soviet Union had given North Vietnam "technical assistance in designing port installations," and that "it supplies sophisticated equipment for North Vietnam's seaports."

Minister Guzhenko, an alternate member of his party's Central Committee, in December published a study of Soviet and United States shipping in which he concluded that the U.S.S.R. was forging ahead of the United States.

On March 15 he boasted that "during 1971, 340 Soviet ships had called at the ports of North Vietnam, delivering roughly a million tons of cargo from the Black Sea and Soviet Far Eastern ports."

On Feb. 7 Radio Moscow announced on its domestic program that the amount of cargo shipped to North Vietnam would increase in 1972. It was recalled that during January of 1972 approximately 60,000 tons of cargo had been shipped to North Vietnam from the single port of Odessa—a 20 percent increase over the same period last year.

In December, a high official of the Black Sea Shipping Administration reported on the Odessa domestic radio in Ukrainian that the Black Sea ports "will deliver half-a-million tons of freight to North Vietnam this year. Fourteen ships now are on their way to Haiphong."

#### LAGGING AID CRITICIZED

On Feb. 3, a Novosti article criticizing China's lagging aid to North Vietnam stated that the Soviet Union had sent the Vietnamese "missiles, planes, antiaircraft artillery, fuel, munitions, means of transportation." The article claimed, referring to "the world press," that approximately 70 percent of all assistance to North Vietnam originated in the U.S.S.R.

Moscow lately has strengthened its communications with Hanoi. In March, Soviet Minister of Communications Nikolai D. Psurtsev visited North Vietnam and concluded a "bilateral communications agreement" which led to the setting up of two-way teletype-writer installations.

Despite incessant Soviet propaganda in favor of North Vietnam, reports from Eastern Europe have it that the Soviet public at large is not overly enthusiastic about the pouring out of aid.

In January of 1968, when Soviet crews suffered casualties during a United States air raid, Moscow's heroic posture is said to have

elicited sad and sarcastic remarks in a seaman's club in a Black Sea port.

[From the Manchester Union Leader, April 24, 1972]

#### RUSSIANS TRYING TO MAKE HAY IN FAR EAST (By Ernest Cuneo)

WASHINGTON, April 22.—The principal Russian strategy, at this time, appears to be a pocketing and a by-passing of the Middle East war, in a hasty and brilliant effort to capitalize on the Far East power vacuum left by the United States.

The obvious method, of course, is Russian occupation-domination of the old British Empire lifeline, and this is proceeding spectacularly. Egypt is Russia-dominated and, in a showdown, Russian-occupied.

Russian influence from Gibraltar to Alexandria is supreme in North Africa and, indeed, U.S. naval supremacy in the Mediterranean is compromised. Suez is closed and Russia is the dominant naval power in the Indian Ocean.

Under these circumstances, it was breathtakingly brilliant of the Soviet general staff to prevail upon India to blitz East Pakistan. By this short, swift stroke, Russia emerged with India as a client-state, with India holding Bangladesh as a de facto dominion.

Not the least of the expertise exhibited was the marvelous dexterity by which the Peking government was humiliated and the U.S. government both frustrated and discredited with friend and foe alike in the process.

In any event, the Russians emerged as politically the most dominant, with India militarily dependent, and the United States more or less jockeyed into accepting a considerable measure of the economic liability.

Simultaneously, and with loud trumpetry, the Kremlin has mounted the current North Vietnam offensive. Again, with sheer brilliance, it has risked nothing of Russia's. The offensive, in the first place, is against an announced massive U.S. retreat, so far advanced that the skeletonized forces that remain will find it extremely difficult to defend themselves, let alone assist the South Vietnamese.

From a strategic standpoint, the expulsion of the Americans from Indochina compromises both Hong Kong and Singapore, the twin gems of the British Empire tiara. This was both the strategy and the route of the Japanese in 1941, and both cities fell.

There has been some grumblings, even among the Senate doves, that the Communist offensive in South Vietnam has as its objective the creation of the impression in the Far East that the American evacuation is a military defeat.

The fault, however, is in the United States, where the crushing American military and diplomatic defeat in the Orient has been consistently portrayed as a voluntary American evacuation.

It is nothing of the kind. It is a cut and run policy in which we are being chased to the water's edge. Indeed, should the frightfully weakened U.S. forces succeed in extricating themselves, they will owe absolutely nothing to the gentlemen in Washington who authored their precarious position in the first place.

It will be noted in the Russian strategy that in no case have they moved against strength. In every case, they have moved into a vacuum or against weakness isolated from assistance, as in Bangladesh.

Simultaneously, however, the Kremlin has introduced a vast program to fill these vacuums with its own energies. First and foremost, it has built a huge merchant marine, and is building it further. A merchant marine is the only feasible way a nation can project its power.

Further, the Russians are building a huge Red navy to protect their merchant marine and deny the seas to the United States.

They already have 385 submarines and

project a fleet of 600. Hitler nearly won the Battle of the Atlantic with 55.

Finally, Russia is developing its natural resources at a tremendous rate and it has far more natural resources than the United States. Last year, it produced more steel than the United States.

What Russia does not have is the incomparable scientific research, brains and know-how of the United States, nor the wizardry of the Americans in applied scientific disciplines. Obliging enough, however, the Congress and particularly the naive inland Senators, also have cut American research to the bone, if not the heart.

"In God We Trust" is our national motto, but it appears to be a melancholy fact, that as trustees of human freedom, including our own, God has little enough reason to trust us much further.

#### SUPERAGENCIES NO CURE FOR BIGNESS

### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, many of those who appear concerned with problems relating to the consumer, the environment, ecology, and similar difficulties inherent in an industrial and technological age give the impression that the programs they are advocating are dynamic and new.

Upon closer study it appears that the programs they are advocating are not new at all, but represent simply a further application of the erroneous doctrine that all societal problems can be solved by governmental action.

If there is pollution of the water, they cry, let us pass a new law and create a new agency. If there are frauds being perpetrated upon consumers, they argue, let us institute a new bureaucracy to police business. If governmental agencies themselves are unresponsive to the needs and desires of the people, they call for still more governmental agencies to police the ones which already exist.

To Mr. Nader's suggestion that corporations be chartered by the Federal Government, Mr. Chamberlain reminds us that this idea is not new at all, but was proposed in the 1930's. He points out that:

The idea would be okay if governors were incorruptible. But the more that power is centered the more untrustworthy it becomes.

Mr. Chamberlain notes that a Federal incorporating body would be subject to tremendous pressures:

Fools could use it to wreck the economy by imposing conditions upon business corporations that would result in bankruptcy, stagnation and complete loss of investment lure.

I wish to share this column by John Chamberlain with my colleagues. It appeared in the April 8, 1972, edition of Chicago Today, and is inserted into the RECORD at this time:

#### SUPERAGENCIES NO CURE FOR BIGNESS

(By John Chamberlain)

American populist radicals begin by dis-trusting establishments that entrench themselves behind bigness of any sort. Then, with

a sublime inconsistency, they propose super-agencies to take over from lesser agencies.

American populist radicals begin by dis-trusting establishments that entrench themselves behind bigness of any sort. Then, with a sublime bigness of any sort. Then, with a sublime inconsistency, they propose super-agencies to take over from lesser agencies.

Our Ralph Nader, in trying to deliver us from "corrupt" agencies, are following the thinking that produced the corporative state in pre-World War II Italy and Germany. To save people from oppressive corporative elements. Fascists trusted everything to the supercorporation of the state. I do not imply that our populists are Fascists; they are merely bent on setting up gigantic institutions that will tempt unscrupulous power-seekers to take over.

Ralph Nader's proposal for federal chartering of corporations is just one of many dangerous ideas. In the '30s Sen. O'Mahoney (D., Wyo.) proposed this same thing. The idea would be okay if governors were incorruptible. But the more that power is centered the more untrustworthy it becomes.

A federal incorporating body would be subject to tremendous pressures: Fools could use it to wreck the economy by imposing conditions on business corporations that would result in bankruptcy, stagnation and complete loss of investment lure. In the name of getting good quality, we might end up by getting no goods at all.

There is the idea of compelling advertisers and public relations firms to justify every phrase in a piece of copy to some supercensor connected with the Securities and Exchange Commission or what-not. This is "truth in advertising." But words have shifting connotations that "truth" is a matter of interpretation. A tyrant armed with superagency power could ruin the First Amendment in the course of imposing "truth in advertising."

The Federal Trade Commission already has the power to crack down on business cheaters. Now it is proposed that it be given special control over franchising. Bernard Browning, a business counsellor who runs General Business Services, rightly contends that making complex new rules for franchising would "be an attempt to use a cannon where a fly swatter would be more appropriate." It would penalize "the 98 percent of the honest, hardworking businessmen in America engaged in franchising because of the FTC's desire to get at the dishonest two per cent who can be prosecuted under existing laws against fraud."

We need an overhauling of all our regulatory agency thinking. Most of it is a heritage of the faulty populist crusading of yesteryear, which was based on the fallacy that the cure for bigness is greater bigness.

What we need is voluntarism and more voluntarism. Nader is doing all right as a free-lance adversary without government power. To give him anything more would only create a superagency have been corrupted in the past.

#### OBJECTIONS TO TITLE III OF H.R. 7130

**HON. BOB BERGLAND**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. BERGLAND. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives will very soon take up H.R. 7130, a bill amending the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. While I am definitely in sympathy with the objectives to increase minimum wage standards, I have some serious doubts about the wisdom of title III.

I am submitting for the RECORD a statement by Cargill, Inc., a Minneapolis-based grain merchandising firm, which reflects a point of view that ought to be considered in any rational discussion of the issue. I insert the analysis at this point in the RECORD. I believe Cargill's objections express a valid point of view and I recommend this reading to my colleagues.

#### ANALYSIS OF TITLE III OF H.R. 7130

Representative Dent has introduced for himself and others a bill—H.R. 7130—to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. H.R. 7130 makes three major changes in that law: it increases the minimum wage; it extends the coverage of the minimum wage law to more workers; and it establishes a means of restricting imports from areas with wage levels substantially below those prevailing in the United States. Our concern is with the last of these changes—set forth in Title III of H.R. 7130.

#### THE PROBLEM

Title III provides for the regulation of imports of goods in such manner as will correct and as rapidly as possible eliminate any serious impairment or threat of impairment to the health, efficiency, and general well-being of any group of workers in the United States and the economic welfare of the communities in which they are employed from conditions above referred to in the industries providing them employment in which increased imports are a substantially contributing factor.

It also stipulates that in the case of any contract—

(1) which is for the manufacturing or furnishing of materials, supplies, articles, or equipment,

(2) which is an amount exceeding \$10,000,

(3) which is to be performed outside any State, but is for goods . . . to be used within a State, and

(4) to which the United States or any agency or instrumentality thereof . . . is a party or under which payment is to be made in whole or in part from loans or grants from, or loans insured or guaranteed by, the United States or any agency or instrumentality thereof,

one of the requirements of the contract shall be that all persons employed in performance of the contract shall "be employed on terms and conditions which are not substantially less favorable to such persons than those which would be required under this Act if the contract were to be performed within a State. . . ."

In other words, the first of these provisions would authorize restriction of imports into the United States if those imports were a substantially contributing factor to injury to workers and communities in the United States and if those goods were produced under wage and employment conditions "detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers." For convenience of reference, this might be called the "import-regulating" provision of the Dent bill. The second provision—which is basically a "Buy American" provision—requires that the minimum wage provisions of H. R. 7130 be met in the performance of any contract for manufacturing or supplying goods to which the United States or an agency or instrumentality thereof is a party or serves as a financial participant, guarantor or insurer, even if the contract is to be performed in a foreign country.

The import-regulating provision is objectionable on several grounds: (1) the criteria for its findings are unclear and subject to undue discretion and abuse; (2) by focusing exclusively on labor conditions, it ignores land, capital or technology factors involved in production; (3) imposing import restric-

tions without guarantees to which the United States is committed in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) or other treaties and agreements, it prompts retaliation; (4) by circumventing recognized principles of import regulation under Antidumping and Countervailing Duty statutes, it undermines the effectiveness of those statutes and, again, invites retaliation; and (5) by encouraging inflation and by prompting retaliation against U.S. exports, it endangers the health, efficiency and general well-being of U.S. workers.

The "Buy American" provisions are open to objections (2) through (5) above. They also extend application of U.S. law to economic conditions in other sovereign nations, which can have both unfavorable economic and unfavorable diplomatic consequences. Finally, many U.S. manufacturers have been seeking to reduce the use by other nations of national supplier provisions in their contracts; this provision would undermine that effort and endanger substantial markets for U.S. producers.

Consequently, both of these provisions—the import-regulating and the "Buy American"—would sacrifice the health, efficiency and well-being of other American workers; by focusing solely on wage levels while ignoring productivity, capital and land costs and relative levels of technology, it distorts trade patterns and may well undermine the factors which have helped to produce the high standard of living enjoyed by American workers; and protecting low-wage industries in the U.S. while inviting retaliation against our export-oriented industries—which tend to be high-wage industries—could retard improvement of the material well-being of all American workers.

#### IMPORT-REGULATING PROVISIONS

In the first place, Title III of H.R. 7130 would extend tariff relief to workers when three factors are present—(1) "serious impairment or threat of impairment to the health, efficiency and general well-being of any group of workers"; (2) imports are a substantially contributing cause of this impairment; and (3) those imports come from areas with wage levels considered to be substandard. These criteria are vague. What is "serious impairment"? Are lay-offs evidence of impairment? Are below-average wage increases? Are below-average wages? Are imports ever the "cause" of this impairment, or are they merely symptoms of other causes—like under-capitalization in the industry, failure to keep up with technological change or shifts in consumer demand? Against what standards are wage levels to be measured—American standards or standards in the foreign country? While the bill is unclear on these points, the difficulties to which it gives rise cannot be removed simply by clarifying the language of Title III.

The primary objective of H.R. 7130 is to improve the well-being of American workers. Do import restrictions that "will correct and as rapidly as possible eliminate any serious impairment" serve those interests best? Most people would endorse efforts to provide real employment opportunities to American workers and employment opportunities which offer increasingly higher and better standards of living. Does protecting existing jobs that are being challenged by imports serve this interest better than encouraging greater employment and employment shifts to jobs in industries with greater comparative advantage? The answer clearly appears to be "no".

The total cost of a give product—whether an import, a domestically produced and consumed product, or an export—includes, in addition to wages, productivity, raw material costs, capital and land costs, technology and taxes. Though labor costs of an import may be lower than in the U.S., the actual reason for a lower import price is

foreign comparative advantage in any or all of these areas. The lower import price may also be the result of "dumping" or of "bounties" granted by foreign governments to exports.

In these latter two cases, we have Anti-Dumping and Countervailing Duty statutes which can be, and are increasingly being, enforced. If lower import prices result from a combination of real cost advantages in the foreign country, then to focus on labor costs or wage levels will distort trade, and it will distort trade to the disadvantage of American workers by locking them into jobs where they have an underlying and continuing cost disadvantage. Either import barriers would have to continue to mount or else wages would continue to be held down by potential import competition.

Where in the few cases that wage differentials are the sole factor in the lower import price, there is the same problem—either import restrictions must become increasingly severe or U.S. wages in that industry will continue to remain low because of potential import competition. This moves counter to the forces which have generated and support the high level of wages which does prevail in the U.S. High U.S. wages reflect greater productivity of American workers and greater investments in human capital, i.e., investments in upgrading the skills and education of workers.<sup>1</sup> Instead of protecting low-productivity, low-wage jobs, the well-being of American workers would be better served by helping workers to adjust and shift to higher-skill, higher productivity, higher-paying jobs.

A study by Professor Anne O. Krueger designed to measure both direct and indirect consequences of imposing import restraints to protect industries facing intense import competition underlines some of the adverse welfare consequences of protecting jobs through import substitutions—as the Dent bill's import regulating provisions would do—rather than through export promotion. In the first place, the wage range for industries where employment would be increased by quotas or import restraints had a much higher concentration of wages at the lower end of the wage scale than did industries where employment would be decreased by import restraints. That distribution can be summarized in the following table:<sup>2</sup>

Wage range	Number of industries in group where employment is increased by restraints	Number of industries in group where employment is decreased by restraints
Less than \$4,000.....	1	0
\$4,001 to \$4,500.....	2	1
\$4,501 to \$5,000.....	2	0
\$5,001 to \$5,500.....	1	0
\$5,501 to \$6,000.....	1	3
\$6,001 to \$6,500.....	1	6
\$6,501 to \$7,000.....	1	2
More than \$7,000.....	1	

Secondly, industries where employment would decline as a result of both direct and indirect consequences of protectionist measures had an unweighted average annual wage in 1967 approximately 127% of the annual unweighted average wage for the industries where employment might be increased—\$6,758 in the former compared to \$5,335 in the latter. Finally, comparing direct and indirect employment effects arising from export-oriented production with direct and indirect employment effects of import-substituting production (and assuming that the latter alternative would not shift costs up and consumer demand down, which is, as she says, an "extreme assumption"), Professor Krueger found that for the industries she studied, import substitution would decrease total employment by approximately

150,000 or 15 percent. Thus, even without considering the ramifications of retaliation against U.S. exports, measures like Title III of H.R. 7130 which seek to restrain imports would have adverse consequences on employment and the well-being of American workers. This is not difficult to understand once one distinguishes between protecting specific jobs and supporting employment-promoting policies. The Dent bill, in seeking to protect specific jobs, is protecting jobs with the lowest wage levels while actually eliminating jobs with higher wage levels. In other words, Title III's focus exclusively on wage levels is both anachronous and counter-productive.

In addition, H.R. 7130's authorization of greater import restraints violates U.S. commitments under GATT and other international instruments. Without compensation given to our trading partners, these other nations would be free to retaliate against U.S. exports. Since higher import restraints would retard their exports to the U.S., these countries would also be forced by economic and political pressures to retaliate, even though they recognize that such retaliation is counter-productive. Some indication of the industries—and the workers in them—that would bear the brunt of this retaliation comes from the Department of Commerce's "Overseas Business Report" of July 1971. According to this source, American workers most affected by retaliation would be those involved in the electric and non-electric machinery industries, transport equipment and agriculture.

The danger of retaliation against agricultural exports is worth emphasizing. One out of every four harvested acres moves into export. In fiscal year 1971, the U.S. exported \$7.8 billion of agricultural commodities. Agricultural exports to the European Community in fiscal year 1971 totaled approximately \$1.8 billion and to Japan exceeded \$1.2 billion. The tremendous potential for growth in agricultural exports to Japan could be seriously harmed by measures restricting Japanese capacity to export to the U.S. In the European Community, Sicco Mansholt—the man most responsible for their Common Agricultural Policy—proposed in 1969 a consumption tax of \$60/metric ton on oilseeds and \$30/metric ton on oilcake and meal. While that proposal was defeated then, it remains a serious threat to U.S. soybean and soybean product exports to the EC, which totaled better than \$700 million in fiscal 1971.

The potential impact of Title III on less developed countries is particularly disturbing. In the first place, the U.S. has encouraged these nations to undertake industrialization and attempt to reduce costs in order to finance their development and earn foreign exchange. Such a policy is designed not only to help the LDCs but also to permit them to become commercial markets for U.S. exports. If the U.S. were to begin to restrict imports from these countries—as Title III would—at a time when other developed countries are pursuing a generalized preference scheme for the industrial exports of the LDCs, such a policy could have serious economic and political repercussions.

In addition to these unfortunate consequences for international commercial relations, H.R. 7130 would have several domestic consequences inconsistent with its own purpose of improving the well-being of workers. As already mentioned, it would shift resources away from high-wage industries and toward low-wage industries, while at the same time reducing total employment related to international trade. The Krueger study bears this out, but other economists have reached the same conclusion. For example, Krause and Mathieson point out that "... it should be remembered that U.S. exports are labor-intensive relative to U.S. imports, as Leontief established and others subsequently confirmed."<sup>3</sup> Very simply, more and

better-paying jobs are generated by capitalizing on comparative advantage than by resisting it.

In addition, retaliation against U.S. exports and U.S. restrictions on imports from other countries tend to force both the U.S. and our trading partners into a recession. At the same time, reducing access to lower cost imports pushes up the cost of living to consumers and, in many cases, input cost for many industries. These pressures—together with the wage demands they generate—all contribute to an inflationary spiral. This not only reduces the real standard of living in the U.S. but tends to price U.S. exports at unacceptably high levels.

"BUY AMERICAN" PROVISION

This provision not only contributes to the same kinds of problems associated with the import-regulating provision, but it also creates special problems of its own. Foreign governments are likely to retaliate against this "Buy American" provision with "buy domestic" provisions of their own. Governments are important buyers in all countries, and they are frequently the largest or one of the largest customers for high-technology products. Since U.S. companies are frequently among the most technologically sophisticated in both production techniques and in finished products, they are likely to be the biggest losers in any escalation of domestic-supplier preference schemes. Recognition of this fact explains why the U.S. has been among the leaders in seeking to reduce or eliminate schemes which grant preferences to domestic suppliers. Furthermore, preferences to domestic suppliers creates an artificial incentive to build plants in foreign countries in order to get around the trade restraints in such preference schemes. Such developments are more likely to harm than to benefit U.S. workers.

CONCLUSION

Both the import-regulating and "Buy American" provisions of Title III of H.R. 7130 approach the wrong problem in the wrong manner. Rather than contributing to an improvement in worker well-being, they are likely to harm workers. They tax progressive, more highly-paying, more productive industries to preserve low-paying and unproductive jobs. Moreover, instead of offering a means of raising the well-being of workers in those low-paying industries, they are likely only to initiate a vicious circle of rising protectionism rather than rising wages. Finally, the measures would invite retaliation against U.S. exports while shifting the U.S. cost structure upward in an inflationary manner.

Where import competition imposes serious burdens on individual workers and communities, other present policies coupled with more positive adjustment assistance programs promise a better chance of coping with the problems and of raising worker well-being. Anti-Dumping and Countervailing Duty statutes provide a better, and internationally recognized, means of stopping unfair competition. Where the U.S. is becoming uncompetitive through real economic advantages held by foreign producers, programs designed to train workers for jobs in more competitive industries provides a surer guarantee of their long-term well-being. In addition, the realignment of currencies achieved by the Smithsonian Agreement of December 18, 1971, has made U.S. products more competitive with foreign-produced goods. Already, there are positive indications that this has improved the position of many industries that were facing serious competition from imports. One example is the decline in imports of color televisions from Japan in the first two months of this year, coupled with an increase in U.S. production of such sets.

In other words, the protectionist measures of Title III do not result in greater protec-

Footnotes at end of article.

tion of worker welfare. More and fairer trade will protect and improve the well-being of American workers more substantially and more permanently. Programs to serve this objective already exist or can be formulated in ways which will avoid the counter-productive effects of Title III. Nor is that Title necessary to the other objectives of the Dent bill or other proposals for amending the Fair Labor Standards Act. For these reasons, we urge that Title III of H.R. 7130 be opposed.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> See "Trends in U.S. Trade and Comparative Advantage", William H. Branson and Helen B. Junz, Brookings Papers on Economic Activity 2: 1971, 322ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Quotas on American Imports Would Reduce Employment in American Industry", Anne O. Kreuger, *Congressional Record*, Vol. 117, No. 178 (November 19, 1971), H11331.

<sup>3</sup> "How Much of Current Unemployment Did We Import?", Lawrence B. Krause and John A. Mathieson, *Brookings Papers*, op. cit., 421.

## INCONSISTENCY FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

## HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I speak today with a sense of embarrassment. I feel embarrassed because the topic of discussion should have been settled a long time ago. District of Columbia citizens should have years back been granted voting representation in Congress. The fact that Congress never granted them this right is inconsistent with some of the basic ideals of this country. It is time we put an end to this inconsistency.

The arguments in favor of this idea are many and have often been made before; the arguments against voting representation are few, and have rarely come to the surface.

For too long, the citizens of the District of Columbia have been governed, but not represented. The same Congress that has ruled over the lives of Washington citizens has denied them a right to be represented in the decisionmaking process. An invisible committee has exercised complete authority over the affairs of this city, remaining unaccountable for the decisions it has reached. Where responsibility has been minimal, control has been maximal. As a result, 40 percent of the residents of Washington continue to live in inadequate housing, 120,000 citizens earn less than \$3,000 annually, Washington's infant mortality rate is the second highest in the country, and almost nothing is done to remedy these problems—most innovative legislation is blocked in committee.

We in Congress have supported this system by our slowness in trying to change it. The people of Washington have been slaves to an unresponsive governing body, and we in Congress have been their masters.

In order to correct this situation, I have today filed a resolution to give House Joint Resolution 253 an open rule with 4 hours debate. House Joint Resolu-

tion 253 would give voting representation to the District of Columbia by authorizing a constitutional amendment which would allow the District to elect two Senators and as many Representatives as the District's population affords. It is my intention to file a petition to discharge my resolution in 7 legislative days—May 11. This complicated parliamentary method is the only means by which we will be able to get a vote on voting representation for the District of Columbia this year.

Washington is this Nation's Capital, the seat of representative government, yet it remains the only American city without any representation. Washington citizens pay \$345 million in Federal taxes each year—an average of \$427 per person—but still they have no voice in deciding how this money will be spent. Thousands of Washington citizens have served this country in Vietnam—and hundreds have died—but none has ever had a say in electing the representatives in Congress who sent them there. In sum, citizens of the District of Columbia have been taxed for years—both in money and in lives—yet never have they held any representation in Congress. I need not remind anyone that this country once fought a revolution over this issue of taxation without representation.

Fortunately, in recent years, Congress has begun to take steps, however slowly, toward recognizing District residents as full American citizens. In 1961 we approved the 23d amendment, which gave Washington residents the right to vote in presidential elections. And just this past year, we agreed to seat in the House a nonvoting delegate from the District of Columbia. I believe that by these two actions we established the precedent of providing District citizens with the same rights as other Americans. But we have yet to carry this precedent through to its logical end. That end includes authorizing voting representation for District citizens in both the House and the Senate. I emphasize the word voting because I fail to see how anyone can represent his constituency adequately in the Congress without being given the right to vote. Which one of us would be willing to sacrifice this right?

Washington currently has a population of 746,169 citizens, yet still it lacks voting representation in Congress. Ten of our 50 States, or 20 percent, have smaller populations than Washington, yet they are able to boast two Senators and either one or two Congressmen each. These States include Alaska, Delaware, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, South Dakota, Vermont, and Wyoming. Certainly no one would argue that these States should be denied their representatives in Congress. In the same way, no one should argue that the District of Columbia should be denied its representatives in Congress.

Our response to the District of Columbia's problems has been painfully slow. In a speech on the House floor nearly 2 years ago, I stated that this lethargic response was all too reflective of the pace of the House in general. The first voting representation amendment for the District was introduced in 1888—over 80

years ago—yet in 80 years it has never come to a full vote before this House. Committees with the power to block this amendment at every step along the line, have effectively denied the rest of Congress from voting on this issue. If we are not careful, the same thing could happen again this year. Only if we show that this time we mean business—that this time we are going to pull out all the stops in our effort to achieve voting representation for the District of Columbia—only then will we have a chance of being successful in our endeavor. The American people are ready and willing to vote in favor of extending basic rights to District citizens—they ratified the 23d amendment with record speed—but they cannot effectively act on their sentiments until we, the Members of Congress, take the first step. That first step is authorization of this constitutional amendment.

Mr. Speaker, I fully believe that anyone who judges this issue rationally would be in favor of voting representation for the District of Columbia. In order to guarantee that no doubts remain, however, let me try to anticipate some of the arguments which may be forthcoming against my proposal and show how shallow these arguments become when they are scrutinized more carefully.

First. The historical argument: This argument goes something like this: "The District of Columbia has never been allowed voting representation before, so why should we allow it now? The framers of the Constitution had specific reasons for denying Washington citizens this right, so why should we violate the original intent of those who signed the Constitution?"

This argument seems quite convincing, until this Nation's early history is looked at a bit more carefully. It turns out that the original framers of the Constitution excluded the District of Columbia from voting representation and home rule because they feared that the District's Government could become a threat to the Federal Government. In fact, the impetus for this fear came during the time that the Continental Congress was meeting in Philadelphia. When a mutinous unit of the Pennsylvania militia threatened the Congress, demanding "a settlement of accounts," local police refused to offer the Congress protection. So fearful was this Congress of future attacks that it set up strict controls over the government of its future Capital, Washington.

Government has changed since then, however, and it would today be utter folly to fear that the government of any one American city could have power over the entire Federal Government. The Congress now has the full force of the U.S. armed services behind it. The legitimacy of the Federal Government has long since been established, and its relationship with State and local governments has long since become stabilized. Thus, the so-called historical argument is no longer relevant. Indeed, as Theodore W. Noyes writes in "Our National Capital and Its Un-Americanized Americans":

Clearly they (the forefathers) had no intention of barring the District forever from

being a part of the Nation politically and from participating in Congress and the national government. . . . There is no prohibition, direct or indirect, against future representation of the District in the Congress. . . .

Second. The non-State argument: This argument states that there are many other non-States besides the District of Columbia. Since none of these areas has voting representation in Congress, there is no reason for Washington to have such a right. If the District received this representation, the argument goes, then all non-States of America would have to receive the same.

This argument does not recognize the unique position of the District of Columbia. All the other non-States, such as the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico, are territories of America, and thus, able to follow a set procedure for applying for statehood and gaining voting representation. Washington, however, is an exception.

It has no other means of achieving voter representation than by a constitutional amendment such as the one I have proposed.

Third. The Constitutional amendment: Article V of the Constitution says that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate. Some opponents to voting representation for the District claim that providing Washington citizens with Senators would violate article V.

Article V has never been interpreted that way before, as additional States have sought entry into the United States of America. If it had been, this country would still be made up of only the original 13 States. Because 37 new States have gained voting representation in Congress since the establishment of article V of the Constitution, this clause obviously would not prohibit the District of Columbia from gaining voting representation.

Fourth. Finally, the fact that Washington is predominantly black, tending to indicate that its representatives probably would be black, should in no way be a deterrent to providing voting representation for the District. In fact, it should not be any kind of a consideration at all. Hopefully, we have gone beyond the day when such a factor would be considered.

I believe that the best type of voting representation legislation for the District of Columbia would establish by law the permanent and full representation of Washington citizens in both the Senate and the House.

House Joint Resolution 253, all citizens of Washington would be given the same kind of representation that other Americans now hold. The District would be entitled to two Senators, and as many Representatives as its population afforded. Anything less than this kind of representation would place Washington residents in the position of second-class citizens, a position they have been in far too long. It is time we gave the seat of representative government representation, Mr. Speaker. It is time we gave full voting representation for the District of Columbia. Thank you once again for considering this important issue.

## "A PROUD LOOK AT POLONIA AND THE POLES WHO HAVE REACHED THE TOP"

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sunday Tribune performed an outstanding public service in yesterday's edition when it placed into true and historical perspective the role of our Nation's Americans of Polish descent.

Relying on the insight of Mr. John Krawiec, editor of the Polish Daily Zgoda, the Tribune in a most objective manner drew a dramatically true picture of Polish-Americans in this country.

I am placing the article by Mr. Krawiec in the RECORD today so that those who study America's ethnicity will be able to add to their resource material this excellent analysis.

The Chicago Tribune also sought out and interviewed Americans of Polish descent who have reached success in the world of finance and industry.

Americans of Polish descent have a large number of successful fellow citizens they can point to and the Tribune's excellent description of just a handful of these successful businessmen gives us an insight into the kind of successes that Poles have achieved in the United States.

Following are the capsules on seven outstanding Chicagoans of Polish descent who have reached the top.

The article follows:

A PROUD LOOK AT POLONIA

(By John Krawiec)

I am a Pole. That in itself is something special.

That I am a Pole who spent nightmarish times under both the German and Russian occupations of my homeland during World War II and its aftermath; that I was a prisoner in the German-built Auschwitz and Buchenwald concentration camps where I experienced torture, deprivation, and degradation, is also something special.

That I refused to live under the present Communist domination of Poland and, with the help of relatives who had already migrated to America [a country which always was and still is regarded as a second homeland for multitudes of Poles], arrived on these shores, is something special.

Like those who came before me, without technical skills and facing the horrendous language barrier, I dedicated myself to work and education to construct a new life and to confront and overcome the many more crises I was to face. This again, is something special.

And there are thousands and thousands of pre- and post-World War II Polish immigrants who are special.

We all have experienced a disciplined upbringing in our homes in Poland and in America. Our family lives are steeped in the traditions of patriotism and love of country which became stronger with each invasion and occupation of Poland by foreign powers.

Discipline, traditionalism, and self-sufficiency are keys to our character. Maybe you can better understand what we are by viewing what has happened to me in the more than 20 years I've been in Chicago. My back-

ground is typical of those who emigrated from displaced persons camps all over Europe. It might also be indicative of American attitudes toward us.

I arrived at my aunt's home in south suburban Posen in June, 1949. Work was scarce during that first postwar recession. However, after a series of seasonal jobs in the area, I decided to move north to seek more opportunities. I spoke no English.

I took a permanent job as a laborer at the Canfield Beverage Co. For months, I lived a daily routine of loading trucks with dozens of heavy cases of soda pop, sometimes more than a thousand quarts a day! One day, the owner of the firm, Art Canfield, happened by. He asked: "Do you enjoy your work?" I still spoke no English, so he called another laborer to interpret. I explained that I liked my job, even tho I was schooled as a journalist in Poland. He was amazed and asked why I did this work for a living.

"I have learned that there are only two ways to make money," I replied. "Either one takes a gun and robs his neighbor, or he works. I prefer the latter." Canfield laughed. He said he liked my "spirit." Several days later I found myself in his office. He said he no longer wanted me to do such work, that he was going to place me in the garage to service trucks and learn auto mechanics.

My instructor there was an Italian who spoke neither Polish or German, the two languages I knew. Somehow, thru deep respect for the problems we shared as immigrants, we managed to communicate. I learned, and I learned much. In a few years, I was accepted as a journeyman by the Machinist's Union.

Meanwhile, with Canfield's encouragement and with his permission to leave work early twice a week, I attended evening courses at Loyola University. With a dictionary as my best friend, I learned English and I received a bachelor's degree in political science.

Between work, school, and study, I managed to find time to participate in several Polish-American organizations. I also became involved in the political affairs of my community and participated in election campaigns as a writer even before becoming an American citizen.

I left the Canfield company in 1959 and subsequent events were not unlike a series of glittering changes in a kaleidoscope. I spent four years as a reporter for the now defunct Polish Daily News. Then I took a job in the sheriff's office as a bailiff in the Criminal Court, and, later, as a social worker in Cook County jail.

In January, 1968, I became editor-in-chief of the Polish Daily Zgoda, an appointment deeply gratifying to me after my involvement in the activities of the Polish National Alliance, the largest Polish-American fraternal order and publisher of the Daily Zgoda.

What was a source of constant amazement, sincere appreciation, and great pride to me during these years was the realization that prewar Polish immigrants accomplished so much in American life.

Many of those immigrants were small farmers who couldn't speak English and had only limited educations. They came as strangers filled with hope and promise. Thru hard work, self-sacrifice and dedication, they not only built comfortable homes for themselves and their families, but also established fraternal and civic organizations and built churches and schools.

The ambitions of those Poles were no different from the ambitions of other ethnic groups here. Human values cannot be segregated and put into ethnic pigeon holes. It is every man's ambition to get ahead, to build security for himself and his family.

Poles, preserving national and religious traditions, and with special emphasis on family

life, became the largest group of homeowners in Chicago. Most of them were "people of the soil," born and reared on farms where the sense of ownership was supreme. Therefore, a small lot and even a modest home in this new land gave them a sense of belonging and a status in the community. Without this, they naturally would feel rootless.

Home ownership meant economic stability. They knew [and Poles still are] frugal because they knew poverty in the land of their origin. They use credit in a conservative way, limiting it to their honest ability to pay.

The Pole's ethnic consciousness runs deep and stems both from past history and from experiences during World War II, when national suffering led to his strong sense of "Polishness." He attempts to relate to his neighbor in a grass roots manner and he tries to be friendly toward everyone. But it is also natural that he feels more comfortable with people of his own cultural and traditional background.

Polish-American communities in our cities are rapidly dissolving. But as Polish-Americans attain middle class status and move to better neighborhoods and to the suburbs, they still keep their ties with old parishes, support their fraternal organizations, and do not sever ties with old friends.

Witness their attitude toward the celebration of Constitution Day in Humboldt Park. [This year it will be next Sunday.]

The activities of the day reinforce the bonds that hold them together as Poles. It offers them a revival of previous loyalties to their homeland. It means the whole history of their country has done nothing to put a darkness on their consciences. They consider that everything in their history was directed to goodness and loyalty to the world around them.

Retaining our Christmas and Easter traditions is most important and enhances our family loyalties. The Christmas *oplatek* [a communion-like wafer] is usually sent to us by relatives in Poland. On Christmas Eve the family gathers and the mother and father take and break the wafer into two pieces.

In turn, each breaks his piece with the sons and daughters. With this ceremony we offer each other health, happiness, luck, or any good wish that is important to the individual at that moment. We also set one extra place at the table. It symbolizes friendship and sharing for anyone who has no family and no place to sit for the holiday.

At Easter the bread, butter and eggs blessed in church end up on our dinner table and symbolize our gratitude for the staples of life. They are shared as we share the *oplatek* at Christmas.

I believe there is no such thing as "a melting pot" in America. It becomes more obvious to sociologists that the national unity and the development of American culture are based primarily on the cultural and ethnic pluralism of our society.

The Poles awareness of social and civic responsibility is such that they probably have the smallest crime rate among ethnic groups. So far, I have not been able to find one single name ending in -ski, -cki, or -wicz among the deserters and draft dodgers and campus revolutionists. But I did find a picture published of an American girl of Polish origin who courageously defended the American flag before a mob of radical students. The girl is the daughter of a veteran of the First Polish Armored division which fought with distinction and valor in France, the Netherlands and Germany in World War II.

Those, who like myself, arrived here after World War II, follow in the footsteps of the earlier immigrants. Together, the "old" and the "new" Polonia, as Americans of Polish heritage are collectively known, contribute much to the well being of the city and country. In spite of these widely recognized and

acknowledged values, we seem to be the butt of the "Polish jokes."

We enjoy the lighter side of life. We can and do laugh at ourselves and project our shortcomings in caricature. However, the jokes are devoid of any humor or aesthetic values—they are thoughtless, savage, and uncouth. This we naturally resent. Other Americans would resent them, too, if they knew these jokes are displayed on a special billboard facing the American Embassy in Warsaw, and are reprinted with Communist commentaries in the press. Thus, they are actually helping anti-American propaganda.

America's greatness lies in the pluralism of its culture and tradition, brought here and nurtured by people of diverse ethnic origin. It is still the brightest hope of humanity and the promise of a better future. Let's keep it so by promoting unity and equality of opportunity among ourselves.

According to the gospel of the Polish joke and the thinking of uninformed minds, the Polish people are supposed to be cast from one mold. Unskilled laborer, factory worker, maintenance man, thrifty totter of the shopping bag.

Here we take a look at but a few of the many Poles in Chicago who are having the last laugh. They are prosperous in the business world . . . millionaires or near-millionaires . . . they have "arrived" and there are many, many more like them. They live well, and they are proud of their Polish heritage.

A joke they're not.

—Sheila Wolfe.

#### LEONARD SLODKOWSKI

It is hard to imagine a name that has turned more appetites on to Polish sausage than Slotkowski.

"At the beginning, Poles were the base of our business but now everybody eats our products," said Leonard Slotkowski, 55, president and son of the founder of Slotkowski Sausage Company, 2021 W. 18th St.

Joseph Slotkowski, four years removed from Poland and a South Chicago mill worker, opened a small sausage store on Commercial Avenue in 1918. Moves and expansion followed and today Slotkowski sausage and smoked meats are shipped thruout the country.

Leonard, in the business since 1935, said the basic formula of their popular Polish sausage is the same, tho the spicing may change at times.

"Less garlic now than 25 years ago," he said.

#### WALTER ROPA

If there is a single block within five miles that does not contain at least one house financed thru Peoples Federal Savings & Loan Association, 1618 W. 18th St., Walter Ropa would be very surprised.

Ropa is president of the \$24 million family institution. His brother, Stanley, is senior vice president, and another brother, Matt, also a state representative, is treasurer.

Their late father, Casper, a foundryman when he came to this country from Poland in the early 1900s, established the Plast Building and Loan Society in 1912, which served as a forerunner to Peoples Federal.

"Because of the language barrier at the height of immigration, people needed a place where they could save," said Walter Ropa. "Now, we are more public than ethnic, and cater to people of all origins thruout the city and suburbs."

#### THADDEUS PRZYBYLO

Thaddeus Przybylo was introduced to the food business at the tender age of 14. He had finished grammar school, the depression was on, and the only job he could get was washing dishes in a Greek restaurant.

At 22, Przybylo went into business for himself—a bar on the Northwest Side—with

\$865 in personal savings and a \$400 mortgage. Now 56, he still remembers his first day's receipts: \$5.65 total for working from 7 a.m. to midnight.

Today, Przybylo owns the House of White Eagle, popular Polish restaurant and banquet and catering service on a 10-acre site in Niles. Since opening his original restaurant and catering establishment at 2441 W. Division St. in 1947, Przybylo estimates he has served six million people.

He is president of the United Polish American Council.

#### CHESTER SAWKO

From immigrant factory worker to president of R. S. Coil Spring Manufacturing Company by the age of 42—that's Chester Sawko's traditional American success story. And it's based on the traditional American virtues of hard work, long hours and perseverance.

Sawko and his family were taken from Poland to a Russian labor camp in 1940. Released two years later, they made their way to the United States in 1946. With little formal education, Sawko worked as a copy boy for a Polish newspaper and in a spring factory.

Twelve years ago, with \$5,000 in savings, he started making his own, first from his home and then in 1,000 square feet of rented space in Franklin Park. The initial one-man operation now has 55 employees working in two buildings with 22,000 square feet that Sawko owns in Addison.

#### PAUL SPIEWAK

A \$7.20 investment in a newspaper ad started a \$4 million business that is still growing for partners Frank Poczatek [Parks] and Paul Spiewak.

"Supplies for the indoor world—wall, floor and ceiling—is the way we describe Century Tile and Carpet Supply," said Poczatek, 44.

Poczatek, son of a Polish born assembler, worked his way thru Roosevelt University, earning a marketing degree in 1950. A man who called at his home to sell tile, which the Poczateks bought, sparked the idea that led Poczatek and Spiewak to place an ad to sell plastic wall tile. They did it at night and on Sunday in addition to working other jobs during the day.

"We just kept placing more ads and finally opened a single little store at 3005 N. Austin Blvd.," said Poczatek. "Then we acquired four adjacent stores, and now have two other locations in Mount Prospect and Lombard."

#### WALTER KOZIOL

In 13 years, Charmglow Products Inc. has become the nation's largest producer of outdoor lights and gas fired barbecue grills. Walter Koziol, founder and president, was born at 15th Street and Wolcott Avenue, the son of Polish immigrants.

"I left the Marine corps in 1948 and drifted until 1953, when I became a distributor of kitchen equipment for builders in Antioch," said Koziol, 50.

"A man at Northern Illinois Gas Company suggested I make a gas light for outdoor use. I started Charmglow in 1959 with my brothers, Harry and Ted, and a friend, Steve Rzyzsko."

Five years ago, Charmglow became a division of Beatrice Foods Company.

#### DENNIS VOSS

The current Man of the Year of the United Polish American Council was born on Fullerton Avenue above a dairy where his immigrant father worked as a route man.

Dennis Voss and his father later started their own dairy service, one of the first independents in the city. But Voss, who had attended an electrical trade school, always wanted to be a builder and since the mid '40s has been an extremely successful one



and has participated in a number of major projects in the Chicago area.

Voss, 58, also is chairman of the board of Parkway Bank and Trust Company and First State Bank of Chicago and president of several insurance and travel enterprises.

"I purchased land, made mortgages and purchased more land," said Voss. "It was hard getting those doors open at first . . . hard to get a \$25,000 loan. Then, after a while, people call you and want to loan you a million."

Voss is active in numerous civic and charitable endeavors. He is a member of the executive committee of the Illinois Tollroad Commission advisory board and serves on the board of the Metropolitan Fair and Exposition Authority which operates McCormick Place.

## IS THE WORLD HEADING FOR MASSIVE FAMINE?

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD an interview between Gerald Leach, science correspondent for the London Observer and Dr. Norman Borlaug and Prof. George Borgstrom. Dr. Borlaug is known for developing high-yield varieties of dwarf Mexican wheat and Professor Borgstrom has written "The Hungry Planet."

The interview vividly points out the need for directing out thinking toward the solution of the hunger problem immediately. I commend the article to my colleagues.

IS THE WORLD HEADING FOR MASSIVE FAMINE?

LEACH. I'm searching for the answer to a simple question. Is the world heading for massive famine?

BORGSTROM. I don't like your question, with its emphasis on the future. How many hundreds of millions are going to suffer extreme food shortages before we recognize that the issue is here today? More than half of the world's population is now on the other side of the hunger gap, and this at a time when we are in the unprecedented situation of adding almost 1 billion people in the 1970s. There is already a serious food shortage, of a dimension the world has never seen before.

BORLAUG. I agree, and this is talking only about the quantity of food filling the stomachs. It ignores the deficiency of proteins, especially for the young. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization say that about two-thirds of the world is underfed. Whether it's that or a half makes little difference. It's just too darned many.

LEACH. So why can't we produce more food?

BORLAUG. That would be relatively simple in the immediate future because of the potential productive capacity of countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia, the Soviet Union and Europe. But it wouldn't solve anything. Unfortunately, hunger is inextricably tangled up with poverty. The developing nations can't afford to import food and if they would, they couldn't sell it to their people, most of whom are miserably poor.

LEACH. But what if we gave our surpluses away. Would that help?

BORLAUG. For a very short time. Then population growth would catch up. Each country must develop its capacity to produce its own food.

BORGSTROM. You must also remember there is a dynamic relationship between food and population. Bringing more food to undernourished people means more people; it means an acceleration of growth because it reduces infant mortality. The classic example is China, which trebled its population in the 18th Century largely on the basis of the introduction of corn and the potato. To increase food production without trying very strictly to control population is catastrophic.

LEACH. But I want to know how much food production over the whole world could be increased. Let's start with the amount of land that's available for growing it on.

BORGSTROM. We often say that the world is using only one-tenth of the land area for cultivation. This is entirely misleading as only about 30 to 35 per cent could reasonably be used to grow vegetation of some sort. What's more, most of the tilled land we have gained in the past 100 years has really come from clearing forests and pastures—in North America we have lost more than half our forest in this way—while most of the remaining pasture land in the world is really poor land: the semi-arid lands of Mexico and Spain or the Soviet Union.

We could certainly expand irrigation of this, but the shortage of readily available water is becoming a limiting factor. This is the century of irrigation. Since the late 19th Century we have multiplied the amount of irrigated land by four to five times, and we will see another doubling before the end of the century.

But despite these enormous accomplishments, the amount of land man has turned into deserts by over-grazing and over-pressure is about five times greater than the amount we have irrigated. In India, one-quarter of the entire acreage has such heavy erosion that the topsoil will be gone before the end of the century. In the Andean region of Latin America, 50 million people are trying to live on soil that is actually vanishing.

BORLAUG. All that is true enough, but it's not only man that changes land. So does climate. Look at the Sahara.

LEACH. What stops us from opening up new marginal lands for growing food?

BORLAUG. It depends what you mean by marginal lands. Why are they marginal? We can produce crops that use rainfall more efficiently. But in desert or semi-arid areas, development of irrigation is the only means of opening up marginal lands. Similarly, in heavy rainfall areas with poor surface drainage (you need large-scale drainage projects to open up the land. Both these approaches require big capital investment.

It's much the same with fertilizers, which are being used to restore high levels of productivity in vast areas of the densely populated regions of the world where the land has been depleted of essential nutrients. But every step we take now in making new marginal lands grow food requires very big investments, whether in fertilizers, irrigation or whatever.

BORGSTROM. You can see that clearly in this continent. We are two countries, arid America and humid America. Now they are talking about bringing water from the far northwest of Canada to Mexico and 33 of the states in the United States. But the cost is going to be \$100 billion just to get the pipes in and the water flowing. Not many countries can afford this kind of thing.

LEACH. So increasing the yield of crops is now the key issue. This is where the green revolution comes in. Dr. Borlaug, you are the pioneer here.

BORLAUG. The so-called green revolution is a rather rapid improvement in recent years in production of cereals—mainly with new varieties of wheat, rice, and maize—especially in India and Pakistan, the Philippines, and parts of the near east and North Africa.

In 1965, a very favorable year, India pro-

duced about 12 million metric tons of wheat. The harvest last June was 23.3 million tons—almost double. In West Pakistan it went from about 4.3 million tons to about 8 million tons in the same period. Similar but less spectacular increases have been obtained in rice in India.

The green revolution is not a uniform thing and progress is still very small compared with the total need. Yet it has instilled a spirit of hope where there was complete despair before. Wherever you go you can see people sort of catch fire and begin to believe in themselves. The problem is to keep it going. It's just a spark at present. And I can buy only a very little time in which to adjust population growth to reasonable levels.

LEACH. But the green revolution has been strongly criticized because these new varieties of rice and wheat demand a lot of water, fertilizers and pesticides, and are being grown over huge areas and are thus very liable to disease.

BORLAUG. This is wrong. The point is that with lots of water and fertilizers the new varieties will do very much better than the old. But they'll still do better with the same amounts—they were designed for this. As for disease, well, with large, concentrated populations you just have to grow big areas of the same crops.

When world population was small you could grow little patches of different crops and so lessen the threat from disease and insect pests. We can't do this now and no one is more conscious than I am of the dangers of what we are doing. All you can do is try to incorporate as many different kinds of resistance as possible in your crops and then trust that the good farmer will find out for himself which new varieties do best in his area. But I agree it's an unstable situation and a never-ending problem.

BORGSTROM. There's no argument about the tremendous accomplishments of the green revolution. What I would argue about is what it means with regard to our present situation and future potential for growing food. A lot of the much-heralded increase in production from the new varieties has actually been due to getting two crops a year instead of one.

All this means much bigger inputs of water and fertilizers and so on, which can't go on forever. Also, to some extent it has taken land that was used for other crops—crops that had better all-round food value for man. You know, it takes the amount of energy you get from burning five tons of coal to make one ton of nitrogen fertilizer. If you look at the amount of energy that India would have to use to provide enough fertilizer to achieve the productivity of Japan—where yields are four to five times those of India—the answer is absolutely prohibitive. Including the energy cost of irrigation, transporting the fertilizers and so on, you actually have to put more energy in than you get out in increased food.

China is in an equally critical situation. They've done so much in the way of irrigation recently that the main thing they now need to feed their growing population is a tremendous amount of fertilizers. They aren't going to produce these on their own: By the end of the century China will need to use more fertilizers than the whole world is using today—about 70 million tons a year. Whether their waters can stand the pollution involved, I don't know; but in my opinion their need for fertilizers is really the critical thing in the present Chinese political situation.

BORLAUG. Well, I have a dream, which I mentioned in my Nobel acceptance speech in 1970, that man will learn to do without nitrogen fertilizers by breeding new plants. Mother nature worked this trick when she put nodules on the roots of legume plants, such as beans and peas. Bacteria in these nodules can take nitrogen from the air and convert it into forms that the plant can use

directly. Scientific man must now develop cereals that can do the same.

LEACH. Falling this for the moment, are you saying that the whole green revolution thing—the drive for higher yields—can't continue for very much longer because of ultimate shortages of water and fertilizer?

BORLAUG. I think it's our only hope, unless you want to write off world civilization right now.

LEACH. But is it a hope that can be met in practice?

BORGSTROM. I think there is a reasonable chance of managing it for the rest of the century. But that is only under one assumption: That we move to strict population control now, in the 1970s. We have to, because we are already on the verge of the unmanageable.

BORLAUG. I wouldn't disagree. We always come back to this population thing.

LEACH. You say it can be managed. Bearing in mind all the energy and capital investment involved, can it be managed without causing massive changes in the rich world?

BORGSTROM. I wonder. On its own, a country like the United States can easily increase its food production—which now consumes only 11 to 13 per cent of all the energy used in the country. If you ask whether the hungry world can manage it, this depends on where the raw materials are.

BORLAUG. I'd like to add a word here on the politics of the situation. One of the Soviet Union's greatest needs at the moment is fertilizer, and there's already quite a move to develop fertilizer production in Kuwait and North Africa wherever there is natural gas and petroleum. It's quite likely that fertilizers will join oil and other major resources as a major bargaining counter in politics.

BORGSTROM. I agree. It may well become the issue.

LEACH. What about phosphates? They are essential plant nutrients. Is there enough of them to go around?

BORGSTROM. For the next 30 years, yes. We can mine it. But there's not enough around to continue for long after that.

LEACH. What happens then?

BORGSTROM. Well, phosphate becomes the limiting factor in food production. At present we are pouring most of the phosphates into the sea through sewage. We just can't allow this to go on because we can't get it back from the seas. It's so diluted there that the recovery costs would be absolutely prohibitive. The only answer is that cities must recycle their sewage and put it back on the land: it's essential, indispensable, in the immediate future.

LEACH. I want to come back to water. I sense that you believe this is the most critical of all the resources for growing food.

BORGSTROM. I'd go further and say that because of water shortages mankind is now only one or two years from starvation. The most characteristic thing about rainfall is its irregularity. Records for India over a century show that each fifth year you have either an excessive monsoon or a short one. Each tenth year you have a short one or a critical flood. Each fifteenth year you have two consecutive bad years. You only need to have a couple of bad years over much of the tropics and, with very little spare food in the world's storehouses, you face inevitable large-scale famine.

One crazy aspect of this is that we put all our costly efforts into storing water when we should be storing food in the good years. The losses from storing water are enormous, but you can easily combat food spoilage.

BORLAUG. This is just what I've been trying to say for the past few years. In general I'd agree that water is very critical. But there are places—the great Indian river valleys—where there is ample water underground that is being tapped by simple techniques like sinking tube wells. There is scope for expansion here at little cost. But by and large

new water sources are going to involve tremendous capital investments.

LEACH. Looking at the whole world, there are obviously severe biological or resource limits to increasing food production. What are the biggest social or political blocks?

BORLAUG. In the developing world the biggest block of all is lack of capital for investment. After this, it is a great shortage of technical people who know how to apply science in the fields. They aren't being produced in nearly big enough numbers. The miseries of life on the land are such that once you get an education you want to become a doctor or lawyer or professor—anything but an agricultural scientist. And then there's the whole business of plans and bureaucracy. I have worked in country after country and I have seen so many beautiful plans, none of which I have ever seen executed. Whatever I have been able to do could have been written on one sheet of paper.

LEACH. And this is not getting any better?

BORLAUG. It's a fight every step of the way. But there is a change in one sense. In India or Pakistan one can see a gleam in the eye of people. Even in the back villages there's hope, there's a spark of confidence in themselves, as they see their crops begin to flourish with the new green-revolution varieties. You can even nowadays talk to government planners and they'll shake hands with you, instead of saying, "Here's another damned, dirty-handed agronomist." Can we keep this going? I don't know.

BORGSTROM. Fundamentally, we need some massive re-education of our presidents, our university presidents, our bank presidents, of everyone—to understand the things we've been talking about here. Everyone has to realize that we do not have all the answers and that the world really is living under constraints which are so far removed from ours in the rich countries. We are basically a luxury club that just has not realized the strict limitations of the globe. This kind of re-education to what's really going on in the world is the only way for our survival.

BORLAUG. The first stage is to educate the privileged sectors of the affluent world—and, even more important, of the developing world—to the importance of agriculture and agricultural science, and to show that farming is vital to their welfare and should not be relegated to the lowest rungs of the social ladder.

BORGSTROM. I would strongly support this. The urbanized millions of America and Europe have almost entirely lost touch with the complex biological forces and restraints that make life on this planet tick. I think this loss of biological understanding was really the starting point of our ecological crisis.

Most people think it's technology that grows food. Put a carton of milk in front of them and they may know that it comes from a cow, but they don't know, for example, how much water it takes for a cow to make a quart of milk. It takes 1.110 gallons.

LEACH. One of the central problems, surely, is the huge flood to the cities that's going on all over the world. The migrants to the cities can't find work while there is massive unemployment back in the rural areas they left. The traditional answer is industrialization on a gigantic scale to provide jobs. But isn't the real answer a huge development of labor-intensive agriculture?

BORGSTROM. We are touching on the issue of our times here. And it's been very poorly understood. This flux to the cities is a mass migration on an unprecedented scale: In the 1970s alone we can expect a movement of 400 million people into the cities of the hungry world with, at the same time, another 400 million added to their pressure in the countryside. Now a lot of people think this is merely a repeat of the urbanization of America or Europe, only written a little larger.

In my opinion, this view is fundamentally wrong. For one thing, the urbanization of Europe would never have been possible without the great migrations outwards, especially to America. Such migrations to other areas are hardly possible now. Even more important, the later urbanization of Europe could never have been carried out without food delivered from outside.

Look at the Dutch, for instance. They started urbanizing at the end of the medieval period. And where did they get their food? From the Dutch countryside? No, from the Baltic. The second great food source for the growing European cities was the Ukraine and then came the North American prairies. Without them Europe simply couldn't have done it.

But now, all of a sudden, we say that the hungry world is expected to take care of 400 million extra in the cities and another 400 million on the land by re-doing what we did. There is no basis to it. The type of agriculture we have created, the type of industrial life we have created, the type of urban life we have created—nothing of this is applicable or copyable in the third world.

This is why we are getting cities like Calcutta. If its growing continues it will have 60 million people before 2000. But of course that won't happen: Long before then there will be catastrophes.

LEACH. Is there any chance of heading off this crisis?

BORGSTROM. Well, there's one country that really has tried to cope with it: China, again. In the 1950s they had a very rapid urbanization and this almost toppled the whole system. So what they did was not only stop the flow to the cities; they actually moved 10 million to 12 million back to the country by providing opportunities there.

They built dams and roads, improved the villages and farmlands, by what we in the West often disparagingly called armies of blue ants. It's really to the credit of China that they didn't use war as an outlet. But the result is that they now have a rational kind of agriculture that uses people to the full of the land—and they don't have a massive urbanization problem. However, with their present population growth, this situation isn't going to be stable for much longer.

LEACH. Standing back and looking at the whole picture, what do you think is going to happen?

BORGSTROM. I think that the forces we have been discussing are so powerful and rapid that in the 1970s we will see very drastic things. I think it will focus on the cities. I think there will be a collapse of production and distribution. We will be trying to do our best but we will not be able to stop the unrest and riots and, I am sorry to say, the killings.

What's more, the reaction of the well-fed world is going to be very erratic. So far we've shown very little responsibility. In the post-war period we've engaged in this rightful armaments race—using up much greater resources than the hungry world is producing—while thinking, as the United States has thought in Vietnam, that we can rule the world through bomb power.

If you look at history you will find that hungry people do not start wars; they start unrest and riots. Those that start wars are those that feel themselves threatened. We, the well-fed, are likely to be the ones that make the foolish acts. All this is why it's so important that we get the younger generation coming in to decision-making and so on.

LEACH. Dr. Borlaug?

BORLAUG. We've got to deal with the two most basic issues of our times, population and food. If we don't, I think, like professor Borgstrom, there will be increasing unrest in the cities. With their growing size and the complexities of governing them, seemingly minor issues will be blown up into riots, then

into civil war. Look what's happened in Pakistan recently.

I would say to the youth of the world that the simple solutions to these very complex problems for which they are looking don't exist. Man still has a lot of beat left in him, and the first thing that's going to disappear unless we can come to grips with these problems is democracy. Then total civilization will follow. I can't say when. There are too many intangibles to put a hard date on the thing—20 years, 30, years, 50 years. But in a reasonable future.

But I've found out in everything I've done that what matters is stimulation. The most important ingredient for constructive change is the will to win, the spark of hope and encouragement. And as I've said earlier, I've seen this spark catch on in many parts of the world. If we could encourage this in young people in the developing world and at the same time get the message across that it's all wasted unless there is a stabilizing of population growth, then there's a chance I just hope we are smart enough to use our brains.

LEACH. Professor Borgstrom, do you see any hope?

BORGSTROM. Yes, I do see a way ahead. It is a drastic way, but there is a possibility that we could walk this way with a chance of getting ahead of these problems. And that is to start creating something that I call universal solidarity: In other words, to stop looking at things merely in terms of what's good for one's own community and start thinking in terms of what is to the benefit of all mankind.

We could really use this present issue about who owns the oceans to get this idea started. If we could get a general declaration in the U.N. General Assembly that the living resources of the oceans belong to mankind, we would have moved a long way in this direction.

The second way ahead is through education. We have the technology to do so much to feed the hungry world: This is not the limiting factor. What does limit us is an insensitivity gap that is quite formidable, right in the midst of christianity. We like to think we are so much better and smarter than the others in the developing world; it's just not true. We could educate everyone to be aware of what the true world situation is in less than five years, using all the resources of the press and TV, and that might make a great difference.

Lastly, we must stop thinking that there are easy solutions to these fearfully complex issues. People go around saying we have a solution in food from the seas, in synthetic food, in hand reform, in irrigation. It's not like that.

Let's be realistic about this: We're not going to remove all hunger. All we can do, if we are sensible, is reduce it below a danger point. As it is now, it's moving rapidly to a very grave universal crisis.

CONGRESSMAN DON RIEGLE REPORTS TO YOU

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, several times a year I send my constituents a newsletter to help keep them informed about pending legislation in Congress, new laws which may affect them, and my activities in their behalf. At this time, I would like to make this newsletter part of my public recorded by inserting it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

CONGRESSMAN DON RIEGLE REPORTS TO YOU, MID-TERM, NOVEMBER-FEBRUARY 1972

In ceremonies at Quantico, Virginia, 1st Sergeant Jim Sharp retires with a distinguished record from the United States Marine Corps at age 38 after 20 years of service. He returned from his third, and last, tour in Southeast Asia in October and took up his new responsibilities as my District Representative.

LETTERS FROM KIDS

Our office is receiving more and more letters from young people—both individuals and whole school classes, many in elementary school. I want to share some of these with you because they are touching and revealing of the growing concern and awareness of our young people toward issues in government and politics.

They are asking the tough questions and are an encouraging hope for the future of our country:

DEAR SIR: I would like to know what you think about the Vietnam war. How it could be stopped?

Some people think that the President's trip to China was a waste of money and some think it did us a lot of good. What do you think about it?

Sincerely Yours,

BILL RUPPEL.

DEAR SIR: I think you could do something about saving the trees. We are making too much paper and are killing trees. I think you could start thinking of a new way of making paper please, and start saving the tree they are so beautiful and will you talk me what you are doing about it.

Your truly

JODIE BUTTERWORTH.

DEAR SIR: I would like to know who is being done about pollution and garbage? Why can't they dig holes and drop it in them like in the holes again, instead of throwing it in an incinerator and letting the smog in the air for us to breathe in.

Your truly,

MISS PAUDA GOODWIN.

DEAR SIR: I am writing this letter for a class project. I would like to know what you think about the presidents visit to China?

I would also like to know what you think about the Viet Nam situation. I do not see why it is not officially a war.

Sincerely,

DAVID FRASIER.

I am in the first grade.

I am 6 years old.

I learn many things in follow through. come to visit us an see. Please help us keep follow through.

PATRICIA PEELER.

SENIOR CITIZENS REPORT

The White House Conference on Aging marked a step forward in the struggle by senior citizens to organize their numbers and strength into a political and problem-solving force. Two of the 3400 national delegates were selected locally in Flint: Mr. Ora Boone, Chrm. Retiree chapter local 659, Nat'l Adv. Council-UAW Retired Workers. Mrs. Doris Kirkland Senior Citizens Services Coord. (Mott Programs, Flint Bd. of Ed.)

In addition I was able to appoint a local person to attend as my personal representative: Gertrude "Trudy" Cross Senior Citizens Services Coord. (Flint Rec. and Park Bd.)

There was some mixed reaction from the conference delegates—some feeling it was a worthwhile forum for senior citizens involvement and consolidation of ideas; others thinking that it was too controlled, and a vehicle for partisan politics.

The conference did:

Maintain the momentum toward a more effective senior citizens lobby

Focus national attention on the concerns of our elderly

Bring together experts in housing, transportation, nutrition, employment, recreation, health care, tax reform

Recommend for action \$5,000 income limitation on social security, increased minimum soc. sec. benefits; 120,000 new elderly housing units/year; nat'l elderly lunch programs; transportation services; more research and planning.

New and pending senior citizens legislation

Education: H.R. 11709—free education and recreation services in community schools.

Employment: H.R. 448—community service program and jobs for people age 55 and over.

Health: national health care program, expand Medicare to cover prescription drugs, optometrist service.

Housing: H.R. 13373—additional low and middle income housing.

Nutrition: \*New law provides \$250 million for low cost meals.

Social security: H.R. 1-5% social security increase, \$2,000 income limitation, full benefits to widows/widowers.

Taxes: H.R. 12167—Federal tax credit for property taxes or rent.

Transportation: H.R. 10126—reduced air fares. H.R. 10909—subsidized and low cost transportation for the elderly.

VETERANS BENEFITS

Are you taking full advantage of education training financial aid?

In recent years Congress has provided substantial educational and training benefits for GI's who served 181 days or more of active duty any time after January 31, 1955 or who were disabled on active duty. An estimated 25,000 men and women in Genesee and Lapeer are eligible for these benefits. However, the VA says only 38% are fully using their rightful benefits.

Here is a summary so that you can be informed on exactly what benefits are available for education and training.

Others eligible

Children (18-26 years), wives, widows of vets;

If veteran is totally disabled or died as a result of military service.

Of men who are POW or MIA over 90 days.

Schools and programs acceptable

Colleges, professional, scientific, or technical institutions; public or private elementary, secondary, vocational, correspondence, or business schools; junior or teachers' colleges.

For vets only: on-the-job training (OJT), apprenticeship, flight, cooperative farming or industry training.

Duration of benefits

For vets released before June '66 eligibility ceases May 31, '74.

For OJT, apprenticeship, flight or cooperative training, eligibility ends Aug. 30, '75.

Eligibility period is extended for children and wives of POW's or MIA's.

Amount of allowances

1½ months of assistance per mo. active duty, up to 36 months.

\$108-\$230 per mo. depending on type of education/training, percent time in school, and number of dependents.

For information on how to qualify contact:

1. VA Regional Office, P.O. Box 1117-A, Detroit, Michigan.
2. IMA Vets Counseling, IMA, Flint.
3. Our Flint Congressional Office.

18-21 YEAR OLDS

A chance to vote for the first time

With the new constitutional amendment, you may register to vote in this November's

national election if you are 18 by the day of election. If you are 18 by the May 16 or August 8 primaries, you may register to vote in these elections too.

#### Help make local and national decisions

In Genesee and Lapeer this year, 22,000 young people 18, 19, and 20 will be eligible to vote and 28,000 21-24 year olds may vote in their first Presidential election. It is estimated that no more than a third are registered yet—so there is a long way to go if young people are to take their rightful part in the political system.

If these 50,000 people register they would represent over 20% of the electorate locally—enough to have a deciding impact on any election.

#### A chance to run for public office

18 year olds may now run for office except where other laws set an age floor, e.g. state representative must be 21. Some of the offices now open to 18 year olds are county board, township, some school boards.

One important local office is that of Precinct Delegate in the political party of your choice. Delegates will be elected in every precinct on May 16 and will serve for a two year period making most of the important decisions in our local party organizations that ultimately determine state and national decisions. If you wish to run for Precinct Delegate—you may still run as a write-in candidate. For information call your local political party office, or our Congressional office.

#### How to register

You must go to your local city, town, or township clerk and register in person.

Student gov't leaders and groups in every high school are devoting much time, energy, and skill to organizing new voter registration in a way that best fits their own school and local government. The real kick-off is March 27 thru 31 when some schools will have deputy registrars, others will transport students to the clerk's office, others will distribute literature.

If you have any questions please contact your local gov't clerk, your high school student gov't, or you may call our Congressional office.

#### NEW TAX DEDUCTION FOR CHILD CARE

Congress has passed, and the President has signed into law, a new tax provision which allows working parents a tax deduction for child care expenses if the child care enables the working parent or parents to be employed. Since it may be months before IRS publishes the guidelines I wanted you to have them now. This benefit is effective beginning January 1 of this year and will be realized on next year's income taxes.

However, it's important to know the provisions now so that proper records can be kept in order to claim the deduction on income earned and expenses incurred during 1972.

The Tax Benefit: deduction up to \$400/mo. for household service and dependent care expenses which permit a parent to be employed. Dependent is defined as child under 15, any one disabled regardless of age, or a disabled spouse. Of the \$400/mo. \$200 for one child (\$300 for two, and \$400 for 3 or more) is allowed for child care expenses outside the home.

Who is Eligible? single parent or married parents employed substantially full-time—at least 3 weeks/mo. or 3½ days/week, any number of months during the year.

Income Limitation: To receive full benefits the combined total gross income of working parents (or single) may not exceed \$18,000. Deduction is reduced 50c per dollar of income above \$18,000.

#### Services Qualifying for Deduction:

1. Child care within home: IRS indicates home care would cover entire expenses of a housekeeper if duties include care of child.

2. Child care outside home: Normal babysitters or strictly day-care services qualify. IRS indicates educational services would not qualify unless proven to be the only day care available.

Record-keeping: When possible, pay by check; keep all cancelled checks. Get signed receipt with description of child care services.

If you have questions please contact local IRS office in the local Federal Office Bldg. at: Church & W. Second Street  
Flint, Michigan 48502  
Tel. 234-5621, ext. 200

#### YOUR DISTRICT STAFF

I want to introduce our District office staff so that when you need to be in touch you can know who is there to serve you. I am proud to announce the appointment of Jim Sharp, former Marine Corps 1st Sergeant as my new District Representative. He succeeds Paul Visser who has joined the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co. in Flint—after five years of outstanding public service to our Congressional district.

Jim Sharp comes to this job with a knowledge of our community gained in 1966-1969 when he was the Marine Corps Public Representative for recruiting, reserve, and community activities. His twenty years of service included combat duty, administrative work, community problem solving and personal counseling.

Working with Jim Sharp are Nancy West and Kathy Nothoff—as a team they handle the whole range of office, community and personal services. Nancy and Kathy carry on the special work of Mrs. Barbara Pritchard of Flushing—who did such an exceptional job working with our staff and with the people of Genesee and Lapeer during her five years in our District office.

#### We need volunteers

There is so much community service work to do that we invite the help of any who would like to work as a volunteer in our office, part-time or more. Any interest, skill, age group, or amount of time can help in some way. If you are interested, please call or write to our Flint office directly.

This office belongs to you—and if you choose to share in this challenging and interesting work, you can—at the same time—get a new understanding of our community and government.

Our District office staff works in your new District office, 300 Metropolitan Building, 432 North Saginaw Street, Flint 48502, across from the Durant Hotel. Telephone 239-5705.

#### LIKE TO KNOW MORE ON AN ISSUE OR PROBLEM?

If you would like in depth studies or reports on some issue or problem, our office will be pleased to locate and send you reliable information. In some areas we've done our own analysis; in others we go directly to an authoritative source. If there is a minor cost to purchase a document we will let you know.

Just write: Congressman Donald W. Riegle, Jr., 1408 Longworth Building, Wash., D.C. 20515.

Veterans Benefits.  
Senior Citizens Legislation.  
Conference on the Aging.  
National Health Care.  
Reform of Campaign Financing and Disclosure.  
Income Tax procedures.  
Cable Television.  
Drug Abuse.  
Small Business Loans.  
Federal Programs and Grants.  
Draft Law Changes.  
Copies of Bills before the Congress.  
Committee Reports.  
President Nixon's Speeches.  
Consumer Product Index.  
Agriculture Yearbook.  
Price Controls.

Medicare-Medicaid.  
Vietnam.  
Pension Plans.  
Revenue Sharing.  
The China-Soviet Dispute.

#### WORKING WITH YOU

To continue close working contact with local citizens, groups and community problems during Nov.-Feb., I have made 11 trips to the district along with 7 trips by my Washington staff specialists. Here are some of the local working sessions we've had this winter. If there are other needs, problems, or groups that you feel we should be working with, please call our Flint Congressional office so that we can get together.

Housing foreclosure, Feb. 11.  
Busing, Feb. 20, Jan. 13., Nov. 12.  
U of M relocation downtown, Mar. 2.  
Young people and politics (Bentley H.S., J.C., Powers), Feb. 11, Nov. 6.  
New voter registration—Student gov'ts Jan. 29, Dec. 17.  
Neighborhood meetings—all citizens (Flint, Grand Blanc, Mt. Morris, Fenton), Jan. 29, Jan. 12.  
Genesee Co. Medical Society, Health care, Jan. 13, Nov. 6.  
UAW credit union, Feb. 20.  
Economics and the business community, Jan. 12.  
Drug abuse, Jan. 12, Nov. 6.  
Senior citizen concerns, Nov. 12.  
Child care, Nov. 12.  
U of M alumni, Nov. 13.  
Non-profit housing, Nov. 13.  
Housing and redevelopment, Dec. 17.  
Regional airport expansion, Dec. 17.  
Automobile industry and GM concerns, Nov. 4-10.  
Aid to local schools, Feb. 25.

#### WITHHOLDING TAXES ARE TOO HIGH

I have written Secretary of the Treasury, John Connally, requesting a review of the new withholding tax rates stating that these rates are too high.

Discriminate against middle and low income people.

Have lowered wage-earners pay checks when they expected gains in take home pay.

Give the false impression that the gov't has raised instead of lowered taxes.

Inhibit consumer expenditures and savings by reducing disposable income.

Could undermine "confidence" in economic recovery.

I have suggested that the Treasury Department consider a gradual change over to avoid the problem of "overwithholding" so that the Treasury would not have the use of money all year which rightfully belonged in the hands of the taxpayer.

Since writing this letter on February 18, other actions are being taken, e.g., the Asst. Sec. of the Treasury has agreed publicly that the system should be re-examined; employers are counseling employees that they can elect to reduce their withholding through the W-4 exemption; the press is focusing on the loss of the purchasing power in the economy.

#### ENDING THE WAR

While it had been hoped that various initiatives by the President would end the war, including the trip to China—the latest N. Viet offensive and massive re-escalation of US military power clearly shows that the US is still trapped in Vietnam. We are pursuing a policy that:

Is too dependent on the action and reaction of the Vietnamese who we have long known must finally settle their own problems. The South Viets. will never be ready to defend themselves as long as they know the US will always come to their rescue;

Has failed to gain the return of US POW's while losing the bargaining power we could have had if we had set a formal date for US

withdrawal; and more Americans are being taken prisoner each week;

Unleashes deadly US firepower far beyond the most destructive limits of WWII, killing 1,000 to 2,000 Asians a week in a war we have long said was not worth 1 more American life and not in the strategic interest of the US;

Insists on continuing excessive US military aid to the S. Viet government which still cannot stand on its own after 10 years, \$150 billion, and 55,000 American lives. The war still saps US resources at the rate of \$10 billion last year (\$200 for every American family) when these dollars of yours are badly needed here at home;

Refuses to carry out the clear will of Congress and the American people *already signed into law* to set a specific date for ending US involvement in exchange for US POW's.

*I believe we must end US involvement now in sole exchange for US POW's.* It is wrong to waste one more life or one more dollar in this war.

ARMY, NAVY, AIR FORCE

Genesee and Lapeer counties have sent 25 young men to the service academies over the last 5 years. This year with the dedicated help of our screening board who have evaluated many applicants, I have nominated 24 outstanding young men for 5 openings allotted our district this year. The academies will review the credentials of these men and select final candidates.

CAMPAIGN REFORM

On Dec. 21, 1970 I testified before the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct stating that our system of campaign financing and reporting was:

Hopelessly out of date, full of loopholes, unrealistic, unworkable and unenforceable

Discouraging many good men and women from running for office

A major factor in public lack of faith, trust, and confidence in gov't and politics

I urged that our political system must be open to healthy and fair competition of all the best people and ideas and offered comprehensive proposals for:

Drastically tightened reporting and disclosure

Workable curbs on excessive contributions and spending

Broader public and Govt. financial participation

Finally over a year later the Congress passed and the President signed the first real reform in 46 years. It includes stronger disclosures, limits on media, limitation of some loopholes especially multiple committees and use of personal wealth. Although this bill is a step forward, frankly it doesn't go nearly far enough. So we will continue to battle for stronger reforms.

CONGRESSIONAL AGENDA

Action 1971

Tax reforms: repeal of auto excise tax, monthly child care deductions, investment tax credit, increase personal exemptions, deduction for political contributions, \$1 tax checkoff for Presidential campaigns.

Supersonic Transport (SST) project ended. 10% Social Security increase.

Campaign financing reform: spending ceilings, disclosure.

All-out fight against cancer—new research agency.

Medicaid expanded to cover intermediate care.

18 year old vote constitutional amendment.

13 extra weeks unemployment benefits to states with high unemployment (Michigan qualifies).

Expanded drug treatment and control programs.

Extension of wage/price controls.

Constitutional amendment for school prayer—defeated.

Enforcement powers for Equal Employment Opport. Comm.

Outlook 1972

Women's equal rights constitutional amendment.

Welfare reform.

Revenue sharing.

National health care and/or insurance.

Federal aid for school desegregation.

National voter registration.

Consumer Protection Agency.

Anti-busing amendments.

Expanded fight against pollution.

Fight against sickle cell anemia.

Increase Social Sec. income limitation.

Expanded child day care programs.

National no-fault auto insurance, minimum Fed standards.

Federal st'ds to guarantee pension plans, permit mobility.

THE ECONOMY: CONTROLLING THE NATIONAL DEBT

This February the Administration requested a \$50,000,000,000 increase in the national debt ceiling from 430 to 480 billion. This is equivalent to \$1,000 for every U.S. family of 4 on top of the existing debt of 413 billion or \$8000 per family.

I voted against the increase because I believe it is vital that there be an overall control on federal spending that will force better economic management by the federal government. The citizen, taxpayer, and consumer cannot be asked to tighten his belt and accept controls—as people have willingly done to help fight inflation—unless the federal gov't faces up to its own economic problems.

Basic to better economic management and citizen "confidence" is the need to realign our national priorities. These are some areas where a greater portion of our national resources should be allocated—e.g. environment, health, research, community development and education. There are areas where we should cut back—war and excessive military spending, foreign military aid, space, gov't subsidies, public works, etc.

But we will never tackle the priority issues if we don't have to live within reasonable limits. We cannot try to do everything, especially when gov't has not proven itself very effective or efficient in many areas. Here then are some additional factors which I considered in voting against the higher debt ceiling.

Over the four years from 69-72 the federal gov't, thru the Administration, will spend \$124 billion more than it takes in. This must stop.

Over the last 10 years our national credit condition has deteriorated. In 1968 we paid \$6 billion annual interest alone on our national debt—now we pay \$23 billion interest charges every year.

The administration is still spending \$10 billion in Vietnam this year that could be going to needs at home. It is still unclear where the \$30 billion/year that was being spent on the war is now going.

The federal gov't plans to add 20,300 new employees this year at a time when wage-earners and consumers have already tightened their belts and signaled "lack of confidence" by increasing personal savings.

There has been a consistent lack of reliable budget projections which has clouded economic management and decision-making.

ENERGY SHORTAGE

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, last week the Honorable Andrew E. Gibson,

Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Maritime Affairs, addressed an overflow crowd of civic and business leaders of the Tidewater area of Virginia at the 52d Annual Maritime Banquet of the Hampton Roads Maritime Association in Norfolk, Va.

Assistant Secretary Gibson spoke about the growing energy shortage that confronts this Nation in the next decade. Among the things he said was:

In view of the mounting dependence on foreign supplies of natural gas, the domestic shipbuilding industry and cryogenic support industries are in a unique position to capitalize on a multi-billion dollar marketing opportunity.

A 70-90 LNG ship program represents a \$6.1 billion to \$7.8 billion shipbuilding market over the next 13 years. It also would provide 350,000 to 450,000 man-years of work in the shipbuilding and support industries.

An appreciative and concerned audience listened attentively to his words and I believe my colleagues will also be similarly interested. Therefore, I ask that his remarks be made a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

REMARKS BY A. E. GIBSON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE FOR MARITIME AFFAIRS, BEFORE THE HAMPTON ROADS MARITIME ASSOCIATION 52D ANNUAL MARITIME BANQUET, NORFOLK, VA., APRIL 25, 1972

It is a great pleasure to be with you this evening.

When I first received the invitation to address this audience I had planned to direct my remarks to the importance of seapower, a subject which currently occupies much of our thinking today, and recent events in Viet Nam have once again indicated its vital part of this nation's defensive strength. However, on reflection, I decided, if there is one port community in the United States that does not need to be indoctrinated on the importance of seapower to the nation, it is the Hampton Roads area.

For this area is the personification of seapower and all that it means.

It contains one of our principal naval bases. It encompasses our largest naval and merchant shipbuilding facility. It serves as a principal port of call for merchant shipping and is a major gateway for our international trade.

President Nixon defined sea power in these terms:

"Sea power is the ability of a nation to project into the oceans in times of peace, its economic strength, in times of emergency its defensive mobility."

He then went on to enumerate the elements which constitute sea power by saying:

"Sea power is composed of all those elements enabling a nation to use the world's oceans advantageously for either trade or defense . . . its navy, its merchant shipping, its shipbuilding, its fishing, its oceanographic research, and its port facilities."

The Hampton Roads area is richly endowed in all the vital elements and its citizens are well-grounded in their importance.

So this evening I would like to speak to you on another topic of almost equal importance to our nation and to all of us individually . . . and that is the growing energy shortage that confronts this nation . . . an energy gap that will become more acute with each passing year.

The simple fact is that this nation no longer has sufficient domestic sources of fuel which can be developed quickly and cheaply to keep pace with its ever-mounting demand. As a result it is going to become increasingly dependent upon foreign energy supplies to supplement domestic production.

This presents some very serious difficulties

to the nation since our economy and our national security must be seriously jeopardized by a lack of sufficient energy supplies. And because we, of necessity will have to turn to overseas sources to meet this demand, this situation has very important maritime implications.

#### FORECAST OF ENERGY DEMAND

The Maritime Administration's studies indicate that the total energy requirement of this nation will reach the equivalent of 62 million barrels of petroleum per day by 1985—as compared to the 33 million barrels consumed daily in 1971. This means that our energy demand will nearly double in the next 13 years.

#### FORECAST OF ENERGY SUPPLIES

In our supply projections for the year 1985, we examined each of the energy sources. For comparative purposes I have expressed all energy statistics in barrels of oil equivalents, rather than trying to take you through the tortuous maze of comparing barrels of oil to tons of coal or cubic feet of gas. Thus, for example, 4½ barrels of oil are the BTU equivalent of one ton of coal.

Our projections for the year 1985 are as follows:

Natural gas will account for the equivalent of 12 million barrels per day.

Coal will provide another 11 million barrels per day.

Nuclear power, hydro-power and oil shale will produce the equivalent of 10 million barrels per day.

The remaining 30 million barrels per day required to meet 1985 energy demands will have to be provided by petroleum.

#### U.S. PETROLEUM SUPPLIES

In 1970, U.S. petroleum supplies totaled approximately 14.5 million barrels per day. Of this amount 11 million came from domestic sources, 0.75 million came from Canada, and 2.5 million were imported from overseas.

By 1985, we believe domestic production from the present U.S. sources will have dropped to 7 million barrels per day with an additional 3 million barrels per day being produced from Alaska's North Slope and from synthetics. Imports from Canada can contribute to our supply situation but that nation may also be feeling the effects of an energy crunch by 1985.

This means that the United States by 1985 will have to import from offshore sources as much as 18 million barrels per day of foreign crude and refined petroleum products—equivalent to more than 60 percent of our petroleum requirements. As compared to the 2 million barrels per day of refined product imports in 1970 we foresee them doubling to 4 million barrels per day by 1985. Crude imports are expected to increase from roughly 1 million barrels per day in 1970 to nearly 14 million barrels per day in 1985.

Other Federal agencies concerned with this nation's energy needs are forecasting a somewhat lower figure of 12 million barrels per day of petroleum imports by 1985. However, after an exhaustive study of all the relevant factors and developments, we, in the Maritime Administration, believe our assessment is both valid and realistic, and I have noted that these other projections are continually climbing, while to date we have had no reason to reduce ours. Regardless of who is right, we can all agree that the growing energy gap has alarming implications for this nation.

#### LNG SUPPLY AND DEMAND

As was pointed out, the Maritime Administration's forecast predicts that natural gas will account for the equivalent of 12 million barrels per day of petroleum by 1985. This equates to nearly 25 trillion cubic feet of gas per year. Domestic production is expected to amount to 20 trillion cubic feet, of which 2 trillion would come from Alaska.

We also estimate that Canada would export 1 trillion, with other overseas imports amounting to 2 trillion and possibly coal or oil gasification would produce the remaining 2 trillion cubic feet.

#### EQUATING ENERGY IMPORTS TO SHIPPING REQUIREMENTS

To handle the 1985 imports, our projections show that 156 million deadweight tons of shipping will be required. This approximates the total tonnage of the world's tanker fleet today.

Roughly two-thirds of the required tonnage will carry the crude imports; another one-sixth will comprise combination liquid and dry-bulk carriers; and the remaining one-sixth will be composed of product tankers as well as liquefied natural gas carriers.

#### THE NIXON MARITIME PROGRAM WILL BOLSTER BULK CARGO FLEET

In October 1970, a major overhaul of this nation's long-standing federal maritime policies and programs was effected by the enactment of the Merchant Marine Act of 1970. This law, embodying a new, far-reaching maritime program formulated by President Nixon, for the first time made liquid and dry-bulk vessels eligible for construction and operating subsidies if built for foreign trade service.

Under the previous maritime policies, only liner, or general cargo, vessels were eligible for such forms of assistance. The broadening of the subsidy programs is intended to recognize the fact that liquid and dry-bulk cargoes now constitute nearly 90 percent of this nation's international trade.

Since enactment of the new law, subsidized construction contracts have been awarded for the initial fleet of dry-bulk carriers and tankers. Additionally, the Maritime Administration has pending subsidy applications or commitments to build covering the construction of eight tankers in the 230,000 dwt. size range, and nine liquefied natural gas carriers.

We believe bulk carriers will constitute a substantial portion of the vessels to be constructed under President Nixon's 10-year shipbuilding program.

#### LNG—BIG OPPORTUNITY FOR U.S. OPERATORS AND SHIPYARDS

Our forecast reveals that by 1985 2 trillion cubic feet of liquefied natural gas will be imported annually from overseas. This equates to the need for approximately 70 to 90 LNG carriers to handle these imports.

Present indications are that the domestic cost of building LNG ships of 125,000 cubic meters would be in the \$82 to \$100 million range, depending upon the cryogenic system and design selected. Whereas the construction subsidy rate on tankers and general cargo ships—representing the difference between foreign and domestic prices for these ships—is presently running at about 41-43 percent, current estimates are that this differential on LNG ships is only about 20-25 percent.

The lower cost differential is attributed to the recognized U.S. leadership in cryogenic technology stemming from our space programs, and the expertise of the U.S. shipbuilding industry in constructing the more sophisticated naval and merchant vessels.

In view of the mounting dependence on foreign supplies of natural gas, the domestic shipbuilding industry and cryogenic support industries are in a unique position to capitalize on a multi-billion dollar marketing opportunity.

A 70-90 LNG ship program represents a \$6.1 billion to \$7.8 billion shipbuilding market over the next 13 years. It also would provide 350,000 to 450,000 man-years of work in the shipbuilding and support industries.

If the American shipbuilding industry misses this market it will be a tragedy. It

would have an adverse impact on our balance of payments. It will result in the loss of vitally needed jobs, and, we will once again watch the Japanese take over a market that American technology has created.

We in the Maritime Administration believe that with the present state of the art in the domestic shipbuilding and cryogenic industries, coupled with the availability of and leasing arrangements, a substantial number of the required LNG vessels can be built in this country and operated under the American flag.

It is anticipated that with a sufficient production run of LNG vessels, the American yards would be able to progressively bring their prices down to foreign levels eventually eliminating the need for construction subsidies altogether and putting them in a position to build LNG ships for export.

#### U.S. PORT CONSTRAINTS ON VESSEL SIZE

The United States today is ill-prepared to meet the surging requirements for petroleum imports that will rapidly escalate in the years ahead.

The average size tanker in the world fleet in 1970 was 47,000 deadweight tons; the average size under construction exceeds 200,000 dwt. and the largest tankers now in service range between 300,000 and 400,000 dwt.

There are some 50 foreign ports in existence or planned throughout the world that can accommodate vessels of 200,000 dwt. or larger. In the United States there are none. The maximum size ship that can be handled in our ports is 80,000 dwt. and most ports are limited to much smaller size ships.

The U.S. flag tanker fleet which is engaged exclusively in the domestic trades, reflects these port constraints. Of the 234 tankers in the fleet only 27 exceed 45,000 dwt. and the fleet average is 30,000 dwt.

#### COMPARATIVE TRANSPORTATION COSTS BY TANKER SIZES

Enormous cost savings accrue from the use of very large crude carriers. Transporting crude oil from the Persian Gulf to the U.S. East Coast in 250,000 deadweight ton tankers as compared to moving the same volume of oil in 47,000 deadweight ton tankers would provide transportation cost savings of \$3.00 per ton at today's charter rates—which, incidentally, are at the lowest level in 20 years.

If in 1985 our total projected crude oil imports—680 million tons—were transported in 250,000 deadweight ton tankers as contrasted to 47,000-ton ships, the transportation savings in constant 1972 dollars would amount to \$2.0 billion annually.

It should be readily apparent, then, that unless the United States develops the port facilities to accommodate the large crude carriers American consumers of imported energy are going to have to absorb excessive transportation costs.

#### PORT IMPLICATIONS

The draft limitations of U.S. ports represent a serious national problem. Prompt action is needed to develop the facilities to economically handle the projected surge of petroleum imports upon which the nation will become increasingly dependent.

Aggravating the problem is the fact that all plans and projects formulated to date to alleviate the need have come under concerted and effective attacks by environmentalists. This is particularly evident on our eastern seaboard where the need for such facilities is most acute.

The maximum channel depths of 45 feet limit vessel sizes to 80,000 deadweight tons or smaller. Most large crude carriers draw in excess of 70 feet. The cost of dredging present channels to this depth makes this alternative out of the question.

The environmental issue has already been

instrumental in the decision of major oil companies to establish deepwater terminals and new refineries in Canada and the Bahamas where properly designed facilities do not face endless harassment and obstruction. The export of such vital facilities is hardly in the national interest from either a defense mobilization or balance of payments standpoint.

#### DEEPWATER TERMINAL

The most attractive site for facilities to accommodate these large tankers is a deepwater terminal located off the New Jersey-Delaware coast. Ninety percent of the East Coast's refinery capacity is located in this area and the depth of water offshore is ideal. Since waves of 40 to 50 feet are not uncommon to the offshore site, the terminal would have to be protected by a breakwater, probably constructed by the federal government. Private industry would finance the remaining cost of the terminal and such investment appears to be quite feasible.

Significantly, more than 10 percent of the projected cost would be spent on features and devices designed to guarantee against any pollution resulting from an accidental spillage of oil and its added expense is both desirable and necessary.

Although such a terminal would be designed and equipped to provide the most advanced anti-pollution system yet designed, it still can be expected to receive considerable opposition. It is unfortunate that there is so little willingness to consider this nation's needs for economic growth while at the same time realizing the necessity to defend nature and the environment against pollution.

There are some in this country who today are calling for a "no growth" economy complete with brown outs, reduced industrial production and attendant unemployment. I sincerely hope that the day is not far off when public opinion will require that the cost of ecological issues be measured against the economic implications, and that rational procedures will be formulated to foster economic growth while preserving the environment.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE IMPLICATIONS OF U.S. ENERGY GAP

The United States, the country with the most ravenous appetite for petroleum, has only 7.6 percent of the known reserve in the Free World, while the Persian Gulf region has some 67½ percent. It should be obvious that the United States has an inherent interest in the strategic balance in, and stability of this area.

The Persian Gulf with two-thirds of the world's petroleum is of vital importance to the Free World. It presently is supplying 60 percent of Europe's oil requirements and 90 percent of Japan's. And the United States will become increasingly dependent on its oil with each passing year. The importance of this area is therefore evident.

Oil literally powers the economies of the Free World's highly industrialized nations.

I do not set myself up as an expert on Middle Eastern affairs, but it is evident from a reading of the newspapers that the Soviets have a deep interest in this area. For example, published reports indicate that the Russian Embassy is one of the largest in Kuwait and the indications are that Russian Naval vessels will soon be in the Gulf.

In the light of these facts we must applaud the efforts of President Nixon which have given a maximum chance for stability in this area while recognizing the interests and needs of the peoples of the Mideast and of the United States. We all recognize not only the importance but also the difficulty of this endeavor.

#### SUMMARY

To summarize briefly if I may, today the United States finds itself confronted with a

serious energy crisis. It is well established that surging demands will progressively outpace domestic supplies in the years immediately ahead, and by 1985 more than half of our petroleum requirements will have to come from foreign sources.

In terms of natural gas many major suppliers are unable to meet current industrial and residential demands for this clean-burning fuel. A very cold winter next year can bring both of these problems to the headlines of your daily newspaper.

The magnitude of our projected energy shortage prompted President Nixon last June to transmit to the Congress a comprehensive Message on Energy Resources, which contained a detailed program to ensure an adequate supply of clean energy for the country in the years ahead. This was the first time a President had ever submitted an energy message to the Congress and attests to the seriousness of the problem and the need for high national priorities to resolve it.

The President's program calls for a broad range of governmental initiatives including expanded research and development of improved nuclear power plants and the technology to facilitate efficient conversion of coal to clean gaseous fuel. It is also intended to spur increased exploration and development of domestic energy sources, and bring our environmental and energy needs into balance.

And, to more effectively harness and coordinate Federal efforts in dealing with our energy needs, the President would establish a single structure within the proposed Department of Natural Resources to oversee these programs.

All of these objectives make a great deal of sense, particularly the consolidation of all Federal energy related programs under a single department.

Impairing the ability of producers and suppliers of energy to meet the mounting demands are the stringent environmental rules and regulations developed in recent years.

But the ecological issues, while they must be met squarely and effectively to clean up and protect our environment, cannot and will not obliterate the necessity of greatly increased energy supplies to keep the wheels of our industry turning.

We believe that the ecological and economic objectives involving our energy requirements are compatible—that the objectives of both can be attained without detriment to each other.

Surely, the time has come to resolve our energy-related problems, to examine the options and alternatives available to us, and to make considered judgments of how the nation's needs and best interests can be served.

And it is readily apparent that we must find the solutions soon, for the time is rapidly running out.

Thank you.

#### CENTER FOR DEFENSE INFORMATION

#### HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, Monday, April 24, the Wall Street Journal contained an excellent article by John Pierson concerning a new organization and its director which will be providing the Congress and the general public information about the Defense establishment.

The Center for Defense Information has been organized in order to gather and

disseminate information about military programs, American strategy, and alternatives to the Pentagon's position.

The center's first director will be Rear Adm. Gene La Rocque, retired. Admiral La Rocque brings to the Center for Defense Information 31 years of experience as a naval officer. Admiral La Rocque's experience includes both frontline sea duty and work at the Pentagon. He has commanded more than half of the 6th Fleet and served on the staff of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The idea of an institution like the Center for Defense Information is an excellent one. Members of Congress and the general public have very few reliable objective sources outside the Government to assist them in developing opinions on the military's programs.

Mr. Pierson's article entitled "A Weather Eye on the Military" is excellent and I recommend it to my colleagues.

The article follows:

#### A WEATHER EYE ON THE MILITARY

(By John Pierson)

WASHINGTON.—One day back in the late 1950s, when Gene La Rocque was a young commander working in the office of the Chief of Naval Operations, an admiral called for "a strategic justification of Chaguaramas—and I want it in an hour." A bay off the west coast of Trinidad, Chaguaramas was thought of as a possible refuge for ships in time of war.

Ever attentive to duty, Comdr. La Rocque produced the paper with the required conclusion within the required time. "No one asked me whether we needed a base at Chaguaramas," he recalls a little wistfully.

The incident was but one of many, during 31 years in the Navy, that helped convince him that military men aren't asking the right questions about what they're doing. So on April 1 of this year, Rear Admiral La Rocque resigned his commission, at 53 years of age, and started asking those right questions.

In one way, quitting was a logical step. His career had been in irons since 1968, when a task force he headed concluded that the war in Vietnam couldn't be won, even by more bombing. "That didn't endear me to the Naval aviators," says the Admiral good naturedly. One of those Naval aviators was Adm. Thomas Moorer, then Chief of Naval Operations, now chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

In another way, quitting was hard. His career, from apprentice seaman volunteer (reserve) to rear admiral spanned three wars, 13 battles, an amphibious landing in the Marshall Islands, a medal for sinking a Japanese submarine, command of half the Sixth Fleet and finally—after the Vietnam study—direction of the Inter-American Defense College. "I can't throw away my uniforms," he tells a visitor to his spanking new townhouse in southwest Washington. "I've been at it too long."

Having been at it so long should be more help than hindrance in his new job as director of the newly formed Center for Defense Information. The admiral likes to call the center "a portion of the loyal opposition." It might better be described as a model counterforce to the Department of Defense.

"A year and a half ago," says Adm. La Rocque, "I met a guy from Stanford Research Institute who said he expected to land a \$50,000 contract from the Navy for a study that would prove that the Navy needed 18 attack carriers instead of 15. That made me take a look at all these 'institutes'—Rand, Hudson, the Center for Naval Analysis, there must be 50 of them. They're getting most of

their money from the military, and all their studies support increased military spending.

"We need an independent, objective group that will look at the need for military forces from the U.S. point of view rather than from the single-service point of view. National security is the most important thing to the life of a country, but it consists of more than the military.

"We want to take into account the social, economic and political needs of our society." (A framed cartoon waiting to be hung on the admiral's wall shows Uncle Sam behind the wheel of a sports car that has crashed because the tire marked "military" has become vastly overinflated compared to the other three.)

"The military has become far too pervasive and powerful," continues Adm. La Rocque. "Defense tells State it wants a port for ships in Greece and State arranges it. That's so sailors can be near their families. But hell, sailors ought to be serving the nation, not the other way around."

Specifically, the admiral and his crew plan to challenge "basic assumptions" underlying current defense thinking. For example, does the U.S. really need to defend other countries to defend itself? "I'd like to see what share of the defense budget goes to defending the 50 states," he says. "Maybe 25%?"

Do we need three nuclear deterrents—bombers, land and sea-based missiles? Right now, unlike some defense economists, the admiral thinks we probably do need all three for insurance since "any single weapon system ultimately is going to be countered." But since the Russians are not likely to counter all three at once, does it make sense to do as the military now proposes and build not only a new generation of bombers but also a new line of missile-firing submarines while also shielding our land-based missiles with ABMs?

Is it in the national interest to have a fleet of carriers able to respond quickly in limited conflicts? "If those carriers had been 10 days away from the Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964 instead of right there, we might have had some second thoughts about starting the bombing of North Vietnam." The bombing probably has prolonged the war, he adds.

Instead of spending billions to station a carrier task force in the Indian Ocean, as some Pentagon men now urge, mightn't it be a better investment to spend those billions on dams, schools, roads and malaria control in the countries that ring the Indian Ocean?

While trying to answer big questions like this, the center will carry out routine but vital tasks like maintaining an inventory of U.S. forces, their deployment and justification; a chronological record to measure the promise and performance of new weapons systems; and a ledger of the Pentagon's daily announcements on procurement, manpower and policy. The center will award fellowships for a year's study in Washington to outstanding journalists and young college graduates who want to become expert in military affairs.

If asked, center people will testify before congressional committees. They'll supply congressional committees with nasty but pertinent questions to put to the legions of generals, admirals and systems analysts who testify on behalf of more and evermore defense spending.

Adm. La Rocque likens the center to the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. The IISS keeps track of the balance of military power (for example, how many tanks NATO has versus the Warsaw pact) and publishes papers challenging conventional military wisdom.

But the IISS has a reputation for objectivity that the center may find hard to match. In part, that's because most of the people who are joining the staff of the center or signing up as consultants are dedicated Pentagon budget cutters and well-known doves.

The list of 37 consultants includes names like Dr. William Corson, a retired Marine lieutenant colonel and author of "The Betrayal," a highly critical study of U.S. counter insurgency in Vietnam; Leslie Gelb, compiler of the Pentagon Papers; Morton Halperin, who quit Henry Kissinger's White House staff over policy matters, and Dr. Ralph Littauer of Cornell, co-editor of another critical book, "The Air War in Indochina."

The admiral says he's going out of his way to fend off "peaceniks who are anti-military and people who've left the military in anger." He won't take money from dovish congressional committees—or from any other congressional committees, Executive Branch agencies, defense contractors or "special interest groups." He also maintains there are some military programs that he'd like to see increased rather than cut—anti-submarine warfare, to name one.

But objectivity may be an impossible goal. "Any group that tries to challenge the military power is going to be of a liberal bent," he declares. "We've got to accept that. We're not going to get any money from the Barry Goldwaters, and I don't think I want any."

Objective or not, can the admiral and his men stay the course? Taming the Pentagon monster is the work of a decade or more, and he knows it. "We don't want to be a flash in the pan. We don't want to write one book and then go back and practice law," he says.

"It took Ralph Nader six years of just hard slogging to get established. I think it will take us just as long." (He has already been dubbed the Ralph Nader of the military. Admiral Horatio Whistleblower?)

Whether the foundations that the admiral hopes to tap are willing to commit themselves for a decade is anybody's guess. The Fund for Peace—whose trustees run the gamut from Robert Roosa of Brown Brothers Harriman to Stewart Mott, the General Motors heir—is kicking in enough money to get things started.

"Only time will tell if we can make it," says the admiral. "But I don't have any fear, in the next 10 years, that the military will stop giving us plenty to oppose, or that our economic and social pressures will diminish."

#### LAW DAY: AN OPPORTUNITY FOR REFLECTION

### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, today, we are again reminded that the purpose in designating this date each year as "Law Day" is to provide an opportunity for special tribute to our system of ordered liberty and government by rule of law. Since its inception by the proclamation of President Eisenhower in 1958, Law Day has served as the 1 day each year on which we Americans could pause and reflect upon our great legal heritage.

This year the opportunity to pause from the rush of our everyday lives is especially meaningful, for we too often take for granted the freedoms which we enjoy and fail to heed the lessons of liberty learned so long ago by our forefathers.

Although we have become increasingly demanding of our social and governmental institutions, high expectations from our Government is not new. In fact, our continued critical evaluation of our

system of government has had the effect or reaffirming our commitments to individual liberty. The result of our continued commitment to individual freedoms has provided Americans with economic and educational opportunities unmatched in any other nation.

In large measure, our success as a country has resulted from the wisdom of those Americans who drafted the Constitution and from those who have devoted their lives to give practical meaning to the Constitution. It is because of the spirit of these people that the basic purpose of our Constitution has remained unchanged from its original statement in the preamble:

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

It became clear at the outset of our Nation that the Constitution was intended to be a living document. In the famous 1819 Supreme Court case, McCulloch against Maryland, Chief Justice Marshall referred to it as a "Constitution intended to endure for ages to come, and, consequently, to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs."

Expressing a similar thought more recently, Justice Benjamin Cardozo described the purpose a constitution should serve this way:

A Constitution states or ought to state not rules for the passing hour but principles for an expanding future. (Cardozo: Nature of Judicial Process, 83.)

As we look back over our history we see that our Constitution has served us well indeed. Those great freedoms and rights which we cherish so highly have survived because of the respect given to their incorporation in the Constitution. The first amendment protections are especially meaningful today. Free speech, free press, free exercise of religion, the right to peaceable assembly and to petition the Government for redress of grievances have all become an integral part of our legal heritage.

This year on Law Day as we look forward to solutions to today's problems, we must recall that we are the "posterity" for whom the blessings of liberty were secured. Our exercise of those liberties requires that we, in turn, preserve them for the benefit of our posterity.

What Justice Joseph Story wrote over a hundred years ago is equally applicable today:

It depends upon the present age, whether the national constitution shall descend to our children in its masculine majesty, to protect and unite the country; or whether, shorn of its strength, it shall become an idle mockery . . . (Story: Miscellaneous Writings, 432.)

As I close my thoughts today, I would only remind all Americans, that one way we can surely pass on our legal heritage to the next generation, is to understand the meaning and purpose of our Constitution and our system of government. Perhaps this year Law Day will provide each of us with the opportunity to re-



fresh ourselves on our great legal heritage.

I am particularly pleased to note that we are, in fact, moving toward a society that is becoming more and more dependent on law and justice.

At one time legal remedies were only available to the rich, but recent efforts by the Government, concerned citizen groups; and local bar associations have brought legal benefits to middle and lower income people all throughout America. Just last Friday, Guy Halverson, writing in the Christian Science Monitor, said that—

Perhaps at no time in the recent past has American Law been as articulate and aggressive in reaching the mass public as it is today.

I heartily agree with Mr. Halverson, and I believe it points to a dramatic turn in American confidence in our system of justice. I would like to share with my colleagues the views set down by Mr. Halverson, and I also include in the RECORD the article as it appeared in the Christian Science Monitor:

#### LAWYERS FOR THE LITTLE MAN

(By Guy Halverson)

CHICAGO.—Jim Sandez, member of a Shreveport, La., union was deep in legal problems. Mr. Sandez (not his real name) was involved in a workman's compensation dispute, had filed for bankruptcy, was a defendant in a drunk driver case, was threatened with eviction by his landlord, and had been a defendant in another auto accident case.

So he sought help—from his union.

Each month he had been paying two cents an hour to the union for legal benefits. Now he decided to make use of the service, for which he had already "paid."

A local Shreveport attorney accepted his case and many of these issues were resolved in his favor.

But most important, Mr. Sandez had had lengthy and detailed association with an attorney—contact that for many working people in the United States has traditionally been precluded by soaring legal expenses as well as an unfamiliarity with the complex workings of the judicial system.

In a small way, Mr. Sandez's case vividly illustrates the dramatic expansion and change now swirling through American law. Often attacked by critics for its alleged stodginess and slowness to change, let alone its courting of middle and upper-income groups, the American bar—which hardly yet militantly seeking solution of social problems—nevertheless is adopting a fervor of activism in many political and social areas.

#### ENORMOUS PROBLEMS RECOGNIZED

Lawyers themselves concede that the enormous problems of the American judicial system—from court backlogs to high costs to inadequacies in both the administration of justice and the severe shortcomings of corrections agencies—will probably continue for quite a while.

But what's equally as important, the experts insist, is the dramatic steps toward reaching out to the public.

Throughout American history, of course, from colonial times to the present the "little man" has had his defenders, from John Adams (who successfully defended the nine British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre back in 1770), to Clarence Darrow. But for millions of Americans, "the law" always seemed somehow elusive, out of reach.

The United States legal profession—350,000 attorneys—strong and already the largest in the world (both numerically and in per

capita representation)—is now making a concerted effort to reach out to vast groups of lower and middle-income people through referral programs, defender programs, and new prepaid legal insurance programs.

Law schools themselves—currently jammed with the largest enrollment ever—95,000 students with another 137,000 undergraduates taking admission and awaiting entry are becoming more geared toward solving problems of the society while refining the applicability of law training. Courses like constitutional criminal procedures, for example, unique a mere decade ago, are now staples in the curriculum of many schools.

Bar admissions, up 67 percent in 1970 over 1961, continue to swell, even as the bar is seeking to recruit more lawyers from minority communities. All told, it's estimated that the size of the American bar will double between now and 1985.

Whole new areas of law are opening—ranging from consumer and environmental law (often in class actions, itself a relatively new phenomenon)—to undersea and space law. Perhaps equally important, the rising national debate over the concept of no-fault (now primarily in the insurance area), is expected to have far-reaching implications for the adversary system, the role of the attorney, as well as the court system itself.

Proponents—and critics—of the no-fault approach (critic Marvin E. Lewis, of San Francisco, president of the prestigious American Trial Lawyers association sees no fault as "a dangerous erosion of our court system") agree that no-fault could well lead to something other than the adversary system as now known. The concept, critics and defenders agree, might soon also influence other areas of the law, such as product liability.

While there admittedly is far to go (indeed, administrative bookkeeping of courts, particularly on the state level, is hodgepodge from region to region)—lawyers are recognizing more and more the need for uniformity in rules, procedures and administration. Leon Jaworski, a Houston based attorney and president of the giant American Bar Association (which comprises about 45 percent of all attorneys) says that perhaps the most significant development he has noted in recent years has been a "finer streamlining of the use of rule" and a greater "emphasis on uniformity."

#### ABA PUSHING HARD

The American Bar Association, for example, is promulgating the code of professional responsibility, and implementation of the important Administration of Criminal Justice.

Substantively, the law has increasingly enlarged the scope of individual rights during the past several decades, from the criminal justice to the reapportionment one-man, one-vote decision to outlawing school segregation. And this emphasis on individual rights has had a correlative effect of nudging the lawyer into closer contact with lower-income groups.

"When I first started practicing as a young attorney the states were not obliged to even recognize the Fifth Amendment," Tom Clark, a former justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, told this reporter. "We didn't have even any of the Sixth Amendment rights to counsel. If you were an indigent, you didn't even have a right to the transcript of the trial. We have all these things now."

It's estimated that there are now at least 250 lawyer referral programs around the nation—such as the Chicago Program, where a person is charged between \$3 and \$5 to determine the nature of the legal problem.

Still, it is the relatively new concept of prepaid legal aid that would, if widely adopted, most certainly revolutionize legal services in America.

The program, which operates somewhat like the Blue Cross plan in health insur-

ance, is currently being tested in a project partly sponsored by the ABA and the Ford Foundation at Shreveport, La.

#### CALIFORNIA WEIGHS MAJOR STEP

The State Bar of California is also contemplating a statewide program, which, if adopted, is expected to trigger many imitations. The Los Angeles County Bar Association, meanwhile, will shortly set up a program at a cost of about \$100 a year for members of a local police-firearm's union. The program will be entirely voluntary.

The pilot Shreveport program, which started in January, 1971, covers some 600-700 laborers, plus their families (about 1,900 people all told). Under the program, the workers contribute about 2 cents an hour or \$40 for a comprehensive package of legal benefits and have a free choice of lawyers.

Some 106 people were referred to attorneys during 1971. Of these, 32 cases were settled and paid by the year's end. While the program took in \$13,000 in collections, claims totaled around \$6,500, with fees and administrative costs picked up by both the ABA and the Ford Foundation.

Significantly, studies indicate that since the workers have adopted the program, landlords have not been as eager to sue their tenants. "Most of the people who have had contact with the program had little encounter with attorneys before," says Ralph Jackson, president of Southwest Administrators, and administrator of the Shreveport plan. In many cases, lawyers found, the workers quite literally were inundated with legal problems by the time they actually got to an attorney.

Thomas Sitken was being sued by two women who claimed to be his wives. One wanted child support; the other, social security payments.

#### UNION HELP SUCCESSFUL

Like Mr. Sandez, Mr. Sitken (not his real name) also sought help from the union program. His union attorney, whom he selected, immediately took up the case. The claims of the two women were resolved in his favor, and his current marriage was recognized as legal.

Two major bills have already been introduced in Congress pertaining to prepaid legal services—H.R. 13938, introduced by Rep. Frank Thompson (D) of New Jersey, and S. 3386—by Sen. Harrison A. Williams Jr. (D) of New York. Both would allow prepaid services as an employer shared benefit under collective bargaining. At present, Section 302-(C) of the Taft-Hartley Act precludes such a program.

Beyond prepaid legal services, which will greatly expand the outreach of law, there are many private and bar-sponsored special programs around the nation, both in the civil and criminal areas.

In Pittsburgh, a local law firm provides free legal services for the 65,000 members of District 15 of the United Steelworkers of America—a plan started in 1971. The Advocates, a nonprofit corporation in California, represents people of moderate means. The San Diego Bar Association, meanwhile, sponsors Defenders, Inc., and is setting up a defenders program on the appellate level.

Perhaps the best known—and most controversial—legal program for the poor is the legal services program of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Budgeted at around \$65 million, the program, established as part of President Johnson's war on poverty in 1965—attracted criticism recently from Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew for using government attorneys in suits where the government is the defendant. Still, the program has been endorsed by the ABA and continues to win high marks from leaders in inner-city areas.

#### AID FOR 25.5 MILLION POOR

The agency's 2,000 lawyers operate some 250 community programs in the U.S. and

concentrate on services for the 25.5 million Americans determined by the federal government to be on a poverty level. The attorneys, however, only handle civil (as distinct from criminal) cases. Most cases are in the area of domestic relations, consumer affairs, welfare, and job employment matters. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the staff has had major difficulties with turnover—in part, perhaps because of the programs controversy.

"The whole concept of legal aid has changed the nature of law school education in this nation tremendously," says one top OEO spokesman. "Most major law schools now have courses on poverty law, for example—something unheard of years ago. And, of course, increasing numbers of law firms are now into public service projects themselves."

One OEO case that recently had tremendous influence on the law was *Serrano v. Priest* in California which led to the California Supreme Court negating dependence on the property tax for financing public education. The case was initiated by the Western Center on Law, an OEO group.

Despite the flurry of activity in legal service-type programs, many young lawyers argue that the bar is still not doing enough and that legal aid is particularly wanting in lower-income criminal cases. "The only lawyers usually taking the public's part in this city are public defenders," says one young attorney with a law firm in Topeka, Kansas. "There's just no great rush here towards public interest-type law. Representation of indigents, moreover," he argues, "has been totally 'relegated' to the young lawyer."

To counteract just such situations—recognized by top leaders of the nation's bar—the ABA is itself pushing so-called "pro bono publico" programs, letting young attorneys use company-paid time to work in public-service projects. At the same time, the bar is seeking to encourage more nonwhites to enter law school. Today, less than one percent of all lawyers are black; there are proportionally even fewer attorneys from other minorities.

#### LAW SCHOOLS GIVEN CREDIT

But what's most promising to some reformers is the mood of the nation's law schools. Step into any one of the better schools, they assert, and the sense of personal involvement and commitment is quite a new thing—yet somehow reminiscent of many law schools in the "depression America" of the 1930's, when the nation was criss-crossed by currents of social activism.

In a speech to the faculty of Stanford University Law School recently, Robert W. Meserve, a Boston attorney who will become the president of the ABA in August, said that "never before have law students as a whole been as idealistic or as willing to meet the valid demands which society makes on the legal profession."

"Today's law students are fabulously well prepared," says Francis A. Allen, until recently dean of the University of Michigan law school. Mr. Allen recalls that in the years when he first began teaching—shortly after World War II—it was not at all uncommon to find malaprops on test papers. Recently he says, he seldom finds one, sure evidence of the much higher caliber of today's students.

Law teachers are also quick to note that while the much-talked-about marriage between the law and the social sciences is perhaps still more rhetoric than fact, there is still an increasing amount of interdisciplinary work (in other fields of study) by both students and faculty than ever before.

"Law schools are closer to the mainstream than ever before," says Mr. Allen. Nonlaw watchers scanning the remarkable changes in law taking place today would recast that sentence.

Perhaps at no time in the recent past has American law been as articulate and aggressive in reaching the mass public as today.

## SAR LEVITAN ANALYZES EXPERIENCE WITH EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1971

### HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Sar A. Levitan, director of the Center for Manpower Policy Studies at George Washington University, has just written a fine analysis of the experience to date with the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. I include it in the RECORD at this point:

#### CREATING JOBS IS ONE WAY TO FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT\*

(By Sar A. Levitan)

The persistence for over two years of disturbingly high levels of unemployment in the United States has called forth a variety of nostrums. To stimulate economic activity, the Administration has provided multibillion dollar incentives to business and has claimed the largest budget deficit in peacetime. More recent data, however, suggest that some of the deficit reflected Administration nervousness rather than actual outlays. To cushion the impact of long-term forced idleness, unemployment benefits were temporarily extended though this program has since been discontinued nationally.

Blaming the messenger for the message has also been used to fight unemployment. Since unemployment was critically high in poverty areas, the "solution" was to discontinue the quarterly report of employment conditions in ghetto areas, presumably hoping that the problems would go away if they were not publicized.

But unemployment did not go away and demand for direct action to combat unemployment could not be ignored even though the budgetary deficit was mounting. By the summer of 1971, it had become clear that the Administration "game plan," which called for a slight temporary rise in unemployment in order to reduce inflationary pressures, had not been successful. Although unemployment rose to 6 percent, inflationary pressures continued.

President Coolidge is reported—perhaps apochryphally—to have said that the reason for high unemployment is that many people are not working. Assuming that the unemployed are seeking jobs, Congress decided upon the most direct course of action—creating jobs for those seeking work. But this simple approach was not universally appealing. President Nixon was on record in opposition to federal funding of public employment, lest it revive WPA-type jobs. Though some argued that there was nothing wrong with WPA and that leaf-raking may be useful work when there are leaves to be raked, the Administration's objections had to be overcome in order to create a federal program to subsidize public jobs. In the end, the President indicated that he would accept a temporary program, thus precluding a permanent WPA.

Various interest groups coalesced to support a public employment program. The resulting Emergency Employment Act of 1971 not only promised that the public jobs would be transitional, but also identified a number of eligible target groups. Each person hired had to be unemployed at least a week, working part-time but seeking full-time work, or earning less than enough to lift his family out of poverty, and preference was to be given to Vietnam veterans, former participants in manpower programs, young persons

\*This article is based on an ongoing evaluation of the Emergency Employment Act funded by a grant from the Ford Foundation to the National Manpower Policy Task Force.

entering the labor force, older workers, migrant workers, persons whose native tongue is not English, welfare recipients, and displaced aerospace workers (table).

To achieve all this, Congress appropriated \$1 billion, enough to create about 140,000 jobs. With 5 million people unemployed and with most of the unemployed in the "preferential" categories, there were obviously not enough funds to hire all applicants who claimed priority under the Emergency Employment Act.

It does not help to assess, however, the Emergency Employment Act on the basis of the legislative rhetoric. Preliminary reports indicate that, given the constraints of resources, the Act has lived up to the hopes of its advocates in and out of Congress. Contrary to conventional wisdom about the slow pace of governmental action, EEA showed that government can act swiftly and massively. Within four weeks after the President signed the authorizing legislation, Congress appropriated \$1 billion, and hiring of unemployed workers started almost immediately. Within six months, 140,000 people, most of whom would have otherwise been unemployed, were on the job in states, counties, and cities, with federal funds paying 90 percent of their salaries.

Because implementation of the Emergency Employment Act involved not only Congress but the federal bureaucracies at all levels of government, the rapid pace of activity was remarkable. Forebodings that vested interest groups would place obstacles in the program's operations did not materialize. Court actions brought in a few cases to impede the execution of the Emergency Employment Act did not effectively slow down the hiring.

As expected, there was grumbling. Because only about 3 of every 100 unemployed persons could be hired with EEA funds, more were left out than hired. But an analysis of participant characteristics indicates that a real effort was made to spread jobs equitably among claimant groups. For the most part, jobs filled with EEA funds were vacant because of budget stringencies and in most areas the persons hired included professionals, the unskilled, and the poorly educated. Members of minority groups also got a fair share of the jobs reflecting their high incidence of unemployment.

Charges of "politics" could hardly be avoided in an election year. While the funds distributed most of the funds impartially and in accordance with congressional mandate, the Secretary of Labor retained control over 15 percent. Most of these funds were utilized for experimentation and demonstration projects designed to provide insights into massive public employment programs reaching 10 percent or more of the unemployed in an area and job creation for welfare recipients. It happened, however, that Illinois and California, crucial states in the presidential election, received disproportionate shares of the experimental funds and that San Diego, the site of the Republican Convention, was the chief beneficiary of the demonstration projects. While the Administration has yet to explain these choices, it should not be at all surprising that the Administration sought to maximize its potential political leverage.

There were also complaints that the feds failed to use the subsidies to force changes in civil service regulations that stress unreasonable credentialing and that frequently discriminate against minority groups. But to force such reform would have necessarily delayed hiring the unemployed and, on balance, it would seem that the primary function of the Emergency Employment Act was justly emphasized at the neglect of a secondary goal.

The Emergency Employment Act has thus achieved the goal of providing jobs to the unemployed by generating a sense of urgency among all levels of government. Since there remained some five million idle workers even

after 140,000 persons were hired with EEA funds, it is quite apparent that most of those hired or others would have remained unemployed in the absence of the emergency legislation.

In terms of reducing unemployment, the Emergency Employment Act was a bargain. Economists have estimated that a \$10 billion increase in GNP is necessary to reduce unemployment by 0.3 percent. EEA cost only \$1 billion to reduce unemployment by 0.2 percent and it achieved these salutary results in a minimum amount of time.

EEA's success has generated a great deal of enthusiasm not only for extending the Act but for tripling or quadrupling its appropriations. One bill sponsored by more than a dozen liberal senators would multiply the appropriations 10 times, to \$10 billion a year.

There should be little argument that as long as there are idle people needing jobs, the government should create useful work for them. It does not follow, however, that jobs in the public service are preferable to jobs in the private sector. Nor does it follow that the ability of state and local governments to fill some 140,000 jobs means that the federally-subsidized public employment program can and should be tripled or quadrupled. The fact is that employment in state and local governments has risen rapidly since the end of World War II, increasing by 57 percent in the last decade and now exceeding 10 million workers. The widespread complaints by governors and mayors that budgetary stringencies have forced mass layoffs is not borne out by overall statistics. State and local government employment continued to rise even during the recent recession. And while the overall number of unemployed rose by more than 2 million during the two years preceding the passage of the Emergency Employment Act, the increase in unemployed persons previously working in the public sector (state, local, and federal) was only 43,000.

The experience of Champaign-Urbana, Illinois illustrates the flimsiness of claims concerning "shortages" in public employment. The area's share of the total \$1 billion emergency employment appropriation was initially scheduled to be \$125,000 and the local authorities estimated "unmet public needs" of \$400,000, a respectable amount above the anticipated federal largesse. The Labor Department unexpectedly selected Champaign-Urbana for one of its demonstration projects and the area's share was raised by half a million dollars. To justify the new federal contribution, the same local authorities soon concocted a new estimate of "unmet public needs" in excess of \$1 million. But to suggest that the presumed shortages in state and local governments should be examined critically, is not to argue against creation of new public employment during a period of recession and high unemployment.

Provision should be made not only for expanding public employment during periods of need, but also for turning off federal faucets when economic conditions improve. This could be achieved by providing a trigger mechanism which would become operational when unemployment rises above a certain level and which would be based on the level of "excess" unemployment.

One reasonable approach would be to provide jobs to absorb a stated proportion of the unemployed above a given level. If we accept an interim goal of reducing unemployment to 4 percent, one-fourth of the unemployed above this level could be absorbed by a public employment program. At 6 percent unemployment, for example, the "excess" would be 1.7 million. And the federal government would provide adequate funds to hire roughly 425,000 persons, triple the present rate under the Emergency Employment Act. At \$8,000 per job, the annual pricetag would be roughly \$3.4 billion. If such legislation had been on the books at the out-

set of the 1971 recession, more than 400,000 persons might have been on the job before President Nixon vetoed a bill in 1971 which would have provided for a modest public employment program. Since unemployment is unlikely to dip below the 5 percent level in the coming year, enrollment under the proposed trigger mechanism would still provide jobs to some 200,000 unemployed even if recovery continues. It is, therefore, not too late to extend the EEA along the lines suggested, even if optimistic hopes about recovery materialize.

*Characteristics of PEP employee records  
cumulative acts of March 21, 1972*

[Characteristics]	
Age:	Percent
21 or less	11
22-44	71
45-54	11
55-64	5
65 and over	0
Sex:	
Male	72
Female	28
Group:	
White	68
Black	20
American Indian	2
Oriental	1
Spanish American	7
Other	2
Military service status:	
Special veteran	13
Vietnam-era veteran	16
Veteran	17
Nonveteran	54
Disadvantaged	36
Public assistance recipient	11
Education:	
8th or less	8
9th-11th	15
12th	45
13th-15th	18
16th and more	15
Previously employed by agent	11
Weeks unemployed:	
4 or less	32
5-14	27
15 or more	40
PEP hourly wage:	
Under \$1.60	2
\$1.60-\$1.99	12
\$2.00-\$2.99	46
\$3.00-\$3.99	27
\$4.00-\$4.99	8
\$5.00 and over	5
Labor force status:	
Unemployed	90
Underemployed	10

**THE CONSTITUENT'S RIGHT TO KNOW; THE CONGRESSMAN'S RIGHT TO KNOW**

**HON. EMANUEL CELLER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the cardinal sin of politics is to underrate the intelligence of the voter. But intelligence cannot be exercised without facts. My experience as a Member of the House of Representatives for almost 50 years has taught me that, if nothing else. The voters of my district have proven to me over and over again that they look to performance, to effectiveness, to legislative accomplishments. It is for this reason I set forth for the careful scrutiny of the voters of my congressional district my concrete record so that they may

have before them an account of how I have carried out my trusteeship as their Representative. But the duty to know devolves upon a Congressman as well. He should apprise himself of the thinking of his constituents, particularly in areas which have only lately come to the fore. It is this give and take which can make a Congressman truly representative and keep him accountable to the voters who have placed their trust in him to discharge effectively the responsibilities of his office.

91ST CONGRESS

First, a record of the most significant bills introduced by me during the 91st Congress, 1969-70. You will note those bills marked "P.L." are legislative proposals which were enacted into law:

1. H.R. 2165: To empower postal inspectors to serve warrants and subpoenas, etc.
2. H.R. 2155: To require national registration of firearms, etc.
3. H.R. 2167: To amend the law re theft and passing of postal money orders.
4. H.R. 2168: To amend the law re counterfeiting of postage meter stamps, etc. Became P.L. 91-448 on 10/14/70. (H.R. 14485)
5. H.R. 2169: To create the U.S. Corrections Service.
6. H.R. 2170: To amend section 4 of the Clayton Act.
7. H.R. 2175: To authorize the Attorney General to admit certain persons to residential community treatment centers. Became P.L. 91-492 on 10/22/70.
8. H.R. 2176: To abolish the death penalty.
9. H.R. 2346: To prohibit certain interlocking corporate relationships.
10. H.R. 3783: To amend the Public Health Service Act to make guaranteed loans to hospitals, etc. (H.R. 11102 became P.L. 91-296 on 6/30/70.)
11. H.R. 4178: To provide a system for the taxation of interstate commerce.
12. H.R. 4242: To amend the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act.
13. H.R. 4243: To authorize appropriations for Civil Rights Commission. (S. 2455 became P.L. 91-521 on 11/25/70.)
14. H.R. 4244: To amend the law relating to the Administrative Conference of the United States. Became P.L. 91-164 on 12/24/69.
15. H.R. 4249: To extend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 re discriminatory use of tests and devices. Became P.L. 91-285 on 6/22/70.
16. H.R. 4250: To create an independent Federal Maritime Administration.
17. H.R. 4573: To extend life and increase appropriations of National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws. (H.R. 4297 became P.L. 91-39 on 7-8-69.)
18. H.R. 4574: To admit to U.S. certain inhabitants of Bonin Islands. Became P.L. 91-114 on 7-10-70.
19. H.R. 4801: To assure every American full opportunity for adequate employment, housing, and education, etc.
20. H.R. 6612: To amend the Social Security Act re minimum standards and eligibility.
21. H.R. 6951: To enact Interstate Agreement on Detainers into law. Became P.L. 91-538 on 12-9-70.
22. H.R. 9112: To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act.
23. H.R. 9411: To amend Title 28 re annual salary of court reporters.
24. H.R. 9505: To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act re permanent residents from a contiguous foreign country.
25. H.R. 9677: To amend Title 28 re service of jury duty summonses. Became P.L. 91-543 on 12-11-70.
26. H.R. 10067. Appointment of additional judges. (S. 952 became P.L. 91-272 on 6-2-70.)
27. H.R. 10527: To amend the Merchant



essional team sports subject to the Sherman Act.

53. 11131: To amend the Education of the Handicapped Act re homebound children.

54. H.R. 11224: To make organized professional team sports subject to the Sherman Act.

55. H. R. 11350: To increase limit on dues for U.S. membership in Interpol. Passed House on 11/15/71.

56. H.R. 11412: To authorize the Attorney General to provide care for narcotic addicts placed on probation, etc.

57. H.R. 11425: To permit greater involvement of American medical organizations in furnishing health services to developing nations of the world.

58. H.R. 11701: To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow tax credit for college tuition when taxpayer and student agree to repay plus interest.

59. H.R. 12004: To amend the Sherman and Clayton Acts to create an Office of Industrial Organization.

60. H.R. 12184: To eliminate racketeering in sale and distribution of cigarettes, etc.

61. H.R. 12220: To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to provide shoreside facilities for visitors to U.S.S. Arizona at Pearl Harbor.

62. H.R. 12652: To extend Civil Rights Commission for five years, etc.

63. H.R. 12688: To eliminate racketeering in the sale and distribution of cigarettes, etc.

64. H.R. 13022. To authorize the Secretary of State to furnish assistance for resettlement of Soviet Jewish refugees in Israel.

65. H.R. 13185: To implement Convention on the prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

66. H.R. 13627: To amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964.

67. H.R. 13694: To amend resolution establishing American Revolution Bicentennial Commission.

68. H.R. 14227: To amend section 3401 of title 18 U.S. Code, to authorize U.S. magistrates to use probation provision of the Youth Corrections Act.

69. H.J. Res. 253: To amend the Constitution re representation of D.C. in Congress. Approved by Committee on the Judiciary.

70. H.J. Res. 375: To consent to amendment of the Waterfront Commission Compact and entry into Airport Commission Compact for New York and New Jersey. Approved by the Committee on the Judiciary.

71. H.J. Res. 385: To establish Joint Committee on environment.

The 92d Congress has not, of course, come to a close. Many of the bills noted in this recital will become public laws; other bills will be introduced.

When viewed together, these proposals and public laws set forth my basic philosophy: First, to do what I can to preserve and enhance the right of every citizen to be secure in his person, in his home, in his opportunities for a decent job, decent living conditions, decent health facilities, decent schooling; second, to preserve and enhance the individual civil liberties and civil rights of every person; and, third, to bring about a world of peace within a democratic framework.

Time does not permit my detailing the provisions of every one of these bills, but all of those I have selected for inclusion in this RECORD relate to all my efforts to give every person protection and opportunity. I mean by protection:

Protection against fraud, deception, and neglect;

Protection against erosion of democracies in every part of the world;

Protection against inflation;  
Protection against pollution of the air and water;

Protection against noise pollution;  
Protection against the devastation of our lands and forests;

Protection against erosion of civil liberties and civil rights;

Protection against drug abuse;  
Protection against crime;

Protection against the inherent inequities of the draft, and to that end, I favor strongly a volunteer army;

Protection of persons against the international treaties guaranteeing the extradition of hijackers and the safe conduct and return of hostages. Such treaties must be put into effect with strong sanctions against countries which violate the terms of the agreement, denying to the airlines of the offending country or countries landing rights they seek.

I want to emphasize here that the protection against inflation is one of immediate and urgent need. The Congress has given the President standby powers to control prices and wages which he has prevailed upon to use. The purchasing power of the dollar decreases as inflation increases. Houses are not built; jobs evaporate. People living on social security and pensions suffer most.

By opportunities, I mean—  
The opportunity to enable each citizen to obtain a good education;

The opportunity to obtain the best of medical care, the best use of health facilities;

The opportunity to obtain low-cost housing;

The opportunity for every person to develop his highest potential without fear of unnecessary wars.

Knowing, as I do, that we must get out of Vietnam, I cosponsored House Resolution 1020, on May 14, 1970, to set an expenditure limitation on the American military effort in Southeast Asia, and on April 17, 1972, I cosponsored the bill, H.R. 14415 and House Concurrent Resolution 579, to provide for the cessation of bombing in Indochina and for the withdrawal of U.S. military personnel from the Republic of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

Under opportunities, I would certainly include changes in our immigration law to make it more flexible, to ease the process of reuniting families, to make provision for the entry of refugees, and to bring new seed to this land. Certainly, I must include under opportunities the enactment of a constitutional amendment to enable every vote to count. This can only be done by abolishing the electoral college and instituting instead the direct election of the President and Vice President.

You can easily match every piece of legislation I note herein with every statement of political philosophy.

Over my years of activity in the House of Representatives, I have had enacted over 300 bills and four constitutional amendments which bear my name.

First. The granting of the vote in presidential elections to the District of Columbia;

Second. The abolition of the poll tax in Federal elections;

Third. The filling of the Constitution gap in the matter of Presidential inability; and

Fourth. The lowering of the voting age to 18 years.

This is a record that cannot be matched by any other Representative in the history of the Congress of the United States.

I point to this only to emphasize that my introduction of a bill is not an idle gesture. This kind of record demands the unflagging attention to detail, the ability to negotiate, and the skill to earn the confidence of other Members of the House of Representatives. It means doing one's homework; it means developing skills in the use of parliamentary rules which can only come of long, hard years of learning and experience. To be successful in a forum of 435 Members of the House of Representatives and 100 Senators, with men and ideas competing for attention, your legislative proposals jostling against 20,000 others, and your political philosophy matched against a dozen different kinds, takes the hardihood, the conviction that this exists only in men and women who care. I care.

I also wish to emphasize my work against the erosion of democracies. The world is well aware of the struggles of Israel and Ireland. These are potential danger spots which if not recognized can throw the world into flame. Israel's right to exist as a free nation must be supported at all times. Ireland's right to be free must be supported at all times. My work in this area is well known to my constituents and needs no detailing. I do, however, wish to point to the key role I played in the Attorney General's decision permitting Jews escaping from Soviet persecution to enter the United States.

My drive against monopoly power is by this time well known to you. Unless there is economic freedom of opportunity for all, we cannot maintain the free enterprise system.

I announced that the Antitrust Subcommittee in the 91st Congress would undertake a comprehensive study into the economic and political significance of mergers and acquisitions by conglomerate corporations. A comprehensive examination of documentary information from the files of a selected group of companies was made.

Public hearings in the investigation commenced on July 30, 1969, and were concluded on May 15, 1970. During the course of the hearings, 72 witnesses from the companies that were included in the subcommittee's sample were heard in 25 hearing days, contained in seven volumes that comprise 6,309 pages, and a report that comprises 703 pages. In addition to the witnesses from the corporations involved, testimony was received from representatives of the Department of Justice, the Federal Trade Commission, the Internal Revenue Service, and the Securities and Exchange Commission.

The report includes a survey of current comment on the problems of aggregate and market concentration, a review of the practices of the corporations in the subcommittee's sample that were disclosed in the investigation and a summary of suggested legislative and admin-

istrative changes. As a result, I introduced H.R. 12004, to create an Office of Industrial Organization in the Executive Office of the President.

H.R. 12004 would in effect place under the exclusive control of the Office of Industrial Organization all corporate mergers of every name, nature, or description, however large or however small, whether involving a railroad, a bank, a TV station, a radio station, an electric light company, and whether of a service, sales or manufacturing business. This office would replace all present branches of Government now having jurisdiction. It is probably the most far-reaching antitrust proposal introduced in Congress since 1914.

Let us turn to the subject which is one of greatest concern to the country at large and that is safe streets. Of all the crime proposals set before Congress, the Omnibus Crime Control Acts of 1968 and 1970, which I fathered, were the only bills that addressed themselves directly to our dreaded crime in the streets. The 1970 act increased to \$650 million the money to be spent currently to curb and control the street crime. It likewise authorizes for the following year \$1 billion and for the year thereafter \$1.5 billion. It calls for better training of the police, more protective and innovative programs, better riot control, better rehabilitation services, and workable correctional services. This means that the youthful offender will not be put into jails with the hardened criminal and learn all the tricks he never knew before, returning to society to repeat his crimes with greater skill. It calls for new programs to deal with this scourge.

The Judiciary Committee has, as well, processed S. 30, a bill designed to control organized crime, which it is hoped will prove an effective weapon against the criminal syndicates. The Committee on the Judiciary has, as well, processed through the House of Representatives a bill to prohibit salacious advertising.

The following is a list of questions which comes to mind and the answers to which can best serve me to serve the needs of the district. If I were to meet with my constituents one by one, I would ask each one:

Are you in favor of equal tax treatment of single persons and married persons where both husband and wife are working?

Would you be willing, if necessary, to pay more for automobiles which include antipollution features?

Do you approve of a heroin maintenance program for drug addicts?

Do you favor an increase in the number of tuition-free universities?

Do you favor amnesty for those who evaded the draft or deserted from the Army?

Should the 18 to 20-year-olds be drafted for 2 years in a corps devoted to public service?

Should possession and use of marijuana be legalized?

Should the penalties for the sale of marijuana be increased?

Do you favor a national health insurance program under Federal control?

Do you favor additional aid to Israel to help settle Soviet Jews?

Do you favor stricter gun control laws? Nonprocessed foods like meat and vegetables are not subject to price controls. Should they be?

Should welfare payments be the sole responsibility of the Federal Government under Federal standards?

Do you favor our immediate unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam?

Do you favor our immediate unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam conditioned upon return of our prisoners?

Do you favor a volunteer army?

Shall the Federal Government enact legislation to protect workers' private pension plans?

Do you favor a Department of Consumer Affairs on a Cabinet level?

Are you in favor of greater direct Federal assistance to the city, bypassing the State?

Should military appropriations be reduced?

I wish I could supply all of my constituents with a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that they, in turn, could supply me with their answers.

My record in the previous Congresses is known to you. Therefore, I have only put forth a portion of the work to which I have devoted myself in this Congress. This accounting of what I believe and how I have performed on these beliefs is a matter of record.

#### VIETNAM COVERAGE HASN'T BEEN BALANCED

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the issue of press objectivity continues to be debated, and it is quite fascinating to note that many responsible publications are openly questioning the overall balance of the news as reported. Therefore, I direct the special attention of the Members to an editorial which appeared in the Harvey Tribune of April 23. The Harvey Tribune is a publication serving south suburban Chicagoland:

The editorial follows:

#### VIETNAM COVERAGE HASN'T BEEN BALANCED

For some reason, or many reasons that all seem to fit together, we do not believe that the American public has received a balanced picture of the events in Viet Nam during the past two or three months.

Since American pilots resumed bombing raids over North Viet Nam, the coverage by the news media has been overwhelming. The bombing raids have been lead-off stories on every edition of the six o'clock news and the protests have also received excellent coverage. It would be very difficult to find fault with the coverage of the bombing raids or the reaction to those raids in Washington.

But, for some reason, it just doesn't seem like the build-up of North Viet Nam forces along the borders of South Viet Nam and the raids of Russian tanks and the North Vietnamese regulars into South Viet Nam received quite the same treatment in the news media.

We're not promoting the "good guys" or

the "bad guys" in this situation. This war is one of the biggest messes the world has seen and we desperately wish it could be over tomorrow. We also believe that it is extremely important that we obtain the release of our prisoners of war before withdrawing completely from South Viet Nam, because in our view, their lives should be considered the highest priority.

Our complaint here is with the protests about the American bombing raids and no protests whatsoever of arrogant violations of previous agreements by the North Vietnamese. Why weren't the war critics screaming as loudly about the build-up along the borders? Why weren't the pickets walking around the Soviet embassies, protesting the use of Soviet-built tanks and MIGs in Viet Nam. Why is every violation of morality committed by the North overlooked or passed over without comment and every reaction taken by the U.S. the object of protest?

We are not defending President Nixon or his decision. We are defending this country and its right to react to aggression that is as blatant as what occurred along the borders of Viet Nam prior to the bombing raids to protect American soldiers and sailors who are still there.

#### FREEDOM-LOVING UKRAINIANS

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from the Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc., regarding the arrest and detention of many Ukrainian intellectuals by the Soviet Union's secret police. I share the concern of the association with regard to the fate of these freedom-loving Ukrainians and wish to join in urging that the Government of the United States, through the United Nations and by direct contact, take affirmative action to secure their release.

For the information of my colleagues, I insert the text of the letter from the association and the text of the statement at this point in the RECORD.

APRIL 15, 1972.

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL,  
Member of Congress,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: During the years 1969, 1970 and 1971 there were many news articles regarding unrest in the Ukraine caused by Soviet Russia's occupation of Ukrainian territory and the constant violation of human rights of the Ukrainian citizens.

With this letter we are taking the liberty of bringing to your attention the current situation in Ukraine with details contained in the enclosed statement.

We are convinced of your interest in the Captive Nations Freedom movement and consider you a friend of millions of Ukrainian Americans, many of whom are now your own constituents who have relatives in Ukraine and for who they have great concern.

We appeal to you to raise the question of injustice in Ukraine on the floor of Congress and ask the Secretary of State, Honorable William P. Rogers and United Nations Ambassador George Bush to take proper action toward the Soviet Government to release all political prisoners, particularly the intellectuals, ailing, aged and young mothers who have been torn away from their infants who need them so desperately, restore their full

rights of citizenship and return them to their homes in Ukraine.

Sincerely yours,

STEPHANIE, LEHETA,  
President.  
OLGA ROHATYNSKYJ,  
Secretary.

STATEMENT OF MRS. ULANA CELEWYCH

On behalf of the Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Incorporated, of which I have the privilege of being the National President, I hereby state my shock and indignation and protest against the wave of arrests in Ukraine performed by the Russian Secret Police Force (KGB).

In these restless times many individuals, groups, and statesmen, including President Richard M. Nixon, in order to establish long-lasting peace and prosperity for generations to come, are exhibiting a new approach to satisfy human needs, individual and national rights, and identity.

At the same time, the Soviet Russian Colonial government, founder member of the United Nations Organization, signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and so-called "volunteer missioner of good will" for world community, is for Ukrainians, a brutal invader who occupied the Sovereign Ukrainian Republic and by force is holding it in the USSR system.

In conjunction with the existing reality of Russia's constant violation of human rights of the 48 million native Ukrainians on their own territory, (majority of the population, 79%), our organization, in November 1969 presented a petition supported by 5,000 signatures to Ambassador Finger, who accepted on behalf of Ambassador Charles Yost, in which we expressed our concern of the increased terror, russification, restriction for continued education, deprivation of private property, as in the case of Mrs. Valentyn Moroz in Ivano-Frankivsk, a city in West Ukraine, mass arrests of the people in 1961, 1965, 1967, 1969, and 1970, particularly among young scholars who grew up under Soviet occupation and who oppose the Soviet way of life imposed upon them; thus all these things creating an alarming situation in Ukraine for a long time.

In our opinion, Brezhnev is restoring the neostalinism and is again practicing genocide in the Ukrainian nation, particularly on the Ukrainian intellectuals.

Now again, on January 14, 1972, over two million Americans of Ukrainian descent in the U.S.A., as well as all Ukrainians throughout the free world were shocked by the news via the UPI and Reuter Press Agencies about the arrest of 11 leading Ukrainian dissident intellectuals on charges of "nationalistic agitation" and deliberate false fabrications defaming the Soviet State. The arrests were carried out on January 11, in the cities of Kiev, Lviv, and Odessa. Later, reports raised the number of arrested to 19, then to 36, and at the present time the figure has grown to 200, and there are possibilities that the number is much higher and it is questionable if the exact number will ever be known in the free world.

Sources said that the arrests were preceded by a series of raids by the Soviet Secret Police Forces (KGB) on the homes of the dissidents in Kiev, Lviv, and Odessa. Several European newspapers also stated that the KGB had begun a series of raids and interrogations in other large industrial and university cities in Ukraine, including Czernivtsi, Poltava, Kharkiv, Rivne, and Dnipropetrovsk. There the action was directed mainly against younger students, professors, and writers, especially those who had been active in demanding Constitutional and national rights for Ukraine.

Because of the censure and russification policy forbidding free expression in existing government sponsored publications and

newspapers, the Ukrainians were forced to establish their own news media for the purpose of objective information.

According to reliable sources, the KGB latest arrests were meant to destroy the writing and circulation of the underground newspaper "Ukrainian Herald" which carries information about secret trials and arrests of Ukrainians, russification, intentions of anti-Ukrainianism, national discrimination, and religious persecution. The latest issue of the Herald contained over 100 typewritten pages of detailed information about Soviet repressions in Ukraine.

Among the arrested on January 11, are Vyacheslav Chornovil, writer and author of the Chornovil Papers; Ivan Dziuba, author of Internationalism or Russification (a study in the Soviet nationalities problem); Ivan Switlychnyj, a literary critic; Wasyl Stus, poet; Ihor Kalynech, poet; and others. Among those arrested are also women. Larissa Karavansky, M.D., wife of Swyatoslav Karavansky who was recently sentenced to many years imprisonment; Irene Stasiv-Kalynech, poetess and wife of Ihor Kalynech; Stephany Shabatura, artist and designer; Stephanie Hulyk, a mother of an 8 month infant and member of the association to preserve historical monuments; and Raisa Moroz, wife of Valentyn Moroz, whose fate is unknown.

We, the members of the Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc., on behalf of the millions of voiceless Ukrainians in the homeland of Ukraine, and on behalf of Ukrainian prisoners and their families appeal to President Richard M. Nixon, Secretary of State, William P. Rogers, U.S. Ambassador to United Nations, Honorable George Bush, Secretary General of United Nations Organization, Honorable Kurt Waldheim, to the majority and minority leaders of both Houses, and to the Honorable Senators and Congressmen, to raise their voices in support of rights for Ukrainians, and to take proper action towards the Soviet government to release all political prisoners, particularly the intellectuals, ailing, aged, and young mothers who have been torn away from their infants who need them so desperately. It is time to stop the Russian interference in the way of life and of the Constitutional rights of the people of Ukraine.

AID PASSES THE BUCK

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, on April 3d I revealed that 350 Montagnard tribesmen died as the result of a forced movement by Vietnamese officials. According to a document that I released at that time, American officials failed to report the serious health situation in Pleiku province among the two Montagnard hamlets. At that time I wrote to the Director of AID, Dr. John A. Hannah, requesting that he investigate the matter and consider punishing the individuals who are responsible.

I have received a reply from Dr. Hannah indicating that a preliminary investigation has begun. However, rather than admit the responsibility directly for not reporting the deaths of 350 people, the Agency, in a memorandum which I am releasing today, switches the blame to military officials. Apparently, according to AID, it was a military officer who

was responsible for the CORDS program in Pleiku province and that officer was responsible for not reporting the situation.

As some of my colleagues may know, CORDS is the joint military-AID venture which is attempting to pacify Vietnam. It is disappointing to see the buck being passed onto military officials. It is my hope that AID and CORDS will conduct a full-scale investigation to determine whether there was any negligence involved in not reporting the death of 350 people to higher officials.

In the past, and possibly even today, lower level bureaucrats have always feared reporting bad news higher up the line. The result is that the bad news gets filtered out and only a rosy picture is reported to senior officials. The failure to report the death of 350 Montagnard tribesmen is an example of this par excellence. Only if bureaucrats at all levels are willing to honestly and forthrightly report the real situation within their area of responsibility can adequate decisions be made by senior officials. It is this kind of phony reporting that got us so deeply involved in Vietnam. It is this same kind of reporting that seems to keep us there.

My only hope is that eventually all our officials will realize that in the long run the truth will be revealed.

Dr. Hannah's reply and the memorandum which the Agency has supplied me follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL  
DEVELOPMENT,

Washington, D.C., April 13, 1972.

HON. LES ASPIN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ASPIN: This replies to your letter of April 3, 1972, in which you inquire as to what punitive action has been taken against A.I.D. officials whom you allege were derelict in their duty in not reporting conditions in certain Montagnard relocation hamlets.

We have requested a full report from the field on this matter and I will give you a detailed reply as soon as it is received.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. HANNAH.

P.S. I am asking Matt Harvey to hand deliver this letter to you and to show you the internal quick report furnished me. It is only tentative pending checking with MAC/CORDS in Vietnam.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
AGENCY FOR  
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT,

Washington, D.C., April 10, 1972.

Action memorandum for the Administrator.

Through: EXSEC.

From: DCO/SA—Robert H. Nooter.

Problem: To respond to a letter, with attachment, from Congressman Les Aspin alleging that information concerning poor health conditions which resulted in the death of Vietnamese civilians in certain relocated hamlets was suppressed, and asking what disciplinary action you have taken against those AID officials responsible.

Discussion: During the fall of 1970 and first few months of 1971, the Vietnamese Commanding General of Military Region II carried out a series of relocations of Montagnard tribal groups ostensibly to provide them more security from enemy action. These movements were made despite the objection of U.S. authorities in the Military Assistance Command, Office of Civil Operations and Rural Development Support (CORDS).

There are two Montagnard hamlets involved in the matter brought up by Congressman Aspin that were apparently relocated by the Vietnamese officials in December-January 1971. Plei de Groi, which was relocated next to Plei Kotu, a precariously insecure area, but, literally separated from it by barbed wire. These two hamlets seemed to have nothing in common and they completely ignored one another. The other hamlet was Plei Blang Ba (III), located slightly closer to security. The former hamlet, because of inaccessibility, was out of touch and neglected. The latter apparently received some attention. Montagnards exist at a marginal subsistence level and, with any loss in nutrition level, the prevalent diseases of diarrhea, malaria, pneumonia, and tuberculosis can prevail. And, this is what occurred shortly after the relocation. The situation was not discovered on the American side until several weeks after the relocation by which time death had overtaken some 350 of the very old and very young who are always the first to be affected in a situation of malnutrition or starvation. Prompt and remedial actions were taken, and by April of 1971, a medical report was made by a Volunteer Physician indicating the situation was in hand.

Congressman Aspin attaches a draft telegram between CORDS headquarters and DEPCORDS for Region II which states that this situation had not been adequately reported upon officially, and but for informal reports from outside sources being received in Saigon, would not have come to CORDS attention. It indicates that decisive action should be taken against those responsible for failing to properly report this situation.

We have no knowledge here of the authenticity of the draft message which Congressman Aspin has attached. Further, since the allegation would involve reporting by military personnel in Pleiku Province through military channels, the question of negligence and disciplinary action is broader than the Congressman's allegation that AID officials are responsible.

Since this involves the MACV/CORDS organization, the matter has been referred to Saigon with a request that it be investigated and the results promptly reported to Washington.

#### RURAL WATER SYSTEMS DEDICATED

#### HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, 6 years ago as chairman of the Board of County Commissioners of Davidson County, N.C., I shared in the beginning of what some regarded then as a high visionary plan to put every town, farm, and home in rural Davidson County on a modern water system.

Up to that time, tradition seemed to have ordained that a skimpy and precarious water supply was part of the rural life. You contented yourself with backyard well water or rain water when it rained; and with water by the barrel or bucket, from however far you had to haul it, when the weather ran dry.

Davidson County, which lies at the heart of the North Carolina Piedmont and includes centers of furniture, textile, and other industries such as Lexington, Denton, and Thomasville, counted many opportunities for good development throughout the county.

However, many of these opportunities

were menaced by the uncertainty of water supply. Wells in some developing rural residential areas were tainted by seepage from private waste disposal systems. An important furniture factory burned down in one community where there was no central water system, hence no adequate fire department to cope with the emergency.

All the while, an unlimited supply of water was flowing down the Yadkin River along Davidson County's western border. This river, fed from the water-abundant Blue Ridge Mountains, offered a solution to Davidson County's water shortages. But the formidable question was how to get it processed and delivered over the county. How many millions would this cost and where would all the money come from?

Davidson County found the answer. It was accomplished by a great civic effort by people in the rural communities who organized associations that could build and operate public water systems, and steadfast support from the Farmers Home Administration in finding the means to build these systems under the Rural Community Facilities program.

The first move was to organize a water system serving five towns and the intervening countryside, and including a water intake and treatment plant on the Yadkin River. This project was organized by door-to-door effort through local service clubs as a community nonprofit corporation, with some 3,800 families as members and water customers. This North Davidson association became the nucleus of the county-wide rural water plan. Its system was built with loan assistance only—\$3.7 million of financing through the Farmers Home Administration.

Similar action followed in four other sections of the county not supplied by lines of the original North Davidson system.

The present result is county-wide water service in Davidson County, perhaps the first such achievement by any rural county in the Nation under the Rural Facilities program. Nearly 650 miles of pipeline follows the highways and country roads all around the county, bringing clean water from the Yadkin River plant to some 14,000 homes, business places and public centers. Water service throughout Davidson County is now of the same quality once reserved for people in the city.

Mr. Speaker, we were privileged to have with us in Davidson County on March 23 Senator B. Everett Jordan, Administrator James V. Smith of the Farmers Home Administration, and Mr. James T. Johnson, the agency's State director for North Carolina, to share in the dedication of these five rural water systems. Jim Smith is an old friend who served in the Congress, and I cannot speak too highly of the work being done on behalf of rural North Carolina by Jimmy Johnson.

People in Davidson County are high in their praise for the invaluable service this agency has rendered in our communities. It is evident that the conscientious interest and understanding of rural problems, the great effectiveness of

FHA's delivery of its services, stems from the quality of leadership provided by Administrator Smith. He is a man of farm and rural community background who is gifted with the ability to guide one of the great public service institutions of the Nation, the biggest of all Federal credit agencies that deals directly with the citizen in his home community.

An article in the Dispatch of Lexington, N.C., for March 23, 1972, reports on events of that day in Davidson County and services rendered by the Farmers Home Administration in its rural community facility, housing and farm credit programs. I include the article in the RECORD at this point:

#### RURAL WATER SYSTEMS DEDICATED (By Dennis White)

Davidson County's five rural water systems were dedicated this morning by the national administrator of the Farmers Home Administration (FHA), James V. Smith, during ceremonies at the North Davidson water building in Welcome.

Included in the list of dignitaries present for the occasion were Senator B. Everett Jordan, Fifth District Congressman Wilmer Mizell, and state FHA Director James T. Johnson.

At a news conference before the 11 a.m. ceremonies, Smith told of how the FHA is helping Americans "down on the farm." He said the past trend of people leaving the rural areas and moving into the urban areas has caused problems.

This trend was created, he said, because in the past rural America was unable to offer the same advantages as the cities. He pointed out that housing in rural areas was usually inadequate and services such as water and sewer were unheard of.

Congressman Mizell injected that in the past 40 years the country has gone from a 70 percent rural country to a 70 percent urban nation with 70 percent of the people living on only two percent of the land.

Smith also said that 70 percent of the substandard housing was and is in rural America. He said Congress and the administration have taken note of this and are now taking steps to make standard housing available to everyone.

This is accomplished through long-term FHA housing loans, some of which have interest rates as low as one percent.

He pointed out, however, that FHA is not a welfare agency and all loans must be repaid, and while interest in some cases is only one percent, normally it is at the going rate of seven and one-quarter percent.

North Carolina's use of FHA's rural housing loan program is particularly outstanding, Smith emphasized. Ten years ago approximately \$5 million in housing loans were made in the state by Farmers Home Administration—this year it will be close to \$100 million, Smith said.

Smith pointed out that his agency's rural housing program, in itself, will provide some 8,000 man-years of on-site employment in North Carolina in this fiscal year.

North Carolina's farm family agriculture will continue to be vitally important in the state's rural development progress, Smith said. In many areas of the state, farmers and their income are basic to the economic well-being to local communities. This year, Farmers Home Administration will provide nearly \$30 million in farm credit with another estimated \$10 million or more from local lenders who will participate with FHA in making simultaneous loans to farmers.

This Administration and the Congress is responding to the needs of rural people as never before, Smith said. "It is almost certain that some kind of omnibus and compre-



hensive rural development program will be enacted by Congress this year giving Farmers Home Administration greatly expanding authorities to provide more credit to rural people," he said.

Smith seemed pleased at the progress FHA made in North Carolina and said the state should be complimented.

In addition to housing and rural water systems, the state is also a leader in solid waste disposal through programs financed through FHA. Johnson said 12 such programs are now in operation and 30 more are in the planning or development stages.

With five rural water systems, Davidson County is the leader in the state in this area. Mizell said the county is the leader in the nation.

FHA has made loans to the five systems that total almost \$13 million. Johnson said the county is not being used as a test or pattern for other such systems and said that so much money has been made available because it was available and there was high quality leadership here in founding the systems.

Smith noted that 10 years ago, his agency had financed only two water systems in the state with loans totaling \$532,000; as of January 31 of this year Farmers Home Administration has financed 232 community water and sewer systems with loans of \$52.7 million and grants of \$8.5 million.

Construction on North Davidson Water Inc. the first and largest of the five systems, was begun in 1967. It was financed by a \$3,-680,000 FHA loan.

West Davidson Water begun in November 1968, received a \$3 million loan; Wallburg Water, begun in 1969, got \$1,020,000; Hasty Water, also begun in 1969, got a \$1.25 million loan; and East Central Water, begun in 1969, got \$2,860,000.

In addition to the loans to the rural water systems, Denton received an FHA loan of \$580,000 and an FHA grant of \$484,000 to construct a water system for the town.

All five systems are administered by North Davidson Water Inc. that supplies water to all from its filtering plant on the Yadkin River near U.S. 64 West. All billing and maintenance is done by North Davidson.

Today the systems have 646.6 miles of water lines and are serving about 14,000 members. When completed, about 90 percent of the people in rural Davidson County will be served by one of the interlocking systems.

It was brought out during the conference that the water systems are a key in bringing new industry to the county. Jasper Younts, who manages the systems, said five or six small plants have already located on the water systems and since the first of the year 12 to 15 other industries have made inquiries.

Senator Jordan said at this point, "It used to be that industry tried to locate near the railroad and power lines, but now they are looking for water."

#### THE PROBLEMS OF THE SMALL BROADCASTER IN RURAL AMERICA

### HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, recently, TV Guide published a story on television and rural America, which featured a television station in my congressional district. This article typifies the problems and triumphs of the small broadcaster and businessman, especially in rural America. I would like to join TV Guide in paying tribute to Bob Schmidt

and his fine staff at KAYS-TV in Hays, Kans., by sharing this article with my colleagues.

#### WHERE THE DOLLAR HAS TO GO A LONG WAY (By Martin Mayer)

(Think television is a big-numbers game? Consider this Kansas station, whose biggest asset is a handful of hard-working people.)

Television is a game of big numbers, audiences in the millions and money by the sackful. But the signal from the TV transmitter goes straight out to the horizon and then disappears, and there are lots of places in this big country where the circle of land that can be covered from a transmitting tower offers only small numbers of audience or money, and that's a different game.

Fixed costs tend to be distressingly similar, regardless of the size of the operation. "Whether you have your station in Hays, Kansas, or in Kansas City," says Bernie Brown, station manager for KAYS-TV in Hays, which has a population of about 15,000, "your power bill is the same, your equipment cost is the same, your film cost is the same, and your people cost is the same—except that you do with fewer people, because you have to." Making a living in a small market is something that can be done only by people who care about being broadcasters and have a flair for it.

But the small market also opens interesting opportunities to the resourceful. On a Monday in February 1971, for example, Bob Schmidt, who owns KAYS-TV, learned that KTWU, the educational station in Topeka, was going to telecast (with a color camera borrowed from a Topeka commercial station) the next night's basketball game between Washburn University in Topeka and Fort Hays Kansas State.

Schmidt owns a microwave link between Topeka and Hays, built to serve a cable system he operates in Hays. In the current state of the law, he could carry the Topeka station's coverage of the basketball game on his cable without paying anything for it—"and," he added, stating the obvious—"it would have been better for selling cable."

But he lives here, and was a broadcaster long before he owned cable systems, and he felt it would be worse than undesirable for him to offer so important a feature only to those who were paying for the cable.

To broadcast the basketball game on KAYS, Schmidt would have to pay the educational station for the use of its signal. He made a deal to pay \$200 for the use of the picture feed, and sent his sports director (who also handles general news announcing on the KAYS radio station) to go to Topeka and do a more professional announcing job than one could expect from an educational channel. "The microwave makes all this possible," Schmidt says. "Otherwise, the loop alone would cost \$3800 for the night, and we can't get but \$600 for the game." The \$600 came all in one piece from Sandy's, a local chain of hamburger stands. Station manager Brown made the sale.

But the complications were not yet over. KAYS is a CBS affiliate, which meant that Schmidt would have to preempt the CBS programs during the hours of the game. Because the game started at 7:15 (Central Time), he'd also have to pre-empt the hour show CBS was feeding at 6:30, and he'd have to put something on the air.

"We can do a 15-minute coaches show," Schmidt said, "from the gym. That leaves half an hour. Well, we don't have a drug problem here in Hays, but we do have a mental-health clinic, with a director who's here because he wants to live here and bring up his kids here. He's been giving drug lectures at the churches, but nobody comes—maybe 20 or 30 families. So our production director and TV station manager and I went down to talk with him. Would he give the talk for us? He was delighted. That's what we'll put

on at 6:30, and even if we reach only 3000 homes, it's a lot more than he's been meeting with."

This could not be just a lecture, of course; it had to be a TV program. So production director Errol Wuertz interviewed the doctor and his assistant, a personable young lady, while station manager Bernie Brown manned the color camera. The show was taped that afternoon for evening broadcast, which is about the same as doing it live: nobody at KAYS has time to edit tape. Among the problems was the fact that the station has only one color camera, restricting the other to the presentation of slides and documents (which can be superimposed on a color background generated electronically in the control room).

There were some awkwardly amateur moments (Schmidt writhed) when the camera swung from one speaker to another, but for a visitor from the biggest city it was a respectable, recognizable interview show with a drug specialist. "I wrote the open and close," Brown said, "and my girl dug out the slides."

Chaffin has two part-time men who can go out and take pictures or interview people. Slides are sometimes preferred, because the newsman on camera, by pushing a button in his desk, can control the operation of the slide carousel that selects the pictures shown on a screen beside his head.

Schmidt himself wanted to be a newspaperman, or maybe a sports announcer. Coming out of Fort Hays College, he got a job with KAYS, then just a radio station, reading the 7 o'clock morning news. He kept it up for 18 years. "It's a great self-discipline," he says, "getting up and doing 7 o'clock news. And it's a great way for people to get to know you. They say, 'There's a go-getter.'" Schmidt rose to be manager of the station, continuing all the while to do the 7 o'clock news.

Ultimately, he found allies in town and bought the property. A few years later, KLOE-TV in Goodland, at the western edge of the state, went broke and was taken over by the company that had supplied its equipment, and Schmidt bought it to use as a satellite, distributing to the 4600 residents of Goodland and 20,000 or so others in western Kansas the programs central Kansas hears on KAYS.

The rural nature of the market can be misleading, for Schmidt is a sophisticated broadcaster who knows everything that goes on everywhere; he has held positions in the National Association of Broadcasters and on the affiliates' board that deals with CBS. Twice a year he pays \$2200 to ARB for a special audience study of the KAYS market, and when he didn't like the results he made a trip to Beltsville (Md.), just like the owner of a big metropolitan station, to look at all the diaries himself.

In 1970, after commissions, KAYS took in \$351,000, of which \$87,000 came from the network (which pays Schmidt \$75 per hour for prime-time transmissions), \$125,000 came from national advertisers (three-fifths of it sold, often as part of a Kansas package, by the rep firm of Avery-Nodel, two-fifths of it sold by Schmidt himself), and almost \$139,000 from local advertisers, who include local makers and wholesalers of industrial farming and oil-field equipment.

The total for the year is roughly what the CBS station in New York grosses every three days, but KAYS is expected to deliver a service not greatly different from that in the metropolises.

It is interesting to note the priorities that enable Schmidt to survive—indeed, to profit—on that kind of revenue. First comes the microwave link to Wichita. At the beginning, KAYS got its network shows (then ABC) by putting up a receiving tower that took ordinary broadcast signals off the air from Wichita, and running a one-repeater microwave to the Hays transmitter. The service was technically no better than fair.

For wire services from Wichita, the telephone company wanted \$5500 a month. Usually, under complicated contracts, a network pays to connect up to its affiliates, but obviously KAYS wasn't worth \$66,000 a year in line charges to any network. Schmidt finally built his own full-service microwave link, for \$85,000; with subsequent improvements, the total investment is now, he estimates, about a quarter of a million.

The microwave is good for more than network shows. Schmidt does not have to own any big library of movies; he can plug into KTVH and use its movies, paying, by contract, one-fifth of whatever KTVH paid. Before the microwave link, KAYS did not carry *Mike Douglas*, because the charges for mailing and handling the tapes were greater than the available local revenues could justify; now *Mike Douglas* comes in, with everything else, on the microwave.

The construction of another microwave to Topeka, paid for by the cable system, enables KAYS to take from KTWU not only the occasional basketball game but also *Sesame Street*, which Children's Television Workshop sells to Schmidt for \$10 a week, for broadcast on his KLOE satellite.

Schmidt did not go to color until there was used equipment to be bought; then he picked up for \$7200 each a pair of used video recorders that had cost their original owner \$83,000 each four years before. The one color camera is a vidicon tube job from IVC [International Video Corp.] that is cheap to operate, "but you have to be very careful of your lighting."

The studio was designed, Schmidt says, "to make every variable a constant." The news announcers prepare and control their own slides and films, and can if necessary change the lighting from dials and switches at their desk; when graphics are to be shown on an easel, one of them goes over and moves the cards; when the weather map is displayed (with information from the U.S. Weather Center in Goodland giving KAYS some reverse use of that microwave), the newsman not on camera works the camera. Operation of the console, the telecine chain for films and the video-tape recorders is by a technical staff of four, which also maintains the equipment—a task that requires 20 hours a week for the tape recorders alone.

"We've got a guy who is one of the last of the craftsmen," Schmidt says. "He comes from Germany, carves wood pictures—at night, when he's done farming. So he comes in, shows his things. Or we get the soil conservation district supervisor, or an IRS agent, talking about the new forms. Or maybe there are entertainers who come through, or visiting lecturers at the college."

At noon, Wuertz comes on again, as one of the two anchor men for a news show, and interviewer of two news-related personalities.

Wuertz is on again a 6 o'clock and at 10, doing news and weather, and he also runs the darkroom, developing films for the news shows.

"The only thing I haven't done around here is sell," Wuertz says. "I'm farm director, and assistant news director. But it's interesting. Tomorrow at 9:30 I'm interviewing a man with one of the world's best collections of barbed wire—he has 900 varieties. It's something that's just picked up around here recently, collecting barbed wire."

Wuertz is a young man, slight, with a surprisingly rosy complexion, considering his schedule. But in a town like Hays a man can get home to his wife and kids in a few minutes' drive, and running in and out of the studio is not quite what it might be elsewhere.

Station manager Brown, casual and tweedy, has been at KAYS-TV since 1961; before that, for seven years, he had been a barber ("I've also mixed cement and driven

a truck"). Schmidt, who was then an on-the-street salesman as well as president of the station, was one of Brown's customers at the barber shop, and one day Schmidt said, "How would you like to carry a briefcase for me?"

Brown also appears on camera, reading some of the local commercials he has sold ("You have to find ways to get jobs done"). Though he makes most of the non-network programming decisions (largely on the basis of what he can sell: "We carry Notre Dame football Sunday morning; I have a friend here in town who has a good business, who's a Notre Dame graduate"). Brown puts most of his time into selling to local advertisers: "We're after the telephone-directory dollar, the match-book-cover dollar. We want half of every advertiser's budget, not all of it. And we outreach everybody around here—you have to buy 57 weekly papers or seven radio stations to cover our area."

KAYS-TV originates half an hour at 9:30 every morning, under the title *Thirty Minutes*, with production director Wuertz interviewing whomever is available; he books the interviews about two weeks in advance. [This program was suspended March 8, mostly because Wuertz was wearing out and needed a few months without a morning assignment. Schmidt expects to start it up again before next fall.—Ed.]

News direction is in the hands of Bob Chaffin, a chunky young man who worked as a disc jockey in a Washington, D.C., radio station and for broadcasters in Topeka, Salina and Hutchinson before coming to KAYS in 1969. His basic tool is the telephone: KAYS buys a WATS line (Wide Area Telephone Service) from AT&T for all of Kansas.

"I try to call every county seat, every sheriff's office, once a week, and I use the weekly papers as a backup and a source for leads. We put a slide on the news show—'KAYS Pays Cash for News Tips.' Then I have a man in Great Bend who has a grudge against the Great Bend newspaper. He has police monitors and a state-trooper radio in his living room, and when something happens he calls all the radio stations and us."

Local shows are very important to KAYS; Schmidt estimates that half of his local revenues are generated "between 9:59 and 10:30"—i.e., in and around the local night news—with another fifth in the early evening news. "Don't get me wrong," Schmidt says. "We would have no audience without the network. But noon is our biggest audience in daytime, except for *As the World Turns*, and people jump from the other networks to our early-evening news block."

Schmidt is also helped by his ownership of a radio station with the same call letters; though the selling operations are separate (and, indeed, competitive), radio people are always available for emergencies.

KAYS does no live remote coverage of anything; there is no mobile equipment. All news film is black-and-white: color film must be sent to Denver for processing. Because the microwave link to Wichita is employed in carrying Mike Douglas at the hours when the network is feeding news material for use in local station broadcasts, the local news show must really be put together out of local material. But that's what Wuertz and Chaffin are for.

The one-story brick building, bumped up half a story for the necessary high ceiling in the studio, stands at the edge of town, and, across the fence from the parking lot, three saddle horses graze gravely, and come to the fence when Schmidt emerges from the office. They are his horses; he loves to ride. Himself a descendant of the German farmers who settled this area in the late 19th century, bringing their wheat and their Catholicism (and forming later a Democratic knot in a Republican state), he knows his community, and everyone knows him. His local advertisers even know what they're buy-

ing: "You should see my list for Tuesday night. The local guys don't pay too much attention to the ratings books, but they know when people are watching."

## INEQUITIES IN THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT LAWS

HON. RICHARD G. SHOUP

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. SHOUP. Mr. Speaker, the railroad retirement laws are currently being studied relative to some of the inequities in the current regulations. Mrs. Virginia Sullivan, homemaker, from Missoula, Mont., is the wife of a longtime railroad employee and can speak knowingly of the seriousness of the problems involved. Mrs. Sullivan's letter, which follows provides some food for thought on this subject:

MISSOULA, MONT.,  
April 20, 1972.

HON. RICHARD G. SHOUP,  
Longworth Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR DICK: I understand that in the near future the current Railroad Retirement Act will come up for discussion and revision.

Recently, some gross inadequacies in the present form of the Law have come to our attention. They, presently, adversely affect a close friend. However, should either of us be similarly disabled, we would be in the same unfortunate situation since we are covered by the same Act.

The Railway employee, in this instance, is 52 years old with 30 years of continuous service, always paying on the maximum amount covered. As of last October 1st he was declared totally disabled, having been afflicted by Atrophic Lateral Sclerosis, which is a fatal degenerative disease of the central nervous system. He has a wife and five children who are still in school. Prior to his disablement, this man's take home pay, as a Railroad Engineer, was in the neighborhood of \$1,300 per month.

Upon making application for his disability annuity, it was learned that his total annuity would be \$344 per month, with no provision for any further compensation for his wife or children. Needless to say, such a sharp reduction in income would be disastrous to any working man's family.

If this man had been able to work until he was 65, his wife would have received a supplemental annuity and any children under age 22, still in school, would have also been provided for. In addition, he would have qualified for a \$70 a month Company pension. Likewise—if he were dead, each of these children would receive compensation as would his wife as their guardian. It stands to reason if a man is disabled prior to age 65 he is more likely to have dependent children who must be provided for. However, the only provision in this case falls under Social Security for some reason, in which case, if, after six months SSA decides this man is totally disabled, then he will be granted an additional \$89 per month for the children (all the children—not per child).

Why SSA is involved in this, I do not know since he has always paid into Railroad Retirement. \$89 per month would hardly feed one child let alone five.

Here is a case where a hardworking man has always provided well for his family—been a substantial taxpayer and a contributing member of society and because of his unfortunate illness is suddenly reduced to the level of hardship.

It is frightening to realize that one's own family could find themselves in a like unhappy situation and we, therefore, respectfully request that you take whatever steps possible to correct these inequities in the present Railroad Retirement Act.

Sincerely,

VIRGINIA M. SULLIVAN.

#### A GREAT AMERICAN

### HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to acknowledge with pride the long and distinguished career of my illustrious predecessor in the House, the Honorable John W. McCormack, former Speaker, elder statesman, and loyal son of the Bay State of Massachusetts. When the former Speaker retired, I was elected to fill his seat; we were then and are today very good friends. He is and will remain a source of wise counsel and good judgment, informed by the experience of more than a half century in public service. Recently the Boston Record American-Sunday Advertiser published an exclusive interview with him, the content of which will be of great interest to every Member; I have, therefore, placed the text of that interview into the RECORD, together with an editorial tribute from the Record American to one who is remembered with affection and respect not only in his home State, but in Washington and across the Nation. May we heed his warning, and take courage at his good counsel:

#### A GREAT AMERICAN

Former Speaker John W. McCormack, in retirement, retains the same high degree of patriotic fervor, moral commitment and physical stamina which marked his more than 50 years of public service.

Neither age, personal tragedy, nor separation from the scenes of power, where he played a major role for so many years, have diminished his awareness of—or his interest in—the problems of the day.

Certainly, nothing could be more penetrating than his insight that the first priority of the future is the preservation of the United States—its government, democratic institutions and way of life—from hostility and subversion outside and from decay within.

But as his exclusive interview in the Record American-Sunday Advertiser earlier this week makes unmistakably clear, he remains confident that the nation will rise above its difficulties because he has detected "signs of an awakening" among its people prepared to stand up for their beliefs.

Massachusetts' elder statesman has spent his lifetime in the company of princes and rulers, exercising more power than most, yet without ever sacrificing the interests of the people he represented to the political system he served.

He has been and is a great American—one of the greatest among us.

JOHN MCCORMACK LOOKS AT HIS COUNTRY:  
CITES NATION'S DANGERS  
(By Bill Duncliffe)

Former Speaker John W. McCormack, as active in retirement as he was during 42 long and honorable years in Congress, took a close

but affectionate look at his country in an exclusive interview with the Record American-Sunday Advertiser and declared that:

The Supreme Court decision barring prayer in the public schools has weakened the moral fiber of the nation, and his personal rebuke to the Court for it now hangs above the Speaker's rostrum in the House.

Despite deceptive changes in tactics, Communism retains its ambition to rule the world and its threat to free people is as menacing now as it ever was.

The nation's Number One priority in the years ahead will be the survival of the American form of government, and a strong and vigilant national defense is the price we will have to pay for it.

He is confident the vast majority of American youth will, like the generations that went before them, serve loyally and well in whatever duty or profession to which they are called.

McCormack, despite being retired, has by no means decided to take things easy. He still puts in a full day—and then some—at his office in the Federal Building, seeing people who call on him for help, handling his mail, dictating exhaustively, and making tapes that will go with the papers he has given to Boston University.

And in between times, he fills as many luncheon and dinner speaking engagements as he can manage.

The interview with the 81-year-old elder statesman, the first he has granted to a Boston newspaper since the death of his beloved wife, Harriet, four months ago, covered a wide range of questions about the past, present and future of the country.

To answer them, McCormack drew on the memories, opinions, experience and expert knowledge gained in a career during which he served under eight Presidents, helped make some of the most momentous decisions of this or any other century—and never neglected the interests of the people who sent him to Congress.

And, he declared, he did not regret a minute of it.

The Speaker said there were several things about the present situation of the country that disturbed him, and he cited the apathy toward the danger of Communism, the drift away from the moral law, and a seeming lack of proper concern for the rights of the law-abiding as among them.

But, he declared, there is evidence that the tide may be turning.

"I see signs of an awakening on the part of the people," the Speaker said. "In other words, you find more groups existing to fight pornography, you find more groups being formed to make a fight against militant and unrestricted abortion, and you find more groups who recognize the importance of the moral law in the life of a nation, of any nation—particularly one like ours with its democratic institutions, its government.

"You get as fine an example of that as you could have in the vote recently in Florida on the prayer amendment, where they felt overwhelmingly that some form of prayer, even private meditation, should be permitted in the public schools."

The vote on that issue in the recent primary there was 79 percent in favor, and 21 percent against.

"There's no question," McCormack said, "that the results of the Supreme Court decision on prayer has had a weakening effect on the moral fiber of the nation.

"When the House meets daily, the chaplain offers prayer, and when the Senate meets every day the chaplain there offers prayer.

"I don't see any harm in children going to school, whether it's elementary or secondary school, and allowing the teachers to have them sit or stand in silent prayer."

McCormack maintained that an erosion of the moral code is of extreme danger both to

individuals and nations "because nations are nothing but a collective of human beings."

"Family life is the very basis of the strength, or weakness, of a nation or of a society," he said. "If you have a strong family life, you'll have a strong society—particularly where there is a broad middle class—and if you have a weak family life, collectively, you'll have a weak society."

As for his protest against the anti-prayer decision, the Speaker said:

"Above the Speaker's rostrum is the motto of our country, 'In God We Trust.' I might say that it was put there while I was Speaker, and some members of the press asked me if it was a rebuke to the Court.

"I said it just happened to be coincidental with the decision. I think I had enough experience to recognize what they were trying to get me into. I didn't blame them . . .

"Well, I'll be frank and tell you now that it was a mental rebuke of my own to the Supreme court.

"I didn't agree with the decision. They ought to have stated under what conditions it (prayer) could be held."

As for the other issues facing the nation, the Speaker declared:

"Men talk in good faith about our 'first priorities' like water and air pollution, conservation and other things.

"I agree with them, on the domestic level—but they don't specify that. There are so many matters that are our 'first priorities' on the domestic level. But what really is our first priority?

"You can't have any of these questions solved in the American way of life unless we preserve this country of ours. So our first priority is to take those steps that will reasonably guarantee the preservation of the United States of America.

"Now those other things are vitally important, but if a foreign government took over our nation or changed our form of government none of them would be priorities at all.

"So they are all priorities now only if we have the American institutions of government in existence.

"Whether we like it or not we have to have a strong America," McCormack continued, "because there are forces in the world today who would take advantage of a weak America.

"It could be that in the future the Soviet Union—and I'll name names, they're our immediate potential enemy—could create a weaponry system that will overshadow all others.

"If they develop it before we do, they're not going to let us catch up. They'll either blackmail us, or force us to be subject to them. And if we don't, they'll destroy us.

"And yet, so many people in America will probably misunderstand what I say—but I've always spoken my view.

"There are people who think, 'Well, the Soviet Union isn't bent on world domination.'

"Are they bent on it? Yes. Will they attain it? That's another question. Have we seen any evidence of any change in their intent? No, we've seen evidence of a change in their tactics, based on necessity.

"Have we seen any evidence of a change of intent on the part of Red China? No. Their tactics, yes, but their intent, no.

"Does that mean that I think they are going to take over country after country themselves?" McCormack continued.

"No, but they can do it through having governments established that are subject to their domination and dictation, like Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary today, beginning with an imposed coalition government.

"North Vietnam started out the same way. Even Red China, with a coalition government that had Communists in it. But they got rid of the non-Communists very quickly, and what could the people do?"

"The Communists controlled the army, the internal police, and the jails, so what could the average person do, if they wanted to live? And the first law of human nature is self-preservation."

McCormack insisted that, despite their differences, Russia and Red China haven't changed their ideology one iota, and he declared:

"I believe it's vitally important for the people of America to realize that the Atlantic Ocean is no longer our first line of defense. And that means we've got to be prepared before the fact (of a possible attack).

"We'll never get another opportunity, like after Pearl Harbor, to prepare ourselves after the fact. Back then, we had time to build up our great natural resources, our economy, manpower and military strength. It took us three years before we started affirmatively on the road to victory in both Europe and the Far East.

"But today, we won't have three seconds. If we are going to be prepared, our national defenses will have to be prepared before the fact. We'll never have another opportunity to prepare ourselves after the fact.

"The price for defense is the premium we pay for peace in America, because the only thing the leaders of a nation like the Soviet Union fear is power.

"Now, we want power for peace, but they want it for other things, the internal subversion of other countries.

"If the Soviet Union would disavow in principle and in fact trying to engage in internal subversion with the forces within a nation to overthrow a form of government they don't like, if they want to be a Communist nation economically, why I don't agree with them, but we can live with them.

"So, if they want to disavow their intent of constant interference in the internal affairs of other nations, we'll get along with them all right.

"But until they do, we've got to be on our guard."

McCormack said that the nation, whatever differences there might be on domestic affairs, must be united on the need for remaining strong.

"No matter what the view of any American might be on this or that question, we should be solid in having a strong and adequate national defense," he declared.

McCormack said he was convinced that if Great Britain had had a strong Churchill rather than a weak Neville Chamberlain as prime minister when Hitler began his conquests, World War II would never have happened. And, he maintained, the weakness of the U.S. before the war "played a part in Hitler going ahead from step to step before World War II took place.

"Now, there would have been another war," the Speaker said. "Hitler had a dictatorship that couldn't avert war somewhere, and he had built up a powerful military machine.

"But they would have moved in the direction of the Soviet Union, they wouldn't have gone toward the European nations.

"If there had been someone in England who said to Hitler before the war, 'so far and no farther,' Hitler would not have stood a direct confrontation.

"But he got away with it."

McCormack said he was certain that the majority of the American youth of today will respond to whatever their country requires of them, and he declared he was not unduly disturbed by much of the criticism made of the current generation.

"Before Pearl Harbor, it was somewhat the same," he said. "Why even in Congress there were members who said that the young people were weak, that they couldn't be depended upon in the case of a challenge.

"Yet when we were attacked their patriotism was intense and it came with potency to the front. I have confidence that the great majority of the young Americans of today are the same way."

McCormack's philosophy toward the nation's youth may have been perhaps best expressed in an incident which he said occurred while the student unrest at the University of California in Berkeley was at its height.

"I was Speaker then," he said, "and groups of young people always came to my office to talk to me, to question me. One day a group from Berkeley came, and those who couldn't find chairs sat on the floor.

"We talked for a long while, and when we were through one of them said they'd wondered about my attitude toward them because of the trouble at Berkeley. I told them:

"I never condemned all politicians for the mistakes of a few, or all businessmen and bankers for the sins of a few. And I don't condemn all students for what a few do.' When I was through one of them stood and said:

"Thank you, Mr. Speaker."

"I feel the same way about the young people of today."

#### JOHN MCCORMACK LOOKS AT HIS COUNTRY: NIXON CAN BE DEFEATED IN 1972

(By Bill Duncliffe)

The pocketbook problems of high prices and low employment will dominate the 1972 presidential campaign, says former U.S. House Speaker John W. McCormack, and the Democrats can defeat Richard Nixon in November—if they come up with a strong candidate.

McCormack, now retired after 42 illustrious years in Congress, gave his views on his party's political chances during an exclusive and extended interview with the Record American-Sunday Advertiser. Among other topics he touched on were:

His remembrances of the eight Presidents under whom he served.

His feelings when, for 14-months after the death of John F. Kennedy, he was next in line to Lyndon B. Johnson as President.

The admittedly "specious" argument he used to avoid having a bodyguard during that period and why.

His assessment of politics as a career.

McCormack stressed that he is "neutral as of now," on all the Democrats running for the party's presidential nomination. But he was firm and clear in his belief that whoever gets it will have to fight it out with Mr. Nixon on the state of the economy.

"I think the domestic problems, unemployment, living costs, inflation, interest rates and the failure of the Administration to meet the problems of the day will be the big issues of the campaign—unless something unexpected materializes between now and next fall in international affairs.

"Now if the North Vietnamese should conquer the South Vietnamese that might cause a change of public opinion. But generally, I don't think the international situation is going to be a paramount issue in November because if anything adverse flows from Mr. Nixon's visit to China, it won't be until after that time—and the same will be true of his visit to Moscow.

"They'll be a part of the campaign, but not an acute one."

Given those conditions, McCormack said, a strong Democrat can win "because to begin with the majority of the people of America prefer the Democratic Party."

But he added a note of caution:

"The question is that we've got to have someone who will crystalize (the party) into a unity—and that's the problem between now and November."

As for the men who occupied the White House while he was a member of Congress, McCormack said he had little to do with either Calvin Coolidge or Herbert Hoover because he was only a relatively minor member of Congress while they were in office.

He remembered Franklin D. Roosevelt as a "great humanitarian" who gave the nation

the leadership it needed to rise above the Great Depression, and who was the architect of the Social Security and unemployment compensation laws, as well as several other measures which made life more livable for the common people.

"The opposition called those bills socialism," he said. "They were trying to create and implant fear in the minds of the very people the legislation was benefiting, and so they called it socialism.

"I call it dynamic democracy."

In the last year of Roosevelt's life, McCormack said, he took part in one of the most secret, most important and most historic meetings of World War II.

"I got a call from Sam Rayburn, who was then speaker, and he asked me to be in his office at 10 o'clock the following morning with Joe Martin, the Republican leader. Gen. George Marshall and Secretary of War Henry Stimson were going to be there.

"Up until then, I hadn't known a thing about an atomic bomb. I heard we were experimenting on some type of bomb, but I didn't know then where it was being researched and where it was being produced.

"Stimson and Gen. Marshall told us that we were in a race with time, that Nazi Germany had started work on an A-bomb before we did, and if they perfected it before we did, we could lose the war overnight.

"The President had started work on the A-bomb out of 'blanket funds' which Congress had appropriated for him, and for which he didn't have to make any accounting. But the project had gotten too big for that, and Stimson and the general asked us to get between \$1.6 billion and \$2 billion appropriated for the next two fiscal years—without letting the Hitler government know what we were up to.

"We took what they said on faith, and it's well we did. We bid the appropriation by increasing funds for guns and planes more than what was actually needed, and we used a 'transferability clause' which no one except those who were in on it would understand.

"Some weeks later, at hearings before a subcommittee on appropriations, the members began getting close to the knowledge that there was money in the defense bill that shouldn't have been there. Stimson and General Marshall asked us what they should do, and we advised them to take the members of the subcommittee into their confidence.

"They did—and the secret of the Manhattan Project never was leaked. Democracies are like a sieve, but that was one secret that was kept."

Harry Truman, said the 81-year-old McCormack, was a "man of remarkable intuition" who, against the advice of many members of Congress, his own scientific advisers, and the Atomic Energy Commission, made the decision to go ahead with research on the H-bomb.

"And it's a good thing he did," McCormack said, "because we finished our research work, our development, before the Soviets did. If Truman hadn't decided to go on ahead, the Soviets would have perfected the bomb first—and they never would have let us have four, five, or six years to catch up.

"They'd have blackmailed us."

Dwight Eisenhower, McCormack said, was a friendly man with few problems as President.

"I liked him," he declared.

The former speaker said that "once in a while" Eisenhower would propose progressive legislation. And when he did the Democrats supported him.

"One time he recommended increasing the minimum wage from 75 cents to 90 cents," McCormack recalled, "and I remember Sam Rayburn and I—we were for that."

"But I said, 'Sam, we've got to be for more than that. We've got to be for a dollar. Now, if we'd made it \$1.15, we might not have

agreed—he might have vetoed it, I don't know. But I knew they couldn't kick at a dollar. So we brought it up to that, and we also brought millions of persons who had been excluded from the law under its provisions."

John Kennedy had a "thorough grasp of the office of President," McCormack declared and would, had he lived, have succeeded in getting congressional approval of the "very progressive legislation" he had recommended.

After Kennedy's death, his pledges were redeemed by Johnson, who persuaded Congress to make them law. And then, said McCormack, he proposed a program of his own. "For all practical purposes, you might call those years the Kennedy-Johnson era," McCormack declared, adding:

"I knew Lyndon Johnson since he first came to Congress. He and I were close personal friends. He was a great leader, but if you read the papers you'd find him pictured as a drastic individual with a dictatorial attitude and sharp practices.

"He was just the opposite. "No leader in the Senate, and no speaker of the House could say to a man, 'You do this!'

"You've got to use different tactics in Congress, because every one of them is elected in their own right and a speaker or a leader who is dictatorial won't last long.

"But you can give strong leadership without being a dictator. That's the most enlightened kind—and that's what Lyndon Johnson gave."

McCormack said Nixon has been "very fortunate," explaining:

"The Democratic leadership and a great majority of the Democratic Party will support a Republican President when he makes progressive recommendations.

"If you study the Eisenhower administration, you'll find that we supported him on domestic matters when he made recommendations that would well have come from a Democratic President."

McCormack said that for the 14 months he was next in line to President Johnson, he didn't want to think too much about it "because if I did my thoughts would be based on the death of the incumbent and that would be—to me—very sordid.

"But being a human being, I couldn't escape saying once in a while, 'Well, McCormack, if you were President, what would you do?'"

He said, however, that he was aware that a President would have many more sources of information available to him than would a member of Congress and would, in making decisions, have more things to consider.

McCormack said that the prospect of his becoming President if Johnson died was, in a sense, frightening.

"The strange thing about it was that I hoped and prayed it would never happen, but if it did I would have assumed the responsibility to the best of my abilities."

Immediately after Kennedy's death—and while it was still feared that Johnson had either suffered a heart attack or had been wounded at Dallas—a Secret Service guard was placed over McCormack.

"Well, that was all right, I didn't mind that," he said. "But that night I was having dinner with Mrs. McCormack in our suite, as I usually did, and she mentioned that she thought there were some FBI men or Secret Service men in the next room.

"They were still there when I went out the next morning, and they said they'd been assigned to guard me. I told them I appreciated their position, but I didn't want to be guarded.

"I called J. Edgar Hoover and the head of the Secret Service and I told them that, but they said they were required by law to guard me.

"I told them that as far as I was concerned that was not so. I said I, as speaker, was head

of the Legislative Branch of government, and they were members of the Executive Branch.

"I said that if I permitted them to give me protection, I would be permitting the Legislative Branch to some extent to be weaved into or absorbed by the Executive Branch. And I couldn't permit that.

"Well, I went on along that line. It was a specious argument, but I got away with it—or at least I thought I did. I never saw anyone around me for the next 14 months, so if they did have me under guard they were very, very clever.

"If later I find out that they were with me all the time I'll take off my hat to them, but I didn't want a guard. I felt it was one of the calculated risks that I thought I had to take."

McCormack said he'd never had any ambition to be anything other than what he was—a member of the State Legislature in the beginning and a member of Congress for 42 significant years.

He drew his satisfaction, he said, from the fact that, as a legislator, he could act to help those who looked to him for help.

"I've had 51 years of public office," he said, "nine in the Massachusetts Legislature and 42 in Congress—and I don't regret a minute of it.

"When I went to Congress I never expected—I never thought—I'd be elected majority leader. And I was certain I'd never be elected speaker. But as I look back now, I don't regret one second I've served, because all the years in Congress were challenging ones."

McCormack described politics as "the service of the people," adding:

"For anybody to have the ambition to render honest and trustworthy public service is, I think the finest ambition—outside of the ambition to serve God as a member of the clergy—that anyone can have."

SUBJECT OF SKYJACKING—  
EDITORIAL

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a very timely editorial by WGN—Chicago Continental Broadcasting Co.—which was broadcast April 22–25, is directed to the subject of skyjacking and the progress that is being made against these dangerous and irrational actions. The point effectively made in the editorial is that it is the archaic procedures in our courts which prevent speedy justice.

The editorial follows:

SKYJACKING AND JUSTICE

If figures for the first three months of the year are any indication, sky-jackings and attempted sky-jackings are running 33 percent ahead of the rate for the last two years. Some people say sky-jackings get too much publicity, that too many details are provided, giving would-be sky-jackers too much of a how-to-do-it education. This, to us, is like the ostrich putting its head in the sand. Anyone who is psychologically able to think seriously of attempting to hi-jack an airliner will be able to think of a way to make the attempt . . . hopefully a failing effort.

Others concerned with this problem have pointed to the airlines and the operators of air terminals for failing to take whatever steps are necessary to prevent would-be sky-jackers from getting past the boarding gate. We appreciate the difficult public relations problem faced in trying to provide the air-

line customer with top-notch service and the minimum of inconvenience. But, from the increasing number of sky-jack incidents, there must be room for improvement here.

However, there is a third area, where a salutary effect might be achieved. In each of the past two years there were 27 sky-jacking attempts in this country. Of these 54 attempts, 30 succeeded. However, of the other 24 cases, in 1970 and 1971, there have been only nine convictions, an indication that speedier justice might make an impression on the guy who wants to fly now . . . and pay . . . never.

MASSACHUSETTS SENATE END  
THE BOMBING RESOLUTION

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, never before in our American history have a people spoken out more strongly and violently about American involvement in a war than they have over the Vietnam conflict, and never have elected or appointed officials at all levels of government clamored for the direction and moral standards that have been so lacking in the present administration's foreign policy in Southeast Asia.

The resolution printed below was adopted by the Massachusetts State Senate on April 26, 1972. It calls on the U.S. Congress to set a date for the total withdrawal from Southeast Asia and represents the State's unequivocal opposition to the President's war policies. I have strongly supported a termination date and will continue to do so. This Massachusetts Senate resolution further demonstrates a national commitment toward that end. The resolution follows:

RESOLUTIONS MEMORIALIZING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO ENACT LEGISLATION SETTING A DATE FOR COMPLETE UNITED STATES WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA

Whereas, The most recent stepped-up bombing of the people and territory of North Vietnam is a dangerous escalation of our role in the Indochina war; and

Whereas, This move is a flagrant and direct violation of the declared policy of the Nixon Administration to wind down the war; and

Whereas, The national interest would be best served by setting at once a date for the immediate and complete withdrawal of all material and armed forces—land, sea and air—in and over all of Southeast Asia; and

Whereas, This step is the best and most promising assurance that American prisoners of war now in North Vietnamese hands will be at the earliest time released; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate respectfully urges the Congress of the United States to prepare at once legislation designated to accomplish the aforesaid objective and requests the President of the United States to expedite the implementation of such action; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted by the Clerk of the Senate to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to each member thereof from the Commonwealth

Senate, adopted, April 6, 1972,

NORMAN L. PIDGEON,

Senate Clerk.

## FAMILY FUN CENTERS

## HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, family fun centers continue to attract the attention of community and government leaders all over the country. New centers are being opened each week, until eventually San Diego will have 16 such centers in operation. This should be a challenge for communities nationwide:

## THE STORY OF SAN DIEGO'S FAMILY FITNESS CENTERS 3 MONTHS, SIX CENTERS, LIMITLESS BENEFITS

San Diego's Family Fitness Centers are only three months old, yet they have already been the subject of a nationally syndicated news article which was read into the Congressional Record. So many inquiries were received from eleven different states that C. Carson Conrad, Executive Director of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, visited San Diego to see the program in operation.

The action at Family Fitness Centers is not calisthenics nor is it sports. It is rhythmic movement performed to stimulating music. Often gimmicks—sticks, ropes or hula hoops—are introduced to make the classes more varied and enjoyable. But the basic pattern is always so simple that it can be followed by any child of school age.

## ALL IN THE FAMILY

Family Fitness Fun Nights are so satisfying that whole families come back again and again. The regular participants will tell you that three times a week of this creative exercise makes them feel renewed. For some it solves weight problems. For everyone it is helping to combat the sedentary habits that are endangering our national health at all age levels.

A typical Family Fitness Night begins with simple warmups, and continues into approximately one hour of moving about to the accompaniment of music with an exciting beat. Splinter groups are often formed: exercise games for kids, jogging for men and spot reducing for women. All are usually reunited for a final half hour of group games that leave you with a good feeling.

The first Family Fitness Fun Nights began in early October at three City Park and Recreation Centers. They immediately hit capacity or near-capacity attendance, and were so enthusiastically received that plans were made at once to open three additional centers early in 1972. Every few weeks centers will be added until a total of sixteen centers has been reached.

## FOR FUN AND FOR FREE

All Family Fitness Fun Nights are free to the public, although the system they employ has been available only at expensive resorts. The instructors are young people who can bring infectious pizzazz to their assignments. Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings are the scheduled nights—consecutively, so that you can work up momentum.

Family Fitness Centers have been introduced in the hope of making San Diegans the fittest citizens of America. To do this, we need to establish a new life style. Experts are in agreement that the most effective way to accomplish this is through pleasant, noncompetitive exercise that will remove tension from the body, anxiety from the spirit and cobwebs from the brain. As Professor Jean Mayer noted Harvard nutritionist wrote in the September issue of *Family Health*, "A mere 15 minutes of active exercise three times a week can do a lot for your heart and

health." If your life style finds you sinking into an armchair or switching the television set on more than four or five times a week, then we recommend a change. Exercise can provide you with a happier life, and perhaps a longer and better one.

## WAUKEGAN FOLLOW - THROUGH DESERVES FUNDING APPROVAL NOW

## HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that action may be taken to provide funds for those deserving Follow-through programs which have proven so successful in Illinois and throughout the country.

Mr. Speaker, I have particular reference to the Followthrough program which has been conducted during the past 2 academic years in the Waukegan school district. This program, which has benefited annually more than 400 disadvantaged children in the Carman School, deserves prompt assurance that the program will be continued during the next academic year—commencing in September 1972.

Mr. Speaker, whatever else may be said about the policies of this administration with regard to our public school systems throughout the country, it must be acknowledged that a major part of the program is to assure equality of educational opportunity.

There can be no question but that educational opportunities not otherwise available to minority group children are provided by the Followthrough program at Waukegan, Ill. Indeed, this is an outstanding example for other school districts in the Nation to emulate. Mr. Speaker, in a recent analysis of Follow-through programs throughout the Nation, the University of Kansas at Lawrence, Kans. provided a comprehensive report and analysis on the success of the Waukegan project. In the university's evaluation and analysis, it was found that Waukegan was judged to be "outstanding" on the 17 items included in their analysis. The Carman School ranked at the very top of the list in behavior analysis report.

The program sponsor, Donald Bushell, Jr., on March 29, 1972, concluded his report on the Carman School program in these words:

From our experience with follow-through projects throughout the nation during the past four years, it is possible to say that few have fulfilled the intent and spirit of this legislation as effectively as Waukegan. It is my hope that you can agree that the Waukegan program should be continued and expanded as a model for other school districts who seek to provide a quality education for all children regardless of income.

Mr. Speaker, while I have some assurance that the Waukegan program will be funded under appropriations to be made for emergency school aid, it would be far better to have funds provided under a supplemental appropria-

tion bill so that plans may be concluded at the earliest possible date to continue this vital program for the deserving and highly motivated young people in my congressional district at Waukegan, Ill.

## AMTRAK—EXTENDED

## HON. RICHARD G. SHOUP

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1972

Mr. SHOUP. Mr. Speaker, convenient, efficient, economical, and reliable public passenger rail service is an important goal the Congress, I, and Montanans have supported. Recently I voted for the appropriations bill to extend the operations of Amtrak for intercity rail passenger service for an additional year. But my further support of the program beyond 1 year will depend upon what corrective actions Amtrak takes to improve their service, equipment and facilities.

I wish to enter in the RECORD a statement on the "Adequacy of Intercity Rail Passenger Service in Montana," by Alfred C. Langley, a Montana Public Service Commissioner. Mr. Langley, with 28 years of passenger rail service experience, points out to the Interstate Commerce Commission some problems Amtrak is experiencing in Montana which need to be resolved.

The statement follows:

## ADEQUACY OF INTERCITY RAIL PASSENGER SERVICE

(By Alfred C. Langley)

## INITIAL STATEMENT

My name is Alfred C. Langley. Prior to January 1, 1971, when I took office as a Montana Public Service Commissioner, I was employed by the Burlington Northern and predecessor Northern Pacific Railway Company as a fireman and engineer for over 28 years, the last 20 years as an engineer. During 2 years of this period I worked as both an engineer and fireman on every passenger train operating between Livingston and Billings, Montana and worked for 7 years on passenger trains operating between Livingston and Butte, Montana as well as those operating between Livingston and Helena, Montana.

While awaiting arrival of trains I used to mingle with and talk to passengers at the depots. I have deadheaded on various trains and have observed the not so gradual deterioration of passenger train service.

As a Public Service Commissioner my contacts with men presently operating passenger trains is frequent. I still talk with passengers and occasionally ride the trains.

During the Northern Pacific operations of the North Coast Limited, the service was very good up until the early sixties when service started to deteriorate. Service did not improve after the merger. The equipment was getting run down and proper repairs were not made to keep the equipment in top condition. The air conditioning was faulty as was the heating. Since Amtrak has taken over, conditions and service have gotten worse. The equipment is not as good as on the North Coast Limited. Malfunctions of air condition and heating is prevalent and maintenance on equipment operating between Billings and Butte is still a problem. This is the territory with which I am familiar. It seems that at the terminals, they are not interested in thawing out frozen cars,

unplugging toilets or making the air conditioning system operate. The primary concern is avoiding any delay regardless of the comfort of the passengers and also to keep additional needed personnel off the payroll.

On the old North Coast Limited, we were pulling an average of ten or eleven cars, mail car, baggage car, four coaches, travelers rest, diner, slumber coach and two sleepers. The train now consists of water baggage car, two or three coaches, diner and two sleepers totaling six or seven cars as a regular train. The smallest count on this train since Amtrak took over, was approximately sixty-two passengers on the Billings, Butte Division, and the highest was four hundred and twenty (420). The average passenger load is ninety-five passengers. Amtrak is carrying about forty percent (40%) more passengers on this run than we were carrying at the same time last year.

Amtrak has come out with a notice on smoking on this train and I cannot see any way it can be made to work. As long as you have seat reservations, there is no possible way you can segregate the smokers from the non-smokers. My suggestion would be to

eliminate smoking except in the rest rooms, diner and lounge car.

On January 2, 1972, passengers were not allowed to board No. 9 at Livingston because the train was filled to full visual capacity out of Billings with about fifteen people standing in the aisles and sitting on their luggage. All coach seats, dome seats, and all seats in the lounge car, were filled as well as people sitting in the rest rooms. There were also many coach passengers sitting in the bedrooms and roomettes at Livingston. There were two bedrooms unoccupied to Missoula and people were placed in these two bedrooms at Livingston. Adequate rooms or coaches are not supplied during the holidays and other periods of peak travel.

On January 2, 1972, there were four hundred and twenty (420) people on train No. 9 at Livingston. Upon inquiry in St. Paul as to where coaches were that had been used the year before, we were notified that the coaches were not fit for service and that neither Burlington Northern nor Amtrak would make needed repairs for service. People in coaches are renting pillows with no covers and people in bedrooms do not always

have clean linen on beds because adequate supply of clean linen is not provided. Upon inquiry to the porter about clean linen, he makes the statement, "that's all there is, there ain't no more."

Coaches are dirty and unsanitary on the interior, windows are not kept clean, and it is impossible for passengers to enjoy the scenery on a scenic route.

The condition of the North Coast Hiawatha motive power is appalling. Much of the maintenance is done after the locomotive is placed on the train where mechanics and proper tools are not readily available. If a machinist or electrician is needed a call must be made to the roundhouse. With shop facilities at Livingston, Montana, every passenger train should move out of that point with freshly serviced locomotives in the interest of eliminating power failures and unnecessary delays.

The North Coast Hiawatha is operating on a use it or lose it basis. The manner in which it is being operated would indicate that Amtrak is preparing to lose it.

Amtrak is not providing modern and efficient rail passenger service over the Southern route through Montana.

## SENATE—Tuesday, May 2, 1972

The Senate met at 12 noon and was called to order by Hon. ADLAI E. STEVENSON III, a Senator from the State of Illinois.

### PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal source of light and life, in whose divine Fatherhood lies the hope of human brotherhood, we lift our prayer to Thee, beseeching Thee to show us the way in our striving for a better world. When we would do good, evil is present with us, and without Thee we are impotent and undone. But in Thy presence we see light to take one step at a time toward the distant goal of Thy kingdom on earth. When the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak, keep us steadfast and unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord. Work in and through us Thy holy will for this Nation and all mankind.

Through Him who brings peace and joy. Amen.

### DESIGNATION OF THE ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. ELLENDER).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,  
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,  
Washington, D.C., May 2, 1972.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. ADLAI E. STEVENSON III, a Senator from the State of Illinois, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

ALLEN J. ELLENDER,  
President pro tempore.

Mr. STEVENSON thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

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### THE JOURNAL

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, May 1, 1972, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries.

### REPORT ON GOVERNMENT SERVICES TO RURAL AMERICA—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore (Mr. STEVENSON) laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

To the Congress of the United States:

Today, I am transmitting the second annual report on government services to rural America, as required by the Agricultural Act of 1970.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, May 2, 1972.

### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. STEVENSON) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of Senate proceedings.)

### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1379) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to establish a volunteers in the national forests program, and for other purposes, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 5404. An act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release on behalf of the United States a condition in a deed conveying certain lands to the Arkansas Game and Fish Commission, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9676. An act to authorize the conveyance of certain lands of the United States to the State of Tennessee for the use of the University of Tennessee;

H.R. 12392. An act to amend title 28, United States Code, section 1491, to authorize the Court of Claims to implement its judgments for compensation;

H.R. 12652. An act to extend the life of the Commission on Civil Rights, to expand the jurisdiction of the Commission to include discrimination because of sex, to authorize appropriations for the Commission, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 13334. An act to establish certain positions in the Department of the Treasury, to fix the compensation for those positions, and for other purposes.

### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the bill (S. 2713), an act to amend title 18 of the United States Code to authorize the Attorney General to provide care for narcotic addicts who are placed on probation, released on parole, or mandatorily released.

The enrolled bill was subsequently signed by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. STEVENSON).