

By Mr. McKEVITT (for himself, Mr. BRAY, Mr. BROZMAN, Mr. BROWN of Michigan, Mr. CLEVELAND, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. DANIELSON, Mr. DENHOLM, Mr. FISHER, Mr. HORTON, Mr. HOSMER, Mr. KEMP, Mr. LANDGREBE, Mr. MCCOLLISTER, Mr. PIKE, Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania, Mr. WYMAN, and Mr. YOUNG of Florida):

H.R. 15103. A bill to authorize designated employees of the National Park Service and the U.S. Forest Service to make arrests for violation of Federal laws and regulations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. PIKE:

H.R. 15104. A bill to require that all schoolbuses be equipped with seat belts for passengers and seat backs of sufficient height to prevent injury to passengers; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas (by request):

H.R. 15105. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide more equitable standards under which the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs may waive recovery of overpayments of veterans benefits and release or waive liability with respect to certain home loans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia, (for himself and Mr. PEPPER):

H.R. 15106. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that an insured individual otherwise qualified may retire and receive full old-age insurance benefits, at any time after attaining age 60, if he has been forced to retire at that age by a Federal law, regulation, or order; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WHALEN:

H.R. 15107. A bill to amend the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 with respect to the effective date of the non-Federal share of the costs of certain pro-

grams of that act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON:

H.R. 15108. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against the individual income tax for tuition paid for the elementary or secondary education of dependents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WRIGHT:

H.R. 15109. A bill to authorize construction of diversion works to convey certain saline water from the Wellton-Mohawk Valley in the State of Arizona to the Gulf of California, Mexico; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FAUNTROY:

H.R. 15110. A bill to allow a credit against Federal income tax or payment from the U.S. Treasury for State and local real property taxes or an equivalent portion of rent paid on their residences by individuals who have attained age 65; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. STAGGERS (for himself and Mr. SPRINGER):

H.R. 15111. A bill to amend the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 to authorize appropriations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. VANIK:

H.R. 15112. A bill to increase tariff rates with respect to certain petroleum and petroleum products, to eliminate the existing quota system, for petroleum and petroleum products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HOWARD (for himself, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. HARRINGTON, and Mr. RODINO):

H.J. Res. 1207. Joint resolution providing for the termination of hostilities in Indochina; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MILLER of Ohio:

H.J. Res. 1208. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week which

begins on September 24, 1972, as "National Microfilm Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRADEMAs:

H. Res. 992. Resolution providing for the printing of additional copies of the conference report on S. 659, Education Amendments of 1972; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia:

H. Res. 993. Resolution to express the sentiment of the House of Representatives in condemnation of the North Vietnamese Communist invasion of South Vietnam and in support of actions taken by the United States to repel the invasion; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

393. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Senate of the State of New Jersey, relative to expansion of the Beverly National Cemetery in New Jersey; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI introduced a bill (H.R. 15113) for the relief of Stanislaw Clochon, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

236. The SPEAKER presented petition of Albert J. Sullivan and William Cannon, Jr., Joliet, Ill., relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

QUESTIONNAIRE REPORT FROM CONGRESSMAN LARRY HOGAN

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, this year, as in the past, I sent the residents of Maryland's Fifth Congressional District a questionnaire so that they might advise me of their opinions on the issues and I might be guided by their wishes as I cast my votes for them in Congress.

I have prepared a report on the responses from this year's questionnaire, and I now insert it into the RECORD:

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRIEND: In March I sent you a questionnaire asking for your opinions. I'm pleased to report that I received 33,752 responses compared with 27,756 last year.

Each of the questionnaires was individually tabulated and I personally read every one that included a personal note. I deeply appreciate the efforts of everyone who took the time to respond. The responses will be very helpful to me in the months ahead as I cast my votes for you in Congress.

I've put together this newsletter to give you the results of the questionnaire. I hope you'll

find the results as interesting and informative as I have.

Sincerely,

LAWRENCE J. HOGAN,
Member of Congress.

QUESTIONNAIRE REPORT FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN, LARRY HOGAN, MAY 1972

1. Do you favor busing schoolchildren to achieve racial balance? Yes: 9.2%. No: 88.0%. Undec.: 2.8%.

The overwhelming majority of Fifth District residents agree with the anti-busing fight I have been waging against the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Most people—black and white—do not want their children bused away from their neighborhood schools to achieve some form of artificial racial balance.

Busing is not the answer to our race relations problems. We must reach a point in our society where the color of a person's skin makes no difference. Racial busing schemes keep reminding blacks that they are blacks and whites that they are white. We must insure a full measure of equality in every aspect of our society—in jobs, in pay, in housing—and we must make a firm commitment to root out all remnants of bigotry.

Racial busing plans disrupt school systems, restrict students' opportunity to engage in extra-curricular activities, waste millions in taxpayers' money and make meaningless the concept of the neighborhood school.

Parents want their children to attend quality neighborhood schools. The emphasis

should be on quality for all schools. Parents do not want their children used as pawns in a scheme of social manipulation. Racial busing schemes are merely an attempt to use children to solve a problem which should properly be solved by us.

The President made that case in his message on busing and immediately following his address I called on HEW to comply with both the letter and the spirit of his anti-busing policy. Shortly thereafter HEW withdrew its threat to cut off \$14 million in funds for the Prince George's public school system, but I am still concerned that these HEW bureaucrats, who seem to consider themselves above the law and immune from President Nixon's instructions, are still trying to dictate to Prince Georges County schools.

This fight is not yet over.

2. Do you favor no-fault auto accident insurance whereby insurance companies would compensate policy holders regardless of who is at fault? Yes: 65.8%. No: 20.2%. Undec.: 14.0%.

The growing push for no-fault insurance has been the result primarily of rapidly rising costs for auto insurance premiums. In an effort to hold the line on premium increases or cut back on premiums, insurance and government leaders have been looking for ways to streamline the insurance system and make it more efficient.

Studies have shown that only about 45 per cent of each premium dollar is paid out in actual benefits and that 20 to 25 cents of all liability dollars go to paying lawyers, claims investigators and other costs of fixing

fault for accidents. Currently, serious injury or death court cases average about six months and sometimes take up to five years.

No-fault proposals have been introduced to effect premium savings by reducing or eliminating the costs of determining fault and to insure swift payment following accidents.

A major difficulty in discussing the pros and cons of no-fault, however, is the wide differences in the proposals which have been labeled "no-fault."

Under no-fault in its pure form, insurance companies would pay all economic losses to all insured parties in an accident without regard to fault. There would be no limits to the total amount of benefits and there would be no lawsuits.

Most proposals under consideration across the country, however, are not pure no-fault. Most would set limits (say, \$2,000 or less) on no-fault benefits and would allow people to sue to recover damages above and beyond that no-fault maximum.

If suits to determine fault and fix responsibility for payment are still allowed, the question then becomes one of whether the individual no-fault proposal in question would provide any savings to the insured.

A number of no-fault proposals were introduced in the Maryland Legislature this year but none was included in the auto reform bill which has been enacted into law. There are also federal proposals under consideration.

3. The so-called value-added tax, in effect a national sales tax, is contemplated as a method to hold the line on property tax increases. Do you favor such a tax? Yes: 39.4%. No: 42.3%. Undec.: 18.3%.

There is obviously a great deal of uncertainty in most peoples' minds about the value-added tax which is just in the early stages of discussion and has not been officially introduced in Congress.

The tax would place a federal levy on each stage of the manufacturing and distributing process as value is added to products and services.

For example, suppose a baker buys wheat at a cost of, say, five cents a loaf. Then he bakes the bread at a cost to him of 15 cents. The tax on that 15 cents would then be passed on to the customer as part of the sale price. If the baker had to pay someone to ship the bread to a supermarket, there would be a tax on the shipping costs and that, too, would be passed along to the consumer.

The value-added tax is being considered as a way to raise \$16 billion which would then be distributed to local governments to ease the burden of local property taxes which are a source of mounting concern to us all.

We obviously abhor any new tax, but this so-called value added tax is being considered as a way to reduce local property taxes which put such a heavy burden on middle-income families and retirees.

Currently, property taxes are, of course, the sole responsibility of local government. The federal government plays no role in the assessment of property, the setting of property tax rates or the collection of property taxes and has no jurisdiction in those matters.

It is the responsibility of local governments not only to find ways to streamline their operations and reduce the costs of local government, but also to find sources of revenue other than the property tax.

4. Do you favor providing income tax credits for such educational expenses as tuition, fees, books and supplies? Yes: 73.3%. No: 21.9%. Undec.: 4.8%.

In recent years taxes and other financial burdens have grown so heavy on middle-income families that those families are now finding it very difficult, if not impossible, to finance the kind of education they want for their children.

In an effort to ease those burdens and keep those educational dreams within reach, I have introduced a bill which would provide income tax credits for educational expenses.

The legislation would provide tax credits for expenses at any legally authorized educational institution, including elementary or secondary schools, colleges, and business or vocational schools.

My bill would provide a 100 per cent credit against the first \$200 of expenses; 75 per cent of the next \$300; and 25 per cent of the next \$500. Some taxpayers could qualify for a tax credit as high as \$550.

The amount a taxpayer could qualify for, however, would be reduced by one per cent of the amount by which his adjusted gross income exceeds \$25,000.

My bill would be a means for getting federal money into educational institutions on a free-market basis rather than through grants to the institutions or programs run by the institutions. Individual taxpayers could decide what kind of education they need and then shop around for the institution that meets those needs. The tax credits would then help finance that education.

This change in approach should be of special interest to Prince Georges residents because—as we have learned through bitter experience with HEW's actions against the country school system—federal money can mean federal control of local schools.

5. Do you favor State-operated lotteries as a source of revenue? Yes: 78.9%. No: 15.9%. Undec.: 5.2%.

As the pressures have grown ever greater on the American taxpayer, governments have been casting about for new methods of raising badly needed revenues. The lottery has been seized upon as a relatively painless way to raise more money.

It is paradoxical that the Maryland Legislature which banned slot machines (while allowing bingo and betting on horse racing), is turning to a state-operated lottery.

A state lottery may well be a reliable source of additional government revenue, but I do not believe it will in any measure reduce illegal gambling as some predict. In states where the government has moved into the lottery business, the illegal numbers game and bookie horse race betting still flourish.

The Maryland Legislature has passed two lottery proposals but they cannot be implemented unless voters strike down the state ban against lotteries in this year's general referendum.

6. Do you think denying high school students the opportunity to purchase soft drinks during lunch is an appropriate method to insure that they eat nutritional lunches? Yes: 14.9%. No: 80.9%. Undec.: 4.2%.

At first glance, this might not seem to be a particularly important matter for a Congressman to concern himself with, but it is of very deep concern to a great many high school students and it is a federal as well as a state and local problem.

The federal regulations against the sale of soft drinks in school cafeterias, which are now in effect, were instituted to prevent local schools from making profits on food and beverage sales which competed against federally subsidized lunch programs.

In some cases, prior to the regulations, schools were selling items such as potato chips, pretzels, doughnuts and the like to supplement their funds. Some educators argued that the schools were, in effect, encouraging students to neglect the nutritional lunches funded in part by the federal government.

Frankly, I do not think the sale of items such as soft drinks constitutes a threat to the success of school lunch programs. I also do not think such sales should be subject to federal regulation.

Furthermore, some school officials have complained that the present regulations ac-

tually discourage students from eating in the school lunch rooms. Many prefer to bring lunch from home or to eat off the school grounds. With this reduction in lunch participation some schools find it difficult to sustain the school lunch program financially.

Some school officials in Maryland have told me they may have to discontinue their lunch programs completely because of lack of participation. If students stay away from the lunchrooms, they cannot benefit from the nutritional benefits the government is trying to insure.

Consequently I have introduced legislation designed to allow the sale of soft drinks during lunch time in high school cafeterias.

My legislation in no way orders the sale of soft drinks or any specific item in schools or school lunch rooms. Nor does it place the seal of approval on such items. It merely allows individual schools or school districts to decide if they want to sell soft drinks. As one who sponsored legislation to allow 18-year-olds to vote, I find it absurd not to allow them to choose what beverage they should drink with their meals.

In a letter to me, Dr. Homer O. Elseroad, superintendent of schools in Montgomery County, said, "It is our contention . . . that by the time students reach senior high school age that some slightly greater options should be available to them (at lunch), partly because of their own preferences, and partly because we believe it is good education for them to begin to assume some responsibility for these kinds of decisions themselves."

Under my proposal, a school or an organization within the school could not offer a complete alternative lunch service. It could not, for example, open a fast-food franchise right next to the school cafeteria line. But it could have a soft drink machine there, if local school authorities permitted.

7. Do you favor legalization of marijuana? Yes: 21.3%. No: 69.1%. Undec.: 9.6%.

Interestingly enough, daughters and sons were more likely to respond differently than their parents on this issue than on any other issue. Although we did not tabulate statistics on this difference of opinion, it was obvious from a sampling of the questionnaire responses. For the most part, on the other questions, families seemed to share the same opinions. That was also true on this question but to a somewhat lesser extent.

The National Commission on Drug Abuse pointed out in its report to the President that marijuana (unlike narcotics, hallucinogens, amphetamines, and barbiturates), if used in small amounts and infrequently, appears to be harmless. But it also pointed out that heavy use may be damaging psychologically and physically and further added that much more research needs to be done. While marijuana may not be physically addictive, it can certainly be psychologically addictive.

Because there is still so much we don't know about marijuana and its effects, I believe it is premature to consider legalization of marijuana, and consequently I oppose legalization.

However, I do believe it is important for us to work toward uniformity in our laws regarding marijuana all across the country. It is totally unfair for a person to be subject to 30 years in jail for a first-offense possession of a single cigarette in one state and subject only to a misdemeanor fine in another state.

8. In general do you support president Nixon's domestic programs? Yes: 53.4%. No: 31.7%. Undec.: 14.9%.

Those who were pleased with President Nixon's domestic program and cited specific reasons generally mentioned one or more of the following:

The wage-price freeze and Phase II as part of the fight against inflation; the President's

opposition to school busing and his proposals to provide quality education for all on an equal basis; and a feeling that the country has stayed on an even keel.

Those who were unhappy with President Nixon's domestic program either complained that he had no program or complained about one or more of the following: high unemployment, inflation, inequities in Phase II, the economy in general and high taxes.

9. In general do you support President Nixon's foreign program?

Yes: 58.3%. No: 28.9%. Undec.: 12.8%.

Respondents who mentioned specific reasons for support for President Nixon's foreign program generally cited one or more of the following:

The President's trip to China and the easing of tensions between the U.S. and China; his trip to the Soviet Union and the prospects it holds for world peace. They also mentioned Vietnamization, the winding down of the war in Southeast Asia and the withdrawal of roughly 500,000 American men from Vietnam since the President took office.

Interestingly, the respondents who mentioned specific reasons for their unhappiness with the President's foreign program also cited his initiatives in Southeast Asia and with China and the Soviet Union.

Some feel that the President is becoming soft in the fight against communism in light of his trips to China and the Soviet Union, and some believe he has sold out Taiwan.

Others believe he could and should have ended the war in Vietnam by now and brought all the men home.

10. In general are you satisfied with the votes which I have been casting as your representative in Congress?

Yes: 70.7%. No: 7.8%. Undec.: 21.5%.

I asked this question for general guidance to know if my course is considered the right one and because I was concerned that there might be a number of citizens who were dissatisfied with my voting record but had not written to let me know of their opposition to my position on the issues.

There are times when a Congressman's mail reflects not the opinion of most of his constituents, but rather those of a very active and vocal minority. And that can make it very difficult for me to gauge accurately whether I have been voting on the issues as you want me to vote.¹

On this question I used the phrase "in general" because obviously it is impossible to please everyone all the time. Needless to say, I am most gratified by the response to this question.

I hope, of course, you will continue to advise me of your views on the issues as they evolve.

11. In your opinion what is the most important problem facing the country, Maryland, your neighborhood?

In listing the most important problems facing the country, the greatest number of responses were, in this order: (1) crime; (2) inflation and the economy; (3) leniency in the court systems; (4) Vietnam; (5) the environment; (6) drugs; (7) education and integration; (8) racism; (9) unemployment and (10) taxes. Among other problems mentioned were welfare reform, research funding, health care and communism.

In listing the most important problems facing Maryland, the greatest responses were, in this order: (1) crime; (2) taxes; (3) quality education; (4) busing; (5) pollution; (6) land development; (7) drugs; (8) unemployment; (9) racism; (10) desegregation.

Among other problems mentioned were rapid transit and public transit availability; aid for the mentally retarded; the need for honest government; and high rents. Crime

and taxes were far and away the two most prominently mentioned concerns.

In listing the most important problems facing neighborhoods, the responses ran this way in order of frequency: (1) crime; (2) property taxes; (3) schools and busing; (4) zoning (in certain areas); (5) recreational opportunities; (6) uncontrolled animals; (7) housing; and (8) litter.

Among other problems mentioned were the need for honest government; hotrodding at night and other annoying noises; street repair; transportation; and lack of community activities. Crime and property taxes were clearly the two greatest concerns.

Among local, state and national problems, the most consistently mentioned problem is crime. As most of my constituents know, I have been particularly concerned with trying to find solutions to that problem during my service in Congress.

I was privileged to play a leadership role in passage of the D.C. Crime Act, and I'm pleased to report to you that in the year following implementation of the act crime dropped 13 per cent in the District. And crime in D.C. was down over 30 per cent in the first quarter of this year. Court backlogs have been reduced by approximately 80 per cent, the number of felony indictments has doubled and criminals are learning we mean business.

I have also introduced legislation which would broaden Prince Georges police officers' authority to pursue criminals into the District of Columbia. Currently there are a number of restrictions which force officers to stop at the D.C. line and watch suspected criminals escape.

Also, the enactment of a \$1 billion bill to fight drug abuse, which incorporated a number of major features included in legislation I sponsored, should help in our fight against drugs and drug-related crime.

In addition, the Washington metropolitan area has been selected as one of 33 target areas to stop the flow of heroin on the Nation's streets, and the program holds considerable promise in the fight against crime, especially since police estimate that approximately 50 per cent of all crimes are drug related.

Further, I am sponsoring legislation designed to cut off U.S. funds to those countries which fail to exercise adequate control over the flow of illegal drugs into this country.

I have also introduced legislation which calls for involuntary commitment and forced treatment of any individual a court determines is an addict. This legislation would let us place heroin addicts, who are sick people, in quarantine and help them to get well for their sake and society's sake.

McKEESPORT LIONS CLUB CELEBRATES 50 YEARS OF SERVICE TO COMMUNITY

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, the city of McKeesport, Pa., and the entire Mon-Yough Valley of southwestern Pennsylvania have "lifted their hats" in tribute to the McKeesport Lions Club and its 50 years of service to the area.

This organization, which has done so much for so many, was applauded for its charitable efforts by a former president of Lions International, Mr. John L. Stickley of Charlotte, N.C., and lauded

publicly by the community's newspaper, the McKeesport Daily News.

The tributes were richly deserved for the Lions of McKeesport have not spared themselves to bring joy and comfort to others less fortunate than they. The organization has given away more than 2,700 pairs of glasses over the years to persons in need. It has given braille typewriters, watches, and tape recorders to deserving individuals. It has supplied the funds for 35 cataract operations and assisted McKeesport Hospital in its service to the community through the purchase of several pieces of medical equipment. In World War II, the Lions conducted scrap drives and war bond rallies. After the conflict, they collected more than 300,000 pounds of clothing for needy people throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, it is an extreme pleasure to join with Mr. Stickley, the Daily News and all McKeesporters in lifting my hat in tribute to the McKeesport Lions and 50 years of unselfish service. The article follows:

HATS OFF TO LIONS

Our hats are off to the McKeesport Lions Club which this week is celebrating 50 years of selfless service to the community and the area.

Too often the work of such an organization is overlooked. Memories are short and so it's difficult to recall all of the major projects undertaken to benefit the people.

Service and help for the sightless and near-blind are paramount activities and over the years 2,700 pairs of glasses have been given to persons in need. In addition, deserving individuals have been given Braille typewriters, watches and tape recorders. Scores of eye examinations have been arranged and underwritten. Funds for 35 cataract operations have been supplied.

McKeesport Hospital has been a prime beneficiary of Lions Club efforts. Various pieces of needed equipment were purchased and an Oxygen Fund established to help patients unable to pay. During the war the Lions Club staged scrap drives and war bond rallies.

The biggest single project from a monetary standpoint was construction of the bandshell at Renziehausen Park. The club raised \$30,000 for this endeavor in 1952-53. And there were other smaller projects since the club's inception which are too numerous to mention.

These accomplishments are ones that can be seen. But there are other intangible benefits that the community reaps from such organizations as the Lions.

These gains are found in the members' pride in their organization, their city and their nation and in their efforts to promote wholesome ideals among the youth.

To this end the Lions richly deserve a salute.

FEMALE OFFENDERS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, many of us have become increasingly concerned about inmate strikes and rebellions in numerous prisons across the country. These violent occurrences have revealed that there are nagging problems within the criminal justice system. Yet, when

¹ For anyone who wishes additional information on the votes I have cast in Congress, copies of my voting record are available simply by contacting my office.

we think about crime prevention and criminal justice, most of us think only about men. The reason is that most crimes are committed by men. Female offenders, fewer in number and usually associated with nonviolent crime, are among the forgotten in American society. A report just released by the District of Columbia Commission on the Status of Women, entitled "Female Offenders in the District of Columbia," reminds the public of its responsibility to female offenders.

In the country as a whole, on any one day, 15,000 women are in prison. They comprise approximately 4 percent of the total prison inmate population. Many of these women are victims of widespread discrimination in schools, training programs, and the job market. This discrimination reduced their vocational choices prior to incarceration. The rehabilitation and vocational programs in prisons do not reduce this inequity. They offer few options for the inmates. Virtually no women, the Commission reports, leave prison better able to make an adequate living. Few are equipped to avoid the ugly cycle of recidivism.

The Commission's report and recommendations make clear that at every level more research and planning must be done regarding the needs of female offenders.

The report, based on 2 days of public hearings by the Commission, details 29 specific recommendations for dealing with the special problems of female offenders. These proposals include:

That the use of the Women's Detention Center for purposes other than temporary detention, and the use of Alderson Reformatory as a detention facility for long-term offenders from the District of Columbia be discontinued at the earliest possible date;

That consideration be given to the feasibility of constructing or leasing short-term detention facilities to serve the rehabilitation needs of both male and female offenders, with assurance for the health and safety of the women and availability to them of a full-range of rehabilitation programs and recreational facilities;

That the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments study the feasibility of developing interjurisdictional facilities for long-term offenders;

That sex-typing of training and job placement programs be eliminated; and that effective job training, development and placement programs for females be developed;

That all possible steps be taken to reduce drug addiction among females; and

That the city government consider eliminating criminal punishment for prostitution. Outright legalization was not recommended.

Almost every State, and a growing number of counties and municipalities, now have commissions on the status of women. These commissions are conducting much-needed research into the special problems of women at various levels of society, and making recommendations for policies and programs to improve the status of women. The District of Columbia Commission has made significant

contributions of this nature for the past 5 years.

I believe the Commission's report and its recommendations, as well as the public hearings on which they were based, will provide a model for action in other jurisdictions across the country on the special problem of female offenders. Therefore, I insert the Commission's report at this point in the RECORD.

FEMALE OFFENDERS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(A report based on hearings conducted by the District of Columbia Commission on the Status of Women)

The D.C. Commission on the Status of Women, since 1967 an agency of the District Government, is composed of fifteen members appointed for three-year terms by the Mayor-Commissioner. The Commission is authorized to conduct studies, review progress and develop and recommend constructive action directed toward improving the status of women in the District of Columbia.

Dorothy B. Ferebee, M.D., Chairman.

Violet J. Darius, Vice Chairman.

Joy R. Simonson, Secretary.

John B. Duncan, Richard A. Graham, Isabelle Gichner, Margaret A. Haywood, Mary T. Howard, and Irene Hypps.

Theresa H. Jones, Mary D. Keyserling, William J. McManus, Arline M. Neal, Pat Oliver, and Louise O'Neil.

Helen S. Lewis, Executive Director.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Commission expresses its sincere thanks to the committee which organized the hearings and whose concern for the cause of justice for female offenders made it possible to undertake and implement this project. Particular thanks for their dedication and service go to Mary-Carroll Potter, Chairman, Gloria McEnroe, and Jan Margolis. The Commission also expresses its appreciation to the Center for a Voluntary Society for its early encouragement of Mrs. Potter's committee, and for its clerical support to the drafting committee; to the Office of Criminal Justice Plans and Analysis for its financial support of the project, and to Mona Lyons and Helen Lewis for their work in compiling and editing the report. The Commission also expresses gratitude to its own members, who served as hearing officers: Honorable Margaret A. Haywood, Chief Hearing Officer; Honorable John B. Duncan; Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee; Martha L. Mallard; Louise O'Neil; and Joy R. Simonson.

INTRODUCTION

On November 3 and 4, 1971, the D.C. Commission on the Status of Women conducted hearings into the special problems of female offenders.¹ Until that time, little public attention had been focused on this issue. Violent crime, statistically a "male" phenomenon, had for several years been a major concern in the city and had dominated the dialogue preceding passage of the 1970 D.C. crime bill. That bill reorganized the local courts and authorized additional judges and policemen to assist in crime prevention and control. Because it then appeared that the result would be an increase in the number of persons convicted of crime, official committees began to deal with long-range planning for correctional facilities and alternatives to incarceration. However, in none of the dialogue or planning did the special problems of female offenders loom large, probably because females are not a major concern as the perpetrators of violent crime. For example, in FY 1970, females accounted for only 7% of arrests in D.C.—432 female/5557 male for the seven FBI Index Crimes.²

Footnotes at end of article.

But the low proportion of female offenders obscures the fact that annually close to 3,000 women offenders filter through the DC criminal justice system and about a third of them spend some time in the Women's Detention Center. Who are the female offenders? What crimes do they commit? What happens to them in court and in prison? What happens to them when they are released?

Although some answers were brought to light by more than 50 witnesses (see appendix) in the two-day hearings, it is apparent that the complex problems of girl and women offenders have been the subject of only superficial study and minimum concern.³ The testimony was weak on substantive material because few data have been collected on the singular problems of female offenders. The conclusion and recommendations of the Commission, therefore, can be only the skeleton of a major and multi-dimensional problem.

It is difficult to know where and how to begin the reshaping of the corrections system to meet the special needs of the female offender and to insure equality of treatment regardless of sex. The recent report of conditions at the Women's Detention Center by the D.C. Citizens Council on Criminal Justice⁴ exposes certain critical facets of the problem. Some of the Commission's recommendations overlap with those of the Citizens Council, but the Commission suggests several other steps that can be taken immediately and without cost. On a long-range basis, however, it is clear that at every level more research and planning must be done regarding the particular needs of female offenders. Furthermore, the interests of male and female alike require that continual efforts be exerted to humanize the criminal justice system.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The District Government should initiate a vigorous action program to insure that the special problems of female offenders receive attention both in the planning of detention facilities and in the operation of programs. A long-range and comprehensive plan for detention facilities and rehabilitation programs should be adopted before additional funds are expended for piecemeal solutions to crisis conditions at the Women's Detention Center and the Alderson Reformatory.

2. The use of the Women's Detention Center for purposes other than temporary detention, and the use of Alderson Reformatory as a detention facility for long-term offenders from D.C., should be discontinued at the earliest possible date.

3. Consideration should be given to the feasibility of constructing or leasing short-term detention facilities to serve the rehabilitation needs of both male and female offenders, with assurance for the health and safety of the women and availability to them of a full range of rehabilitation programs and recreational facilities.

4. The Metropolitan Council of Governments should study the feasibility of developing inter-jurisdictional facilities for long-term female offenders.

5. Incarceration of female offenders should be imposed only in the limited instances when it is absolutely necessary for the protection of the community and when incarceration is the only sure first step toward rehabilitation.

6. Additional community-based centers for women and girl offenders should be established.

7. Probation services for females should be expanded; the Ball Reform Act should be used more liberally and, if necessary, should be amended to remove any possibility of its application in a fashion discriminatory to women.

8. Efforts of volunteers should be encouraged as third-party custodians during pre-

trial periods and in the provision of services to inmates, in the maintenance of social contacts between inmates and their families, and in the staffing of legal-aid and probation-aid programs.

9. Sex-typing of training and job placement programs should be eliminated, and effective job training, development and placement programs for females should be developed.

10. Educational programs to attack functional illiteracy should be regularly available to women in detention, and special courses in child care, consumer problems, budgeting and other particularly relevant concerns of women should be developed.

11. All possible steps should be taken to reduce drug addiction among females.

12. The decriminalization of prostitution should be seriously considered.

13. Police, court, and corrections administrators should revise their routine operations to include recording of case history information about female offenders. Research should be conducted to determine the extent of sex discrimination at every stage of the criminal justice system.

14. Action for children in trouble should be supported to the maximum extent possible.

PRISON FACILITIES For Women

In the United States, the number of female prisoners is relatively small, roughly 15,000 on any given day, or approximately 4% of the total inmate population. In 1970 male arrests outnumbered female arrests 6 to 1, and women were charged with only 17% of the serious crimes. According to FBI reports, however, the female crime rate is rising much faster than the male rate. From 1960 to 1970 male arrests for major crimes rose 73% while the increase for females was 202%.

The number and type of penal institutions have not increased with the crime rate. There has always been a critical shortage of facilities for female offenders and the problem is currently aggravated by overcrowded conditions and understaffed programs. Few local communities have separate jails for women, and most existing institutions are forced to house the broad range of offenders from teenagers to senile women. There are only two Federal prisons for women (Alderson, West Virginia and Terminal Island, California), and the majority of inmates at these prisons are hundreds of miles from their home communities, deprived of both family contacts and realistic rehabilitation programs.

In the District of Columbia,⁵ there are several facilities for men—the D. C. Jail, the Correctional Complex at Lorton, Virginia, and 13 community correction centers. The only facilities for women are the seriously overcrowded Women's Detention Center and one halfway house, which currently serves 15 women.

Long-term female offenders are housed at the Federal Reformatory at Alderson, West Virginia, more than 250 miles from their communities and their families. The overcrowded and understaffed prison at Alderson currently houses approximately 60 District women, about 11% of the inmate population. The warden of Alderson testified to the Commission that it is virtually impossible to provide adequate rehabilitative services for the District inmates because they are out of contact with their families and their home community.

Unfortunately, the existing local services for short-term offenders are far from adequate. The Women's Detention Center has been critically overpopulated since mid-1971. Its budgeted capacity is 50. Its average daily population in 1971 was 93. Although the

Center is only equipped for temporary detention, many women remain there for months, even years. The D. C. Citizens Council for Criminal Justice cites an independent report in 1971 which concluded that the Women's Detention Center is

"... overcrowded and lacking in space for programs of recreation, counseling and medical services. Proper supervision is difficult due to proper layout. Remodeling has been necessary to ameliorate the most pressing problems; extensive remodeling or additions, however, would be a poor investment."

Indicative of the need for long-range planning and coordination of corrections programs for females in D. C. is the fact that while that independent study⁶ was being conducted, plans were going forward within the District Government for construction of a fourth floor addition to this poorly-laid-out structure to make room for an additional 32 beds at a cost of more than \$300,000—an investment that promises to return little or nothing in terms of rehabilitation for female offenders.

For girls

Juvenile female offenders are fortunately not the victims of overcrowding in the District. Over 1,200 girls between the ages of 7 and 18 were referred to the Superior Court during the fiscal year ending June, 1971, and 65 of them were committed to the various local institutions for delinquent girls. The female population in the District's juvenile institutions has declined in recent years and currently only 140 girls are incarcerated at the Children's Center in Laurel, Maryland,⁷ the facility operated by the Social Service Administration for the detention of boys and girls who are adjudicated either delinquents of PINS (Persons in Need of Supervision). The new PINS category includes juveniles who were formerly classified as "beyond control" of their parents.

Several community-based residential facilities—shelter houses, halfway houses, and one probation house—are currently operating as alternatives to institutional placement for juveniles, but under this program there is only one halfway house for delinquent girls and none for female PINS. A Social Services Administration youth worker was one of many witnesses who testified to the need for more residential facilities for girls:

"There is definitely a need for more group homes, foster homes and group living arrangements. We find it very difficult to try to place girls between the ages of 14 and 18. I guess part of this is due to the fact that in terms of a rooming house or a boarding house or apartment . . . there are certain age requirements which a girl has to go through, whereas a boy can get into this particular apartment just being steadily employed . . . but this does not apply to the girl."

Other witnesses stressed the need for residential facilities for girls who are "living in hazard" either because of deteriorated family relationships or because they are homeless and friendless, and consequently easy prey for sexual exploitation.

Local authorities are aware that inherent deficiencies in institutions for juveniles interfere with rehabilitation efforts. The 1971 Comprehensive Plan for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice in the District of Columbia⁸ reports that an indepth analysis is underway of current operations of the Youth Group Homes Division of the Social Services Administration and that "in the future, increased emphasis will be placed on utilizing Youth Group Homes as alternatives to institutions."

Recommendations

1. The Mayor should adopt long-range and comprehensive plans for detention facilities for women before additional funds are expended for piecemeal solutions to crisis

conditions at the Women's Detention Center and the Alderson Reformatory. Particular attention should be given (a) to the present rehabilitation needs of female offenders, (b) the need for flexible and varied incarceration facilities and rehabilitation programs, and (c) the necessity for a broad range of alternatives to incarceration for the vast majority of female offenders who are not a threat to society either because their crimes are of minor nature or because they themselves are the major victims of their crimes.

2. The Mayor should initiate a vigorous action program to insure that the special problems of female prisoners will receive attention both in the planning and operation of detention facilities. Staff who are alert to, and concerned about, these problems should be recruited for policy-making and supervisory positions within every aspect of the criminal justice system. A special effort should be made to recruit women for these positions. The Talent Bank, now being developed by the Women's Action Committee within the District Government, could be a resource in this effort.

3. The Commission is dissatisfied with present detention facilities for women offenders and recommends discontinuation of their use. The Women's Detention Center is undesirable not only because it is overcrowded, but also because its basic design makes it unworkable as a detention center for any but the most temporary of assignments. The Commission recommends discontinuation of the use of the Women's Detention Center for purposes other than temporary detention at the earliest possible date.

4. Alderson Reformatory is well designed, but its location makes it an impractical facility in terms of rehabilitation programs for offenders from D.C. The Commission recommends immediate attention to the feasibility of developing interjurisdictional facilities for detention of long-term female offenders in the metropolitan area. To this end, the Commission recommends that the Mayor and City Council request the Metropolitan Council of Governments to form a subcommittee, composed of representatives from area communities and from the criminal justice systems of the various jurisdictions, to identify interjurisdictional problems and to study possible development of joint facilities for long-term female offenders.

5. The Commission cautiously endorses recent steps by the Department of Corrections to reduce overcrowding at the Women's Detention Center and/or Alderson by considering housing at Lorton for small numbers of female offenders. The Commission recognizes the rehabilitative advantages that might accrue to women at Lorton where they might be able to take advantage of educational and training programs not available either at the Women's Detention Center or at Alderson. However, in converting a portion of the Lorton complex to a co-educational facility, the Commission urges assurance for the health and safety of the women and availability to them of a full range of education and rehabilitation programs and recreational facilities. Educational and vocational assignments must not perpetuate traditional sex-typed roles for women.

6. The Commission recommends that in developing long-range and comprehensive plans for detention facilities (see Rec. 1 in this section) the Mayor and Department of Corrections should consider, as replacement for the Women's Detention Center, the construction or leasing of short-term detention facilities that will serve the rehabilitation needs of both male and female offenders. Plans suggested by the Dillingham Corporation to construct two co-educational facilities, a Detention Intake Unit and a Main Detention Facility, to replace both the D.C. Jail and the Women's Detention Center, should be seriously considered, but the Com-

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mission again urges—as in the proposal to extend the facilities at Lorton to include women—assurance for the health and safety of the women and availability of a full range of rehabilitation programs and recreational facilities.

7. The Mayor should encourage the Social Services Administration to proceed as rapidly as possible with plans to develop more youth group homes and other community residential facilities as alternatives to centralized institutions for juveniles. In developing these plans, SSA should be responsive to the continuing need for residential alternatives for girls in the early-, mid-, and late teen years, both pre- and post-delinquent.

8. The Department of Corrections should provide for specialized training for all staff, especially for custodial officers, regarding the care and treatment of female offenders.

9. The Department of Corrections should encourage organized efforts by volunteers to maintain social contact between the inmates and their families and to provide assistance to incarcerated women. Groups already organized for these efforts should be assisted; cooperation between corrections staff, volunteers, and inmates should be encouraged.

ALTERNATIVES TO INCARCERATION

The primary aims of the correctional effort—rehabilitation and resocialization—are difficult to achieve in prisons even with adequate facilities, funding, location, and staff. It is virtually impossible to rehabilitate and resocialize inmates who are deprived of contact with their families and friends, and who are pushed by the economic and social conditions of their lives into the cycle of crime.

A recurrent theme in testimony the Commission heard was the desperate need of the population of penal institutions for close family ties. A study published in 1967, comparing high school girls and incarcerated offenders, was noted in the testimony of a child psychologist: the high school students were predominantly concerned with romantic interests and student government activities, while the institutionalized girls were preoccupied with the desire for a secure and happy family situation. The bitter reality is that 80 to 85% of the juveniles apprehended in the District are reared in broken homes. An absent father and a promiscuous and/or alcoholic mother are consistent facts of life.

A social worker at Cedar Knoll testified that certain anxieties indigenous to poverty and family troubles are widespread among the girls she works with:

"The anxiety centers around a poor self-image and the frustration resulting from a lack of opportunity to experience success."

The majority of girls at both Cedar Knoll and Maple Glen have poor attendance records at school and need intensive remedial academic work to catch up with their non-delinquent contemporaries. Most of them never do catch up and virtually none have developed a marketable skill when they leave. Their future is a dismal one:

"If our girls do not go on to become adult offenders, they are usually imprisoned by the welfare system and burdened with large families whose members become the population of tomorrow's prisons."

Adult female offenders experience similar anxieties and problems. Almost 80% of the women at Alderson are married or separated, divorced or widowed; almost 75% of them have children. Virtually all of them are deprived of contact with their families for the length of their sentence. Several witnesses confirmed that the lack of opportunity for women to see their husbands and their children is destructive to both the successful rehabilitation of the inmate and to the family relationships. One witness testified that the expressed needs of female prisoners are consistently more personal than those of men:

"At the D.C. Jail, the largest volume of requests is for some sort of contact with an attorney. At the Women's Detention Center, the number one request is to get in touch with family or friends."

It is hardly surprising that 75% of the inmates at the two Federal prisons surveyed in 1969 by the U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, scored below the 8th grade academic level. Most women offenders come from impoverished backgrounds and a disproportionate number are from minority populations. Less than 3% scored at the 12th grade level although more than a quarter said that they had completed high school. About 80% of the women surveyed expressed a desire for more education, but few of them actually get the opportunity.

The testimony of the warden of the Federal prison at Alderson noted that the predominant characteristic of the inmate population there is mental disturbance:

"They've been in trouble with their families, in the community and most importantly, with themselves, for some time."

They are trapped in the cycle of poverty and crime and their own awareness of this fact depresses them even further.

Expert witnesses who addressed the special needs and problems of girl and women offenders unanimously agreed that alternatives to incarceration are desperately needed. The high rate of recidivism among female offenders is indication enough of the failure of the correction system to rehabilitate and resocialize offenders or to stem the ever increasing rate of female crime. The facilities are impersonal and dehumanizing, and simply aggravate a seriously frustrated need for personal relationships. The educational and vocational training is critically limited by inadequate funds and staff, overcrowded conditions, and the isolation of inmates from the communities to which they must return. For the juvenile population of the District's institutions, where overcrowding and distance are not problems, the lack of a personal and family-like atmosphere is singularly devastating. It negatively affects the academic motivation of the already disturbed girls and contributes to a prevalent mood of alienation and hostility.

The ACT program

While the hearings unearthed the desperate problems of adults and juveniles in, or on the brink of trouble, they also illuminated some answers. One of these is the ACT Program—Action for Children in Trouble—administered by the D.C. Department of Human Resources, Social Services Administration. It provides services and counseling to children and their families from decentralized locations in the community. ACT's goal is to work with children who are just beginning to get into trouble, and their families. It is made up of three programs: Delinquency Prevention, Mobile Psychiatric, and Aftercare. An ACT community team explained to the Commission the four concepts crucial to the success of the program:

"First, it is decentralized, that is, located where possible in public housing projects in close proximity to the people served. This makes the youth workers accessible to children and families in need. Second, our focus is on immediate response to problems when children are referred to us. We provide short-term problem focus and counseling in the provision of concrete services to the family as well as to the youth. Third, we hire and train an action-oriented staff which is willing to provide services not in an office, but in the homes and schools in the community where people live and work. And fourth, our multidivision human approach insures that the Division will be able to draw on the best thinking of many related fields, including social work, psychiatry, sociology, education, recreation, and home economics. And it is people

from these various fields that we seek to hire for our teams."

The Delinquency Prevention Program has been in operation for a year and a half. It has six fully operating teams, serving five hundred families, which includes about seven hundred youths who were referred for services.

Repeatedly, testimony about the needs of girls who get into trouble with the law stressed the fact that the key solution is to begin immediate action toward prevention, and that the place to begin is with the family by making family counseling easily and readily available. The ACT program answers these needs.

Unfortunately, there is no program for adults in D.C. comparable to the ACT program for juveniles. However, witnesses pinpointed various methods of providing alternatives to incarceration: (a) community correction centers, (b) pre-trial diversion and deferred prosecution, and (c) bail, probation and parole.

a. Community Correction Centers: Correction and treatment at the community level, for adults as well as for juveniles, was overwhelmingly supported by testimony at the hearings, but witnesses emphasized the need for community support if community correction and treatment centers are to be established. The Director of the D.C. Department of Corrections stated that at least half the population of the Women's Detention Center could be placed in community-based programs if there were sufficient public support. The D.C. Delegate to Congress implied that support for community facilities for female offenders should not be difficult to marshal, since female offenders:

"Do not frighten us . . . because as a rule they do not commit crimes of violence . . . In the rare cases where they do, it is generally a domestic quarrel which precipitates the attack."

An attorney from the Public Defender Service commented that a St. Elizabeth's Hospital survey conducted in May, 1970 indicated that almost 2/3 of the female offenders housed there are "eligible, qualified for release, if there was some other custodial mechanism in the community to take care of them." The warden of Alderson prison noted that the major function of community treatment centers is to integrate the offender with assisting agencies and programs, to supplement, rather than to supplant services, and to strengthen the tie between the woman and her family.

b. Pre-trial Diversion and Deferred Prosecution: A second set of alternatives to imprisonment for District women is a pre-trial diversionary and deferred prosecution program. Many women sit idly for days, even weeks, at the Women's Detention Center awaiting trial or sentencing without access to the limited programs at the Center, or to the counseling and drug treatment that could constructively assist their rehabilitation. Successful pretrial diversionary programs have already been implemented in Wyandotte, Michigan and Brooklyn, New York. The American Bar Association Commission on Correctional Facilities is currently urging the national adoption of similar programs for the first and non-serious offender.

The District's one pre-trial and deferred prosecution program, Project Crossroads, attempts to reorient first-time offenders, who are not narcotic addicts, through counseling, job placement, remedial education and other supportive services over a three-month period following arrest, but prior to trial. If the defendant shows satisfactory progress, the court is asked to dismiss charges after the 90-day period. The program has had considerable success, but is unable to assist women who need day-care for their children or unskilled females who require a significantly longer training program to develop employable skills.

c. Bail, Probation and Parole: Another existing alternative to pre-trial imprisonment, release on bail, as currently structured, discriminates against women. A woman accused of a misdemeanor may be released on her own recognizance if the Bail Agency determines that she is a good risk, to return voluntarily to stand trial. Unfortunately, since employment is a critical criterion in evaluating risk, a housewife (technically unemployed) has little chance of obtaining a favorable judgment.

Two final opportunities for the inmate to avoid continued incarceration are probation and parole. Testimony indicates that probation opportunities are not maximized by the courts simply because probation officers are currently handling excessively large burdens. Consequently, many offenders who are eligible for probationary sentences do not receive them. Witnesses also described the delays of weeks and months that parole applicants endure in prison without the benefits of legal assistance or access to the state's evidence in the case. The effective rehabilitation of offenders is seriously hampered by the failure of the board to give reasons for the denial of parole, and by the delays of the parole board. Frustration, hostility and alienation increase, and the possibility of recidivism is enhanced.

The development of effective probation and parole systems as well as other alternatives to incarceration is not only possible, but imperative. There is probably no prison in the nation, and certainly none in the District, that has the space and financial resources to provide the variety of educational options, job training opportunities and counseling programs to meet the needs of all its inmates, particularly women. There is no possibility of effective rehabilitation without increased community contact and support.

Recommendations

1. Incarceration of female offenders should be imposed only in the limited instances when it is absolutely necessary for the protection of the community and when incarceration is the only sure first step toward rehabilitation. Women who are incarcerated should be granted (a) liberal furloughs on holidays and other special occasions, for exemplary behavior, (b) playrooms for their children and extended visiting hours in private, with physical contact whenever possible, and (c) assistance from volunteer groups who are eager to facilitate social contact between the inmates and their families.

2. The Commission urges cooperation between the District Government and private agencies to establish additional community-based centers for eligible female offenders who are detained at the Women's Detention Center, Alderson, or St. Elizabeth's Hospital simply because of insufficient community facilities. The Commission also endorses an affirmative public education program in support of neighborhood centers, and the increased involvement of volunteer groups in the corrections system to facilitate community-based rehabilitation of female offenders.

3. The Commission urges the development of an effective pre-trial diversionary program for female offenders, and a comprehensive evaluation of Project Crossroads to determine the additional educational, vocational training and job development efforts necessary to avoid incarceration of female first-offenders in the District of Columbia.

4. The Commission supports and encour-

ages probation aid programs staffed by volunteers who can assist offenders who are applying for probation, and the expansion of regular probation services by the District Government.

5. The Commission advocates more liberal use of the Bail Reform Act for women, and if necessary, the amendment of the Act to remove any possibility of its application in a fashion discriminatory against women. The Commission also urges the increased use of third-party custody as a condition for release of female offenders.

6. Community groups should be encouraged (a) to take third-party custody of women during pre-trial periods, (b) to lend encouragement to women in community treatment programs for narcotic, alcoholic or other problems, and (c) to involve volunteers in one-to-one relationships with offenders and ex-offenders in tutoring, recreation, job-training, and counseling programs.

7. The Commission urges the Parole Board to adjust its procedures so that inmates' requests for hearings and judgments may be attended to more promptly. The Commission also recommends that inmates have free access to Parole Board material relevant to their cases, as well as to volunteer legal assistance.

8. The Commission recommends that city agencies enlist the assistance of private groups in planning and implementing residential intervention centers for delinquent female juveniles. The Commission also recommends that other community groups emulate the initiative of the National Capital YWCA in establishing a residential intervention center for girls.

9. The Commission wholeheartedly endorses the ACT Program of care and service in the community for juveniles and their families. The ACT Program is conceptually sound because it emphasizes both crime prevention and rehabilitation by dealing with the individual as a total person, integrated in a family and a community setting. The Commission recommends that this program be supported to the maximum extent possible.

REHABILITATION: SPECIAL NEEDS OF WOMEN

Most girl and women offenders have been the victims of ghetto education and the majority possess few employable skills.¹⁰ Many are heads of large and poor households and have been public assistance recipients. A Women's Bureau survey of Alderson and Terminal Island inmates found that $\frac{1}{3}$ of those who had been employed prior to incarceration had earned less than \$60 a week and half had earned less than \$70.

The lack of training opportunities and adequate child care facilities for these women are virtually insurmountable obstacles to legal, gainful employment; a criminal life beckons as a feasible alternative to a life of poverty. After acquiring a criminal record, the female offender has even less hope of developing a skill or of being employed. Yet, in the Women's Bureau Survey, 85% of the inmates expressed a desire for job training, and nine out of ten expected to work to support themselves and often others upon release!

There is widespread sex discrimination in schools, training programs, and the job market which reduces vocational choices for females prior to incarceration. Rehabilitation and vocational programs within prisons simply compound the inequity by offering a severely limited number of options for the inmates. Virtually no woman leaves prison better able to make an adequate living, and

few are equipped to avoid the ugly cycle of recidivism.

One witness testified that at the Women's Detention Center the best training available is typing, but there is limited instruction and few typewriters and self-teaching manuals. Other than typing, the women are limited to cleaning, cooking and sewing. The library materials available to the inmates are appallingly inadequate. The Commission was told that "basically, the women are limited to reading Good Housekeeping Magazine."

The long-term offenders at Alderson are doubly victimized by the distance from their homes. They cannot be enrolled in work release programs in the District, nor can they be supervised and advised during the first critical weeks after release. The vocational staff at the Federal prison is limited to a handful of counselors for over 600 women, from different communities and with different opportunities and needs.

Data Processing is the only vocational program for girls at Cedar Knoll, and no students under the age of 16 are admitted to the course. Boys on the other hand, have access to training in printing, painting, gardening, auto mechanics, furniture repair, upholstery, shoe repair, building trades, and electronics. The girls can only participate in noncredit classes in cooking, sewing, and cosmetology. A social worker at the school testified to the Commission that the academic program for girls does not compensate for the scarcity of vocational programs:

"For example, community programs for practical nursing require a 10th to 12th grade education. This excludes most of the Cedar Knoll girls."

Regardless of whether they are underpopulated or overpopulated, institutions for both girls and women offenders are all seriously deficient in the provision of medical and counseling services, as well as vocational and educational training. The high rate of recidivism speaks for itself. A Department of Corrections report on "Movement and Characteristics of Women's Detention Center Admissions, 1969" indicated that more than half the total admissions had prior criminal records. The median number of times admitted was two; excluding first-time admissions, the median number of times admitted was 4.

It will undoubtedly take time to develop and implement alternatives to incarceration and the number of female offenders detained in District correctional centers is not likely to decrease significantly within the next few years. It is consequently imperative that the corrections system begin to provide adequate services in those institutions so as to assist, and not hinder, the successful rehabilitation and resocialization of both juveniles and adults.

Recommendations

1. The D.C. Manpower Administration should seek grant funds or special appropriations to institute job training, job development and placement programs for female offenders. The Commission hopes that the courts would then give serious consideration to the idea that female offenders be given a choice of enrolling at public expense in education or vocational training courses as alternatives to serving sentences in an institution.

2. The Department of Corrections should expand its work-release programs and should also develop an effective placement program to help ex-offenders find jobs upon release, and to provide suitable job interviews prior to release.

3. Sex-typing of training programs should be eliminated; the female offender should be trained for any job which can be made

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available to her in the community. Vocational options should be expanded for both young and adult women to include dental technology, food service, furniture refinishing, repair work, counselor and health aid services, etc. Pre-vocational programs and training in good work habits and job-hunting skills should be available.

4. Medical and health services should be improved in correctional centers and information about venereal disease, birth control, and health needs of children should be readily available. The D.C. Department of Human Resources should set up a review committee to determine how the support services of the department could be better utilized to aid the female offender.

5. Educational programs to attack functional illiteracy should be regularly available to women in detention, including the short-term offenders, and special courses in child care, consumer problems, budgeting and other particularly relevant concerns of women should be developed.

6. Inmates should be given an increased role in the determination of education and rehabilitation programs at the Women's Detention Center and other corrections facilities for women.

SEX DISCRIMINATION IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Criminologists have suggested that the criminal justice system treats women chivalrously, and that this treatment may account for the low rates both of arrests and convictions of women. Contrarily, at the Commission's hearings several witnesses contended that women are, in fact, the victims of pervasive discrimination and a dual standard of sexual behavior. A child psychologist testified that the sexually active girl:

"Is condemned, cast out, and even jailed for activities which make her brother a respected hero among the same peer group. When the youthful male offender is brought before the court, no mention is made to whether or how many females he has had sexual contact with. To send him to training school because he is promiscuous with girls sounds ludicrous and would be laughed out of court."

The largest number of women arrested locally are charged with the victimless crime of prostitution and related offenses. Of the 2,791 women arrested in the District in 1969, 21% were charged with soliciting prostitution, and another 20% with disorderly conduct—a charge understood to be used to detain alleged prostitutes when actual proof is not available. In that same year, only 4 men were charged with "procuring."

Most arrests for prostitution in the District are classed as misdemeanors, with a maximum sentence of six months or a fine of \$500, which is below the limit set for compensation for court-appointed attorneys. One witness testified that the legal services provided for the prostitute are potentially inferior to those provided for clients whose attorneys are compensated by the court:

"This works against her at every phase of the criminal process: formulating alternative pre-trial release plans; negotiating with the prosecutor; investigating the legal and factual issues of her trial; preparing for the sentencing hearing."

The local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union testified that:

"Of all the victimless crimes . . . criminal prosecution for prostitution is the most unjust and discriminatory as well as the least efficacious . . . for by statute and tradition the woman prostitute is usually the only person penalized, although clearly it takes two people to engage in an act of prostitution."

Another witness testified that:

"Prostitution is a status crime which mainly affects only the woman herself. By removing prostitution from the criminal justice system, and thereby reallocating limited funds from police vice squads, jail personnel, administrative services, court personnel and probation services, a step towards education, treatment, and some type of rehabilitation, such as in the case of the many women who are addicts, may be effected."

The cost of apprehending prostitutes in Washington has not been established, but it may be estimated on the basis of a study done by the San Francisco Committee on Crime. The study calculated a per-arrest cost there in excess of \$175 in 1969. On that basis, the 620 female arrests in D.C. on prostitution charges in 1970 cost taxpayers here an estimated \$108,500. The San Francisco Committee proposed a revision of the criminal law covering prostitution because of the waste of taxpayers' money under the present law:

"What do San Francisco taxpayers buy for \$175 every time a prostitute is swept off the street? They buy essentially nothing of a positive nature, and a great deal that is negative. Without really affecting the problems associated with prostitution, they are supporting a futile operation."

Prostitution and drug abuse

Washington, D.C., has for some time been gripped by a heroin epidemic, and testimony repeatedly supported the fact that many addicted females engage in property crimes and prostitution in order to support their drug habits. More than 80% of the women incarcerated at the Women's Detention Center have drug problems. The head of the District's Narcotics Treatment Administration testified that:

"As far as women and heroin addiction are concerned, I don't know as much as I wish I did about the special needs and problems of women in our organization, in our treatment efforts, but I do know this, that women constitute about 26% of the overdose deaths from heroin in the District of Columbia. The overdose deaths in heroin addiction in general are concentrated in young people between the ages of 18 and 25, and there is considerable over-representation of men as there is in many kinds of delinquent behavior also. On the other hand, there are of course large numbers of women, 26% of 17,000. This is a very substantial number indeed. In our treatment program, women are less represented (16.5% to 20%) than they are in the overdose population. There is some speculation as to why that is. I frankly don't know . . . It may be because we don't provide special services for women and if we did we would have more women coming in for treatment. It may also be that women have an easier time supporting their heroin habit than men do and are less likely to be apprehended by agencies of the criminal justice system. But that is pure speculation . . ."

To date, there has little more than speculation about causes and cures of female crime. Because women commit fewer and less serious crimes than men, they are the "forgotten offenders." Statistically, they represent only a small percentage of the offender population and they are overlooked by both the public and the criminal justice system. Psychologically, they do not pose a serious threat to the security of the community and effective rehabilitation programs are not a community concern. Effective rehabilitation programs cannot be instituted, however, until

Footnotes at end of article.

there is a good understanding of who the female offenders are, and information is not currently available on which to base such an understanding. The Dillingham study reported:

"Very little formal record keeping is maintained at the Women's Detention Center. Annual reports merely show number of admissions, releases, escapes, and apprehensions for the year. No information is provided in these annual reports as to admission by type of crime, nor is any data provided to indicate length of stay. Monthly reports merely classify inmates as 'Federal prisoners' and 'District prisoners,' and show the number of each by day of month. Information on commitments by type of crime is available only in raw data form, maintained in a card file in the record office."

The paucity of data on the female offender is only slightly less disturbing than the lack of concern. Neither the criminal justice system, nor the public even knows who the female offender is, much less what her needs and problems are. Consequently, everyday, more young and adult women pay that ironic price of being the solitary victims of their own crimes.

Recommendations

1. All possible steps should be taken to reduce drug addiction, which is widely recognized as an important factor in the incidence of crime among women in D.C. The Narcotics Treatment Administration should develop special outreach programs for women, who are under-represented in NTA programs compared with their representation in narcotics overdose deaths. NTA should cooperate with private groups to establish additional facilities for community-based programs for female addicts.

2. The decriminalization of prostitution should be seriously considered, and the practical consequences of this innovation in the District should be carefully weighed. The Commission is mindful of the fact that one of the recurring arguments in Washington, as elsewhere, against the decriminalization of prostitution is the fear that it might result in rising incidence of venereal disease. However, the Commission is also aware that prostitution is only one of the avenues linked to the spread of venereal disease and believes, in any case, that the control of venereal disease is a medical rather than a legal problem. The Commission therefore recommends that the City Council's committees on Health and on Public Safety jointly review the relationship between prostitution and venereal disease in this city.

3. Court-appointed counsel should be compensated for all cases involving indigent women. Volunteer legal aid should be encouraged to supplement presently insufficient court services, and the efforts of the Public Defender Service to expand their services to women should be facilitated.

4. Police, courts, and corrections programs should revise their routine record-keeping operations to include case history information about female offenders. Annual reports should include specific information about the nature and trends of female crime.

5. Research should be conducted to determine the extent of sex discrimination at every stage of the criminal justice system, including the availability of bail, pre-trial disposition of cases, conviction rates and length of sentences, availability of probation and parole, and adequacy of rehabilitative and other supportive services.

EPILOG

To all who are striving for justice for female offenders and the humanizing of the

criminal justice system, the Commission strongly recommends attention to this fact: housing, income, nutrition, education, job society will continue to be diverted to the opportunities, health, and equality of opportunity must be pursued simultaneously with the pursuit of solutions to the immediate and pressing problems of females trapped in and trying to escape from the cycle of crime and punishment. Unless these longer range goals are achieved, the energy of society will continue to be diverted to the consequences of social neglect, rather than to the underlying causes of crime.

LIST OF WITNESSES

Federal agencies

Mathea Falco, Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, presenting testimony for Senator Birch Bayh (D-Ind.).

Honorable Walter Fauntroy, (D-D.C.), House of Representatives.

Honorable Gilbert Gude (R-Md.), House of Representatives.

Mary Hilton, Deputy Director, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, presenting testimony for Elizabeth D. Koontz, Director.

Constance Springmann, Federal Bureau of Prisons, presenting testimony for Mrs. Virginia McLaughlin, Warden, Alderson Reformatory for Women.

District of Columbia agencies

Board of Education

Dorothy Harris, Vice Principal, Shaw Jr. High School; Doris Sanders, Chief Attendance Officer, Division of School Attendance.

Courts

Thelma Abrams, Probation Officer, D.C. Superior Court; John D. Fauntleroy, Judge, D.C. Superior Court; Robert Golten, Public Defender Service.

Department of Corrections

Kenneth Hardy, Director; George Holland, Community Services; Helen Mitchell, Job Developer; Patricia Taylor, Administrator, Women's Detention Center.

Metropolitan Police Department

Walter E. Bishop, Inspector, Morals Division; Frances McCall, Captain, Juvenile Section; Constance L. Tilley, Lieutenant, Field Supervisor; Boyd T. Willard, Deputy Chief, Youth Division.

Narcotics Treatment Administration

Robert Dupont, Administrator; Dolores Jackson, Counselor; Mary Jackson, Registered Nurse.

Office of Youth Opportunities Services

James A. Woodward, Program Analysis Officer.

Social Services Administration Department of Human Resources: Action for Children in Trouble, Community Team: Doris Harrison, Barbara Hartman, Lorraine Rice, Julia Scott.

Carl Banks, Child Psychologist, Jr. Village; William W. Barr, Executive Director, Bureau of Youth Services; Eula De Laine, Administrator, Jr. Village; Mary Gordon, Social Worker, Maple Glen School; Nadine Holt, Social Worker, Cedar Knoll School.

Citizens and Private Organizations

Vashti Adams, Pennsylvania Program for Women and Girl Offenders.

Michael Ambrose, President, Center for Human Systems.

Edward Anderson, Common cause.

Elayne Bartner, Friends of the Juvenile Court.

Charles Brown, Vice President, One America, Inc.

Barbara Farr and Shirley Quander, Counselors, Regional Addiction Prevention (RAP, Inc.).

Sharon Grant, Job Cooperative.

Dr. Alyce C. Gullatee, Associate Professor of Psychiatry, Howard University.

Phyllis Lake, Director of Volunteers, Friends of the Juvenile Court.

Dianne Harper, Alumna, Cedar Knoll.

Ann Horvitz, Executive Director, Visitors' Service Center.

Joanne Malone, Institute for Policy Studies.

Minnie R. Massie, Executive Director, D.C. Women's Commission for Crime Prevention, Women Prisoners.

Sandra McFeeley, Director, Volunteer Services, Bureau of Rehabilitation.

Myrna Rader, Legal Intern, Georgetown University.

Miriam Raskin, Social Workers, Travelers Aid Society.

Susan Ross and James Heller, American Civil Liberties Union.

Linda Singer, Women's Legal Defense Fund and DC Citizens Council for Criminal Justice.

Daniel L. Skoler, Staff Director, Commission on Correctional Facilities and Services, American Bar Association.

Dr. Elizabeth Strawinsky, St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Psychiatrist.

John Theban, Executive Director, Family and Child Services of Washington, D.C.

Bill Trainer, Director of Special Approaches to Juvenile Assistance.

Donald Yancey, MICCO Industries.

FOOTNOTES

¹ The hearing transcript is on file in the Commission offices; information about the hearing tapes can be obtained by writing to WETA-FM, 5217 19th Road, Arlington, Virginia 22207.

² Criminal homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny of \$50 and over, and auto theft.

³ Some pioneering work has begun in the field of rehabilitation of women offenders. The D.C. Commission on the Status of Women has undertaken a study of the work being done in various jurisdictions with the objective of finding possible guidelines for wider applicability both within the District and across the country. This study, supported by a grant from the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, is to be reported in 1973.

⁴ "The Treatment of Women Offenders." March 3, 1971, D.C. Citizens Council on Criminal Justice, 1302 New Jersey Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004.

⁵ See Appendix: Detention and Correction Facilities in D.C.

⁶ A study in five volumes, entitled: *New Detention Center, District of Columbia, Technical Report*, prepared by SUA, a division of Dillingham Corporation. The report recommends replacement of the existing D.C. Jail and Women's Detention Center by construction of two new facilities. (1) A Detention Intake Unit for men and women in the vicinity of Judiciary Square, which would include space for police bookings, attorneys, pre-trial release personnel, social welfare agencies, visitation, medical examining, narcotics screening and related programs. (2) A Main Detention Center for men and women near the site of the existing D.C. Jail.

⁷ The Children's Center includes four facilities: (1) The Receiving Home houses juveniles committed to the custody of the Social Services Administration while awaiting court action. (2) Cedar Knoll School, coeducational. Until February 1971, Cedar Knoll was the only detention center for juvenile females and it housed girls who had been adjudicated as "beyond control" of their parents, as well

as girls actually convicted of criminal offenses. (3) Maple Glen School. In December 1970, committed delinquent youths were transferred to Cedar Knoll. Maple Glen became the PINS facility in February 1971. (4) Oak Hill Center, for more aggressive, older boys between the ages of 15 and 20.

⁸ A comprehensive law enforcement plan, synchronizing plans of the courts, and Police and Corrections Departments, is reported annually to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) in the Justice Department by the city's Office of Criminal Justice Plans and Analysis (OCJPA). OCJPA is supervised by the Mayor's Criminal Justice Coordinating Board, which is composed of the heads of the major criminal justice agencies in the city, and several citizen members.

⁹ The YWCA's residential intervention center, approved for LEAA funding by the Office of Criminal Justice Plans and Analysis, will be capable of serving 15 individuals at a time, with expected time of residence varying from 3 to 9 months, and a yearly capacity of about 30. Its purpose is to provide a rehabilitation program as an alternative to incarceration for older girls 16-18, who will not be returning to their homes. The rehabilitative approach will be group interaction under professional guidance, focusing on real current problems. The project was developed in response to the need articulated by the local courts for alternatives to incarceration at the Children's Center and the fact that there is no program especially designed for the 16- and 17-year old delinquent girl, who has no suitable home to return to. The YWCA describes these girls as: ready to enter the working world, but not having acquired the motivations, the personal respect, knowledge of how to upgrade themselves, nor personal work habits necessary for success in the working world. The project goal is to make the girl take responsibility for her life and actions and help provide the tools necessary.

¹⁰ Recognizing that ghetto education often leaves girls without motivation to remain in school to undertake vocational training and to plan for careers, the D.C. Commission on the Status of Women is undertaking a program of career intervention and interest motivation—PROJECT WOMEN—designed to stimulate the vocational interests of girls and their motivation to stay in school so that they will develop employable skills and avoid pitfalls of crime and delinquency. Approved as a cooperative project with the D.C. Public Schools, with LEAA funding, PROJECT WOMEN will enlist the cooperation of working women who will serve as vocational role models on a one-to-one basis with approximately 350 girls aged 12 through 17, in the general area of the M.M. Washington Vocational High School. In outlining this project, the Commission took note of a similar effort, PROJECT MEN, which had operated for two years and had led to decreased drop-out rates, expressed desire to remain in school, and increased vocational choices by the project participants. The Commission also noted that insufficient attention has been devoted in the District to the needs and problems of girls, although increasing numbers of them are involved in petty larceny, drug addition, and unwed motherhood.

¹¹ The Narcotics Treatment Administration (NTA) was created in February 1970 from elements of the D.C. Department of Corrections and the D.C. Department of Human Resources. NTA conducts two programs, Abstinence and Methadone Maintenance, to decrease illegal drug use and drug-related activity and to increase the number and proportion of patients who change behavior patterns and adopt more socially accepted and productive life styles.

DETENTION AND CORRECTIONS FACILITIES IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS

	Incarcerated population, June 1971 ¹	Daily per capita cost, 2d quarter, 1971	Capacity 1971	Average daily population, Feb. 1, to June 30, 1971
Institutional population.....	3,453			
Lorton complex.....	1,514	\$16.75	1,384	1,385
D.C. Jail.....	1,183	13.54	663	1,105
Youth Center.....	569	23.36	324	356
Workhouse, Minimum Security.....	321	16.66	50	225
Women's Detention Center.....	153	29.18		93
Parole population.....	1,372			
Community centers.....	874	15.50		
Halfway houses (men).....	(²)	(²)	300	454
Halfway houses (women).....	(²)	(²)	25	18

¹ Figures projected by OCPA, December 1970.² Figures not available or not applicable.³ Average daily population, March 1, to June 30, 1971.

SOCIAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

	Expenditures, 1971 (thousands)		Capacity	Average daily population, Feb. 1, to June 30, 1971
	Operating	Capital		
Juvenile corrections:				
D.C. Receiving Home.....	\$1,043.8	0	108	131.0
Cedar Knoll.....	1,815.8	0	450	409.0
Maple Glen School.....	766.9	0	190	41.0
Oak Hill Center.....	1,255.3	\$396	150	146.0
Youth group homes (combined).....	846.8		15	11.3
Parole (ACT).....	461.5	0		
Juvenile Parole (aftercare).....	316.0	0		
Predeinquency.....				
Mobile Psychiatric.....	83.8			

¹ Detention population minus those in youth shelter homes.² Each.

Source: Office of Criminal Justice, Plans and Analysis, 1971 comprehensive plan and 1970 report on space allocation.

CIVIL RIGHTS VERSUS INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Mr. Nile Stanton, of Pendleton, Ind., appeared in the spring 1972 edition of the *Indiana Legal Forum*—which name is to be changed to *Indiana Law Review*.

I found it to be an outstanding and uncommonly perceptive look at the school busing controversy, and some of the judicial decisions on this matter. It is a pleasure to commend it to my colleagues:

CIVIL RIGHTS VERSUS INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY: SWANN, AND OTHER MONSTERS OF IMPETUOUS JUSTICE¹

"[T]here are, in our own day, gross usurpations upon the liberty of private life actually practiced, and still greater ones threatened with some expectation of success, and opinions propounded which assert an unlimited right in the public not only to prohibit by law everything which it thinks wrong, but in order to get at what it thinks wrong, to prohibit any number of things which it admits to be innocent."—JOHN STUART MILL²

Among the critical indicia of any democracy is the absence of a person, or group, with authority—assumed or delegated—to govern by fiat. Government by fiat is not the rule of law. One measure of a nation's dedication to a democratic ideal is, accordingly, the extent to which its judiciary refrains from issuing result-oriented mandates.³ Conversely, where a nation's judiciary receives approval for issuing result-oriented mandates, it is an indication of the peoples' fear of freedom⁴ and an encouragement for their government to retreat from a democratic ideal.⁵

Our national judiciary has at times been criticized for "legislating"⁶ and for issuing certain result-oriented mandates which impinge upon individual liberties.⁷ The United States Supreme Court, by its decision in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*,⁸ has again opened itself to such criticism;⁹ and several lower federal courts have done so as well by rendering opinions and issuing decrees which, for civil libertarians at least, must be viewed as anathematic to democratic ideals.

To a limited extent the April 20, 1971, decision in *Swann* and subsequent lower court

decisions tend to defy criticism because they aim to safeguard the rights of a minority which has been terribly oppressed, often with the sanction of law.¹⁰ This laudable aim, however, cannot render sacrosanct all the recent civil rights cases which have been resolved favorably to the plaintiffs. Though one might be tempted, from a quick reading of the cases, to take a contrary viewpoint, it is submitted that several—the busing and no-testing decisions in particular—are incredibly bad law in terms of what they portend for individual liberty.

An Historical Overview

More than half of a century before *Plessy v. Ferguson*¹¹ the black citizens of Boston sought to abolish schools which were kept racially segregated by the school system's supervisory committee.¹² When the committee refused to voluntarily desegregate the schools, the matter was litigated; and, in rendering its decision against the plaintiff, the Massachusetts supreme court, in 1849, established precedent for the separate-but-equal doctrine.¹³ In an opinion full of benign rationalizations, Chief Justice Shaw rejected the eloquent arguments set forth by the plaintiff's counsel¹⁴ and affirmed the school system's mandatory segregation policy on grounds that the schools' supervisory committee had "plenary authority" to "classify" and "distribute" Boston youth among the different schools in the manner the committee thought would best serve "general proficiency and welfare."¹⁵

Although by 1896 slavery and peonage were no longer legally sanctioned and were in fact expressly prohibited,¹⁶ that year saw, in the infamous *Plessy* decision, the beginning of constitutionally sanctioned forced segregation on the basis of race. The United States Supreme Court, with only Justice Harlan dissenting, opined that the fourteenth amendment was supposed to enforce "absolute equality" before the law.¹⁷ But the Court also indicated that the fourteenth amendment did not prohibit laws which permitted or required separation of the races where facilities provided were substantially alike.¹⁸ As Justice Harlan predicted, the *Plessy* judgment proved to be "quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott Case*."¹⁹ The *Plessy* case involved segregated railroad cars; but, in obiter dicta, Justice Brown recognized that segregation was imposed most often in the public schools. Twelve years later, in *Berea College v. Kentucky*,²⁰ the United States Supreme Court gave its blessing to such a practice.

In the 1927 case of *Cong Lum v. Rice*²¹ the United States Supreme Court upheld segregation on the basis of race for the last time.²² Although some advances were made in the interim,²³ the separate-but-equal doctrine remained—at least in the field of education²⁴—the law of the land until May 17, 1954. On

that day the Court in *Brown v. Board of Education*²⁵ declared that state-imposed racial segregation in public schools could not be squared with the fourteenth amendment. The Court in *Brown I* found that separate-but-equal schools were "inherently unequal," and one year later the Court ordered that desegregation was to proceed "with all deliberate speed."²⁶

Even after *Brown II* the nation's school boards, legislatures, and courts could not agree on answers to several perplexing questions. Several legislatures purported to give school boards authority to consider race in making pupil assignments.²⁷ Such laws were, of course, unconstitutional.²⁸ A more serious problem that arose from *Brown* was whether the decision merely required states to cease assigning pupils on the basis of race.

Although there is some authority to the contrary,²⁹ it is fairly well established that de facto segregation is constitutionally allowed.³⁰ What constitutes de facto segregation is, however, not entirely clear. The traditional view is that it is the "mere chance or fortuitous concentration of those of a particular race . . . not accomplished in any way by the action of state officials."³¹ However, argument which suggests that all existing segregation is causally related to earlier de jure segregation is heard frequently³² and merits attention. The gist of the argument is (1) that all states have in the past created or sanctioned racially segregative practices, (2) that such practices achieved their intended results, and (3) that this segregation has continued to the present day, despite the absence of any state action to overtly perpetuate racial segregation. The called de facto segregation is to maintain the results of de jure segregation. The apparent validity of this line of reasoning may be seductive enough to attract the wrath of the Supreme Court upon de facto segregation.³³

Undoubtedly, the argument summarized above has begun to infirm traditional notions about what constitutes de jure segregation. In assuming that de facto segregation was adventitious and constitutionally permissible, the nation's courts necessarily evolved a dual standard—one which forbade de jure segregation only.³⁴

Immediately following the *Brown* decision, the Fourth and Fifth Circuits adhered to a narrow interpretation of the command to desegregate. Until the 1966 case of *United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education*,³⁵ most courts established a pattern of decisions which adopted the oft-quoted dictum in *Briggs v. Elliot*³⁶ to the effect that state-imposed segregation was prohibited, while integration was not required.³⁷ *Jefferson* marked a significant departure from earlier desegregation law. That decision held that there is an affirmative duty to integrate schools which were formerly segregated de jure. Judge Wisdom asserted that "[t]he

Footnotes at end of article.

only school desegregation plan that meets constitutional standards is one that works." ²³ Thus, "actual integration" became the test by which the constitutional viability of desegregation plans was to be judged. The Jefferson decision's repressive and simplistic test ²⁰ was adopted by the United States Supreme Court in 1968.

The landmark case of *Green v. County School Board* ⁴⁰ made it obligatory upon school authorities to immediately effectuate desegregation plans which would in fact integrate schools formerly segregated de jure. The New Kent County School System had implemented a freedom-of-choice plan by giving each student an opportunity to select what school he wished to attend and assigning him to that school. The Supreme Court found that the plan had not "worked" since few blacks chose to attend the formerly all white schools, and no whites chose to attend the county's black schools ⁴¹—this even though the freedom-of-choice plan had been in operation for three years. The Court in *Green* noted that the *Brown* decision had intended, ultimately, to produce unitary, non-racial school systems, i.e., systems with neither white schools nor black schools, but just schools. ⁴² To avoid constitutional attack, desegregation plans had to promise "realistically to work now." ⁴³

Although *Green* failed to establish criteria that the inferior courts could use to determine whether a school system was unitary, the Court clearly indicated—albeit negatively—that desegregation plans prima facie innocent and neutral were constitutionally insufficient if they did not result in actual integration. Unquestionably by accident, the United States Supreme Court took a small step backward ⁴⁴ in 1969 when it finally defined a "unitary system" as one "within which no person is to be effectively excluded from any school because of race or color." ⁴⁵ This sound and unobtrusive definition was significantly absent in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*. ⁴⁶

The uniqueness of *Swann* lies in the fact that the Supreme Court approved a comprehensive desegregation plan which, accordingly, can be viewed as a constitutionally acceptable model. The nation's school officials have, for the first time, an indication of what a unitary school system should look like—the Charlotte-Mecklenburg system. Moreover, school officials have an indication of the broad range of remedies the Court will sanction to correct racial imbalance in systems once segregated de jure.

Only the highlights of *Swann* need be reiterated here. ⁴⁷ It should be emphasized, firstly, that "[t]he constitutional command to desegregate schools does not mean that every school in every community must always reflect the racial composition of the school system as a whole." ⁴⁸ Although the Supreme Court sanctioned the district court's order that the white-black ratio in the whole Charlotte-Mecklenburg system (71-29%) be reflected as nearly as practicable in each school, the Court refused to require strict racial quotas and left the matter in the hands of the district courts. ⁴⁹ The Court saw the use of ratios as a "starting point in the process of shaping a remedy, rather than an inflexible requirement." ⁵⁰

What is objectionable about the *Swann* decision is that it strongly affirms and extends the rule of *Green*. As indicated above, the Court in *Swann* refused to require fixed racial ratios; and, elsewhere, the Court went so far as to acknowledge that the existence of some one-race schools might not offend the Constitution. Nevertheless, the Court gave its imprimatur to all methods of achieving actual integration: ⁵¹ regerrymandering districts, clustering and grouping schools, majority-to-minority transfer and busing even beyond contiguous zones. Time in-

volved, distance of travel, and age of students can, however, be taken into consideration when busing is a remedy. ⁵² *Swann* cannot, then, be criticized on the ground that it imposes on inferior courts or school officials the task of adhering to strict racial quotas or that it imposes an obligation to bus students so that those in non-contiguous zones can be intermingled. And it is true that *Swann* will achieve the laudable goal of actual integration in public schools, at least for a period. ⁵³ But *Swann* does constitute incredibly bad law.

AN ARGUMENT AGAINST BUSING

The United States Supreme Court should overrule *Swann*. ⁵⁴ In giving new force to the rule of *Green*, the *Swann* decision commands that wherever school officials have, at any time subsequent to *Brown*, failed to actually integrate their schools, they must integrate at once. Even after ceasing to compel or encourage segregation, schools cannot sit idly by with a desegregation plan which, however innocent, does not work, i.e., result in actual integration. Professor Alexander Bickel has stated:

"Willy-nilly, the Supreme Court imposes a choice of educational policy, for the time being at least, when it orders maximum integration, and I don't think we can be sure that the choice is the right one. . . . Willy-nilly, the Court opts against decentralized and diversified schools, that can be more responsive to the needs of cohesive groups of parents and students, that can alleviate the frustrations and sense of powerlessness of such groups. . . ." ⁵⁵

Professor Bickel cannot be read to oppose school integration; but rather, he opposes *Swann* because it willy-nilly decided that the nation's legal order compels the racial mixing of students as a matter of educational policy. This is properly the crux of the argument against *Swann*, and an argument which needs clarification.

The preceding pages substantiate that our national government and the states have historically foisted upon America's black citizenry various legal disabilities. It must also be recognized that—despite this fact—the *Swann* decision, insofar as it affirmatively asserts the rule of *Green*, is considerably more oppressive than even *Plessy v. Ferguson* ⁵⁶ and some other segregative decisions. *Plessy* sanctioned state laws which compelled or allowed the use of separate-but-equal facilities. *Plessy* itself did not require racial separation. The case which embodied the *Plessy* rule educational institutions ⁵⁷ did not compel racial separation. Query: Has any federal law or any federal court decision ever compelled that throughout the nation there must be racial segregation? No.

It is not being maintained here that *Plessy* was good law. To the extent that it permitted the existence of laws which forced racial separation, the *Plessy* decision was repressive to individual liberty. It is, indeed, difficult to characterize as anything but repressive any judicial fiat which sanctions laws which treat of human associations in compulsory terms. If the *Swann-Green* rule had gone only so far as to sanction the existence of state laws which require integration, it would appear equally as repugnant to individual liberty as was *Plessy*. ⁵⁸ However, the *Swann-Green* rule does much more than that. To emphasize, the Supreme Court has now required that state practices must effectuate actual integration.

Speaking for a unanimous Court in *Swann*, Chief Justice Burger remarked that,

"Our objective in dealing with the issues presented by these cases is to see that school authorities exclude no pupil of a racial minority from any school, directly or indirectly, on account of race." ⁵⁹

Remarks such as this have served to confuse the lower courts and, on occasion, magnify the repressive effects of *Swann*. ⁶⁰ On its face, the quoted language appears to rein-

state a restrictive version of the command in *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education* ⁶¹ that "no person is to be effectively excluded from any school because of race or color." ⁶² However, such an interpretation cannot be squared with the context of *Swann*. Whatever the Court's "objective in dealing with the issues" was, it most assuredly could not have been that stated above—otherwise there exists no affirmative duty to integrate. And the entire thrust of the *Swann-Green* rule is precisely that duty. Only if one takes "exclude . . . indirectly" to mean "any practice which does not result in actual integration" does the quoted statement align with the rest of *Swann*. School officials and the courts should, to meet their constitutional duties, take care in reading *Swann* else they unwittingly adopt the Sixth Circuit's interpretation of the Court's alleged objective.

In *Goss v. Board of Education* ⁶³ the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit expressed the view that *Swann*, due to the above language, ⁶⁴ had made it "clear that the constitutional prohibition against assigning students or teachers on account of race is applicable only to minority groups." ⁶⁵ The court in *Goss* further suggested that "some disparate treatment in favor of racial minorities must be tolerated until the 'vestiges' of de jure segregation have been eliminated." ⁶⁶ The United States Supreme Court did not specifically express the view adopted in *Goss*, and the Court may not have intended to precipitate such notions; however, the clear—though implicit—thrust of the *Swann-Green* rule is to support compensatory discrimination in favor of minorities. ⁶⁷

Compensatory discrimination, seen by some as the requisite first step in shaping a remedy for past racism, ⁶⁸ received support from the federal government ⁶⁹ and benign tolerance from the courts ⁷⁰ even before the *Swann* decision. Although compensatory discrimination does not always impose an affirmative obligation, the practice, when done solely on a racial basis, smacks of reparations nevertheless; and it often operates—especially in combination with the *Swann-Green* rule—to foist upon the public the notion that equality of condition, as opposed to equality of opportunity, is a constitutional right and that it can be achieved by judicial fiat.

THE NO-TESTING CASES

Griggs v. Duke Power Co. ⁷¹ invalidated the use of an ability test which, though neutral on its face and used in good faith by an employer, operated to disqualify from employment an excessively large number of blacks. The test was rejected for that reason and because the Court felt the intelligence test was not reasonably related to the skills of the job. Taken together, *Griggs* and *Swann* have developed a relatively new line ⁷² of cases and decrees. The two cases of this type most patently deleterious to individual liberty are probably *Baker v. Columbus Municipal Separate School District* ⁷³ and *Moses v. Washington Parish School Board*. ⁷⁴

In *Baker* it was established beyond question that Columbus school authorities used the National Teacher Examination scores on a racially inconsistent bases to avoid hiring black teachers. ⁷⁵ The court, however, went far beyond condemning this practice. The court found that the school system's 1000 NTE cutoff score for hiring could be met by 90% of the white graduates of Mississippi colleges but could not be met by 89% of the black graduates of Mississippi colleges. Attempting to meet the *Griggs* test, ⁷⁶ the court found that the 1000 NTE score was not reasonably related to measuring job capability; and, combining this with the fact that few black teachers attained the requisite score, the *Baker* court declared that, as a matter of law, the NTE is racially discriminatory. The internecine effect of the *Baker* decision can best be seen in light of *Moses*.

Footnotes at end of article.

From 1953 to August of 1971, the Franklin Elementary School of Washington Parish used the Primary Mental Ability Test and the Ginn Reading Readiness Test to produce homogeneous ability groups in its student body.⁷⁷ Although the school was not integrated until late 1969,⁷⁸ Judge Heebe opined that the tests were used to segregate the students and proceeded to devote his efforts to chastising the school officials for their educational policy. The student body of Franklin Elementary was 69% black and 31% white, but the ability tests tended to segregate the white pupils into the higher tracks.⁷⁹ The *Moses* court, accordingly, found that the use of ability groupings violated the equal protection clause.⁸⁰

The *Moses* decision is only illustrative of a recent trend.⁸¹ These decisions are predicated on the crucial assumption that ability groupings are socio-educationally detrimental to those students with demonstrably less ability than some other students. And to circumvent the supposed detrimental effects, at least for blacks, the federal courts have decided that ability groups are violative of the fourteenth amendment's equal protection clause and are, hence, impermissible. The assumption and remedy are at least convenient. If it could be proved that ability groupings provide the best educational opportunity for students of low ability, courts would be faced with the dilemma of choosing whether they prefer integrated classes or equal educational opportunity. The recent trend of "civil rights" law may, in view of the thrust of *Griggs* combined with the *Swann-Green* rule compel a judicial preference for integrated classes in such a case. But have concepts of equal protection ever envisaged the development of affirmative obligations which would make such a choice necessary?

CONCLUSION

In 1971 a few historic advances⁸² in the law were made, the benefits of which will flow most directly to minority groups and, thus, generally to all Americans. *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*,⁸³ however, should not be viewed as an advance for civil rights. Primarily because it attempts to carve an affirmative duty out of the proscriptive language of the fourteenth amendment, the *Swann* decision necessarily raises some very serious questions about the limits to which the national judiciary can be held once a socially desirable goal is identified.

The fourteenth amendment did not acquire its negative language by quirk. The Constitution's references to equality were never meant to affirmatively command equality of condition, but were, rather, meant to assert that men are equal in ultimate worth.⁸⁴ The axiom of equality is simply that every American must be afforded equal rights and equal opportunity.⁸⁵ One of our nation's greatest civil libertarians, Justice William O. Douglas, has made this argument:

"Equal protection under the law is the most important single principle that any nation can take as its ideal."⁸⁶

And he continued:

"All men of course are not equal in talents or abilities. But once all men are treated equally by government and afforded equal opportunities for preferment and advancement, society undergoes a transformation. A new aristocracy emerges—not an aristocracy of family, wealth, race or religion, but an aristocracy of talent."⁸⁷

If the United States Supreme Court is going to adhere to the *Swann-Green* rule, the Indianapolis desegregation decision⁸⁸ provides a powerful and realistic guide for other jurisdictions.⁸⁹ The decision is atypical in two important respects: (1) The spectre of "white-flight" was given careful consideration in the formulation of the remedy;⁹⁰ and (2) because of that, the remedy aimed to join school districts beyond Indianapolis and even beyond Marion County.⁹¹ If *Swann* is to

stand, it seems that Judge Dillin's approach would reduce the probability of immediate re-segregation.

The affirmative command of the *Swann-Green* rule has serious import for other areas of desegregation law besides education. Since nearly every desegregation case has recited the causal relation of segregated housing to segregated schools, one wonders why the federal government has not taken stronger action in this area. If the causal relation is real, which it likely is, short of imposing a *Swann-Green* based affirmative duty by telling people where they must live, the courts could take this powerful step: Wherever the state or national government financially underwrites, or supports any bank which underwrites, loans for housing for a person in any area in which predominantly one race resides, the courts could find de jure segregation. Rather than require people to move, the courts could prohibit any governmental unit or any governmentally-supported agency or organization from loaning funds to those persons who seek to purchase homes in areas where members of their race predominate.

Hopefully, the national judiciary will do none of this and will, rather, overrule *Swann*.⁹² The most compelling ground for doing so is the United States Constitution. The national judiciary has, in the past, had the perspicacity to recognize that affirmative duties do not naturally flow from the fourteenth amendment.⁹³ Although *Griggs* and the other no-testing decisions do not, by themselves, impose affirmative duties in the field of human associations—and, hence, are less reprehensible than *Swann*—the decisions elicit the reminder that the law does not require equal treatment where differences in fact exist.⁹⁴

Not only will the existing status of desegregation law continue to produce glaringly disharmonious results⁹⁵ until *Swann* is rejected; but, much more importantly in the long run, America can no longer accept Roscoe Pound's simple but demonstrably correct pronouncement that,

"The guarantees of liberty in American constitutions are not and are not thought of as exhortations as to how government should be carried on or its agencies will operate. They are precepts of the law of the land backed by the power of the courts of law to refuse to give effect to legislative or executive acts in derogation thereof."⁹⁶

It is not at all surprising that the national judiciary has found it necessary to ignore the proscriptive language of the fourteenth amendment in order to impose an affirmative duty in the broad area of human associations. The courts could not have in any other way mustered a constitutionally envisaged compulsion to achieve the identified socio-educational goal of equality of condition.⁹⁷

In Athens, located on the western side of the Acropolis, is Areopagus—the hill of Ares. The judges of Areopagus once commanded that the books of Protagoras of Abdera be burned. And, before that, it was at Areopagus where Draco's council is said to have met, apportioning justice at its pleasure. Never has America's history seen such practices. And to the extent this nation is dedicated to a democratic ideal, the courts must retreat from any restriction on individual liberty in the field of human associations. The longer our highest Court adheres to the impetuous justice of the *Swann-Green* rule, the less that Court can be said to support freedom for all Americans.

NILE STANTON.

FOOTNOTES

¹ The phrase is borrowed from Judge Clark of the Fifth Circuit. Singleton v. Jackson Munic. Sep. School Dist., 425 F.2d 1211, 1223 (5th Cir. 1971).

² J. S. MILL, ON LIBERTY 89 (Crofts Classics ed. 1947).

³ But see Askin, *The Case for Compensatory*

Treatment, 24 RUTGERS L. REV. 65 (1969), where a contrary view is strongly propounded.

⁴ E. FROMM, *ESCAPE FROM FREEDOM* 240-43, 251-56 (1941).

⁵ See Z. BARBU, *DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP: THEIR PSYCHOLOGY AND PATTERNS OF LIFE* 47-52, 144-45 (1956); W. DOUGLAS, *THE ANATOMY OF LIBERTY: THE RIGHTS OF MAN WITHOUT FORCE* 102-05 (Pocket Cardinal ed. 1964).

⁶ See generally A. BICKEL, *THE SUPREME COURT AND THE IDEA OF PROGRESS* (1970); P. KURLAND, *POLITICS, THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE WARREN COURT* (1970).

⁷ See, e.g., Watt, *The Divine Right of Government by Judiciary*, 14 U. CHI. L. REV. 409 (1947).

⁸ 402 U.S. 1 (1971) (9-0 decision).

⁹ See *Hearings on the Status of School Desegregation Law Before the Senate Select Comm. on Equal Education Opportunity*, 92d Cong., 1st Sess., pt. 11, at 5415 (1971) (prepared statement of Alexander M. Bickel) [hereinafter cited as *Swann Hearings*]; *id.* at 5431 (remarks of Owen M. Fiss). Although the testimonies of Professors Bickel and Fiss differ at various points, they agree that the *Swann* decision is substantially result-oriented.

¹⁰ See, e.g., *United States v. Board of School Comm'rs*, 332 F. Supp. 655, 658-65 (S.D. Ind. 1971). Judge Dillin discussed with persuasive language and specificity the numerous legal disabilities imposed upon blacks in Indiana.

¹¹ 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

¹² *The Smith School*, *THE LIBERATOR*, June 28, 1844, at 3-4, in *CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE AMERICAN NEGROES. A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY* 111-12 (A. Blaustein & R. Zangrando eds. 1968) [hereinafter cited as *CIVIL RIGHTS HISTORY*].

¹³ *Roberts v. Boston*, 59 Mass. (5 Cush.) 198 (1849). Enforcement of such doctrine would discriminate against whites and blacks equally if other impediments were not present. However, the law itself had, even at this early date, sanctioned or created numerous measures designed to keep blacks "in their place." The Articles of Confederation, in art. IV, made it clear that "the free inhabitants" were the citizens of the confederacy. Although the Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude in several states, art. VI gave express support to slavery in other states. Moreover, it should be noted that Constitution itself was specifically geared to perpetuate the subjugation of blacks. U.S. CONST. art. IV, § 2, cl. 3 provided:

"No Person held to Service or Labor in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labor, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labor may be due."

The Fugitive Slave Act was passed to execute this provision. Act of Feb. 12, 1793, ch. 7, 1 Stat. 302. See *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*, 41 U.S. (16 Pet.) 539 (1842), where the constitutionality of the Act was upheld. The Compromise of 1850 amended and strengthened the original Act. Act of Sept. 18, 1850, ch. 60, 9 Stat. 462. In view of *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, 60 U.S. (19 How.) 393 (1857), it can be argued that, as a matter of federal law, whenever possible blacks were considered property until ratification of the thirteenth amendment on December 6, 1865.

¹⁴ Oral argument for the plaintiff is partially reprinted in *CIVIL RIGHTS HISTORY* 112-17. Among other contentions, counsel asserted the following:

"Admitting [arguing] that [the school for blacks] is an equivalent, still the colored children cannot be compelled to take it. . . . They have an equal right with white children to the general public schools. . . . [C]ompulsory segregation from the mass of citizens is of itself an inequality. . . . It is a vestige of ancient intolerance. . . . *Id.* at 116-17.

¹⁵ *Roberts v. Boston*, 59 Mass. (5 Cush.) 198, 208 (1849).

¹⁶ See not 13 *supra*.

¹⁷ *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537, 544 (1896).

¹⁸ *Id.* at 548, 550. In declaring equality before the law for blacks while sanctioning state segregation laws, the Court was no more inconsistent in *Plessy* than it had been for the previous quarter-century and would be several years thereafter in civil rights cases. See, e.g., *Berea College v. Kentucky*, 211 U.S. 45 (1908); *Hodges v. United States*, 203 U.S. 1 (1906); *James v. Bowman* 190 U.S. 127 (1903); *Cumming v. Richmond County Bd. of Educ.*, 175 U.S. 528 (1899); *Baldwin v. Franks*, 120 U.S. 678 (1887); *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3 (1883); *United States v. Harris*, 106 U.S. 629 (1883); *Strauder v. West Virginia*, 100 U.S. 303 (1880); *Hall v. DeCuir*, 95 U.S. 485 (1878); *United States v. Cruikshank*, 92 U.S. 542 (1876); *United States v. Reese*, 92 U.S. 214 (1875); *Slaughter House Cases*, 83 U.S. (16 Wall.) 36 (1873).

¹⁹ 163 U.S. at 559.

²⁰ 211 U.S. 45 (1908).

²¹ 275 U.S. 78 (1927).

²² *Cf. Korematsu v. United States*, 323 U.S. 214, 216 (1944).

²³ *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U.S. 337 (1938), required the University of Missouri Law School to accept a black applicant rather than allow the state to pay his tuition in an adjacent state until Missouri built a law school specifically for blacks. *Sipuel v. Board of Regents*, 332 U.S. 631 (1948), followed the *Gaines* ruling and required that a black woman be admitted to the University of Oklahoma Law School. *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629 (1950), required the University of Texas Law School to admit a black applicant since the law school maintained for blacks was grossly inferior. *McLaurin v. State Regents*, 339 U.S. 637 (1950), found that where a black graduate student in a white school was assigned to a special row in class and to special tables in the library and cafeteria, the segregation was unconstitutional. Hinting at the declining constitutional viability of the separate-but-equal doctrine, the Court in *McLaurin* stated:

"There is a vast difference—a Constitutional difference—between restrictions imposed by the State which prohibit the intellectual commingling of students, and the refusal of individuals to commingle where the State presents no such bar. . . . The removal of the State restrictions will not necessarily abate individual and group predilections, prejudices and choices. But at the very least, the State will not be depriving the appellant of the opportunity to secure acceptance of his fellow students on his own merits." 339 U.S. at 641-42.

²⁴ Zoning ordinances which required racially segregated housing were declared unconstitutional as early as 1917. *Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U.S. 60 (1917). Racially restrictive covenants in deeds, private arrangements aimed to obtain the same results as restrictive zoning, were declared void and unenforceable in 1948. *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (1948). Private racial discrimination in the sale of homes was declared unlawful only recently. *Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co.*, 392 U.S. 409 (1968). Deeds containing restrictive covenants can nevertheless be recorded. *Mayers v. Ridley*, No. 71-1418 (D.C. Cir., Nov. 15, 1971).

²⁵ 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

²⁶ *Brown v. Board of Educ.*, 349 U.S. 294, 301 (1955). The command of *Brown II* was that students be admitted to schools "on a racially nondiscriminatory basis. . . ." *Id.* As could be expected, the *Brown* decisions met with considerable opposition. On March 12, 1956, a group of 101 congressmen, most of whom were from the South, issued a "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" urging their states to oppose desegregation efforts. 102 Cong. Rec. 4515 (1956). See W.

WORKMAN, THE CASE OF THE SOUTH 285-302 (1960).

²⁷ Some of these are collected at Comment, 21 VAND. L. REV. 1093, 1094 n.11 (1968). See generally Meador, *The Constitution and the Assignment of Pupils to Public Schools*, 45 VA. L. REV. 517 (1959). The pertinent Indiana law is at IND. CODE § 20-8-10-1 (1971).

²⁸ 49 J. URBAN L. 339, 403 n.14 (1971), has collected most decisions on the point.

²⁹ See, e.g., *Hobson v. Hansen*, 269 F. Supp. 401 (D.D.C. 1967), *aff'd sub nom. Smuck v. Hobson*, 408 F.2d 175 (D.C. Cir. 1969); *Branch v. Board of Educ.*, 204 F. Supp. 150 (E.D.N.Y. 1962); *Swann Hearings* 5393 (remarks of Julius Chambers); Note, *Racial Imbalance in the Public Elementary Schools in Indiana*, 3 IND. LEGAL F. 483, 493-99, 511-13 (1970).

³⁰ *Spencer v. Kugler*, 326 F. Supp. 1235 (D.N.J. 1971), *aff'd*, 92 S. Ct. 707 (1972). The leading case is *Bell v. School City*, 213 F. Supp. 819 (N.D. Ind.), *aff'd* 324 F.2d 209 (7th Cir. 1963), *cert. denied*, 377 U.S. 924 (1964). *Accord*, *Deal v. Cincinnati Bd. of Educ.*, 309 F.2d 55 (6th Cir. 1966), *cert. denied*, 389 U.S. 847 (1967); *Downs v. Board of Educ.*, 336 F.2d 988 (10th Cir. 1964), *cert. denied*, 380 U.S. 914 (1965). See also *Goss v. Board of Educ.*, 444 F.2d 632 (6th Cir. 1971); *Banks v. Muncie Community Schools*, 443 F.2d 292 (7th Cir. 1970); *Robinson v. Shelby County Bd. of Educ.*, 330 F. Supp. 837 (W. D. Tenn. 1971). Sitting as Circuit Justice, William O. Douglas has recently stated that "remedies for de facto segregation, if there are any, are unclear." But he added that at least *Plessy* demands separate facilities to be equal. *Gomperts v. Chase*, 92 S. Ct. 16, 18 (1971) (emphasis added). *Cf. Levenson, Educational Implications of De Facto Segregation*, 16 CASE W. RES. L. REV. 545 (1965).

³¹ *Moses v. Washington Parish School Bd.*, 276 F. Supp. 834, 840 (E.D. La. 1967).

³² *Beckett v. School Board*, 308 F. Supp. 1274, 1304, 1311-15 (E.D. Va. 1969), *rev'd*, 434 F.2d 408 (4th Cir. 1970); *Swann Hearings* 5393 (remarks of Julius Chambers); *id.* at 5422-24 (prepared statement of Owen M. Fiss [reprinted with slight changes as Fiss, *The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Case—Its Significance for Northern School Desegregation*, 38 U. CHI. L. REV. 697 (1971)]; Note, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education: Roadblocks to the Implementation of Brown*, 12 WM. & MARY L. REV. 838, 846-47 (1971); Note, *Demise of the Neighborhood School Plan*, 55 CORNELL L. REV. 594, 597-605 (1970). See *The Supreme Court, 1970 Term*, 85 HARV. L. REV. 3, 85-86 (1971).

³³ The United States Supreme Court has never passed on the constitutionality of de facto segregation. See *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Educ.*, 402 U.S. 1, 22-23 (1971) (which examined only segregation imposed by school authorities). The Court may, however, address itself to the legality of de facto segregation in the near future. *Keyes v. Denver School Dist. No. 1*, 445 F.2d 990 (10th Cir. 1971), *cert. granted*, 92 S. Ct. 707 (1972) (No. 71-507).

³⁴ See note 29 *supra*. But cf. O'Neill, *Preferential Admissions: Equalizing the Access of Minority Groups to Higher Education*, 80 YALE L.J. 699, 715 n.62 (1971) (citing instances in which several courts have refused to enjoin efforts made by school boards to overcome de facto segregation).

³⁵ 372 F.2d 836 (5th Cir. 1966), *aff'd en banc*, 380 F.2d 385, *cert. denied*, 389 U.S. 840 (1967). See 81 HARV. L. REV. 474 (1967).

³⁶ 132 F. Supp. 776 (E.D.S.C. 1955).

³⁷ 132 F. Supp. at 777. *Accord*, *Lockett v. Board of Educ.*, 342 F.2d 225 (5th Cir. 1965); *Evers v. Jackson School Dist.*, 328 F.2d 408 (5th Cir. 1964); *Kelly v. Board of Educ.*, 270 F.2d 209 (6th Cir.), *cert. denied*, 361 U.S. 924 (1959); *Holland v. Board of Pub. Inst.*, 258 F.2d 730, 732 (5th Cir. 1958); *Avery v. Wichita Falls School Dist.*, 241 F.2d 230, 233 (5th Cir.), *cert. denied*, U.S. 938 (1967).

³⁸ *United States v. Jefferson County Bd. of Educ.*, 372 F.2d 836, 847 (5th Cir. 1966) (original emphasis).

³⁹ It is not contended here that "actual integration" is repressive and simplistic.

⁴⁰ 391 U.S. 430 (1968). See 82 HARV. L. REV. 111 (1968).

⁴¹ 391 U.S. at 441.

⁴² *Id.*, *Raney v. Board of Educ.*, 391 U.S. 443, 448 (1968); *Monroe v. Board of Commrs.*, 391 U.S. 450, 460 (1968). See Comment, 21 VAND. L. REV. 1093 (1968).

⁴³ 391 U.S. at 439.

⁴⁴ The definition quoted must be viewed as backward if one accepts the Court's views in *Green* and *Swann*. The freedom-of-choice plan rejected in *Green* for not producing actual integration was one which had not excluded any students from any school on the basis of race. *Swann Hearings* 5422 (prepared statement of Owen M. Fiss). But see Comment, 20 KAN. L. REV. 165, 170 (1971).

⁴⁵ *Alexander v. Holmes County Bd. of Educ.*, 396 U.S. 19, 20 (1969).

⁴⁶ 402 U.S. 1 (1971).

⁴⁷ Although the commentators rarely mentioned its import for individual liberty, *Swann* received considerable early attention. Cook, *School Desegregation: To Brown and Back Again—The Great Circle*, 23 BAYLOR L. REV. 398 (1971); Fiss, *The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Case—Its Significance for Northern School Desegregation*, 38 U. CHI. L. REV. 697 (1971); May, *Busing*, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, and the Future of Desegregation in the Fifth Circuit*, 49 TEX. L. REV. 884 (1971); *The Supreme Court, 1970 Term*, 85 HARV. L. REV. 3, 74 (1971); 49 J. URBAN L. 399 (1971); Comment, 20 KAN. L. REV. 165 (1971); Note, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education: Roadblocks to the Implementation of Brown*, 12 WM. & MARY L. REV. 838 (1971). President Nixon has given a belated, though excellent, analysis of the busing problem and has proposed significant, but not original, legislation. 118 CONG. REC. S4164-69 (daily ed. Mar. 17, 1972). See S. 3388 and S. 3395, 92nd Cong., Sess. (1972).

⁴⁸ 402 U.S. at 24.

⁴⁹ 402 U.S. at 25.

⁵⁰ *Id.*

⁵¹ *Id.* at 26-30. See May, *Busing*, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, and the Future of Desegregation in the Fifth Circuit*, 49 TEX. L. REV. 884-85 & nn.3-6 (1971).

⁵² 402 U.S. at 30-31.

⁵³ *Id.* at 31. After de jure segregation has been eliminated, there is no duty to continually adjust student bodies' racial compositions.

⁵⁴ Two other 1970 Term decisions in the area of civil rights at least deserve careful review, if not rejection: *Palmer v. Thompson*, 403 U.S. 217 (1971) and *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.*, 401 U.S. 424 (1971).

⁵⁵ *Swann Hearings* 5415. Professor Bickel's proposals to deal with the problem are reflected in the National Educational Opportunities Act, which he helped draft. 118 CONG. REC. H1735-39 (daily ed. Mar. 2, 1972).

⁵⁶ 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

⁵⁷ *Berea College v. Kentucky*, 211 U.S. 45 (1908).

⁵⁸ Such a ruling actually would be more repressive than *Plessy* since it would allow states to require affirmative remedial action in the area of human associations and would, hence, run counter to the negative language of the fourteenth amendment. See Meador, *The Constitution and the Assignment of Pupils to Public Schools*, 45 VA. L. REV. 517, 524 (1959). See generally McAuliffe, *School Desegregation: The Problem of Compensatory Discrimination*, 57 VA. L. REV. 65 (1971); *Swann Hearings* 5434-37 (remarks of Senator Ervin).

⁵⁹ 402 U.S. 1, 23 (1971) (emphasis added).

⁶⁰ See Cook, *School Desegregation: To Brown and Back Again—The Great Circle*, 23 BAYLOR L. REV. 398, 401-13 (1971).

⁶¹ 396 U.S. 19 (1969).

⁶² *Id.* at 20; *Northcross v. Board of Educ.*, 397 U.S. 232, 237 (1970) (Burger, C.J., concurring).

⁶³ 444 F.2d 632 (6th Cir. 1971).

⁶⁴ See note 59 *supra* and accompanying quote in text.

⁶⁵ 444 F.2d at 637 (original emphasis).

⁶⁶ *Id.* at 638.

⁶⁷ See, e.g., *Bradley v. Milliken*, Civil Action, No. 35257 (E.D. Mich., Sept. 27, 1971), where Judge Roth rejected plaintiff's claim that the Detroit school system engaged in discriminatory practices with respect to the hiring and assigning of teachers; the court, nevertheless, refused to condemn—or even comment upon—the fact that in 1970 alone the school board held open 240 teaching positions, rejecting white applicants so that qualified blacks could be found and accepted.

⁶⁸ See, e.g., *Askin, The Case for Compensatory Treatment*, 24 *RUTGERS L. REV.* 65 (1969).

⁶⁹ *Id.* at 66.

⁷⁰ See, e.g., *Contractors' Ass'n v. Secretary of Labor*, 311 F. Supp. 1002 (E.D. Pa. 1970), *aff'd*, 442 F.2d 159 (3d Cir. 1971); *Quarles v. Philip Morris*, 279 F. Supp. 505 (E.D. Va. 1968) *But cf.* *Caldwell v. Arizona Bd. of Regents*, 106 Ariz. 430, 477 P.2d 520 (1970).

⁷¹ 401 U.S. 424 (1971), *rev'd* 424 U.S. 1225 (4th Cir. 1970). For excellent discussions of problems embodied in this case see *Fiss, A Theory of Fair Employment Laws*, 38 U. CHI. L. REV. 235, 290-310 (1971); *Development in the Law—Employment Discrimination and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964*, 84 HARV. L. REV. 1109, 1137 (1971).

⁷² Judge Skelly Wright condemned ability grouping in schools as early as 1967. *Hobson v. Hansen*, 269 F. Supp. 401 (D.D.C. 1967).

⁷³ 329 F. Supp. 706 (N.D. Miss. 1971).

⁷⁴ 330 F. Supp. 1340 (E.D. La. 1971).

⁷⁵ 329 F. Supp. at 711-14, 716.

⁷⁶ *Id.* at 717. See 401 U.S. at 431.

[A]bsence of discriminatory intent does not redeem employment procedures or testing mechanisms that operate as "built-in headwinds" for minority groups and are unrelated to measuring job capability.

See also *Penn v. Stumpf*, 308 F. Supp. 1283 (N.D. Cal. 1970); *Arrington v. Massachusetts Bay Transp. Authority*, 306 F. Supp. 1355 (D. Mass. 1969).

⁷⁷ *Moses v. Washington Parish School Bd.*, 330 F. Supp. 1340, 1344-44 (E.D. La. 1971).

⁷⁸ *Franklin Elementary* had been an all-white school. *Id.* at 1341.

⁷⁹ *Id.* at 1343.

⁸⁰ "[T]o assign black students on the basis of the presently used testing violates their Fourteenth Amendment rights to be treated equally with white students. Homogeneous grouping is educationally detrimental to students assigned to the lower sections and blacks comprise a disproportionate number of the students in the lower sections. This is especially true where . . . black students who until recently were educated in admittedly inferior schools are now competing with white students educated in superior schools for positions in the top sections." *Id.* at 1345. In view of *Swann* one is tempted to query why the court did not require the affirmative act of integrating the ability levels by flat rather than merely prohibit ability grouping.

⁸¹ See, e.g., *Lemon v. Bossier Parish School Bd.*, 444 F.2d 1400 (5th Cir. 1971).

⁸² E.g., *Griffin v. Breckenridge*, 403 U.S. 88 (1971); *Boddie v. Connecticut*, 401 U.S. 371 (1971); *Serrano v. Priest*, 5 Cal. 3d 584, 487 P.2d 1241, 96 Cal. Rptr. 601 (1971). *But see* *Palmer v. Thompson*, 403 U.S. 217 (1971); *Whitcomb v. Chavis*, 403 U.S. 124 (1971); *James v. Valtierra*, 402 U.S. 137 (1971); *Wyman v. James*, 400 U.S. 309 (1971).

⁸³ 402 U.S. 1 (1971).

⁸⁴ H. A. MYERS, ARE MEN EQUAL?—AN INQUIRY INTO THE MEANING OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY 161 (Great Seal ed. 1955).

⁸⁵ *Id.* at 136.

⁸⁶ W. DOUGLAS, THE ANATOMY OF LIBERTY: THE RIGHTS OF MAN WITHOUT FORCE 51 (Pocket Cardinal ed. 1964).

⁸⁷ *Id.* (original emphasis).

⁸⁸ *United States v. Board of School Comm'rs.*, 332 F. Supp. 655 (S.D. Ind. 1971).

⁸⁹ See *Bradley v. School Board*, Civ. No. 3353 (E.D. Va., Jan. 5, 1972).

⁹⁰ *United States v. Board of School Comm'rs.*, 332 F. Supp. 655, 676-79 (S.D. Ind. 1971). That Judge Dillin considered the "tipping point" was prescient and unusual. *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Educ.*, 402 U.S. 1, 31-32 (1971), appeared to counsel against this. And many courts have expressly rejected consideration of this problem in view of *Monroe v. Board of Comm'rs.*, 391 U.S. 450, 459 (1968). See A. BICKEL, THE SUPREME COURT AND THE IDEA OF PROGRESS 136-37 (1970). *Cf.* *United States v. Scotland Neck City Bd. of Educ.*, 442 F.2d 575, 581-83 (4th Cir. 1971).

⁹¹ 332 F. Supp. at 679-80. Professor Fiss suggested that "there's an understandable legitimate basis for having school districts conform to the municipal boundaries" and thought that multidistrict orders were "very, very far down the road." *Swann Hearings* 5432.

⁹² Rather than wait for the Supreme Court to overrule itself, Congress has attempted to develop some remedies to *Swann*. Several Senators have attempted to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to sanction freedom-of-choice. 117 Cong. Rec. S17658 (daily ed. Nov. 5, 1971). Senator Talmadge introduced S.J. Res. 165, 92d Cong., 1st Sess. (1971), proposing a constitutional amendment to prohibit busing. See 117 Cong. Rec. S16095 (daily ed. Oct. 8, 1971). See also 118 Cong. Rec. E2089-90 (daily ed. Mar. 7, 1972) and 118 Cong. Rec. E2191-92 (daily ed. Mar. 8, 1972) which reprint some testimony from hearings on a House-proposed amendment. The views of several notable constitutional law scholars toward an anti-busing amendment are gathered at 118 Cong. Rec. E1301-05 (daily ed. Feb. 18, 1972).

During the evening and night of November 4-5, 1971, the House of Representatives passed the Emergency School Aid Act of 1971 by a vote of 332 to 38. The bill (S. 659—H.R. 7248) contained a provision designed to postpone any district court order which would force busing to achieve racial balance until the Supreme Court had time to act on an appeal. The bill also contained a section supporting the concept of "neighborhood schools." See 117 Cong. Rec. H10352-434 & D1124-25 (daily ed. Nov. 4, 1971). The Senate debates were longer and equal in intensity. See, e.g., 118 Cong. Rec. S2074-79 (daily ed. Feb. 18, 1972) (remarks of Senator Mondale); 118 Cong. Rec. S2308-10, S2373-74 (daily ed. Feb. 22, 1972) remarks of Senators Spong and Ribicoff; 118 Cong. Rec. S2434-52 (daily ed. Feb. 23, 1972) colloquy among several Senators). The Senate first took an anti-busing stance, but quickly changed that position. See 118 Cong. Rec. S2636 *et seq.* (daily ed. Feb. 25, 1972); 118 Cong. Rec. S2856-912, S2915-16 (daily ed. Feb. 29, 1972); 118 Cong. Rec. S3010-35 (daily ed. Mar. 1, 1972).

The Senate's successful efforts to keep strong anti-busing amendments out of its version of education bills did not, however, end the controversy. On March 8, 1972, the House agreed, by a vote of 272 to 139, to bind its conferees on the education bills to the strict anti-busing measures the House had adopted in November of 1971. 118 Cong. Rec. H1838-60 (daily ed. Mar. 8, 1972).

⁹³ See, e.g., *Cassell v. Texas*, 339 U.S. 282, 286 (1950); *Akins v. Texas*, 325 U.S. 398, 403 (1945). See generally McAuliffe, *School Desegregation: The Problem of Compensatory Discrimination*, 57 VA. L. REV. 65 (1971).

⁹⁴ *Dennis v. United States*, 339 U.S. 162, 185 (1950); *Tigner v. Texas*, 310 U.S. 141, 147

(1940); *Tussman & tenBroek, The Equal Protection of the Laws* 37 CALIF. L. REV. 341, 344 (1949).

⁹⁵ Compare *Bivins v. Bibb County Bd. of Educ.*, 331 F. Supp. 9 (M.D. Ga. 1971) (where the court effectively side-stepped or misread *Swann*), with *Cisneros v. Corpus Christi Independent School Dist.*, 330 F. Supp. 1377 (S.D. Tex. 1971) (where the court went so far as to identify the number, race, housing units, and schools of those to be compulsorily mixed) and *Mims v. Duval County School Bd.*, 329 F. Supp. 123 (M.D. Fla. 1971). A simple, though presumably effective, plan was approved in *Davis v. Board of Educ.*, 449 F.2d 500 (8th Cir. 1971). See President Nixon's remarks on the "maze of differing and sometimes inconsistent orders" at 118 Cong. Rec. S4164 (daily ed. Mar. 17, 1972).

⁹⁶ R. POUND, THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES OF LIBERTY at v (1957).

⁹⁷ Although there have been several attempts to explain the supposed necessity and justifiability of result-oriented decision-making, most such attempts appear to be rather specious; and none give satisfactory answers to some very difficult yet basic questions: Why is it necessary, and how is it justifiable, to frame a remedy in racial terms when damage can be ascertained in socio-educational and economic terms? Are there no disadvantaged whites who would be denied remedial action? Are there limits beyond which the courts cannot go in imposing affirmative duties in the area of human associations? If so, what are those limits? If there can be a racial basis for imposing affirmative duties, can the Constitution be read to impose affirmative duties on the basis of creed or sex if damage has been imposed primarily on the basis of these classifications? If not, why? Such questions may seem rhetorical at this time; but if *Swann* and other recent cases have in fact created affirmative duties, the nation's courts will some day be forced to grapple with such monstrous problems as are implicit in the above questions. See generally *Askin, The Case for Compensatory Treatment*, 24 *RUTGERS L. REV.* 65 (1969); O'Neill, *Preferential Admissions: Equalizing the Access of Minority Groups to Higher Education*, 80 YALE L.J. 699, 713-18 & nn.55-71 (1971); Wright, *The Role of the Supreme Court in a Democratic Society—Judicial Activism or Restraint?*, 54 CORNELL L.Q. 1 (1968), none of which examine the implications for individual liberty. *cf.* Freund, *Civil Rights and the Limits of Law*, 14 *BUFFALO L. REV.* 199 (1964); Kaplan, *Equal Justice in an Unequal World: Equality for the Negro—the Problem of Special Treatment*, 61 *NW. U. L. REV.* 363 (1966).

NIXON ANSWERS MOSCOW

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the foreign press often makes highly significant comment on American affairs, particularly on U.S. foreign policy. In that connection, I would like to bring to the attention of the House an editorial from the London Daily Telegraph which has been reprinted in the New York Times. The Daily Telegraph editorialist, in my view, does an excellent job of summing up the situation in Vietnam which led to President Nixon's decision to mine North Vietnamese harbors and very pointedly makes clear that the President is employing the carrot as well as

the stick in his latest Vietnam action. I commend a reading of the Daily Telegraph editorial to my colleagues. The editorial follows:

NIXON ANSWERS MOSCOW

By mining Haiphong and extending air attacks in the North, President Nixon is giving the proper answer to Russia's challenge in Vietnam. North Vietnam's latest invasion of the South with her entire regular army is the clearest conceivable case of flagrant aggression. It could not have been executed, or even conceived in the blitzkrieg form entirely new to the Indochina struggle, without massive Russian aid in weapons, training and planning. Its aim was to stir up again a horrible war, to halt the remarkable progress of Mr. Nixon's policy of peace and withdrawal, to humiliate America and discredit her as an ally throughout the world and to establish Russia on China's doorstep as the dominant power in Indochina.

The Russians underestimated Mr. Nixon if they thought he would stomach such damage and provocation without a sharp riposte. In view of America's great air and naval superiority in and around Vietnam they will find his latest move most difficult to counter. The ardent hope of all lovers of freedom must be that the South will be able, if necessary, to withstand the North's assaults until the accumulated supplies dry up. China, increasingly concerned about Russian influence in Hanoi and the ambitions of North Vietnamese imperialism, can be counted on not to offer alternative communications for key Russian supplies on the necessary scale.

It is typical that Mr. Nixon's display of strength is accompanied by specific offers of conciliation. He repeats previous calls for an internationally supervised cease-fire, and undertakes to end the blockade as soon as this begins and to withdraw all American forces within four months, as compared with six months in earlier statements. Previous offers were made before the North had any real hold on territory in the South. Now Hanoi would keep the gains made in its latest offensive, together with what it holds in Laos and Cambodia—theoretically pending negotiations.

Thus what looks to Mr. Nixon's domestic and foreign critics, including the British Labor party, as a reckless use of power, is in fact a stick whose only purpose is to persuade the other side to accept an almost unlimited supply of carrots. One result is that Mr. Nixon, far from cancelling his Moscow visit in a huff, or going there as the impotent prisoner of his hosts' bad faith, now has a bargaining counter on Vietnam. Are the Russians really more interested in Vietnam, and their hopes of humiliating America there, than in the missile agreement now ready for signature and the European security conference from which they count on gaining so much—to say nothing of Berlin, *ospolitik* and the Middle East? They must make their choice, and be judged by it.

"RURAL COMMUNITIES CON- DEMNED TO DEATH"

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, on April 24, a very significant hearing was held at Redwood Falls in our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District.

This hearing was held to hear arguments against the abandonment of the Wanda-Sanborn branch line of the Chi-

cago & North Western Railroad, a spur of about 8 miles.

The abandonment of this line, and others which would follow, would condemn many of our rural communities to death, a death by strangulation, because of a lack of transportation facilities.

This is a problem we are gravely concerned about in Minnesota. It is a problem we all should be concerned about, because once a precedent is established, once a pattern is set, it will spread throughout the country.

Mr. Speaker, so that my colleagues and others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD may understand the gravity of the plans to abandon our railroad branch lines, with your permission I would like to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my testimony at that hearing.

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN M. ZWACH

I am Congressman John Zwach. I have lived on the Chicago & North Western Sleepy Eye to Marshall line all of my life.

I came back from Washington last night because I am convinced this is a very, very important hearing. Because of this feeling I personally wrote to Mr. George Stafford, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and requested that because of the importance of this meeting that at least one member of the Commission itself should be here. I do not believe one can get the real feeling and importance of this meeting from just reviewing hearing records. Apparently this request was ignored.

I want to make an overall statement regarding the abandonment of railroads in Minnesota and particularly in this Congressional District. I have lived along the Chicago & North Western all of my life. My father bought a quarter section of land in Gales Township, near Milroy, from the Winona & St. Peter Railroad in 1901. I believe that it is about the time the Chicago & North Western bought the Winona & St. Peter line. I, therefore, have observed the growth, operation, deterioration and neglect of this line.

The Chicago & North Western line serves some of the best agricultural land in the world in this area. Increased yields in corn have gone from about 35 bushels an acre when I was a boy to 135 bushels per acre today. Our shipment of soybeans is increasing every year. There is a growing need and potential for transportation. Productionwise the whole area is definitely on the increase.

Many of our elevators, if they cannot get cars for shipment, call their Congressman in Washington who in turn calls the railroad offices. Generally, we are able to get at least partial results. But it brings up the question, why cannot these shippers get the needed cars through the regular railroad channels?

The Interstate Commerce Commission, with whom we are meeting today, was created to protect the public by act of Congress in 1887. The Congressional intent centered on the need to establish an obligation for carriers to provide fair and reasonable service in accordance with publicly filed tariffs.

In Minnesota, our Countryside is facing a crisis as the railroads seek and obtain approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission to abandon their branch lines.

Ironically, most of the rural communities who will be suffering the most should this abandonment be successful are located on what was originally railroad land. When the railroads started building lines in Minnesota, they were given land grants of almost six million acres, 80,000 in Redwood County, as a subsidy to help them meet their construction costs. This was done to build rural America. They certainly should not now be a part of destroying rural America. Over the

years, there were other subsidies, such as mail contracts, to help them in meeting their operating expenses.

Today, we are being told that the railroads cannot continue to operate some of their lines because of lack of traffic. They tell us they must have 34 cars per mile per year or \$7,000 per mile revenue to break even.

On this six mile line from Sanborn to Wanda, we had in 1970, 192 cars generating \$38,566 in total revenue on which the railroad showed a net profit of \$1,911. Most important, the carloadings showed a steady increase from 1968. Along with this steady increase in traffic, the railroads have also been granted eight general rate increases totaling 29% since 1968. Another increase is due on May 1, 1972: a 4% general increase, with a 6% increase allowed for grain, 5% for lumber, 6% for fertilizer, and 6% for farm machinery.

The question arises, is the charged decreasing traffic caused by a lack of business potential in the area, or because of lack of servicing needs. Certainly, the condition of the tracks and the roadbeds, which prevent any service at all for weeks at a time, are the product of neglect on the part of the railroads.

I have letters in my files showing that the country elevators in this general area have the potential of from 200 to 600 cars of in and out shipments each, per year.

Our farmers today are producing more than ever before in history and most of this production must be shipped away from its point of origin. To account for this record production, there must also be a tremendous "in" shipment of fertilizer, farm machinery, lumber and other supplies.

At a meeting held at the Interstate Commerce Commission building in Washington on February 14, Jim Fetig, in the Marketing division of the Chicago & North Western Railroad said, and I quote, "We have too many small elevators." He said big grain handlers do a better job than the country elevators. He said the railroad would like to see giant farm centers developed which would contain a regional elevator, a regional fertilizer plant, a regional lumber yard, and so forth. The farmers could haul their products twenty to forty miles to these regional centers and also pick up their "in" shipments there.

While there is a growing nationwide effort to revitalize our rural areas, the railroads, according to Mr. Fetig's testimony, would condemn it to death by depriving it of vital transportation.

As for revitalizing our Countryside, I would like to mention what has been done in the past several years in this area. Rural Development programs of the Department of Agriculture alone for this year totalled \$2.8 billion in funding. This is more than four times that of fiscal year 1961; and funding has doubled since fiscal year 1969.

The Administration has proposed Rural Community Development Revenue Sharing.

The Administration has proposed a \$1.3 billion credit sharing program by broadening and expanding the Farmers Home Administration to include guaranteed and insured loans for job-creating investments and for much needed community facilities in rural areas.

The House of Representatives passed a billion dollar Rural Development Act already this year and the Senate is now working on this toward final enactment.

The President, early in his Administration, appointed a Rural Affairs Council.

But interest in rural development and helping our rural communities and solving some problems is not limited to government alone. We now have before Congress legislation, endorsed by the railroads I might add, entitled the "Surface Transportation Act". In one title alone, it wants government assistance to guarantee loans up to a maximum of \$5 billion to improve transportation services which the public interest requires

but for which needed financing is not available.

The abandonment of our railroads is running counter to this developing tide and we cannot allow it to go unchallenged. The very life-blood of rural Minnesota is at stake. What we need is a determination of the impact of railroad abandonment on our countryside economy and a moratorium on railroad abandonment until that study is completed. I have introduced legislation to this end in this session of Congress and I am working constantly to achieve this goal.

This abandonment hearing today is but the first of many which will be held if the present plans of the Chicago & North Western Railroad to reduce service are allowed to proceed. The railroad has been explicit in pinpointing the lines it plans to abandon. These lines reach into the very heart of our 6th Congressional District. We must today take steps to insure the growth of this great agricultural area and the growth, rather than neglect, of the public service rail lines on which the very life of our rural communities depends.

Highways in this entire area are inadequate. We have several hundred communities in this State without year-round highways, that means nine-ton weight carrying roads. Transportation in many areas would be paralyzed without these railroad lines and communities could not compete. There is now additional talk of diverting highway funds for mass transit.

I commend the communities present for working together in one vast appeal and effort. As I stated, I wanted Commission members present to sense the deep concern expressed by our people today. It is imperative that we find the answers to keeping our railroads. If the railroads, under present conditions, cannot respond to the needs of rural America, then we must carefully reconsider the operation of these rail lines. To the extent that Government can be helpful, I pledge all that I can do in that area.

VIOLENCE IN NATION'S CAPITAL

HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, here in the Nation's Capital during the past 2 days needless and unnecessary violence has again erupted. This violence is a product of that small segment of our population which is seeking to divide and disrupt our country at a time when unity behind the President is imperative.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I feel that it is especially appropriate at this time to bring to the attention of our colleagues the following resolution which was adopted by the Columbus, Ga., Chamber of Commerce on May 18, during Armed Forces Week. This resolution sets forth in excellent terms a strong statement of support for the President—a statement of support which I feel is shared by a vast majority of Americans.

The resolution reads:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the Armed Forces of the United States have been engaged in military action to preserve the Republic of South Vietnam against Communist aggression since 1965, and

Whereas, the Commander-in-Chief, President Richard M. Nixon, has taken bold and decisive action to bring the Vietnam conflict

to an honorable conclusion by cutting supply routes of the North Vietnamese, including the mining of Haiphong harbor and air bombardment of rail and highway targets, and

Whereas, this action by our Commander-in-Chief is in keeping with the best traditions of American military history to employ effective power at the most critical point at the appropriate time in order to accomplish the objective, and

Whereas, it is especially significant during this Armed Forces Week to take note of President Nixon's actions, now therefore

Be it hereby resolved that the Board of Directors of the Columbus Chamber of Commerce hereby enthusiastically endorses the action of the Commander-in-Chief in this matter and pledges him their full support, and

Be it further resolved that during this Armed Forces Week, the Board of Directors of the Columbus Chamber of Commerce salutes not only the Commander-in-Chief, but all members of the Armed Forces, and in particular those stationed in our community at Fort Benning, Georgia, to whom we reaffirm our special respect and esteem for loyal and faithful service to our country, and

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be provided the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the Army, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Commanders of CONARC, Third Army and Fort Benning, Senators Talmadge and Gambrell, Congressman Brinkley and the Mayor of Columbus.

IS THE END IN SIGHT?

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, WGN Radio and Television in Chicago, Ill., broadcast an editorial on Vietnam from Saturday, May 13, through Wednesday, May 17. This editorial was of special significance in my opinion since I believe it represents grassroots public thinking far more than the automatic criticism of the President which came from the ultra-liberal commentators who dominate the news media.

As the President lands for the negotiations with Soviet leaders, I am sure he is fortified by knowing that public opinion is behind him, and most Americans wish him success in his efforts.

The editorial follows:

IS THE END IN SIGHT?

The over-long American involvement in Vietnam has taken a new turn. The new course may lead, next year or the year after to Communist control of all Indo-China. But it should also lead, sooner than later, to an end to one of the longest military involvements in our nation's history.

President Nixon's address to the nation and the world, the most forth-right and open statement he's made on Vietnam, puts all the cards, at least all of our cards, on the table. While Mr. Nixon outlined three options, he did not mention others which he could have elected, options much more dangerous than the one he chose . . . full-scale naval blockade, which is an act of war . . . the re-introduction of large numbers of American troops to resume the bulk of the fighting in Vietnam . . . the use of the ultimate weapons of our nuclear arsenal.

In this perspective, it seems the President has chosen the truest course. If the North Vietnamese want the U.S. out of Vietnam, Mr. Nixon has opened a path which he said would humiliate no one. We will, as the President told the world, withdraw all our forces within four months from the date American prisoners-of-war are released and a supervised cease-fire begins.

Apparently withdrawn from our proposals are all Vietnamese political considerations. This, really, never was any of our business.

While we have little faith in the endurance of a cease-fire in that part of the world, and while we see the Hanoi government eventually dominating all of Indo-China, we see President Nixon's proposals as the most reasonable method of accomplishing what finally has become our national purpose there . . . the return of the American prisoners and the safe withdrawal of the 60,000 American troops still in Vietnam.

IMPOUNDMENT OF FUNDS BY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, last week the Democratic Caucus took a stand, for the first time, in strong opposition to the unprecedented, and massive impoundment of funds by the present administration. For some time now, some of my colleagues and I have been concerned about the policy of the administration to withhold moneys for projects and programs authorized and funded by the Congress, and vital to our districts.

For the last two fiscal years, there have been over \$12 billion in appropriated funds withheld in each year, by unilateral action of the executive branch.

At this time I would like to insert a copy of the resolution which the Democratic Caucus approved this week by an overwhelming vote, expressing concern over this practice. I am also taking the liberty of listing the sponsors of the resolution upon presentation to the caucus for its consideration.

It is our sincere hope that the President will take note of our position, and that all of our other colleagues will join us in our efforts to avoid any confrontation between the executive branch and the legislative branch on this issue.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION TO BE PROPOSED FOR ADOPTION BY THE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS

RESOLUTION

Relating to the impoundment of funds in the executive branch

Resolved, That the massive and unprecedented impoundment of funds by the present Administration—

(1) has the general effect of limiting and changing, by unilateral action and without the consent of the Congress, the programs and policies authorized by the Congress;

(2) generally contravenes the intent of the Congress in making appropriations of funds to support those authorized programs and policies; and

(3) disregards the co-equals status of the legislative and executive branches under the Constitution of the United States.

Therefore, it is the sense of the Democratic Caucus that—

(A) funds currently impounded should be released and utilized for the programs and purposes for which they were appropriated;

(B) there be no further impoundments of funds on a massive scale; and

(C) the Congress should take such steps as may be necessary and appropriate to reassert its constitutional powers with respect to these matters.

57 SPONSORS

Henry B. Gonzalez, Glenn M. Anderson, William R. Anderson, Phillip Burton, Richard T. Hanna, Edward I. Koch.

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A CASE OF SLOPPY JOURNALISM

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, in the continuing study of the responsibility and ethics of the press and of the Congress, the following article would seem to be relevant:

A CASE OF SLOPPY JOURNALISM

(By Russel B. Nye)

When it comes to facts, I have never really trusted newspapers very much. A youth spent in what Colonel Robert R. McCormick used to call "Chicagoland," reading the *Tribune*, and 25 years of historical research have convinced me that newspapermen are highly fallible sources of information. When I heard Martin Nolan of *The Boston Globe* remark confidently on television (October 24, 1971) that there were "over 50,000 war resisters in Canada," I thought he might really know. The figure seemed to me important, so I wrote to Nolan, asking his source.

Nolan's reply was not helpful. He cited James Reston Jr., who had used the 50,000 figure in *The New Republic* without attribution. Newspapermen quoting other newspapermen arouse my suspicion, so I thought I'd look it up, especially when that 50,000 began turning up all over the media.

I began in 1968. That year a writer in *The Progressive* thought there were "at least 10,000 draft evaders in Canada. *U.S. News and World Report* gave estimates varying from 300-400 to 25,000. Edmund Taylor, in a well-researched article in the soon-to-be-defunct *Reporter*, cited a *New York Times* estimate of 4,000; another by a Toronto antidraft group of 10,000; and Canadian press estimates of 14,000 up. *The Atlantic*, using the Toronto group's figure, came up with 3,000-10,000.

In 1969 amazing things happened. The *New York Times* in April settled for "several thousand" draft evaders in Canada. In De-

cember, however, it raised that to 60,000 on the basis of estimates from the Toronto draft-resisters' group—a number soon to be enshrined in the American press. That the figure represented a spectacular increase of 56,000 over the 1968 news report bothered nobody at the *Times*, while CBC's "Public Eye" program, perhaps carried away by the *Times*, also estimated 60,000.

In 1970 things settled down a bit, but not for long. The *Times* shifted its estimate to 6,000-60,000 (a delightfully flexible figure, I thought) as well as quoting an "independent estimate of 20,000." The Toronto group (which used 10,000 in 1968) now placed the number at 60,000 (the *Times* again?) which other papers dutifully printed. Stewart Alsop, in *Newsweek*, fixed for no discernible reason on 25,000-30,000. Roger Williams, of the Toronto group, used the *Times'* 60,000 but insisted that "qualified observers" calculated "many more than that." (This seemed to me an interesting situation, in which draft evaders in Canada quoted the *Times* which quoted draft evaders in Canada.) Vance Garner of the Montreal Resisters' Council, entered the field with a statement that there were 14,000 draft-age landed immigrants "here now," a figure I found impossible to derive from any known Canadian immigration reports. He escalated things further by claiming that there were actually "three to four times that many" illegally in Canada, i.e., 42,000-56,000. A staff worker for the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam told the press that there were 60,000 draft evaders in Canada (once more the *Times*), a figure which included 30,000 in Toronto alone.

The year 1971 was wilder. *Newsweek* cited 50,000-70,000, doubling what their man Alsop said a year before. *Parade*, apparently quoting the Clergy and Laymen group, said there were 30,000 in Toronto. The *Toronto Globe and Mail*, for its part, chose 30,000-100,000. Mike Wallace on "Sixty Minutes" used a new Montreal Resisters' estimate of 100,000, noting that it was perhaps inflated, but offering no alternative. Nolan, citing Reston, and Reston, citing nobody, said "over 50,000."

The most curious statistics of 1971, however, appeared in Rogers Williams' book, *The New Exiles*, which had few footnotes and no bibliography. Williams on different pages cited both 40,000 and 60,000 (the *Times* again!) for 1970. On another page he put the number in mid-1967 at 5,000-6,000, representing an increase of 34,000-55,000 in less than three years, certainly one of the least-noticed mass migrations in modern history. On two other pages he reported 25,000 evaders and deserters legally in Canada, and on yet another page, by adding wives and children, he got the number (legal or illegal?) to 50,000-60,000. Finally, at the close of his study, he increased this to 50,000-100,000.

1972 may be a banner year for inflation. *Newsweek* led off in January with "75,000, mostly in Canada," while David Brinkley, with oracular finality, made it 75,000-100,000. Senator Robert Taft, in an interview given to *The Los Angeles Times* news service, estimated there are "about 20,000 of these men in Canada." Since Senator Taft, who has initiated legislation, and Brinkley, who was commenting on it, differ by 55,000-80,000, the variance seems significant. They can't both be right.

In January, Gannett News Service used the figure "60,000-100,000," which strikes me as having a generous margin of built-in error. In February, UPI settled on 70,000. The last four references I have seen in January and February, 1972, choose 70,000.

What emerges from all this, and I have not by any means exhausted examples, is clear evidence of extremely sloppy journalism. Newspaper and television reports on draft evaders and deserters in Canada have, over those two years, varied from 10,000 to 100,-

000, a margin of error that ought to have stirred a twinge of doubt in some newspaperman's breast somewhere. Most striking in the stories was the almost complete lack of plain legwork. I found no journalist who had consulted easily obtainable Canadian immigration figures, and with one or two exceptions, none who had researched the realities of Canadian immigration laws. One cannot, as Alsop write, simply walk across the Canadian border and "fade into the economy," or, as *Newsweek* misleadingly implied, gain landed immigrant status simply by asking at the border. Canadian embassy and consular sources that have no ax to grind will, if asked, estimate about 10,000 American draft evaders in Canada (about the same number of Canadians have volunteered for the U.S. Army), but nobody asks them.

As for me, I trust the press no more than before, nor do I have any more information than before. I don't know how many draft evaders there are in Canada or elsewhere, but in the light of the growing debate over amnesty, I'd like to know as accurately and honestly as possible.

LOYALTY DAY 1972

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, on May 6, 1972, I had the privilege of attending the Loyalty Day ceremony conducted at Wormleysburg, Pa., my congressional district.

Col. M. J. Caraccia, commanding officer for the New Cumberland Army Depot at New Cumberland, Pa., made the principal presentation for this occasion. Because Colonel Caraccia's remarks contain some meaningful and inspirational observations, I insert them to the Congressional Record and commend them to the attention of my colleagues.

The remarks follow:

LOYALTY DAY 1972

Traditionally we commemorate occasions such as this Loyalty Day celebration with parades, flying the National Flag in front of our homes and displaying our patriotism in a number of other ways. We may even listen to a patriotic speech—if it is not too long-winded.

It seems to me that in years past we used to show our patriotism on a greater scale than we do today. Then, flag-waving was not considered corny or unsophisticated.

I am not sure that we are less patriotic today; but, we do seem less willing to display our patriotism in the open. I think that all of us who prize freedom and love our country should be less self-conscious about showing it.

I should like to see an outward show of patriotism fashionable once again—not the pseudo-patriotism of the strident, self-seeking extremist who assails the character of our public officials, undermines our institutions, and makes a mockery of the basic values for which this country stands—but the true patriotism of the decent, honest, kindly American who can be counted on to serve and defend his country selflessly and without fanfare, in triumph or adversity.

It is in this vein that I want to talk about the Declaration of Independence. I wonder how many Americans have read this document lately. It is one of the most significant state papers in all history. I think most of us grew up believing the Declaration of Independence to be peculiarly American, but

it is more. Its reference is not solely to the people of the thirteen colonies—but to men everywhere. Let me quote a portion of this historic document.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on which principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

These words—written principally by Thomas Jefferson—expressed a complete political philosophy and an entire theory of government. Nowhere in literature has so much been said in so few words. This is the document which gave rise to the great American dream of equal opportunity for everyone, regardless of race, color, creed or social background. No document in history matches it as a source of inspiration for men who cherish freedom. No clearer justification of man's right to throw off the yoke of oppression exists.

I wish I could say that we in this country have always been true to the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. Democracy in the United States has gone through a series of difficult periods. Just over a century ago, we were rent by a great war which, in four bloody years, pitted one-half of this Nation against the other. We have had our election frauds and our scandals in government. We have experienced difficulties in establishing and safeguarding the rights of minorities. And we still have a large number of vocal dissidents who give if nothing else, considerable encouragement to the enemies of this republic. So democracy is still imperfect in the United States—although it remains the hope and the inspiration for people the world over.

Up through the early years of this century, America was largely preoccupied in transforming a continent into a nation. But in 1917, we entered the First World War—and the weight of our effort turned the tide of battle.

The Second World War ended our adolescence. When the war was over, our country had at least grown up and assumed its responsibilities as a great world power. With a compassion and an understanding unique in history, we aided both friend and foe alike to recover from the destruction of war. In the interest of the dignity and welfare of man, we developed the Marshall Plan and other aid programs to alleviate misery—and to raise hope in areas where there was only despair.

The focal point of aggression in today's troubled, restless world is in Vietnam. In that beleaguered country "Freedom is on the line."

But, we are not standing idly by—we have not sought ignoble peace. Quite the contrary. We are helping the South Vietnamese meet overt and covert communist aggression. We are helping defend another frontier of freedom.

To those who oppose our actions in Vietnam, I would ask: "Where is the line to be drawn against communist aggression?" For we have learned that to yield to aggression brings only greater threats and brings even more destructive war. To stand firm is the only guarantee of our own freedom.

The challenge is clear and unequivocal. The future of the free world—the conditions of human life for years to come are being determined now.

This is an appropriate time to spend a

few minutes talking about the internal challenges to our American way of life.

Today America has a great stake in freedom. For many people freedom is an abstraction. It becomes reality for them only when it is denied. Like any abstract concept, freedom has little meaning except in terms of contrast.

Freedom vs slavery, freedom vs imprisonment, freedom vs personal restriction, freedom vs death. Most Americans do not know what it is to be imprisoned—to experience harassment—or to hear the sinister knock on the door of their home. It is not surprising that many of us take freedom for granted.

With equal danger, some Americans confuse freedom with license. From its earliest records, history shows us that when license becomes the liberty of self-indulgence—then freedom from want becomes freedom from work—freedom of worship becomes freedom from worship—freedom of speech becomes freedom from truth—freedom from fear becomes freedom from duty.

History is full of accounts of mighty nations which lost their perspective and sank into oblivion. Swept up in the desire for self-gratification, they were unable to cope with hardship—and were swallowed whole by nations less wealthy, less secure—but willing to sacrifice for their goals.

Our hindsight should be crystal clear; and we should recognize the two sides of our greatness. One is an expansive territory coupled with population, unprecedented production, immense wealth, and military strength. Certainly, these material benefits are a source of pride and outward security. But—the other side—tempered in almost two centuries of conduct, character, and service of the highest order—is the most important, if America is to endure.

This is the soul of America. We are a republic built upon the solid foundation of the inalienable rights of man. To let this foundation erode—to let our ideals and values be compromised—is as lacking in patriotism as would be to surrender to our foes. Prayer, undaunted courage, and self-sacrifice are the building blocks of our Nation—Freedom is the keystone.

Its spark sprang into flame in this country—and has never been extinguished. It is a grand concept of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Our growth stems from the principles we live by as a nation and from the goals we have always sought. As a result, we have become the symbol of hope for mankind: A free society, under a free government of self-disciplined individuals—who freely adhere to their own self-made rules of society. We have long known—and sometimes forgotten—that the foundation of our government is government by law; that without order, justice and freedom will disappear. In the final accounting, our national security—and that of others—will rest upon our adherence to our principles.

We are in a period of intense self-inspection, and there are those who say our principles are outmoded—that times have changed—that truth, honor, justice, adherence to law are all outdated. There are a lot of things I could say to that, but I guess *Hogwash!* will have to suffice. We need nothing new, except perhaps a rededication to our principles.

The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights spell out our national principles in clear, coherent language. Not just the language of the times, but the language for all time. Just listen: "And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of a divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor." That is the last sentence of our Declaration of Independence. Nothing depicts more clearly dedication to principle.

No, we need no new principles—for in the

recorded history of man, our principles are still new, untarnished by the passage of time. America, the America we know, and the America our children will know—is still the great experiment—the raw young upstart among world cultures—the great hope of humanity.

What we do need is the steadfast dedication to those principles shown by Patrick Henry, Nathan Hale, John Paul Jones, Abraham Lincoln, General Marshall, and the unknown soldiers who lie in Arlington. Character, honor, loyalty, integrity, devotion to duty and tenacity of purpose—these are the bedrock of our existence. They have sustained us for nearly two hundred years.

Today, let us renew our dedication to our American principles—as thousands of American troops renewed it in the swamps and jungles of Vietnam—to keep faith with our Founding Fathers. Let us express our pride in America—and take our stand unflinchingly for the cause of freedom.

COMMONSENSE AND THE EFFECTS OF FORCED SCHOOL BUSING

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, in a statement made on September 24, 1971, I said that forced school busing would be counterproductive in terms of achieving the goals of racial harmony and a society without discrimination.

At that time I had no scholarly study conducted by Harvard experts to back up my commonsense appraisal. Indeed, the studies then available seemed to point in the opposite direction.

However, over the weekend I was interested to read about a new, major study of the effects of busing in five cities. As described in the Washington Post, this study, by Harvard Prof. David J. Armor, demonstrates that busing simply does not work; it does not lead to the results sought by its advocates. The study determined that in some cases busing has "led to a worsening of race relations, rather than improvement."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article reporting on the study, published in the Washington Post of May 21, 1972, be printed in the RECORD.

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

ACHIEVEMENT, TOLERANCE UNIMPROVED: STUDY CASTS DOUBT ON BUSING

(By Lawrence Feinberg)

A major study of school desegregation by busing in five Northern cities concludes that achievement test scores of black students have not been raised. Moreover, the busing experiments, in several cases, have led to a worsening of race relations, rather than an improvement.

The study reports that the grades of Negro students generally fell when they were transferred to predominantly white schools because grading standards were higher.

Black youngsters in these schools, the study says, have a stronger sense of racial identity and a greater desire for black separatism than do students in predominantly black schools.

The report suggests that much of the research on race and education done before the

late 1960s and widely used in court integration decisions is now outdated because it fails to take into account the new militancy and pride of many black students.

The 64-page study was written by David J. Armor, an associate professor of sociology at Harvard University who previously had conducted research for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

It includes research on a city-suburb desegregation program in Boston, which Armor conducted himself, plus data on similar programs in Ann Arbor, Mich., Hartford, Conn., Riverside, Calif., and White Plains, N.Y.

Overall, about 5,000 students, ranging from grades one to 12, have participated in these busing programs. The data that Armor compiled from 1965 to 1971 follows the children from one to five years.

Armor's study has been presented at a seminar at Harvard, and it is scheduled for publication this summer in *The Public Interest* magazine.

He said in an interview that his study is the largest showing the "before and after" effect of long-term busing projects by using the same tests to compare bused children with others.

In the mid-1960s Armor worked on a government research project, headed by James S. Coleman, which compiled a massive report on race and education. The report concluded that lower-class black students make some academic gains in predominantly middle-class white schools.

But in his new study Armor notes that the tests Coleman used were all given at the same time—in the fall of 1965. Thus, conclusions about the effect of integration were made, he said, by comparing youngsters in schools with different proportions of black and white students, rather than by following the same children after they had switched from a predominantly black school to a predominantly white one.

"NO SIGNIFICANT GAINS"

In four of the programs he studied, Armor said, black children bused to suburban schools made "no significant gains" when compared to other black students who stayed in inner-city schools or to whites who took the same achievement tests.

In the fifth program, Hartford, the results were mixed. Negro children in suburban schools did better in some grades. But in others, the children in their neighborhood schools scored higher.

Armor, whose prime field of work is research methods and statistics, said he also reviewed reports on over a dozen other desegregation programs, including Berkeley, Calif., and Rochester, N.Y. All of them, he said, were seriously flawed, either by including different tests at different times or by not having a control group against which to check the progress of the students who were bused.

Besides the data on achievement, Armor's study contains the results of questionnaires and psychological tests given to measure children's attitudes toward themselves and toward other races.

Contrary to expectations based on earlier research, Armor said the aspirations of black children were slightly lower in mostly white schools than in all-black ones. But in both types of schools, he said, their ambitions—for white-collar jobs and a college education—were generally high.

One factor in the slight decline, he said, may be the lower grades that many Negro students get in predominantly white schools. He said that in his study their marks averaged about half a grade lower in these schools—about C compared to a B-minus in the mostly black schools.

"Since black students are behind white students (on standard achievement tests)", he said, "we should expect their grades to fall when they are taken from all competi-

tion in an all-black school to the competition in a predominantly white school."

In the measures of racial attitudes, Armor said the data indicated that "integration heightens racial identity and consciousness (and) enhances ideologies that promote racial segregation."

This finding, he said, is "the converse . . . of one of the central sociological hypotheses in integration policy . . . that integration should reduce racial stereotypes, increase tolerance, and generally improve race relations."

Instead, he said, "the effect is the opposite."

One indicator of this, he said, was the question he asked black students in Boston: "If you could be in any school you wanted, how many students would be white?"

Among those bused to suburban schools the proportion wanting a school less than half white increased from 51 per cent to 81 per cent between 1968 and 1970. For a group of their brothers and sisters who stayed in city schools, the proportion increased less markedly—from 47 per cent to 66 per cent.

The bused students also became "much more likely to support the idea of black power," Armor said, and between 1969 and 1970, they reported "less friendliness from whites, more free time spent with members of their own race, more incidents of prejudice, and less frequent dating with white students."

"In other words," he concluded, "the longer the contact with whites, the fewer the kinds of interracial experiences that might lead to a general improvement of racial tolerance."

He said the trend is "clearest" for older black students, but also occurred in the elementary grades. "It seems to be true for whites also," he said, "insofar as their support for the integration program decreases and own-race preferences increase as contact increases."

Even though "in the formal sense . . . all races are treated equally" in an integrated school, Armor said the integration itself "does very little in the short term to eliminate the socio-economic and academic status differentials." Thus, he said, stereotyped beliefs can be reinforced.

"For black students," he said, "initial stereotypes about white students as snobbish, superior, and straight may be partially confirmed by actual experience; the same may be true for white stereotypes of black students as non-intellectual, hostile, and having different moral standards."

Pride in their own culture, he said, has been one of the main elements in the change in black attitudes, especially those of young Negroes, during the past decade.

"It would be a mistake," he added, "to view the increased racial solidarity of black students as a completely negative finding (for) . . . a certain amount of culture conflict (is) inevitable and even necessary if an integrated society is to be realized."

Armor, who is white and lives in a Boston suburb, said his own children attend a school to which black youngsters are bused in a voluntary program and he urged that such programs be continued.

In his study Armor also presented data from two reports showing that black students in suburban schools are more likely to go to prestige colleges than those attending inner-city schools. This "channelling effect," he said, supports one of the hoped-for gains of integration.

But, Armor said, the "integration policy model," advanced by sociologists and courts, also contends that integration will "enhance black achievement, aspirations, and self-esteem, and (improve) race relations."

All four of these goals, he said, have "failed to be supported by the data." And this, he said, "calls into question" the value of mandatory busing programs.

SIMEON GOLAR DAY

HON. TOM S. GETTYS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. GETTYS. Mr. Speaker, Simeon Golar is the distinguished chairman of the New York City Housing Authority. He is a native of Chester, S.C., in my congressional district. The citizens of Chester gave a testimonial dinner in honor of Chairman Golar when he returned to his boyhood home and Mayor Edward H. Dawson proclaimed May 13 as "Simeon Golar Day." Mr. Golar delivered a splendid address at the dinner held in his honor. His remarks are worthy of wide attention and I insert them in the *RECORD* at this point:

ADDRESS OF SIMEON GOLAR

Governor West, Mayor Dawson, Congressman Gettys, Mr. Stanback, Larry Foster, Milburn Richburg, distinguished guests, my good friends here in Chester and my friends and colleagues who have come here from New York, all of you who have made this possible:

I thank you for all of this. I shall remember it and be grateful all the days of my life.

I am particularly grateful to Larry Foster, who got all this started.

I am grateful to Milburn Richburg and his committee for all the wonderful things they have done—for this marvelous dinner that brought us together today, and more.

And Mayor Dawson, I am ever so grateful for your proclamation, declaring this Simeon Golar Day in Chester, South Carolina, and for this key to the City of Chester. I shall cherish this and these moments all of my life.

Life sometimes brings great joy and sadness at one and the same time. This is such a time for me. I feel such joy, I am so grateful and proud and humbled today at all of this; and I am glad that my daughters Charlotte and Katherine and so many good friends are here to share this day with me; and yet I feel the pain of sadness that my parents, Slim and Mary Golar, who worked so hard, and dreamed so long, and had so much faith and hope could not have lived to be here today, and in fact never lived to even guess that one day the sickly child born on Cemetery Street whom they took as their own, and more than once nursed and prayed back from the edge of death, would receive an honor such as this.

I am grateful to you, Governor West, for the honor you pay me by your presence here today.

I might be expected to feel some of these things, I suppose, on finding that the Governor of this great State has seen fit to be present today. But my gratitude, my pride and humility are enlarged by my knowledge of the particular man who happens to be the Governor of the State of South Carolina at this time in our history.

For Governor John West stands tall in the nation as a leader of the New South that we rightly hear a good deal about these days, alongside Governor Askew of Florida and Governor Carter of Georgia.

Governor, we know of you and your good works in New York and elsewhere in the country, beyond the borders of South Carolina, and I am particularly grateful that you saw fit to come here today.

Yet, as proud as I am of the personal honor you pay me, I am not unmindful of the fact that you do more than honor me as an individual today.

I suspect you have come, in part, because of the symbolism of this occasion and its deeper and larger meaning.

For we have come to this place this afternoon, all of us, across the gulf of space and

time, across the divide of class and color and social condition—some of us who have been poor and have known oppression, and some of us who are poor and know oppression still—to break bread together and drink the draught of friendship and brotherhood and be reminded of the essential oneness and unity of our condition, our condition as Southerners or Northerners, as Americans whose forbears and kin by toil and labor and love have built this nation and fought and died in all its wars, as men and women, brothers and sisters under the fatherhood of God, and as creatures of this earth, mankind, engaged in a common struggle against man's age-old enemies of hunger, poverty and disease, and of ignorance, unreason and intolerance, and anger and war and death.

But my sense of the larger meaning of this occasion does not diminish for me my personal delight at coming home. It has been a long time, and now I have come home. And my heart swells to overflowing!

For ten thousand times I have recalled this place: The grey frame house on Cemetery Street where I was born, and the Raines and the Whites who lived on either side; running barefoot in summertime with pretty Rosa Lee Rainey, with long braids down her back; picking blackberries; collecting grasshoppers in Prince Albert tobacco cans; and June bugs and honeysuckle.

And Zion Church, and Sunday School and revival meetings and bits of hymns and spirituals that come back to me still, that I pause silently to sing from time to time.

And my first day of school—the old schoolhouse on Loomis Street, and the night it burned down and we watched the red and yellow flames leap skyward from our back porch.

And the National Exchange Bank where Daddy worked, and the day it closed, and Daddy being out of work for a long, long time.

And I recall the day we took the railroad train for New York City. And then the cold winters and cold tenement houses where we lived; and the hot summers—the hot littered, asphalt streets of Williamsburg, Brooklyn, where I played and fought and grew up.

And ten years of college and law school and work at night in New York City's subways.

And then, my proud achievement of becoming a lawyer—and years of arranging ball and trying cases, battling prosecutors and judges, and closing titles to over-mortgaged, hard-bought ghetto houses.

And those long hours and days and months and years I walked the streets of Bedford-Stuyvesant organizing and making speeches and getting signatures on designating petitions, and getting votes, for candidates for public office. And some of you here today, who had faith in me and what I was doing, walked and worked with me and stand by me still.

Some of you were there when I raised my hand to take office under Mayor Robert Wagner, and the half-dozen times since then when I was sworn in by Mayor John Lindsay as I rose toward wider and larger responsibility and opportunity to serve.

So, like the mother in the words of Langston Hughes' poem,

Well, son, I'll tell you:
Life for me ain't been no crystal stair.
It's had tacks in it,
And splinters,
And boards torn up,
And places with no carpet on the floor—
Bare.

But all the time
I've been a-climbin' on,
And reachin' landin's,
And turnin' corners,
And sometimes goin' in the dark
Where there ain't been no light.
So, boy, don't you turn back.
Don't you set down on the steps

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'Cause you finds it's kinder hard.

Don't you fall now—
For I've still goin', honey,
I've still climbin',
And life for me ain't been no crystal stair.

And so, after it all, it is good to come home and receive the sweet approbation of brothers and sisters and friends.

But I suppose life "ain't been no crystal stair" for many people here today, and for tens and tens of thousands beyond this place, white and black—whether in the cold, rat-infested Old Law tenements of New York City or in the shanties and shacks of South Carolina.

Governor West, you have pledged in your administration to "eliminate . . . any vestige of discrimination because of race, creed, sex, religion or any other barrier of fairness for all citizens," and you have pledged to work for the elimination of hunger and malnutrition and the provision of adequate housing and health care in the State of South Carolina. And you have repudiated the politics of divisiveness in South Carolina as its ugliness and destruction grow elsewhere in the land, including in Forest Hills in New York City.

Indeed, recent history suggests that the worst travail of the South may be behind it, while in the North we have yet to really get at the root of our problems. Roots are important, and in the South both races have deep roots. The bones and blood of black and white men alike are mixed ineluctably in the soil of the South. Both have toiled; both know one another; both have lived together; both at this time, I think, respect one another.

This is not to say that I speak without hope for the North. Quite the contrary. What I am saying is that decency and progress know no sectional boundaries and that we can learn from one another.

Many have prayed, as my folks did, for the Promised Land. The Bible says: "Thy kingdom come . . ." "Thy kingdom come on earth, as it is in heaven." And it says, "Thy will be done."

And then it says:

"For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in;

"Naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me.

"And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

And so, Governor West, you who have pledged yourself and have worked to feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, and end injustice—you, and I, who have been blessed with opportunities to serve those same poor and homeless—we come to this place by separate paths, but with a common purpose, to do battle with man's common age-old enemies of ignorance and injustice, and to build God's kingdom.

Thy kingdom come, on earth, as it is in heaven . . .

It is in this spirit that I have come home again.

DELAWARE GENERAL ASSEMBLY EXPRESSES SHOCK

HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, the General Assembly of the State of Delaware has passed a concurrent resolution de-

ploring the senseless attack upon the Governor of Alabama, the Honorable George C. Wallace.

The resolution also supports "full punishment to those extremists of our society who attack persons engaged in our political system of campaigning for public office."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the complete text of the resolution be printed in the RECORD.

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

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 53

Expressing shock and indignation over the attempted assassination of Alabama Governor George C. Wallace and offering prayers for his speedy recovery and for peace on present and future political scenes

Whereas, on the afternoon of May 15, 1972, the distressing news was announced to the world of another attempt to assassinate an American presidential candidate, namely Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama; and

Whereas, citizens throughout Delaware, regardless of their political views or party affiliations, expressed great shock at this latest encroachment upon our Democratic way of life; and

Whereas, this detestable act of violence which was perpetrated upon Governor Wallace is deplored by all Delawareans who share the feelings and words of the Governor of Delaware who stated "This senseless crime should make us reaffirm our commitment to reduce violence in America."

Now therefore:

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the 126th General Assembly of the State of Delaware, the Senate concurring therein, that its members offer prayers for the speedy recovery of Alabama Governor George C. Wallace and others injured at the scene of his attempted assassination.

Be it further resolved that this General Assembly go on record as being totally abhorrent of our era of violence, which appears to be particularly directed toward our political figures, as they are acting in the American process of openly running for public office.

Be it further resolved that this General Assembly also go on record as totally backing the Federal law of full punishment to those extremists of our society who attack persons engaged in our political system of campaigning for public office.

Be it further resolved that copies of this Resolution be forwarded to Governor and Mrs. George C. Wallace, to U.S. Senators J. Caleb Boggs and William V. Roth, Jr., and to Congressman Pierre S. duPont, IV, and Governor Russell W. Peterson.

JERRY FORD 1972 QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I am today announcing the tabulation of my questionnaire results. More than 20,000 Kent and Ionia County, Mich., residents sent completed questionnaires back to me.

Michigan Fifth District residents responding to my 1972 questionnaire reject an unconditional pullout from Vietnam and endorse the basic terms of President Nixon's latest peace proposal.

On Vietnam, I gave my constituents a choice between the referendum question on the November 2, 1971, Grand Rapids, Mich., ballot and a withdrawal from Vietnam tied to release of U.S. prisoners of war, an Indochina ceasefire, and the holding of an internationally supervised election in Vietnam.

President Nixon's latest peace offer calls for withdrawing all American ground troops from Vietnam within 4 months after an Indochina ceasefire and return of U.S. war prisoners. He has dropped the election provision.

Fifth District residents voted 68 percent in favor of withdrawal tied to an Indochina ceasefire and return of American POW's and only 22 percent for the referendum proposal.

The referendum question, which had passed by a large margin, urged that the U.S. "declare a ceasefire within the nation of Vietnam and immediately withdraw all American military personnel therefrom."

I believe my questionnaire results show conclusively that Fifth District residents prefer a withdrawal linked with return of American POW's and declaration of an Indochina ceasefire by both sides.

I drew up my questionnaire so that newly eligible voters, 18 through 20 years old, could have their views tabulated separately from those of persons 21 years and older. On Vietnam, the 18- to 20-year-olds voted 53 percent in favor of the administration's peace plan and 27 percent for the referendum proposal.

The percentages do not add up to 100 because the remainder did not answer the question one way or another.

Summing up the questionnaire results, I find that Fifth District residents responding favor a moratorium on forced busing to achieve racial balance coupled with special Federal aid to disadvantaged schools—64 percent to 31—favor Federal legislation to prevent national emergency strikes in transportation—80 to 17—oppose diverting some of the highway user tax revenue to finance urban mass transit systems—57 to 38—favor Federal revenue sharing with the States and local units of government—63 to 28—favor an increase in military spending to offset advances made by the Soviet Union—52 to 43—favor continuing price and wage controls until inflation is curbed—82 to 13—favor—slightly—a substantial increase in social security benefits if it means higher social security taxes—49 to 47—prefer the administration's health care proposal—requiring employers to pay 65 to 75 percent of health insurance premiums and placing health insurance companies under Federal regulation—to Senator KENNEDY's plan for a federalized health insurance system paid for through Federal payroll taxes and the Federal Treasury—58 to 19.

On health care, I learned that many Fifth District residents are opposed to both the administration and the KENNEDY plans. They want the Federal Government to stay out of health care altogether.

Because so many persons hold this view, more than 20 percent of the Fifth District respondents did not answer the health insurance question.

I am a primary sponsor of the administration's health insurance bill, but with

an amendment providing Federal financial help for small businessmen who would find it a heavy burden to pay the bulk of their employees' health insurance premiums.

I also have cosponsored legislation which would prevent crippling strikes in transportation. Under this bill, the President would have the option of appointing a panel which could order a binding settlement. The panel could choose the better of the final offers made by labor and management and use this as a solution.

On busing, I favor legislation which would prevent forced busing to achieve racial balance. I also am backing a proposed constitutional amendment which would ban forced busing altogether.

The complete results of the questionnaire voting are shown below, listed in percentages rounded off to the nearest full digit. Percentages given do not add up to 100 percent because the remainder did not answer the question.

JERRY FORD 1972 QUESTIONNAIRE

	18- to 20-year-old		Overall total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. Do you favor a moratorium on forced busing to achieve racial balance, coupled with special Federal aid to disadvantaged schools?	53	42	64	31
2. Do you favor Federal legislation to prevent national emergency strikes in transportation (railroads, airlines, shipping and trucking)?	61	31	80	17
3. Do you favor diverting some of the highway user taxes to finance urban mass transit systems?	40	52	38	57
4. Do you favor sharing of Federal income tax revenue with the cities and States on a fixed percentage basis?	53	35	63	28
5. In the last 4 years the Soviet Union has increased its strategic missile capability and greatly expanded its naval forces. Do you favor an increase in U.S. military spending to offset this?	33	60	52	43
6. Do you favor continuing wage and price controls until inflation is curbed?	68	23	82	13
7. Do you favor a substantial increase in social security benefits if this means higher social security taxes?	36	54	49	47

MULTIPLE CHOICE

	18- to 20-year-old		Overall total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
8. On health insurance, which do you favor?				
A. An improved nationwide private health insurance system, with employers required to pay 65 to 75 percent of the premiums and employees the rest, and with insurance companies placed under Federal regulation and control.		47		58
B. A Federal Government program financed with special payroll taxes.		21		19
9. On Vietnam, the U.S. Government should:				
A. Declare a cease-fire within the nation of Vietnam and immediately withdraw all American military personnel therefrom.		27		22
B. Withdraw all American forces from South Vietnam, conditioned on release of U.S. prisoners of war, a cease-fire throughout Indochina and the holding of an internationally supervised presidential election in South Vietnam.		53		68

LIST OF IMPOUNDED FUNDS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, approximately \$11 billion which Congress has appropriated have been withheld from expenditure by the executive branch.

The amount of "budgetary reserves," as the administration calls them, or "impounded funds," the phrase which the distinguished Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE), the distinguished Senator from North Carolina (Mr. ERVIN), and I prefer, has been reduced by approximately \$1 billion since January. I assume that as the November election approaches, these funds will be released more rapidly.

On Thursday, May 18, I discussed these impounded funds with OMB Deputy Director Caspar W. Weinberger, who will soon be the Director. I appreciate his and his associates' comments regarding the congressional contribution to budgetary problems, through late handling of appropriation bills. I hope that as a result of our colloquy, OMB officials have a renewed appreciation of congressional interest in having the funds which we appropriate spent rather than impounded, and in obtaining a list of impounded funds on a regular basis.

In order that Senators may conveniently see which funds are impounded, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the list which Mr. Weinberger provided me yesterday, along with related correspondence. Persons who wish to compare currently impounded funds, by agency, with a similar report from OMB to the distinguished senior Senator from North Carolina (Mr. ERVIN) are referred to the March 13 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 8031.

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

MAY 4, 1972.

HON. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,
Director, Office of Management and Budget,
Executive Office Building, Washington,
D.C.

DEAR MR. SHULTZ: This week my staff requested a current list of appropriated funds which have been impounded or placed in reserve. Assistant Director for Budget Review Samuel Cohn stated that OMB did not have a current list, that the information would have to be collected from a number of different offices within your agency, and that I should make a formal request to you to obtain the information.

I hereby make that request. I suggest that the format of the response be comparable to the 25 January 1972 list which had been distributed on request to some Members of Congress. Please have the list current as of this date, or some other date this month. I hope that this information will be in my office by this coming Monday.

On 17 May OMB is scheduled to testify before the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations regarding S. 448, a bill relating to the budget process of regulatory commissions and your agency. I shall preside at these hearings and hope the OMB witness will be prepared to discuss methods of readily and regularly publicizing the

amounts of funds that have been appropriated but are impounded or held in reserve.
Very truly yours,

LEE METCALF.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET,
Washington, D.C., May 16, 1972.

Hon. LEE METCALF,
Committee on Government Operations,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR METCALF: Enclosed is a current list of budgetary reserves as requested in your letter of May 4. I should point out that apportionments and reapportionments are reviewed and revised frequently, particularly at this time of year, as we try to discharge our responsibilities under the Anti-Deficiency Act (31 U.S.C. 665) "to prevent . . . a necessity for deficiency or supplemental appropriations . . . and . . . to achieve the most economical and effective use of the funds appropriated." As a result, the amount being held in reserve is likely to continue to decline during the remainder of the fiscal year.

This response to your letter could not have been made as promptly had our staff not started work on the enclosed compilation immediately after Mr. Reinemer, of your office, telephoned last week.

Sincerely,

CASPER W. WEINBERGER,
Deputy Director.

BUDGETARY RESERVES, APRIL 1972

Under authority delegated by the President, the Office of Management and Budget operates a system of apportioning the funds provided by the Congress. The apportionments generally are for the current fiscal year and limit the amounts the agencies may obligate during specified periods.

There are occasions when the amounts of available funds are not fully apportioned. That is, some amounts are either withheld from apportionment, or their use is temporarily deferred. In these cases, the funds not apportioned are said to be held or placed "in reserve." This practice is one of long standing and has been exercised by both Republican and Democratic Administrations as a customary part of financial management.

The reasons for withholding or deferring the apportionment of available funds usually are concerned with routine financial administration. They have to do with the effective and prudent use of the financial resources made available by the Congress. Thus, specific apportionments sometimes await (1) development by the affected agencies of approved plans and specifications, (2) completion of studies for the effective use of the funds, including necessary coordination with the other Federal and non-Federal parties that might be involved, (3) establishment of a necessary organization and designation of accountable officers to manage the programs, (4) the arrival of certain contingencies under which the funds must by statute be made available (e.g., certain direct Federal credit aids when private sector loans are not available). In other cases the funds may be withheld in accordance with provisions of the Anti-Deficiency Act (31 U.S.C. 665) for such reasons as a change in conditions since they were appropriated or to take advantage of previously unforeseen opportunities for savings.

Table A, attached, lists the items and amounts currently reserved for such routine financial administration. They total \$9.4 billion, which is a reduction of more than \$1 billion since January of this year. This reduction is indicative of the fact that amounts are frequently released from reserve—and put to use—during each fiscal year as plans, designs, specifications, studies, project approvals, and so on are completed. As a result, the total amount held in reserve usually reaches a low point at the end of the fiscal year.

The reserves established for reasons of routine financial administration are recognized by all concerned to be temporary deferrals, and their need or wisdom is usually not questioned. In addition, however, there has been a long-standing and consistent practice in both Republican and Democratic Administrations to establish some—a much smaller amount of—reserves for reasons other than routine financial administration. It is these latter reserves which have sometimes been criticized as "impoundments" of funds.

Amounts being held in reserve for reasons other than routine financial administration generally could be used (i.e., obligated) during the apportionment time period. They have not been apportioned from time to time for such reasons as the Executive's responsibility to (1) help keep total Government spending within a congressionally-imposed ceiling, (2) help meet a statutory limitation on the outstanding public debt, (3) develop a governmentwide financial plan for the current year that synchronizes program-by-program with the budget being recommended by the President for the following year, or (4) otherwise carry out broad economic and program policy objectives.

Table B, attached, lists the items and amounts currently held in reserve for reasons other than routine financial administration. They total \$1.6 billion, a reduction of almost \$200 million from the amount so reserved in January of this year.

The total of all current reserves (i.e., Tables A and B) is 4.6% of the total unified budget outlays estimated for fiscal 1972. The comparable percentage at the end of fiscal years 1959 through 1961 ranged from 7.5% to 8.7%. At the end of fiscal 1967, it stood at 6.7%, and a range in the neighborhood of 6% has been normal in recent years. The amount currently reserved is expected to decline still further during the remainder of the fiscal year.

TABLE A.—Budgetary reserves for routine financial administration, April 1972
(In thousands of dollars)

Agency and account:	Amount
Executive Office of the President:	
Council on Environmental Quality and Offices of Environmental Quality.....	53
Apportionment awaits development of proposals for contract studies of environmental problems.	
National Security Council.....	108
Apportionment awaits development by the agency of approved plans.	
Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention.....	682
Apportionment represents the balance of appropriation which cannot be utilized by the Office in 1972 due to late enactment of legislation. Release will occur as needed in 1973 operations.	
Funds appropriated to the President:	
Appalachian Regional Development Programs.....	40,000
Apportionment awaits development of approved plans and specifications.	
Economic Stabilization Activities.....	300
A total of \$100 thousand is reserved for subsequent use, as needed and anticipated, by the U.S. Courts in support of the Temporary Emergency Court of Appeals. The remainder is reserved for contingencies and will be apportioned as required.	
International Security Assistance:	
Foreign military credit sales.....	98,100
Apportionment awaits de-	

velopment by affected agencies of coordinated plans and specifications.

International development assistance:

Prototype desalting plant..... 20,000

Apportionment awaits development by the agency of approved plans and specifications.

Inter-American Foundation... 41,624

Amount represents balance of initial funding from AID transfer to cover first 4 years of the Foundation's operations. Apportionments will continue to be made annually as plans and specifications are developed.

Department of Agriculture:

Agricultural Research Service:

Construction..... 70

Represents residual amount of appropriation for planning that is not required for that purpose. Apportionment awaits additional appropriation for construction.

Scientific Activities Overseas (special foreign currency program)..... 352

Amount shown here is in excess of current estimates of 1972 needs. If conditions change and the funds are needed, apportionments will be made.

Animal and Plant Health Service..... 2,049

This amount is in excess of current estimate of 1972 needs. The funds will be apportioned, if needed, for animal and pest control.

Farmers Home Administration: Mutual and self-help housing grants..... 729

Amount shown here is in excess of current estimates of 1972 needs. If conditions change and the funds are needed, apportionments will be made.

Direct loan account (farm operating loans limitation)... 49,453

Amount reflects balances of loan authority now held pending demonstration of the need for funds.

Consumer and Marketing Service: Consumer protective marketing, and regulatory programs..... 850

Amount shown here is in excess of 1972 needs. If conditions change and funds are needed, apportionments will be made.

Perishable Commodities Act Fund..... 1

Amount shown here is in excess of current estimates of 1972 needs. If conditions change and the funds are needed, apportionments will be made.

Forest Service:

Forest protection and utilization:

Cooperative range improvement..... 624

Amount shown here is in excess of current estimates of 1972 needs. If conditions change and the funds are needed, apportionments will be made.

Youth Conservation Corps..... 1,730

These funds will be released later for the fiscal year 1973 portion of the calendar year summer program.

Forest roads and trails..... 402,040

TABLE A.—Budgetary reserves for routine financial administration, April 1972—Cont.

Reserve reflects amount of available contract authority above the obligation program that was approved and financed by the appropriation Congress enacted to liquidate the obligations.			these projects are fully funded when appropriated.			Apportionment of this amount awaits development of approved plans and specifications by the agency.		
Expenses, brush disposal.....	13,303		Other procurement programs....	21,020		Social Security Administration:		
Amount shown here is in excess of current estimates of 1972 needs. If conditions change and the funds are needed, apportionments will be made.			For use in subsequent years; these projects are fully funded when appropriated.			Construction	12,095	
Forest Fire Prevention.....	115		Military construction and family housing	302,602		Apportionment awaits development of approved plans and specifications by the agency. These plans will depend at least in part on the outcome of legislation pending before the Congress to authorize acquisition of these facilities through purchase contracts that will provide for installment payments.		
Amount shown here is in excess of current estimates of 1972 needs. If conditions change and the funds are needed, apportionments will be made.			Apportionment awaits development by the agency of approved plans and specifications.			Special Institutions:		
Department of Commerce			Civil defense programs.....	1,080		Gallaudet College.....	516	
Bureau of the Census:			Amount is in excess of currently estimated needs. It will be used, as needed, in subsequent fiscal years.			This part of an appropriation for a national continuing education program for the deaf is being held pending the development of a plan for the effective use of the funds, including necessary coordination with the other Federal and non-Federal parties that might be involved.		
19th Decennial Census.....	11,028		Special foreign currency program	4,903		Howard University.....	3,714	
These funds are to be used for printing costs and will be apportioned when needed for this purpose.			Apportionment awaits development by the agency of approved plans and specifications.			Apportionment of this amount awaits development of approved plans and specifications. Construction obligations are to be incurred in subsequent years.		
Regional Action Planning Commissions:			Department of Defense—Civil			Office of Child Development....	54	
Regional Action Planning Commissions	300		Corps of Engineers:			Apportionment of this amount awaits development of approved plans and specifications.		
Funds will be released when Mississippi Valley Regional Commission is formed.			Construction, general:			Department of Housing and Urban Development:		
Promotion of industry and commerce:			Lafayette Lake, Ind.....	183		Model cities programs.....	105,000	
Trade adjustment assistance (financial assistance)	50,000		Funds are being held in reserve because of local opposition to initiation of construction of the project.			The 1972 appropriation is available for use in 1972 and 1973; the amount reserved is being allocated among cities to cover obligations to be made early in 1973. Thus, each such city will have in advance a target figure against which to plan.		
Amount shown here is in excess of current estimates of 1972 needs. If conditions change and the funds are needed, apportionments will be made.			Lufketa Lake, Oklahoma....	450		Department of the Interior:		
Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center	5,446		Funds are being held in reserve because the State of Oklahoma is considering designating one of the streams to be inundated as a wild and scenic stream.			Bureau of Land Management:		
Funds will be released when plans for participation in U.S. Bicentennial are completed and approved.			New York Harbor Collection and Removal of Drift.....	80		Public lands development, roads and trails.....	16,694	
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration:			Funds are being held in reserve because, although the project has been authorized by the Congress for initiation and partial accomplishment, initiation of construction must await approval of the Secretary of the Army and the President. The Secretary of the Army has neither approved the project nor sent the project report to the President.			Reserve reflects amounts of available contract authority above the obligation program that was approved and financed by the appropriation Congress enacted to liquidate the obligations.		
Research, development, and facilities	294		Panama Canal Government:			Bureau of Indians Affairs:		
These funds are for disaster relief to fisheries. Apportionment awaits arrival of contingencies under which the funds must, by statute, be made available.			Capital outlays.....	850		Road construction.....	53,699	
Research, development, and facilities: (special foreign currency program)	411		Under a proposal now pending before the Congress, these fiscal year 1972 funds will be combined with the 1973 appropriation for the purchase of major items of capital equipment.			Reserve reflects amounts of available contract authority above the obligation program that was approved and financed by the appropriation Congress enacted to liquidate the obligations.		
Apportionment awaits development of research contracts with foreign organizations.			Wildlife conservation.....	474		Bureau of Outdoor Recreation:		
Promote and develop fishery products and research pertaining to American fisheries	257		Includes estimated receipts not needed for current year program. Will be used in subsequent years.			Land and water conservation fund	30,000	
Amount shown here is in excess of current estimates of 1972 needs. If conditions change and the funds are needed, apportionments will be made.			Department of Health, Education, Welfare:			Consists of 1972 annual contract authority which the 1973 budget shows as not being obligated. This contract authority, which was made available annually through fiscal year 1989 by Public Law 91-308, approved July 7, 1970, is not being used because the Federal agencies purchasing park lands have found annual contract authority cumbersome to administer. Instead, they prefer ordinary appropriations to finance such land		
National Bureau of Standards:			National Institutes of Health:					
Plant and facilities.....	1,495		Buildings and facilities.....	2,565				
Funds are for a new laboratory now in the planning stage. Apportionment awaits development of approved plans and specifications.			Apportionment awaits development by the agency of approved plans and specifications. Construction obligations are to be incurred in subsequent years.					
Department of Defense—Military Shipbuilding and conversion....	1,388,946		Office of Education:					
For use in subsequent years;			School assistance in federally affected areas.....	4,996				
			Apportionment awaits development by the agency of approved plans and specifications. Construction obligations are to be incurred in subsequent years.					
			Higher education.....	1,462				
			Apportionment awaits development by the agency of approved plans and specifications.					
			Educational activities overseas (special foreign currency program)	16				

purchases and the budget proposes appropriation of the full \$300 million annual authorization for the fund, of which about \$98 million is for Federal land purchases in 1973.			Apportionment awaits development of approved plans and specifications.			of approved plans and specifications.		
Bureau of Mines:			Retired pay-----		571	Expenses of administration of settlement of World War Claims Act of 1928-----		1
Drainage of anthracite mines.	3,623		Appropriation is in excess of needs due to a lag in voluntary retirements.			Amount shown here is in excess of current estimate of 1972 administrative costs. If conditions change and funds are needed, apportionment will be made.		
Funds are spent on a matching basis with Pennsylvania as that State and the Department of the Interior develop projects for this purpose. Apportionment awaits development of approved plans and specifications.			Federal Aviation Administration:			Bureau of the Mint:		79
Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife:			Facilities and equipment (Airport and Airway trust fund)		53,639	Construction-----		
Construction-----	9,075		Grants-in-aid for airports (Airport and Airway trust fund)		56,458	Apportionment awaits the completion of studies for the effective use of funds.		
Appropriated funds for D.C. Aquarium withheld because authorized facility cannot be constructed within the funding limits established by the authorization.			Construction, National Capital Airports-----		900	Atomic Energy Commission:		
National Park Service:			U.S. International Aeronautical Exposition-----		218	Operating expenses:		
Parkway and road construction-----	73,589		Civil Supersonic aircraft development termination---		4,506	Reactor development---		
Reserve reflects amounts of available contract authority above the obligation program that was approved and financed by the appropriation Congress enacted to liquidate the obligations.			Apportionment of the above FAA accounts awaits development of approved plans and specifications.			Funds held in reserve for the Liquid Metal Fast Breeder Reactor (LMFBR) demonstration plant awaiting the completion of detailed negotiations now underway involving AEC and the Commonwealth Edison Company and TVA-----		43,350
Bureau of Reclamation:			Federal Highway Administration:			Biomedical Research---		
Construction and rehabilitation-----	1,055		Territorial Highways-----		5,000	Funds held in reserve pending development of a plan for effective utilization-----		370
Funds are being held in reserve pending completion and review of the economic re-study to determine the most effective use of funds for the Second Bacon Siphon and Tunnel Unit, Wash.			New program established by the 1970 Highway Act, effective December 30, 1970. No appropriation was provided until August 1971, although \$4.5M of contract authority was authorized for each of 1971 and 1972. Territories were not prepared to handle program and have just begun to organize agencies and prepare studies for use of the funds. Total obligations through December 31, 1971, were about \$93,000.			Plant and capital equipment:		
Operation and maintenance and replacement of project works, North Platte project-----	84		Federal-aid highways:			Funds held in reserve awaiting AEC's development of firm plans or specifications for two projects in the nuclear materials and weapons programs----		175
This amount fulfills the legal requirements for this account of an annually established contingency reserve.			(1) 1973 contract authority-----		5,700,000	Funds held in reserve awaiting AEC's completion of feasibility studies or the results of research and development efforts for the national radioactive waste repository and two other projects-----		3,133
Department of Justice:			(2) Remaining balance from prior reductions to meet outlay ceilings and abate inflation-----		246,798	Funds held in reserve for possible cost overruns and other contingencies-----		5,000
Federal Prison System:			Urban Mass Transportation Administration:			Environmental Protection Agency:		
Buildings and facilities-----	4,299		Urban mass transportation----		299,970	Operations, research and facilities-----		35,294
The apportionment awaits development by the affected agency of approved plans and specifications.			The Congress provided a total of \$3.1B of contract authority for the five-year period 1971-1975. Executive Branch apportionments will result in \$1.0B of this amount having been used by June 30, 1972, another \$1.0B (including this \$300M) will be apportioned July 1, 1972, for fiscal 1973, leaving \$1.1B, or \$550M per year for the fiscal years 1974 and 1975. By appropriation action in fiscal years 1971 and 1972, the Congress effectively limited the amount of the contract authority that could be used each fiscal year. Thus, the \$300M shown is the difference between the \$600M apportioned for 1972 and the \$900M upper limit for which administrative expenses may be incurred under the 1972 Appropriation Act for the Department of Transportation: "Sec. 308. None of the funds provided in this Act shall be available for administrative expenses in connection with commitments for grants for Urban Mass Transportation aggregating more than \$900,000,000 in fiscal year 1972." (Underlining supplied.)			Awaiting completion of EPA study of requirements for Cincinnati laboratory (\$28.0M) and other laboratory facilities (\$7.294M).		
Department of State:			Treasury Department:			General Services Administration:		
Education exchange fund (earmarked proceeds of payment by Finland on World War I debt)-----	22		Office of the Secretary:			Operating expenses, Public Buildings Service-----		5,000
Apportionment awaits development by the agency of specific plans for the exchange of students.			Construction, Federal Law Enforcement Training Center.		22,239	Amount shown here is in excess of the current estimate of 1972 needs. It reflects revised estimates of rent and utility costs. If conditions change and the funds are needed, apportionments will be made.		
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs:			Apportionment awaits development by the agency			Construction, public buildings projects-----		45,514
International Educational Exchange Activities (special foreign currency program)-----	5					San Antonio, Texas, project awaiting Congressional approval of revised prospectus--\$7,402 thousand.		
Funds represent recent recovery of prior year obligations in excess of current year needs. These funds are expected to be utilized in the future.						Philadelphia project--additional awards awaiting completion of present construction works--\$23,046 thousand.		
Department of Transportation:						\$10,803 thousand proposed in the 1973 budget for obligation in accordance with legislation now pending in the Congress to authorize private financing and installment payment/purchase of various projects.		
Coast Guard:						\$4,263 thousand is reserved to meet possible contingencies that might arise in the course of construction.		
Acquisition, construction and improvements-----	7,607					Sites and expenses, public buildings projects-----		14,665
Funds are for equipment or improvements and will not be needed until construction on seven projects is in an advanced stage. They will be released when needed.								
Alteration of bridges-----	1,000							

TABLE A.—Budgetary reserves for routine financial administration, April 1972—Cont.

Reserved to meet possible contingencies or for use in subsequent years—10,380 thousand.	
Projects involving space for Postal Service are being restudied—\$4,285 thousand. Apportionment awaits the completion of this action for the effective use of the funds.	
Operating expenses, Property Management and Disposal Service	769
Amount shown here is in excess of the current estimate of 1972 needs for stockpile disposals. If conditions change and the funds are needed, apportionments will be made.	
Veterans Administration:	
Grants to States for extended care facilities	8,420
State plans and requests for funds have not been presented to the extent originally expected.	
Other Independent Agencies	
Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking Peoples	30
Potential savings—	
The obligation rate has been lower than anticipated because of operation under continuing resolution for two quarters.	
Federal Communications Commission: Salaries and expenses (construction)	460
These funds are intended for replacement of a monitoring station. They cannot be used until the Congress raises the current limitation on FCC's 1972 construction program. It is expected that this will take place before the end of fiscal year 1972.	
Federal Home Loan Bank Board:	
Interest adjustment payments	46,888
Amount which can be effectively utilized by the Board in the current year has already been apportioned.	
Foreign Claims Settlement Commission: Salaries and expenses	19
Apportionment awaits development by the agency of approved plans.	
Payment of Vietnam and Pueblo prisoner of war claims.	
Apportionment awaits arrival of contingencies under which the funds must, by statute, be made available.	
Smithsonian Institution:	
Salaries and expenses, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars	
Reserved for contingencies. Will be apportioned if and when needed.	
Temporary Study Commissions:	
Commission on Highway Beautification	
Amount being held for completion of Commission's work in 1973.	
Commission on Population Growth and the American Future	
A small contingency amount is set aside to cover any increases in contracted costs after the Commission completes its work and disbands in May, 1972.	
National Commission on Consumer Finance	50
For terminating the Commission in 1973 after the report is completed.	
Aviation Advisory Commission	587
Funds in 1972 reserve will be used in 1973 to carry Commission through its expiration date of March, 1973.	
United States Information Agency:	
Salaries and expenses (special foreign currency program)	407
Special international exhibitions	746
Apportionment of the above accounts awaits development of approved plans and specifications.	
Water Resources Council:	
Salaries and expenses	25
Funds in reserve pending establishment of new river basin commissions.	
Total	9,394,669

TABLE B.—Reserves for reasons other than routine financial administration, April 1972
(In thousands of dollars)

Agency and account:	Amount
Department of Agriculture:	
Rural Electrification Administration—	
Loans	* 107,000
Farmers Home Administration:	
Sewer and water grants	* 58,000
Department of Housing and Urban Development:	
Rehabilitation loans	* 53,042
Grants for new community assistance	* 5,000
Basic water and sewer grants	* 500,000
Department of Transportation:	
Federal-aid highways	623,000
Rights-of-way for highways	50,000
Urban mass transportation	* [299,970]
Atomic Energy Commission	17,655
NERVA-Nuclear Rocket	(16,990)
Plowshare	(665)
National Aeronautics and Space Administration:	
NERVA-Nuclear Rocket	22,400
National Science Foundation:	
Educational and institutional support	* 21,000
Graduate traineeships	* 9,500
Reserves established pursuant to President's August 15, 1971, directive to curtail previously planned Federal employment levels	* 85,300
Total	1,551,897

* Apportionment of entire amount is planned on July 1, 1972.

* This amount is planned to be used for continuation of the water and sewer grant program after the fiscal year 1972.

* Funds remaining from the 1972 appropriation for rehabilitation loans will be apportioned on July 1, 1972.

* This amount is planned to be used for continuation of the water and sewer grant program in 1973 and subsequent years.

* This item is listed here only because of public and congressional interest. It is not counted in the total of Table B because its planned use is consistent with congressional intent. The Congress provided a total of \$3.1 billion of contract authority for the five-year period 1971-1975. Executive Branch apportionments will result in \$1.0 billion of this amount having been used by June 30, 1972, another \$1.0 billion (including this \$300 million) will be apportioned July 1, 1972, for fiscal 1973, leaving \$1.1 billion, or \$550 million per year for the fiscal years 1974 and 1975. The \$300 million shown is the difference between the \$600 million apportioned for 1972 and the \$900 million upper limit for which

administrative expenses may be incurred under the 1972 Appropriation Act for the Department of Transportation:

"Sec. 308. None of the funds provided in this Act shall be available for administrative expenses in connection with commitments for grants for Urban Mass Transportation aggregating more than \$900,000,000 in fiscal year 1972." (Underlining supplied.)

* Apportionment awaiting NSF review of how these funds can be used effectively to help meet the Nation's scientific and engineering manpower needs without stimulating an oversupply of manpower with specialized capabilities.

* These funds are the remainder of \$280 million in reserve established initially under the President's directive of August 15, 1971. Reserves are being released as required to meet costs of recent pay raises and other essential purposes. The current reserves include \$15,616 thousand pending congressional approval for application to pay raise purposes together with other amounts that will also be apportioned during the fourth quarter for pay raise needs.

HATCHET JOBS IN THE NAME OF SCIENCE

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, hatchet jobs masquerading as scientific studies are not new and the latest sport, developed over the past few years, has been to direct them against American Presidents or presidential candidates.

The latest is a so-called psychohistory of President Nixon. The following editorial from the May 17, 1972, Martinsville, Ind., Reporter, by Robert Kendall, effectively and thoroughly demolishes this most recent cheap shot:

ANOTHER HATCHET JOB

Remember back during the 1964 election campaign when a bunch of psychiatrists did a neat hatchet job on Barry Goldwater?

The experts replied to a questionnaire sent out by one of that era's shorter-lived and less respected magazines, making it the most spectacular case of long-distance psychoanalysis since Sigmund Freud explained the hidden meaning of Leonardo Da Vinci's babyhood dreams at four centuries remove.

It didn't take a degree to know that Barry was close to the edge. Why, he advocated a massive infusion of U.S. troops into Vietnam, bombing, defoliation. Fortunately, the American people rejected that nut and elected a man who did not suffer from such delusions of grandeur.

Now, just in time for the 1972 election, someone has performed a similar service in the case of one Richard M. Nixon.

Bruce Mazlish, professor of history at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with training in psychoanalysis, has founded a new discipline he calls "psychohistory," a fusion of psychoanalysis and history. First fruit of this fusion is his book, "In Search of Nixon," subtitled "A Psychohistorical Inquiry."

While the history may be dubious, there is no doubt about the psycho part.

"Nixon," Mazlish informs us, "is a man torn between his mother's dislike of warfare and his father's sharp competitiveness: thus he is extremely ambivalent about his aggressive impulses and tends to deal with them by projection onto others."

Right now, of course, he's projecting onto the North Vietnamese, who were good

enough to stage an invasion of South Vietnam and thus offer him a pretext.

Furthermore, says Mazlish, "He (still speaking of you-know-who) is wracked by indecision and by the question of his own courage, especially in a crisis. He has had a serious problem with death wishes. . . ."

In regard to the latter, Mazlish suggests that Nixon's "need for crisis" may partially be "motivated by the need to confront his death fears, repeatedly and constantly."

This is but a sampling from a book that is all the more remarkable for having been written by an author who has never met his subject.

Forget that Richard Nixon did not start the Vietnam war. Forget that in foreign affairs, except for Vietnam, his overall record in the past four years has been one of removing the causes of the crises that have periodically wracked the world for more than two decades.

Forget the Okinawa treaty with Japan, the SALT disarmament talks with Russia, the President's historic visit to China.

With candidate Nixon neatly disposed of, now all the voters have to do is find a man who doesn't have this "need for crisis" and we can all sit back and enjoy four years of national tranquility undisturbed by the North Vietnamese, the Russians, the Chinese, the cost of beef, the corn blight, the San Andreas Fault or the Fates.

RURAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: NORTHWEST TEXAS IS PLACE TO WATCH

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the story of contemporary life in rural America rarely wins in the daily battle for front page news. Unable to compete with the tension-packed developments in international affairs and forced to take a back seat to the star-studded "glamour" news of domestic politics, the story of what is happening to life in the small rural communities of this country is not getting the widespread public and governmental attention it deserves.

The story which needs to be told is that the quality of life for citizens living in rural communities of this country is on a steady decline while the news of this tragic situation goes unheralded by the majority of the American people and by the Government responsible for their welfare.

Mechanization in farming is displacing workers in rural areas as automated equipment makes the harvesting of farm commodities faster, easier, and cheaper. Whereas machines supplant much of the human labor involved with farming, machines do not attend schools, marry, rear families, and contribute to the vitality and development of the community.

Enrollment in rural area schools has been declining at an increasing pace for the past decade. School buildings are in need of replacement, but the declining number of students makes such projects unfeasible.

The dual problems of a decreasing labor supply and distant location from the marketplaces of industrial goods compounds the difficulty of maintaining light

industry presently located in rural areas and in securing new enterprises. As existing buildings vacate, retail facilities downtown follow suit, for merchants must follow their customers to the already burgeoning cities.

Political reapportionment, hot on the footsteps of an outwardly migrating population, further diminishes the political voice of rural areas. Politicians are forced to the cities just as the merchants pursue buyers.

The cities of Quanah, Paducah, Childress, and Crowell are rural communities in the 13th District of Texas. Each of these towns has problems common to scores of communities across the country that make up rural America. The mechanization of agriculture and the concentration of economic activity in the cities is sapping these towns of their most important resource—their own sons and daughters. As the young people of Quanah quit their hometown to find economic security in the cities, the place they left behind grew a little older and lost a little more of its vitality.

Citizens who remain in these communities rest all of their hope for the future in rural economic development. Spearheading a search for economic solutions to the problems of this area are two promising groups made up of local citizens. Their work deserves nationwide attention. The Economic Opportunities Advancement Corp. and the Four Winds Industrial Foundation recently formed to provide organization and leadership to a self-help campaign that may ultimately change the face of towns throughout the Texas northwest. The efforts of these two groups may also prove to be a dynamic and successful model for similar efforts in other parts of the country.

Mr. Speaker, the resourcefulness of the two groups I refer to above have buoyed the spirit of thousands of citizens in the 13th District. They are creating a new sense of hope where before there was only despair. The burden therefore shifts upon the Government not to dash those hopes. Rural development legislation which I have coauthored will soon come before the House. This is a major step toward providing rural areas with the opportunities they deserve. Once this measure is approved the administration will have to be prodded to assure that Federal money actually gets to the townspeople that require it and that the will of the Congress will prevail.

I am proud of the area I represent and am pleased to see such constructive self-improvement forces being generated. I intend to use everything at my command to see to it that the bureaucratic buck-passing tendencies of Government do not squash this drive before it has a chance to flourish.

Representatives who share with me in the struggle and the promise of developing the rural communities of this country should read the following account of the constructive efforts already undertaken in northwest Texas. It is a well documented report of what will have to be done if the story of rural America is to be changed from one of pessimism,

hard luck, and personal struggle to an upbeat record of growth, rejuvenation, and new promise for the future. The article follows:

ECONOMIC DECAY STALKS RURAL UNITED STATES

(By James E. Vance)

Dilapidated houses along roadsides and empty stores around town squares present a haunted and frightening appearance.

They linger as monuments to deterioration and evidence of tragedy in rural America.

Even more alarming were thoughts that these eerie sights would not disappear with darkness and emerge as a new look at dawn.

The river of migration which swept people from the countryside and small towns in a flood to cities also cut an ugly gash and spawned economic gangrene.

"We know we are in trouble, and we need help," said Judge Bob Arnold of Wilbarger County. "We feel we still have enough solid foundation on which to rebuild. We are ready and willing."

Judge Arnold was among the first of town and county officials and civic and agricultural leaders who "laid the whole thing out" to federal and state agency representatives in an honest look, appraisal and plea for help during a 250-mile tour on the Rolling Plains.

U.S. Reps. Bob Price of Pampa and Graham B. Purcell of Wichita Falls, both members of the House Committee on Agriculture, were on the two-day trip through Wilbarger, Childress, Hardeman, Cottle and Foard counties.

There were small businesses, no businesses, Head Start and senior citizen's programs, salt deposits which contaminated streams, "gyp" water, empty cotton compresses, 100 workers in a railroad shop that once employed 600, and fertile soil idled by government farm programs.

You name a problem. These people could show it as real. They did.

There also were evidences of deep concern, willingness to work together and for self-help, frustration, hope, bureaucratic buck-passing and the attitude that money is not the total answer.

It could be a viable embryo from which to hatch new economy.

The Great Depression triggered the flow of economic decay in rural areas. It initiated what was to become the export of this nation's most valuable resource—youth people.

The man on the land also was victim of the mechanization and other technical advancements in agriculture which permitted production efficiency unparalleled in other phases of the economy. While in the 1930s one farmer could produce for himself and six or eight other people, he now does it for himself and 45 others.

The result was no room on the farm. The older people had to stay. The younger ones were forced to leave.

The trend also continues as cost of production went up and prices remained the same. Even good farmers fell by the wayside.

"I've watched this migration. Most all our young folks have left," explained Calvin Walser, a farmer and rancher in Hardeman County. "My dad worked 160 acres, paid for the land and raised five children. I have a son studying at Texas A&M University to become a lawyer."

"I'd like for him to come back, but not to the way it is now. He wouldn't stand a chance of making a living."

In Cottle County, Judge Neil Parker said that 22 per cent of the five-county population is more than 65 years of age.

"We had 10,000 people in this county and it's withered away to half that many. Where 160 acres once supported a family, the average farm or ranch is 1,300 acres, and families are smaller," Parker explained. "Cee Vee community (we were passing by it) had 1,000 voters. Now there are 79."

"There's one school in the county. One of the real tragedies is that most of the people who left were of child-bearing age.

"This hurts everything, but mainly it took away opportunities to grow," added Joe D. McClellan II, chairman of First National Bank of Chillicothe. "Even if we were standing still we'd still be slipping back. All these closed buildings show it."

Bankers throughout the area admitted that even though deposits showed a good record this wasn't a true barometer of economic conditions. In many towns bankers said they had extended their financing loans to legal limit.

Mayors and judges noted that some towns and counties were out of debt, but not in financial condition to attract or support new industry which might locate and offer jobs and turnover of dollars. Some municipalities had "stretched bond issues and taxes and other fund-raising methods to the limits," as one person phrased it.

Additional efforts were made by organizing the Four Winds Industrial Foundation, headquartered near Quana, to seek industry—and payrolls—into a four-county area. To show even closer togetherness with and abolition of mythical municipal and county lines in seeking assistance an Economic Opportunities Advancement Corp. was formed.

The tour was convincing enough that this area still is stocked with a breed of people who want to do something for themselves. There's labor available, as evidenced by job applications.

"We received 2,000 applications for employment. Of this number we figured 1,500 were valid as potentially good workers," said Dr. Frankie Williams, superintendent of Vernon's new Center for Mental Health and Retardation.

This center, Vernon's new junior college under construction, a plastic fishing worm factory at Crowell, Lancer Mobile Home adjacent to Childress' mammoth airport which was formerly a military installation, and Georgia-Pacific, near Childress, which can turn out 1.5 million board feet per day of wall board from gypsum mined nearby, are a few examples of promise.

This area, like other areas, experienced entanglement within the web of government, particularly the bureaucracies when their delegations presented evidence in hopes of qualifying for loans with which to improve housing, utilities and other facilities to attract industry.

The system was described as a sterling example of the saying that "the left hand doesn't know what the right hand is doing." With bare-knuckled evidence that "no matter what the program" leaders assured qualification and justification for assistance.

Could a government "founded to help people not in a position to help themselves" also have become one of the biggest problems facing rural America?

Bill Carpenter, an equipment dealer and tour guide at Quana, pointed to Panhandle Compress Co.'s vast and empty warehouses. He said the government's idling of cotton acreage compressed a year-round work force of 75 to about 50 for only two or three months at peak season. It put an end to a seed-processing business, too.

The mayor of Paducah, V. L. Hutchinson, added, "We went to one agency with some of our problems. We were told that we could be recommended to a team from the University of California at Los Angeles which would make a study and recommendation, which could then be submitted to the Ford Foundation for assistance. We've got empty buildings and people who want to go in business. All they need is a small business loan."

Purcell told a banquet audience in Childress, "Whether we like it or not the Bureau

of the Budget is the hatchet arm of the administration, and if the administration doesn't want something to occur (with use of federal money) it most generally won't."

James V. Smith, administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, said the FHA had requested funds in the new budget which could enhance construction of residences badly needed in towns with up to 10,000 population, and water and sewage up to 5,500. These improvements were described as "critical and necessary to attract people to small towns."

"We feel our maximum loans to farmers will be increased from \$60,000 to \$100,000, and from \$35,000 to \$50,000 for short-term operating capital," Smith said. "Farmers and ranchers in these five counties have borrowed \$2.5 million from FHA so far this year, but are repaying it. In fact, 99 per cent of FHA loans to Texas farmers and ranchers are repaid."

The people within these counties also have learned about "politics and terminology" for qualifying for government loans:

Jails now are "short-term detention centers," a traditional museum must be an "interpretive center" and mesquite "eradication" is taboo. It's brush control locally, and federal workers refer to it as "grasslands research."

Price contended emphatically that local areas should be given tax advantages to establish industry and train people for their jobs.

Purcell and Price agreed that a new rural development bill in Congress is "the first step" toward providing rural areas with opportunities equal to those provided for urban development. It basically would "beef up the FHA and other agencies for making loans to small cities with qualified opportunities for businesses."

Cities attracted the first attention. This is where the most voters are. However, the headwaters of the flood of problems that swept into cities actually were far up into the rural areas.

Now, the lawmakers appear to be applying to people a lesson started by soil and water conservationists three decades ago. Stop the flow from its source before it causes further destruction.

As Hutchinson summed it up, "A man told a friend, 'I'm going to Paducah to die.' Well, our town's not in debt and most of our churches are paid for. Not for fancy funerals."

"We don't intend to die, economically. We've been 35 years getting into this condition, and we'll recover, but not overnight."

How? This wasn't answered. An "eye opener" in only one small part of rural America provided a haunting residue.

STREET CRIME

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, of all our urban ills, the proliferation of street crime in recent years is perhaps the most frightening. Legitimate fears restrict basic freedom of movement enjoyed by Americans in our inner cities. Many feel unable to walk our streets without fear, particularly in nighttime hours. If government cannot provide basic peace of mind, then its very legitimacy and its ability to achieve other goals are greatly strained.

Much national energy has been expended in recent years in analyzing the

increase of criminal activity in our cities. Importantly, each analysis has told us that it is not possible to isolate crime as a problem apart from the larger urban crisis, that the foundation of any national strategy against crime must be a relentless effort to achieve social justice. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, for example, cited the fundamental importance of "reducing poverty, discrimination, ignorance, disease, and urban blight, and the anger, cynicism or despair those conditions can inspire." With this in mind, then, let us understand there are no simple mechanisms for controlling crime. But there are concrete steps to be taken.

The primary responsibility for police protection and crime prevention lies at the local level with the cities and the States. There is no national police force nor should there be. Citizens must look to their city councils, to their mayors, to their State legislators, and to their Governors. These authorities should take immediate steps to ensure increased and more highly visible police patrol of high-crime urban areas. In addition, they should explore every means possible to upgrade their police and correctional facilities.

This is not to suggest that the Federal Government does not have a very vital role to play. In fact, because, as with all areas of increased national commitment, the battle against street crime begins with increased levels of funding, the Federal Government with its enormous resources must shoulder an increased burden. Federal assistance to States and localities for purposes of law enforcement totaled only \$447 million in 1971. Most of those moneys—some \$340 million—were provided by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration—LEAA—an arm of the Department of Justice. LEAA funds are distributed as block grants to the States, each State's share based on its population. New York's share in 1971, for example, was approximately \$32 million. But much of this money was never directed to those areas of high street crime where it is so badly needed. A revision of the existing LEAA program, with expanded grants directly to our cities or to our metropolitan regions, would be a step in the right direction. Beyond that, built-in incentives for upgrading police and correctional facilities, whereby local jurisdictions could increase their share by the presentation of workable plans for improvements in these areas, would greatly enhance the value of increased Federal funding.

It is above all important that attention be focused on every level of our criminal justice process. We must upgrade our police, but those efforts will be useless if we do nothing to alleviate the problems that plague our crowded courts. We must make the administration of our courts more functional, but those efforts will in turn become useless if judges must send our criminals to corrections facilities that do not rehabilitate, but only embitter the criminal mind.

If we must start somewhere, however, it is with a national commitment to im-

prove police manpower. Increasing the quality of trained police personnel is a particularly immediate challenge. Improvements should be fashioned on two levels. First, an effort should be made to attract better educated recruits by increasing salary levels and by developing college education programs for police. Second, major new emphasis should be given to the training of already recruited personnel, particularly in areas of police-community relations. Recruitment and appropriate deployment of minority group officers would greatly legitimize the process of law enforcement in the eyes of the inner city citizens.

But even on less abstract levels, we can take immediate action against the street criminal. Legislation implementing the constitutional guarantee of a speedy trial, for example, would do much to combat the troublesome problems of crime committed by those on bail. Gun registration and control, particularly with regard to handguns, would greatly reduce violent crime in this country. The outrageous assaults on our political leaders and on our police serve to underscore the urgent need for stricter Federal controls on firearms. The FBI tells us that 125 police officers were slain in 1971, and that 96 percent of these killings were committed with firearms. Handguns were used in 74 percent of those killings. I have introduced in the House of Representatives a Gun Control, Registration, and Licensing Act. As part of that legislation, the importation, manufacture, transfer, and transportation of any handgun except by law enforcement officers, military personnel, or persons licensed by the Secretary of the Treasury, is prohibited. As chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary, I recently announced that a judiciary subcommittee will hold public hearings on the importance of gun control legislation beginning in June of this year.

Additionally, I have always believed that the mugger, the rapist, the purse snatcher, the armed robber, is a person who lurks in the shadows and whose courage is in inverse proportion to the lighting which illuminates his place of business. For that reason, I recently called to the attention of New York State and city authorities three funding provisions in the existing Federal Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, under which LEAA funds seem already available to New York City for increased street lighting to control crime. In those letters, I have strongly urged that more funds be used for that purpose.

Under the 1968 act, which I authored and helped pilot through the Congress, we embarked on a momentous effort to improve and strengthen law enforcement throughout the Nation. Unquestionably, one extremely important tool in deterring crime is increased street lighting in high crime areas; its effectiveness has been demonstrated repeatedly. I am hopeful that in the future State and city planners will give lighting programs the higher priority they deserve in the distribution of LEAA moneys.

Finally, the issues of street crime and drugs cannot be divorced. Each feeds

upon the other, with so much street crime resulting from the addict's need to support his habit. We must be mature and compassionate in addressing drug-related problems, but we must also realize that organized crime plays its part, police corruption plays its part, abysmal prison conditions play their part.

We cannot, of course, hope to halt the crime problem overnight. But we can expect the excitement of the challenge to sustain us through the difficult years ahead if we truly commit our will to winning these battles. It is, of course, a cliché to speak of the stakes involved and the price that inaction or misdirected action will exact. We need not dwell on "roll up your sleeve" calls to action. We know what goes on in the streets of our cities. Now we must act to stop it.

FRANCIS P. LONG RECEIVES "GOOD FELLOW AWARD"

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, every year the Catholic War Veterans of McKeesport, Pa., and their ladies auxiliary single out for public acclaim an individual who has given unselfishly of time and talent for the betterment of his community and his fellowmen.

This year's recipient of Post 1559's "Good Fellow Award" is a gruff, outspoken man who does not waste words or time. When he sets his sights on something, he pulls all stops to get the job done as quickly as possible and get it done right. He has mastered the art of converting ambition, ability, and hard work into outstanding success.

These are the traits which have carried Francis P. "Red" Long, a carrot-topped 11-year-old messenger boy in 1906, to the silver-haired business executive of today. The road was not easy. "Red" worked as a steelworker, an insurance broker, a fireman, and a police officer before becoming the owner of a successful trucking business in the city of Duquesne, Pa. Along the way, he married Henrietta V. Wier of Duquesne. The couple raised a family of 12 children and on January 22 of this year they observed their 55th wedding anniversary.

"Red" has been active in numerous community ventures, but the primary beneficiary of his civic pride has been the Duquesne Sanitary Authority. He has served as chairman of that body since 1966, and under his leadership the Duquesne sewage treatment plant has received national and international recognition for design and efficiency of operation. It has been the subject of several engineering articles and even the Japanese were impressed enough by what they heard to personally come to Duquesne and inspect the facility. Early this year Allegheny County paid tribute to "Red's" ability and efforts by

awarding him the county's Community Citation of Merit for his work with the county solid waste advisory committee.

Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure I insert into the RECORD a brief biography of "Red" which was published by the Catholic War Veterans:

BIOGRAPHY OF FRANCIS P. "RED" LONG

(Married to Henrietta V. Wier—12 children. Resides at 128 Friendship Ave., Duquesne, Pa. 15110.)

Being the 13th recipient of the Good Fellow Award may cause some concern in the mind of a person with a penchant to being superstitious, but such is not the case with Francis "Red" Long, the 1972 honoree. If Red had been superstitious he could not have worked himself up from a messenger boy at age 11 in the Duquesne Coal Docks, to a highly respected and successful businessman, well known throughout the state. The fact that Red has been able to rise to such prominence in the community and accomplish what he has without the benefit of much formal education as we know it today, attests even more to his belief that hard work, determination and the will to succeed, tempered with a bit of good fortune, is the key to success.

It all started in 1906 when a lean 11-year-old with bright red hair started working as a messenger boy at the Duquesne Coal Docks. By the time he was 17 years old Red had worked himself up to weighmaster at the docks. In 1915, Red felt it was time for another move and he entered the Duquesne Apprentice School and served as an apprentice to the millwright on the No. 2 openhearth, eventually being promoted to an assistant foreman's job. The post-war recession hit the area in 1921 and Red recalls the work being slow and jobs hard to come by. To fill in the gap he once more diversified himself and studied insurance and was issued a state Insurance Brokers License. Red was on the move again by 1923 and joined the Duquesne Fire Department. While a fireman he supplemented his income by promoting boxing shows in 1926 and '27 at the Duquesne Place Athletic Field. After 10 years on the force he was then appointed to the city's Police Department as the Health and Ordinance Officer, a position he held until 1945. It was while Red was on the police force that he began what is now known as Long's Hauling Co., delivering domestic coal to Duquesne residents. His sons were handling most of the business then, but when five of his boys entered the Armed Forces prior to World War II, Red quit the department and devoted full time to running the company in which he is still active daily. Running a successful trucking business is not enough to satisfy a man as energetic as Red Long, however. At the time when CVW Post 1559 was making its first Good Fellow Award presentation, Red was assuming duties as Chairman of the Duquesne Sanitary Authority.

Under his leadership the Sanitary Authority has prospered and the Sewage Treatment Plant has received national recognition for its efficiency. In the field of solid waste disposal Red received the Community Citation of Merit from the County Commissioners this February for his outstanding work as a member of the county Solid Waste Advisory Committee. In addition to the above mentioned activities, Red is a past Exalted Ruler of the Duquesne Elks, is presently serving as a Director of the Penna. Motor Truck Association, is a member of the Refuse Disposal Association of Penna. and is a life member of the city, county, state and national lodges of the Fraternal Order of Police.

Francis P. Long, truly a worthy recipient of the 1972 Good Fellow Award.

FOOD PROGRAMS

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, as part of its 2-year study of public welfare programs, during 1972 the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy of the Joint Economic Committee has held hearings in Washington, D.C., New York City, and Detroit. For the benefit of all, I would like to place in the RECORD the statement submitted to the subcommittee by Maryann Mahaffey, chairwoman of Detroit's Mayor-Common Council Task Force on Hunger and Malnutrition. This is an excellent description of the flaws in the operation of the Nation's food programs:

TESTIMONY OF MARYANN MAHAFFEY

The Detroit Task Force on Hunger and Malnutrition was established by resolution of Common Council and members were chosen jointly by the Mayor and President of the Common Council in the fall of 1970. The charge given this Task Force was to assess the extent of hunger and malnutrition in the city, assess and monitor existing programs designed to alleviate the problem, and to explore and recommend improvements in existing programs or alternative programs.

Scientific studies and surveys clearly indicate that cumulative poor diets create cumulative deficiencies in growth; that high infant mortality rates, delayed and retarded growth, small size and lower performance rates are all associated with under and improper nutrition, which occurs most often in poverty and low income households. Dr. John Churchill of Wayne State University Medical School states that 35 nutrients are needed for healthy growth and the lack of any one of them can create organic brain damage, retarded growth and learning rates, increased vulnerability to disease, withdrawal, apathy, alienation, and frustration.

There is no one simple laboratory test for determining malnutrition or undernutrition. The White House Conference on Food, Health and Nutrition concluded that a person or family living on less than the lowest cost budget figure established by the Bureau of Labor Statistics would have inadequate income to consistently purchase or procure foods containing the 35 necessary nutrients. The Detroit Task Force accepted that statement as a guide in measuring the existence of hunger and malnutrition.

STATISTICAL DATA

1970 census material is not yet available to us that documents income figures correlated with census tract, age, etc. In the absence of those figures we rely on our annual report of February 1972. There continues to be a lack of a uniform recording and/or reporting base among the various governmental units. Over 20% of Detroit's population is living in poverty, and over 49% of all senior citizens in the city live on an income of less than \$3000 per year, while \$1855 is the median income of older persons living alone.

Un and underemployment lead immediately to low income situations which studies indicate generally lead to improper eating and nutrition. With electricity, rent and gas being fixed and mandatory expenditures, food is the only flexible budget item. Studies document that poor families pay the rent and utilities first, emergencies such as medical bills and shoes for school second, with food a poor third.

As you know, Detroit continues to be classified as a Class C area by the Depart-

ment of Labor, due to its high and persistent unemployment rate. The business and industrial growth rate is slower in Detroit than in surrounding areas. Plants are moving out or closing out, with workers laid off, pension benefits lost, cut or jeopardized. The cost of living has climbed up some six per cent in the last year, with the wage increase set at 5.5% under Phase II. The minimum wage level is inadequate, as is social security. When social security goes up, rents go up in both the private and public sector of housing, so that senior citizens slowly slip backwards in purchasing power.

In addition, discrimination continues against the Black worker, the worker over 45, women and teen-agers. If one is 45 and laid off, it takes longer and is harder to find a new job. Often such workers find they have exhausted their unemployment benefits, and face going on welfare, or early retirement with reduced benefits, or loss of pension credits, or an expensive move to another area, away from friends and family, to a job whose stability might be questioned given our recent economic history.

There is always the problem of matching skills and jobs, as well as transportation resources and job location. The quarterly MESC report for the Detroit Metropolitan area dated September 1971, lists three pages of job classification titles where there is no demand for workers and it's hard to place people. Only three job classifications were listed as having a persistent shortage: Registered Nurse, Licensed Practical Nurse and MSW social worker. (My students at the Graduate School of Social Work at Wayne State University will tell you that there must be some mistake in listing the MSW social worker as in persistent short supply—lead them to those jobs!) The WIN training currently given is not concentrated in the health professions. Forty per cent (40%) of the people in the WIN Program are women, and are given to understand that there are few jobs available to women. Other social problems that affect families include the inadequacies of housing available to the poor. It is estimated that 27% of Detroit's residents (some 380,000) qualify for the 35,000 public housing spaces available. In addition, studies that have been made in the last few months document that costs in inner city food stores, whatever the reason, range from 20 to 40% higher than in major chain stores. Chain store supermarkets are scarce within the city. (Thirteen chain supermarkets moved from the city in 1970-71; five are slated to move in 1972.) There has been a failure of the private sector to create employment, and the governmental programs are too small to be effective.

GRANT LEVELS

Many add up all the possible benefits available to a family on welfare, assuming that all families utilize all benefits to their maximum. A variety of studies and statistics themselves disprove this. In fact, Michigan grants are set at a figure below the poverty line. The 1971 poverty line was set at \$3968 per year, and Michigan grants are at \$3792. The budgets are computed on the basis of the Bureau of Labor Statistics economy food plan, which the U.S. Department of Agriculture designates as for "emergency use only" and further indicates that it requires nutritional planning skill, equipment, storage space and availability of low market costs in order to be able to manage.

A family of 4, according to the BLS Index in February of 1972, would need \$33.48 per week for a low-cost budget diet. Food stamps equal a purchasing power of \$27.00 per week. Beginning July 1, 1972, a family of 4 will pay down \$86.00 per month to receive \$112.00 per month in food stamps. The assumption on the part of many is that the \$26.00 bonus will then represent money savings to supplement the food diet. However, the regular grant

budget does not include money for transportation, personal hygiene supplies, a newspaper, and sufficient clothing. So there are other demands for that money.

To further complicate the picture, a survey in April of two food markets, one a chain and the other a non-chain market in the inner city, documented the 20 to 40% mark-up of food in the inner city market. A 20% mark-up reduces the \$26.00 bonus to \$3.60. A 40% mark-up wipes out the bonus and reduces purchasing power by \$18.80. The low cost budget, according to USDA nutritionists, assumes considerable sophistication in managing one's food budget, including figuring unit price costs (only one market does this uniformly). The low-cost budget also assumes that one has sufficient storage space, transportation that permits one to carry the food home in quantity, cash available to buy in quantity once a week, equipment to freeze or store the food, and supermarket facilities that offer the prices of the suburban supermarkets, or that carry the nutritionally recommended foods.

In addition, it is important to remember that food used in quantity by the poor often has lost nutrients as a result of processing, so that there is a great need for passage of food enrichment legislation requiring processors to restore nutrients to rice, flour, cornmeal, and grits among other foods.

The poor are also subject to the pressures of the mass media, constantly pushing prepared foods, snack foods, and the like. Hence the nutritional problems of the poor adolescent at times appears to be similar to that of the middle-class youngster, barraged by the seductions of mass advertising into thinking that certain foods are quick energy pick-ups and nutritious. The food industry is free to enrich these products, yet it does not.

AVAILABLE FOOD PROGRAMS

There are two major food programs available in Detroit, and three other programs servicing a much more limited number, financed by the public sector. *Emergency food* is available only through private organizations, e.g. Mother Waddles Perpetual Mission, St. Peter Claver Community Center, and church organizations, including the Salvation Army. All state loud and clear that they are swamped with requests, and cannot continue to carry the whole load. Governmental agencies send people to the private organizations when checks are stolen, or late, etc.

Each program was established by the government to meet a different need, to cover a different segment of the population. The *School Lunch Program* was established to care for school age children, and in Detroit about one-half of the eligible children (eligible for free or reduced rate lunch) actually receive them. The *Breakfast Program* is in some 16 elementary schools. The problems in this program are detailed in our Annual Report, and include the fact that federal guidelines do not take cognizance of the dietary patterns and culture of many youngsters, and nutrition education services are not available in sufficient quantity. School facilities are limited, and personnel need continuing in-service training, which is not available, in order to eliminate discrimination against the low-income children and improve the nutritional training available for the youngsters in the program.

SENIOR CITIZENS

We have no Meals on Wheels Program available in Detroit for the homebound senior citizen. Our group meals program for the elderly is a demonstration project that serves 1500 seniors a week. The estimated need is 40,000. Funding ends this summer. Funding under the new feeding program for the elderly will not be available until January 1973, and then only to cities with an existing viable group meals program. We are desperately searching for state money to keep

this program alive. Some cities have a program offered by private business of reduced rate lunches for the elderly at certain off-business hours. This is not available in Detroit. In addition, many elderly live in hotels or rooming houses, are not allowed to cook food in their rooms, and thus eat in restaurants. They cannot use food stamps in restaurants and thus lose the benefits of food stamps, and continue with inadequate diets. (Research has demonstrated that elderly citizens obtain greater benefits nutritionally from food eaten in company with others, than alone.)

The Nation Nutrition Survey and the Michigan section of that Survey specified that the most prevalent disease is iron deficiency anemia, and that this is a particular problem of the elderly, including men and infants and young children, and is directly related to income. The lower the income the greater the rate of incidence.

The Supplemental Food Program is financed under the EFMS Section of the OEO budget, and is designed to provide high protein and iron enriched foods to supplement the diets of pregnant and post-partum women and the infants and young children to their sixth birthday. In Detroit, it is a prescription program available through the Maternal and Infant Care Clinics to medically indigent mothers. The need is determined medically, based on hematocrits and blood iron range. In Detroit, some 60% of the recipients are also receiving food stamps. The food stamps are not enough. We are currently attempting to secure an additional supplement, iron fortified formula, through one of the manufacturers of the product. It would be available at cost, whereas now the mother is likely to spend twice that amount in the stores available to her. The results of these programs are excellent. One study documented that whereas 40.8% of the babies at birth had a below normal hematocrit, by the third clinic visit (while on the iron fortified formula) this had been reduced to 13.3% and none were considered severely anemic.

This program (Supplemental Food) in Detroit now services approximately 10,000 of the estimated 70,000 minimal need. The program is certified by USDA to service 15,000. The program is in jeopardy. Although there is ample scientific evidence of its effectiveness in reducing damage to the youngster, the budget request for this program for 1972-73 is set at 3.5 million and the funds restricted to use for Indians and migrant programs. There are other mothers probably eligible for this program, who scrape together the money to pay a private doctor, and thus do not go through public health clinics. In addition, the Maternal and Infant Care Clinics, we are given to understand, are in danger of being closed due to funding cut-offs proposed in Congress.

If the Supplemental Food Program is eliminated, and the Maternal and Infant Care Clinics closed, there will be tremendous negative impact on nutrition and consequent increase in infant and maternal mortality rates, etc. In Detroit, Detroit's infant mortality rate through the first two weeks of life is already 17 per thousand births as compared to a national rate of 14 per thousand and a European rate of 7 per thousand. The infant mortality rate from birth to one year in the inner city is 27.4 per thousand in Detroit. When infant mortality is plotted by census tract, the rate falls precipitously (and is better than the national average) as one nears the outer edges of the city.

The Supplemental Food Program is inadequate, in that the quantity and quality of the food leaves much to be desired, only nine of the 24 commodities are available, there is much red tape, and inadequate funding for administrative costs. The packaging and delivery system is very inadequate when compared to that of the private commercial sector. Medically, the program has proven its

value, as well as the inadequacies of the Food Stamp Program, since 60% of those in the Supplemental Food Program are also using food stamps.

Congress appropriated 36 million for the program in 1971-72; however, the Office of Management and Budget has refused to authorize the expenditure of all the money. As a result, only some 14.7 million will be spent this fiscal year with the remainder returned to the Treasury. The budget of the United States will therefore look more balanced, while the mothers and their babies who could have had their diets supplemented, and anemia reduced or wiped out, will suffer.

THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

The Food Stamp Program is supposed to be the program that services all people, and makes it unnecessary for there to be any other supplemental food programs. In the above description of food programs, evidence has been given that the Food Stamp Program is inadequate, for a variety of reasons. It was intended to help both those on Public Assistance, and those with low income, or on unemployment compensation, social security, etc.

There have been six food stamp sales offices in Detroit, and one in western Wayne County at Wayne County General Hospital at Eloise. There is at present no accurate means of determining the total number of families in Wayne County classifiable as working poor (Non-Public Assistance recipients) who may be eligible and have not applied. The Department of Social Services does not have a statistical breakdown separating Detroit from Wayne County.

The Detroit Community Renewal Project "Population and Housing Survey" of 1969 records 292,000 persons (or slightly less than 100,000 households) living below the poverty line in Detroit. If one assumes that Detroit's population represents 80% of the Social Services Department population of the County, and 80% of the poor live in Detroit, then the total poor population in the County could be about 365,000 people. Seventy thousand (70,000) households participate in the Food Stamp Program. Twenty per cent (20%) of those living outside Detroit and in the County would number 14,000 households. One can estimate that there are 44,000 non-assistance households in Detroit eligible for food stamps and not using them.

Barriers to participating in the program were listed by a variety of citizens at the Task Force Public Hearings, July 26, 1971.

1. Many families have trouble getting together the money for the stamps. In addition, in the past, a flat sum had to be purchased each time with no flexible amounts available depending on special needs. The Department of Social Services does not break the budget down into items for clothing, personal hygiene, school supplies, transportation, prescriptions, etc. In fact, the Department stated in a recent budget presentation that the Public Assistance budgets do not meet the standards of Michigan law. As a result, when children need shoes, the budget that can be squeezed is the food budget. September and December are periods when purchases drop as people purchase school clothing and Christmas gifts. There are additional problems in that if one misses in purchasing stamps, one has to be recertified, and there are insufficient certification offices.

2. Shortage of and inaccessibility of food stamp sales offices. Testimony at the Public Hearing of July 26, 1971, brought out the following:

"I have to catch three buses to get to the food stamp office to buy my stamps and it sometimes takes me all day to get back home after you wait all that time for buses. One runs only every 45 minutes. You get there late and then you have to wait in a long line when you get there. Lots of times you're lined up around the corner on the

street. If you take your child with you, it's worse. I feel like I can't keep asking my neighbors to watch my kids while I get the stamps, and I can't pay someone to watch them, so I have to take them with me."

"No sales center at one of the main welfare intake offices at 640 Temple. (And now no certification or sales center at the main food stamp office on Lyndon.)"

"Only seven sales places in Wayne County, and long lines at all of them, standing outside in all kinds of weather."

"Difficulty of senior citizens and the handicapped in getting to certification and sales centers by bus, and then waiting in line."

Many requested that a proxy system be developed for some, and that food stamps be mailed to those requesting same.

2. The unavailability of good food values in many sections of the city.

"In inner city stores the nutritious food is often not on the shelves."

"The bad meat and bad vegetables you get at the inner city market."

"If you do get to a supermarket chain store you get there cause you have a friend with a car, or you hassle the groceries on a bus, sometimes two or three buses."

4. Size of the bonus.

The new guidelines reduce the bonuses for those on Public Assistance cutting purchasing power even more.

"There needs to be an increase in the bonus because you can't buy enough food now, with prices what they are."

5. The purchasing system.

"Recipients are not issued an ID card with their picture on it. Most do not have drivers licenses. Therefore thievery is easy. It's been a year since the Governor's Welfare Study Commission recommended ID cards."

"The Authorization to Purchase cards mailed from Lansing have a line on them reading 'to be purchased in 5 days'. If the ATP card is late, the recipient may take the card literally, not purchase stamps and if it happens several times in a row, have to reapply and be recertified. The County Department permits the recipient more than five days to purchase stamps, but many don't know this."

6. The eligibility standards are a nightmare.

A Food Stamp Program employee testified that "a family called in need of food help. The mother was ill with a heart condition, had to be taken to Ann Arbor for treatments once a month. The family was told, on application, that they were ineligible for food stamps, even though review of their budget and expenditures documented that they did not have enough money for sufficient food. A review of the family's total case explained that the family's monthly car payment could have been deducted if they were applying for Public Assistance thus allowing them to be eligible. But although in this case a car was a necessity (mother too ill to ride buses, and ordered not to do housework or any physical activity) it could not be deducted from income to qualify for food stamp assistance. The man was employed, but so underemployed that his wages would not meet the family's needs."

"Arrangements were made for the family to obtain a Thanksgiving basket. The mother, overjoyed, cooked the turkey and suffered a fatal heart attack leaving a husband and four children."

PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROGRAM

1. Stores that discount food stamps.

"These stores buy food stamps from some people who need money. There's only a few who sell them, but nobody ever does anything about making the store stop."

A Wayne County Department of Social Services official indicated that it's the food stamp users who report the violations.

There appear to be two difficulties in correcting these problems:

(a) Weak enforcement powers of the USDA agents when the store is reported. In addition, there are a limited number of inspectors on duty, and their hours are 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. Therefore, there is no coverage for the party store.

(b) Failure of the County Prosecutor's Office to prosecute cases. There appears to be an attitude that not enough money is involved.

2. Lack of money from the State Department of Social Services to engage in an outreach program though mandated to do so by the USDA.

3. Lack of outreach workers to go to the homebound.

4. Need for outreach materials in Spanish.

5. PA recipients records are computerized but food stamp recipients records are processed by hand, thus not computerized, limiting the efficiency of the program, both for the department and the food stamp user. It would be cheaper to hire a private firm to computerize the program than to continue with conditions as they are.

6. The lack of sufficient phones to handle inquiries so people have difficulty ascertaining eligibility short of long bus trips to the office.

7. The new guidelines which appear determined to make the program difficult to get into, requiring a great deal more paper work, and different eligibility standards than other programs. The recipient will have to fill out a 5 to 6 page form, the worker a two page one, eligibility will be reviewed every six months, even though the person may continue to be on Public Assistance, and budgets will be computed on income, not reflecting family size.

8. Inability to negotiate more food stamp sales centers with Detroit banks, etc. The U.S. Post Office informed the Task Force, and the Mayor that they would follow through on sale of food stamps in post office substations, in January of 1971. This is currently being done in King County, Washington, and the state of Arizona. It would increase the number of sales offices from 7 to about 34. We have heard nothing more. Post office sales would make it possible for people to purchase stamps 5½ days a week, from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.—far better hours than currently available.

Negotiations have begun with currency exchanges. The banks in Detroit were asking \$1.50 per transaction, the post office at approximately 80c, currency exchanges at 80 to 90c.

Where and how does one obtain more sales centers?

A proposal was made by the Director of Security of Chatham Supermarkets in September 1971, that Detroit banks and businesses consider replicating a Philadelphia program wherein the benefits for a recipient are mailed to the bank, with food stamps deducted and the transaction accomplished when the person picks up their check. This was regarded as having multiple benefits; eliminating the difficulty many recipients have in cashing checks, being a dignified and safe way of distribution of grants, and on the other hand, eliminating cash loss, reduction of bank charges, and reducing investigative expense.

Problems experienced, included that some bank branches did not have sufficient lobby space, and many recipients did not like the designation of a food stamp or welfare window openly segregating people. Some bank customers were unhappy because many welfare recipients would bring the whole family (i.e. children) with them. Bank holidays and hours also presented problems.

The statement is made that "We discuss the checkless society in our industry (banking). I would hope that as our sophistication in use of computers develops, it also

progresses in the governmental agency area as well."

We still don't have enough sales and certification offices.

9. We still know that people will not buy stamps because they feel there is a stigma attached, that they are personally responsible for being unemployed, and knowing how society looks down on the poor, do not want to accept charity even in the form of food stamps. Separate windows, the red tape, the suspicions of others all make some avoid the program.

10. Therefore, a massive recruitment program is also in order, via low wage employers, such as in small shops, service industries, etc., community groups, doctors and dentists, and grocery stores.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Increase food stamp allotments to provide for the low cost diet plan of the Department (rather than the emergency plan) regionally adjusted on the basis of Bureau of Labor Statistics information.

2. Increase eligibility income levels to the low income figure established by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, regionally adjusted.

3. Revise application and certification procedures to provide for self-certification and application by mail.

4. Reimburse state and local units in full for increased administrative costs.

5. Fully fund outreach programs designed to reach and serve the eligible.

6. Uniform eligibility requirements and guides for figuring budgets among all the programs.

7. Eliminations of lengthy reports and red tape.

8. Increase the number of sales and certification offices.

9. Computerize food stamps. It is ridiculous that if a person is on welfare, and changes his address, he can't make one phone call about the change and take care of all of his records. As it stands now, there is no cross referencing between food stamps and Public Assistance.

SUMMARY

This country lacks a national policy relative to food and nutrition. We do not have a national mandate to feed the hungry and malnourished. We should. That national policy should be to ensure to all people adequate food and nutrition services to ensure attainment of optimum nutrition for all with special emphasis on the crucial period of early childhood, including the pre-natal and post-natal period. Our elderly should be ensured a decent old age.

As one examines the records of the various food programs, a pattern emerges. It is a pattern of beginning programs, offering them as solutions, and then when they begin to catch hold, increasing the limitations, limiting accessibility, developing more restrictive requirements, and withholding money.

Congress authorized 36 million for the Supplemental Food Programs. The Office of Management and Budget refuses to permit the money to be used. That program was begun in 1968. Less than 6 months later, when 13,500 of a potential of 780,000 mothers were enrolled, a memo came from USDA stating that the program was getting out of hand, and all new programs would be authorized in Washington, rather than in the regional offices.

The number on food stamps has increased, and now the proposal is made to prohibit food stamps to those on welfare if RH1 is passed.

We have multiple food programs because of individual needs, and the inadequacies of existing programs. Each one proves itself, and when coverage increases, efforts are made to reduce the number covered. We end up with unreasonable eligibility ceilings, conflicting regulations, over-crowded facilities

and inadequate funding. The surplus commodities in the Supplemental Food Program are below standard both in the quality of food and the packaging. Yet we cannot do without it, for food stamps are not enough, and the program has dramatically proven itself by reducing iron deficiency anemia, maternal and infant death rates, and the incidence of organic brain damage.

As Dr. Lowe of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development stated in a letter to the *New York Times*, April 22, 1972, "The consequences of inadequate health care for poor children are readily apparent: infant mortality (2 to 1), mental retardation (at least 10 to 1), maternal mortality (4 to 1), prematurity (2 to 1), chronic illness (2 to 1) and other forms of morbidity selectively affect the disadvantaged. Medicaid provides emergency or episodic health care for 8.7 million children; yet only 1.5 million children receive the comprehensive health services commonly available to middle-class children."

There is irony in the persistent efforts to limit food programs, erecting barriers to limit the eligible population to keep the costs down, at the same time that the newspapers are replete with stories of wastage of 9.1% in the auto industry, subsidies to agribusiness, inadequate amounts of money for public service jobs, and tax write-offs that add up to \$720,000 per year for some wealthy families compared to the average subsidy of \$16.00 per year for those living on less than \$3000 per year. Every year we fight for renewal of the Summer Lunch Program, extension of the School Lunch Program, food for mothers and infants; yet, 28% of total income of farmers, small business men, and professional goes unreported, a total of 4.7 billion, 1.4 billion of income from interest goes unreported, representing 34% of the total income from interest.

HIGHER EDUCATION CONFERENCE REPORT

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, after 9 weeks of long and often difficult negotiation the conference committee on S. 659, the Education Amendments of 1972, has resolved all differences.

As one member of the conference I feel that the bill is indeed, as the Washington Post characterized it in its Sunday edition, a breakthrough for higher education. I understand that the very lengthy conference report and statement on the part of the managers will be filed tomorrow. At that time I hope to insert a summary of the report to give our colleagues a quick overview.

Both the Washington Post, in a May 21, 1972, editorial and the New York Times in an editorial dated May 19, have highlighted the significant education features of the report.

Although I feel the conference resolved the differences on busing in a manner favorable to the House, it would be sad, indeed, if this unrelated issue prevented the enactment of this historic higher education bill.

Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of my colleagues, I am inserting the two editorials which I have just mentioned:

[From the New York Times, May 19, 1972]
THE BUSING SIDESHOW

The agreement reached by Senate-House conferences on the so-called public school anti-busing amendment should remove the most serious obstacle to enactment of the historic higher education aid bill. It is a compromise that has already drawn fire from Southern segregationists, who wanted to ram an anti-integration rider down the conference committee's throat, and from some civil rights groups, who consider any restriction on busing unacceptable.

Unquestionably any amendment that attempts to use the higher education bill as a means of interfering with the totally unrelated issue of public school integration has an element of shoddiness about it. But given the hysteria that surrounds the busing issue, the conferees are entitled to credit for producing a compromise that extracts the segregationist teeth from the dreadful provision presented to them by the House.

The amendment would delay for up to nineteen months, pending all appeals, any Federal court orders requiring busing to achieve racial balance. On that basis, it does not prohibit busing necessary for school desegregation. It merely adheres to the Supreme Court's ruling that it is proper for the lower courts to order busing to achieve integration but not to create racial balance.

Far from bowing to the House order to prohibit the use of Federal desegregation aid to pay for busing, the amendment allows the expenditure of such funds for busing if local communities request them. It does not prevent Federal civil rights enforcement agencies from ordering such expenditures provided they are "constitutionally required."

The anti-busing debate is a red herring politically magnified by Governor Wallace and given bogus respectability by President Nixon. The conference compromise, which closely resembles the earlier Scott-Mansfield amendment, is designed to do as little harm as possible. Its liberal authors would undoubtedly agree that it serves no constructive purpose in its own right; rather it is a shield for saving the college campuses without actively sabotaging school integration.

In its key provision, the bill provides a \$1,400 annual subsidy to which every college-age youth is theoretically entitled—minus the amount the family can reasonably be expected to cover. In practice, this would mean that students from homes with incomes in the neighborhood of \$4,500 a year would collect the full "entitlement." This contribution would be reduced gradually until it disappears at approximately the \$13,000 income level. In addition, existing direct grants, loans and work-study aid would be continued and could be added to the basic allowance, according to the need.

At the same time, a college would collect "cost of education" grants computed on the number of the federally aided students it enrolls. This aid would be augmented by direct grants for each graduate student, the most costly level of higher education.

The approach is revolutionary because it offers students, regardless of their economic condition, maximum choice of campuses, without the need to apply hat-in-hand. Since the colleges would thus be competing for students who, though not affluent, would bring with them a Federal reward to the institution, there would be premium on social responsibility in opening up expanded educational opportunity for needy students. And if students invest their allowance in seeking quality education, there will be pressure on the institutions for continuous self-improvement.

The conferees have wisely rejected across-the-board handouts despite their short-range appeal at a time of great fiscal need. They responded instead to the particularly acute

crisis among the private colleges and universities by projecting that 39 per cent of the allocations would go to these institutions, even though they enroll only about 26 per cent of the nation's students.

Unless this measure is passed now, it is unlikely to be revived next year when the elementary and secondary schools will move to the forefront of Congressional attention. Meanwhile opportunities would close for many students caught between recession and inflation, while the disastrous academic depression could easily lead to the collapse of some colleges and to a decline in quality for most others.

This—and not the extraneous anti-busing controversy—is the real issue. Congress, by its response, can affect the fate of American higher education for generations to come.

[From the Washington Post, May 21, 1972]

A BREAKTHROUGH FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

It is a measure of our national transfixion with the busing issue that the agreement reached by the exhausted House and Senate education conferees as the dawn was breaking on Wednesday morning was universally received as a "busing agreement." And yet the bill to which the irrelevant busing clauses were added may well be the most far-reaching legislation to come to a final vote in this Congress. Although we are generally suspicious of such hyperbole we suspect that Congressman John Brademas is right when he describes it as "the most significant advance in the history of federal support for higher education since the Land Grant College Act was signed by President Lincoln over a century ago."

The most important provision of the bill is the establishment of a new program of financial assistance for needy students called Basic Education Opportunity Grants. Under this program any student admitted to an accredited institution of higher education would be entitled to a federal grant based solely on his need. The grant would be equal to \$1400 minus what his family could reasonably be expected to contribute, but could not exceed 60 per cent of what he needed to meet his educational costs.

This program would, of course, not be the first federal student aid program—grants, fellowships, loan and work-study programs are already on the books. But the existing programs are erratic in their effects and have failed to reach large numbers of needy young people who aspire to education beyond high school. Funds have been allocated in a complicated fashion, first to states and then to colleges and universities to be doled out by their student aid officers as they saw fit. As a result equally needy students have often been treated differently depending on where they happened to apply to college. Many are left out altogether. So much uncertainty surrounds the programs that high school students from poor families are unable to plan for further education because they cannot be sure they will be able to get assistance or tell what size grant they may obtain. The Basic Education Opportunity Grants program would remove much of this uncertainty. For the first time the federal government would be saying loud and clear to all young people: "If you can meet the academic qualifications for education beyond high school you will not be denied the opportunity because your family is poor."

The bill does not abolish the older student aid programs. It preserves them as a way of providing additional help to students who need more than the basic grants, especially to meet the higher costs of private colleges. Loan programs, which have helped middle-income families cope with the high cost of college, are continued and a new mechanism is provided for attracting more capital into the student loan market.

A second landmark feature of the bill is

that for the first time it would provide general support for institutions of higher education on a continuing basis. The amount of aid an institution would receive would depend mainly on the number of basic grant recipients in its student body and the amounts of other federal student aid received by its students, with the special needs of smaller institutions getting extra weight. Again it would not be the first time that the federal government has given money to colleges and universities, but past programs have been earmarked for specific purposes—buildings, scientific research, language programs and so forth. The new bill would explicitly recognize that if the federal government is to encourage more students to go to college by offering student aid it must help institutions meet the additional costs that these students create by providing general purpose institutional aid.

Other significant features of the bill include strong provisions to combat sex bias in colleges and universities, funds for innovative teaching projects, encouragement to states to increase their scholarship programs, emergency funds for institutions in temporary fiscal difficulties, and special assistance for community colleges. It would also broaden student aid programs, reducing their purely academic focus by making students in proprietary vocational schools eligible for assistance.

While the major impact of the bill would be on higher education, it would also authorize a new agency to improve the effectiveness of education generally. A National Institute of Education, modeled on the National Institutes of Health, would be created to promote basic and practical research in the processes of learning and teaching.

This bill represents the culmination of a lengthy and often frustrating effort to hammer out compromises among opposing views of how federal aid to higher education should be structured and allocated. It is one of the few instances in which this administration and the Congress have actually managed to work together to produce a piece of legislation. Senators Pell, Mondale and Javits, and Representatives Green, Perkins, Quie and Brademas, among others, have all provided leadership and have all been forced at various times to give in on particular points in order to move the legislation ahead. The bill bears the marks of compromise—some unbelievably complex provisions were clearly last-minute attempts to resolve disputes—but we believe that the major compromises have been wise ones. The bill represents a true breakthrough for higher education. It would go a long way toward equalizing opportunity for higher education in 20th century America, and it would relieve the oppressive fiscal crisis facing so many colleges and universities.

We believe it would be tragic if so much effort to meet a national need were to go to waste. We strongly urge both houses to pass the omnibus education bill.

VISIT TO WASHINGTON BY KENT STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

HON. JOHN F. SEIBERLING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, the night after the President's television address announcing the mining of Haiphong and other ports in North Vietnam, I received a telephone call from Dr. Glenn A. Olds, president of Kent State University. The city of Kent, Ohio, is a

neighbor of my home city of Akron. Dr. Olds stated that several thousand Kent State students had gathered on the campus and were deliberating possible courses of action to express their profound disapproval of President Nixon's action.

Dr. Olds said that the situation was quite tense, with the moderate student leaders seeking to insure that any action on the part of the student body be peaceful and constructive in character. He expressed the belief that it would help them if they could announce that I would be willing to receive a delegation of Kent State students in Washington and help arrange meetings between them and other Members of Congress. I agreed to do so.

As a result, a delegation of over a hundred Kent State students, from all over Ohio, traveled to Washington, most of them at their own expense, some in a bus the cost of which was personally paid for by Dr. Olds. They were here for 2 days and called upon their respective Representatives and both Ohio Senators.

I can say without reservation that the trip was a genuine success from the viewpoint of both the students and the Members of Congress who met with them.

On Wednesday, an advance group of about 20 students came into my office to work out details and to contact the various Ohio Congressmen to arrange meetings with them. Representative THOMAS P. O'NEILL of Massachusetts, the distinguished majority whip, graciously gave about a half hour of his time to meet with these students in his office to have an exchange of views on how young people can work most effectively in the system to bring about peace in Vietnam. I believe those present found it a most instructive and rewarding session. He described to the students how other groups had organized effective "grass roots" organizations on a nationwide basis to get their views across to Members of Congress.

A representative delegation from the larger group met with Carl Marcy, Staff Director of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and with Senator WILLIAM SAXBE. The students who met with Mr. Marcy reported having an illuminating and constructive dialog. Those who met with Senator SAXBE reported that he listened to them with great interest and congratulated them for taking the initiative to come down and inform him as to the student point of view.

On Thursday, May 11, an informal hearing was arranged by Representative DONALD FRASER of Minnesota in the subcommittee hearing room of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Mr. FRASER, who is a member of the committee, agreed, at my request, to send an invitation to all the other members of the Foreign Affairs Committee. The hearing was attended by a dozen Members of Congress, mostly members of the Foreign Affairs Committee and Members of Congress from Ohio.

Over a hundred students were present at the hearing. Each of the student witnesses made a brief statement of his viewpoint about the current situation in Vietnam and his feeling and the feelings

of the students as to what ought to be done. Following each student statement, various Representatives asked questions and engaged in dialog with the students. Not all of the Representatives agreed with all the recommendations of the students, but all expressed to me their feeling that the meeting was very worthwhile to them. Many of the students said that it gave them a much better understanding of some of the problems that Members of Congress are up against and a better feeling of what Members of Congress are trying to do to bring American involvement in Vietnam to an end.

The whole thrust of the dialog was on how young people can work within the political system to make their views felt at the policy level of Government. One of the things that impressed Members of Congress who met with the students was their sincerity and the obvious effort they were making to seek some responsible way of dealing with the tragic and dangerous situation the country is in.

I think these students from Kent State set an example for all university groups throughout the country. If all will follow this example, it will help us get through this time of national division and will revitalize our democratic political institutions.

Great credit is due to Dr. Glenn A. Olds for his untiring and unselfish efforts to encourage students to shun violence and to work within the political system.

Finally, I believe commendation is in order for those Members of Congress who took time from their crowded schedules to exchange views with these students, most of whom were not even their constituents, in an effort to keep communications open with a group of young people sincerely seeking to make their views effective within the framework of our existing political system.

For the benefit of those Members of Congress who were not able to be present to hear the students' testimony, I ask that their formal statements be printed in the RECORD immediately following these remarks. I believe no one can fail to be impressed by their directiveness and dignity, their poignancy and their persuasiveness.

The statements follow:

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM J. BROWN AT AD HOC FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE HEARING

The present crisis we now face in Indochina is a direct result of our present administration's policies of war and peace in Vietnam. We were told three and one-half years ago, by President Nixon that he would end the war in Indochina and do it honorably. I seriously question the President's military policy and his seemingly justified, honorable out for the United States.

Mr. Nixon's "winding down" of the war by militarily equipping the South Vietnamese to take over has failed the test. Although this military solution of vietnamization has fallen through, he has continued the bombing raids, increased our naval power to a record number of six carriers and roughly 50,000 men stationed in the Gulf of Tonkin, added four more squadrons of F-4 fighter bombers, bringing the total number of American planes in Indochina to over 1000 and finally mining Haiphong and all other harbors of North Vietnam.

This addition to a military showdown

has not only cancelled the "winding down" of the war, but has become an international threat and has involved the lives and security of many nations.

This use of military strength is the means President Nixon saw for an honorable out for both himself, as President, and for our country as a major world power without tarnishing either one. Here we come to the question of "saving face" and what is the price we must pay for it. Are honor and prestige more important than the lives of tens of thousands of human lives? To be alive is to have honor; to be threatened is to have prestige.

We have fallen short in our universal commitment to our fellow human beings. We bomb their villages and defoliate their earth to insure peace for them. While we assure them that they will get the only right kind of government, the best for them, ours; we get wrapped up in our own politics and totally forget about the people's basic right, the right to exist.

Two years ago at Kent, on May 4, I saw the effects of aggression used to fight aggression; and grieved at the loss of precious lives. Violence cannot be fought with violence! Why is it that all forms of disagreement must be decided with force?

Because of his fear for our honor, President Nixon led the United States away from a nonviolent end to the war and dragged us on into a possible world humiliation at the defeat of South Vietnam. Would it have been too hard to have tried to solve the conflict non-violently and weather the mistake of our commitment in South East Asia?

Let the meek inherit the Earth; Power to the Peaceful.

TESTIMONY OF MICHELE A. KLEIN AT AD HOC FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE HEARING

I come here today with contradictory feelings. What I have to say is personal and brief. I am feeling hopelessly optimistic. Hopeless in the despair and disenchantment that my fellow students across the country; optimistic in the hope that you are listening.

On campus I am a representative of the Center for Peaceful Change. This new academic branch of the university was formed shortly after the tragedy of May 4, 1970. It is an organization which seeks viable non-violent alternatives to our current method of conflict resolution. Who in this age of explosive playthings can deny the need for such alternatives? President Nixon has made repeated statements about the "honor" of America. I wonder what the Black people of America think about the honor of America. I wonder what the American Indian thinks about the honor of America. I know what the students of Kent State University thought of the honor of America on May 4, 1970.

For four years, my schoolwork has been interfering with my education. The other night, shortly before the most important rally we've had on campus this year, I had to make the decision as to whether or not I would go to the rally or to my Biology lab scheduled for the same hour—and dissect a pig. My priorities were clearly geared to the rally.

I wonder where Nixon's priorities are—if indeed he has any.

TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL ROMER AT AD HOC FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE HEARING

It is much more than just interesting, it is vital to us as a nation to take note of what the demonstrations of the past few days are saying to us.

The realization must be made that the activist groups now operating are not composed primarily of radical anarchists, but of people like myself. As a citizen of a small Ohio town, I never had been into demonstrations as a means of registering my discontent. Before, I figured that a showing of this type would not help. But now, after

being dealt repeated half-truths for years . . . Now, after becoming more and more aware of the terrifying automated warfare assaulting the Vietnamese . . .

Now, after feeling more and more helpless to stop a political-economic war machine from resisting the will of the nation, I, make no doubt about it, and others like myself, are in a sense, radicalized.

We are alienated.

We are indignant.

We are scared.

We are fed up.

We are asking Congress to help us end this war.

Only God knows what will happen if the President persists in his irresponsible actions.

It is absurd that such flagrant disregard for the opinions of the American people exist in our Government.

TESTIMONY OF CRAIG SARBECK AT AD HOC FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Having been aware of the war since my days in elementary school, I've reached the rather obvious conclusion that our present action in Vietnam surpasses in absurdity the most atrocious acts of the war.

The government ignored the humanitarian demands of the pacifists of the early 1960's. As reflected so very well in the innumerable acts of barbarity perpetuated by both sides in the war and reflected again in the yawning attitude of the American masses subjected to accounts of these acts, the value of human life is a worthless point of argument.

Political arguments concerning the righteousness of any government involved have become lost in the same fog surrounding the Gulf of Tonkin incident.

The tremendously forceful economic realities of the war have been shown to the people and are seen only as rows of meaningless figures lost in "mindfull" of jumbled statistics.

The pleas for an end to the war have gone unheeded until today we find ourselves in a confused moment of brinkling on insanity. The threat of global confrontation now looms before us all. Now we can only hope that the immediate threat upon our own existence forces men in power to act towards the goal which human compassion and rational argument has failed to direct them. Let us pray they act quickly.

TESTIMONY OF LAURA L. HADDEN AT AD HOC FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE HEARINGS

If fate had been different, we could have been born in Vietnam—it doesn't really matter whether our birth occurred above or below the 17th parallel. We would know no other life but war.

Is it possible for us to imagine for even the most minute part of a second the extent of death and destruction we would see during the course of our lifetime? What would it be like to see about 80% of our homes and villages destroyed, and over one-third of our land bombed? How can you farm a B-52 crater? And then what can we do when we see more of our land ruined with herbicides and defoliant sprays? Can we even comprehend the futile feelings—the absolute hopelessness that we as Vietnamese people would feel? The destruction is the least of the trials we must face. The most horrifying, incomprehensible atrocities we would face everyday would be the mutilation of our families and friends.

Maybe tonight will be the first quiet night we've experienced in a long time. We'll drop off to sleep with maybe a faint sensation of a hope we thought we lost long ago—the hope of peace. But, suddenly, the nightmare begins again. We're jolted awake by the roar of the bombers overhead. In the moment that we lie paralyzed with fear, our brothers and sisters become mangled and bloody in their beds—another corpse to add to a body count—

one less Vietnamese to "Vietnamize," but above all, another life banished from this earth.

For most of us, even this limited type of "family life" is non-existent. Our fathers and husbands have long ago been unwillingly conscripted into the army. There is a little communication with them at first—then none at all. As our villages are continually bombed and invaded, we are forced to pack what little we have left and become refugees, travelling from village to village and province to province with only one thought in mind—to escape the war. As for our fathers and husbands—we will never see them for the rest of our lives—however short and hell-like they may be. Our existence in Vietnam is a living nightmare.

But this is the United States, and we are not Vietnamese, but American. Does this make the deaths any more bearable? It shouldn't because it is *we* who are continuing this slaughter by continuing our support—both economic and military—of the Vietnam War.

I am pleading with you gentlemen, to pay close heed to the reactions of both citizens and students that the President has wrought upon this country by his latest military actions in South-East Asia. Please listen and then act accordingly, for I can see a time when the Vietnam I have described for you today could very well be the United States of tomorrow.

I found a note from one of our friends from Kent in the bottom of my knapsack sometime late last night. It said simply: "Please make them listen—give peace a chance!"

That's a desperate plea, gentlemen, will you listen?

TESTIMONY OF ELIZABETH ANNE CARTER AT AD HOC FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE HEARING

If any one of you gentlemen were to ask any American what he thought of the "Founding Fathers," I am sure that you would get a long story about how democratic they were, and how much they believed in government by and for the people. Founding that government must have been a hard struggle—nothing like it had ever been tried before. Yet, no one interfered. Everyone, that is, all the great world powers of that time, sat back and let America make its own mistakes. They knew mistakes would be made, but that it was inevitable.

In 1956, America was in a similar position—watching a new nation struggle for existence. Only the Vietnamese people were not allowed the luxury of making their own mistakes, of deciding their fate for themselves. America took it upon herself to do it for them. America felt that it was her duty to play policeman and decide what was best for the Vietnamese people, and in the process of doing so, is killing off the population and destroying the land of the people who were born there. Gentlemen, America's reputation for oppression is terrible enough. America was once one of the greatest slave empires in the history of the world. America degraded and humiliated one of the proudest people ever alive—the Indians. Aren't these marks on the American slate black enough? Do we have to add the blood of innocent Vietnamese babies? Do we have to add the blood of Vietnamese mothers and daughters busy only with the business of living? This massacre cannot go on—not if we are to live with ourselves for generations to come. What will you tell your grandchildren, when they ask why so many innocents were slaughtered? I hope you will think up a good answer. We'll need one.

TESTIMONY OF MARY ANN FEARON AT AD HOC FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE HEARING

As I and others might have thought, Congressmen, you are not a foreboding group. Quite to the contrary, I feel you are our only hope within the democratic system. You have put yourself in the position to hear us,

but gentlemen what we are really interested in is hearing from you—not in rhetorical terms, but we want to hear from you through your voting record . . . where it counts.

As a student from Kent State, and indeed as one of the "people," in light of the present crisis facing our country and the entire world, I (we) feel a desperate need to have our opposition represented and acted upon by you, who are the muscle of the democratic process. We are in essence pleading with you to arrest the atrocities of this war through legislative action that would support any and all legislation introduced for the war; to put policy decisions into the hands of the Congress and bring an end to this war. Gentlemen, I am thankful for your time but I will be infinitely more grateful for your action.

THE PRESIDENT AS DIPLOMAT

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, in this morning's New York Times, an article by C. Gregg Petersmeyer describes President Nixon as a man more to be remembered for accomplishments than for glamour. I could not have said it better myself. I commend the article to my colleagues as a rare example of the equal-time doctrine in the New York Times:

[From the New York Times, May 22, 1972]

THE PRESIDENT AS DIPLOMAT

(By C. Gregg Petersmeyer)

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—Administrations vary greatly. One administration may be remembered for the romance generated, more for its glamour than its accomplishments. It may have great emotional appeal, and may be remembered best for its ability to stir people, and for its grandiloquent articulation of great dreams. Another administration might be remembered for the sense of urgency generated. It may be noted for its voluminous legislation and apparent generosity, for its constant preoccupation with the exercise of power and the accompanying tense confrontations, exhortations and historic miscalculations.

There is another type of administration. Its dreams may be called prosaic, the same dreams that free men have had since the Age of Pericles. Its voice may be quieter; its exercise of power more prudent. But in the end it may well result in progress more permanent and far-reaching than even its supporters imagine. This is the goal that underlies President Nixon's policies, both foreign and domestic.

A government's opportunity to achieve such a noble end is increased if the policies of that government are designed with the nature of man in mind. Many of this Administration's major initiatives were thought out in just this way, and history may point to them as bringing about that most permanent and far-reaching progress.

For example, the Administration's demonstrated determination to open diplomatic relations and pursue exchanges with the People's Republic of China, with Russia and her satellites behind the Iron Curtain reflects the conviction that lasting peace will be realized only through partnership.

The Family Assistance Plan, by common consensus the most important piece of social legislation in four decades, is rooted in the premise that total dependency erodes human dignity and frustrates desire for self-support.

An administration is a reflection of its

President. The President is not an ordinary man. He possesses a powerful intellect, but is neither intellectually arrogant nor deceived by fanciful expectations. He is a man of modest demeanor, with a superbly analytical mind. His power stems from his perceptiveness. Consistently he is five steps ahead of others in an outside meeting or discussion. He is innovative and has shown the same courage and tenacity in office that he showed through political defeats.

Above all, Richard Nixon is an eminently decent human being. He is at peace with himself. He seems quietly confident that this nation will be peacefully directed out of a hyperemotional decade of domestic turbulence and foreign war and threats of war.

In 1968 Richard Nixon did not seek the Presidency to rule over the erosion of the greatness and dignity of this Republic. He sought the office motivated by a desire to regenerate and renew a spiritually bankrupt people who had endured a decade of unparalleled racial and generational discord. In three years he has substantially calmed a troubled land.

Quietly, significant accomplishments have been made that have been responsible, in part, for the general easing of tensions. Several times as many Southern schools have been desegregated than during the last two administrations combined. Far more funds have been pumped into black education and black enterprise. Proposals for revenue sharing, family assistance, the first comprehensive governmental reorganization since the Hoover Commission, a 37-point environmental protection program, the Postal and Selective Service reforms a new health care plan all aim toward a radically different America for the future.

It may be more than coincidence that open warfare in the Middle East has long since stopped, that tension in Berlin has been considerably eased, that the SALT talks are proceeding toward agreement, that trade relations have developed with the Communist nations, that an international monetary agreement has been reached, that the United States signed an accord agreeing to the abolition of germ warfare, that we are withdrawing from Vietnam without turning that part of the world into a bloodbath, and that the People's Republic of China is opening up for the first time in twenty years.

History can bestow no greater honor upon a national and international leader than that of peacemaker. For a leader, no greater goal exists. President Nixon may realize that goal not only at home in America and in Southeast Asia, but in the Middle East, with Russia and with China.

THE PLIGHT OF SOVIET JEWS

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 15, 1972

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, the plight of Soviet Jews has deservedly received a great deal of publicity of late. I witnessed this situation firsthand when I visited Russia with the Select Subcommittee on Education earlier this year.

To underline further the harassment and anxiety these individuals who desire to emigrate to Israel are experiencing, I submit the text of a recent recorded telephone conversation between my constituent Stuart J. Lotwin of Los Angeles and Lev Lerner of Leningrad.

I urge a careful and thoughtful reading of this revealing exchange:

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION (MARCH 11, 1972)
BETWEEN LEV LERNER, LENINGRAD, U.S.S.R.
AND S. J. LOTWIN, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Re: Soviet Jewish Immigration to Israel

S.L. Hello; is this Lev?

L.L. Yes.

S.L. Lev, this is Stuart Lotwin again in Los Angeles.

L.L. Yes.

S.L. How are you?

L.L. We are bad because we do not get the permission to go to Israel.

S.L. You still have not received your permission?

L.L. We have heard that they will give the permission only in 1974.

S.L. 1974, they said?

L.L. This is very hard news for us—do you understand?

S.L. Yes, yes, keep talking. Who told you "in 1974?"

L.L. I was said by OVIR. This is the Soviet organ who gives the permission . . . OVIR.

S.L. Oh, O.V.I.R., right?

L.L. Yes. I know that many of my friends cannot get the permission too.

S.L. Yes, I know that.

L.L. Only a few permissions between my friends . . . do you understand?

S.L. Yes, only a few of your friends have received permission. . . . Let me talk a second, Lev. You were told that you cannot get permission until 1974.

L.L. Yes. It was said by the KKB. Do you understand?

S.L. Yes, I understand . . . I understand. I see, Lev, are you working now?

L.L. Yes, I am working but at my work was a collective meeting who offered to me to refusal from my desire to go to Israel.

S.L. Yes, I remember that.

L.L. After my refusal, they decided I shall be dismissed. But, no, I am working for the present time.

S.L. Well, that's good.

L.L. Yes, and the same meeting was of the work of my wife.

S.L. Yes, the same with your wife.

L.L. Yes.

S.L. I see. Are you working as a mechanical engineer?

L.L. Yes, I am mechanical engineer. But no, I was sent as a mover of the vegetable cases during 15 days.

S.L. I see. You went back to work in 15 days.

L.L. Yes.

S.L. And your profession is as an engineer?

L.L. Yes, I am mechanical engineer at present.

S.L. Lev, let me tell you some other things that are going on here; first about you and then about things otherwise. Now, OK are you listening?

L.L. Yes.

S.L. Your name and the city Leningrad and the message that you gave us last time, "Do not forget us" is on a big sign on one of the busiest streets in Los Angeles.

L.L. Yes.

S.L. So that your name is up there for everyone to see and many people have seen it.

L.L. Yes, thank you very much.

S.L. The other thing that has happened—I was in Washington, the capital of the United States several weeks ago, and our last conversation was put on tape and this was played for a number of United States Senators who said that they are going to try to help you.

L.L. Yes, thank you very much.

S.L. And your name and this conversation will be read on the floor of the United States Senate Sunday, next week, for every Senator to hear. Now, in the meantime, these people are trying to help you specifically to get out of Russia to immigrate to Israel.

L.L. Yes, thank you.

S.L. And we are trying very hard to make this happen.

L.L. Yes, thank you for your help.

S.L. Well, we are trying.

L.L. Yes, and our greetings to all our friends.

S.L. Fine. We are talking about everyone but specifically with you.

L.L. Yes.

S.L. Now, also, let me tell you some of the other activities that are going on in the United States in regard to people within the Soviet. First, on the end of April, the last day of the month of April, across the Country, a day called "Solidarity Day for Soviet Jews," meaning that everyone is standing behind them. Petitions (several millions of people are signing these) are going to our President Nixon so that when he goes to Moscow in May, to ask him to influence his counterparts in Russia to help free the political prisoners, to grant the equal rights to everyone and to speed the visas.

L.L. We sent a letter to President.

S.L. You did? Good, good.

L.L. This was our application to him for the help.

S.L. I see; when did you send the letter?

L.L. Near three weeks ago.

S.L. Three weeks ago? OK, we have a way to find out maybe if they have been received. Let me tell you some other things before getting back so you can tell other people what's happening. In the United States Congress there is what we call legislation to be able to provide money to Israel to resettle people coming from Russia.

L.L. Yes.

S.L. A very, very important thing is the Information Agency here having regular ten minute broadcasts at 49 meters or 6040 KC at 7:15 a.m. on Sundays, and 11:15 p.m. on Mondays. This will be a program beamed only about Jewish people within Russia.

L.L. Yes.

S.L. The United States State Department, the Foreign Office, is starting to print up and distribute to the Country pamphlets, books about the mistreatment of Jews in Russia.

L.L. Yes.

S.L. I heard Congressman Bell—remember he was in Leningrad in January?

L.L. This year!

S.L. That's right, this year. I heard him speak. He spoke before a gathering of about a thousand or two thousand influential people Thursday night in Los Angeles, telling what the situation is and what everyone, as well as the Government, should do to help. So tell the people that many people of high influence in this Country are very concerned and are working very hard to make it 1972 instead of 1974.

L.L. Yes.

S.L. So, I have not written to you, but I will this week. I have been busy trying to help you in other areas.

L.L. Yes, thank you.

S.L. Will you write right away because I am also talking to the Postal Service of the United States and have complained to them about the letters. And if you write to me and I don't receive it, this will be very helpful. So they will complain about the mail not going through.

L.L. Yes.

S.L. Good. So anyway, the important thing is that there is a great feeling within the United States of many people; not only Jewish people, but non-Jewish people. They want to do everything that they can so that you and others like you will be able to go to Israel to live in your homeland as you desire.

L.L. Send our thankful for their confidence.

S.L. I will. Our thanks will be when we hear that you are in Israel; that is the thanks. That is the important thing and we are trying hard, and I know that you are trying very hard too; so do keep your confidence up and your strength and cour-

age that it will happen before the OVIR has said to you.

L.L. Yes.

S.L. How is your wife? Is she working?

L.L. My wife is OK now but she really want to go to Israel. It is very hard for her—the waiting.

S.L. Yes, I imagine it is. And your daughter, how is she?

L.L. OK too.

S.L. Good; is she going to school?

L.L. Yes, she go to school.

S.L. That's good. Now one other thing. In the month of April, Lev, an acquaintance of mine is going to be in Russia. He will be in Moscow. I have asked this man to call you when he is there. It will be easier to talk, you know, as far as the transmission is concerned.

L.L. Yes.

S.L. We will let you know his name and when he will be there and if there is anything you would like us to send either for yourself or for other people; if you will tell him, when he gets back he will tell me and I will arrange to have it sent. That is probably the easiest way to do it.

L.L. Yes, I understand.

S.L. I see. How is Genrich Mirkin?

L.L. He is waiting for the permission too.

S.L. Is he working?

L.L. Yes, he is working but his wife was dismissed.

S.L. What kind of work did she do?

L.L. She is an engineer too.

S.L. I see. He is working and you are working as engineers?

L.L. No, he is on the light work and she does not get the new work.

S.L. I see. Does your wife speak English, Lev?

L.L. No. Only a little; not much.

S.L. Does she speak Hebrew?

L.L. Not much.

S.L. She is right there with you isn't she?

L.L. Yes.

S.L. What is her name?

L.L. Zina.

S.L. And what is your daughter's name?

L.L. Asya.

S.L. That's a very pretty name—Zina and Asya; they are pretty names. I have one other thing about your visa to Israel. I am going to try to work on that here, myself, with the help of the Senators of the United States that I have been talking to. I have one question: In your work before, you were dismissed, did you have a Class I Security Classification?

L.L. What? Repeat that.

S.L. Did you have a Security Classification; was your work secret?

L.L. No. I was not connected with secret work.

S.L. You were not?

L.L. Yes.

S.L. I see; because there is a law in Russia. . . .

L.L. Yes.

S.L. OK, well that's important because I'll be asked that since you're an engineer. Well, what I'll do now is get back with these Senators of the United States and tell them that you have been told that you cannot leave until 1974, and ask them to put whatever influence they can to make 1974, 1972, God willing.

L.L. Yes, of course.

S.L. OK, so we'll try and you wait until we'll be calling you later and when my contact does go to Moscow he will talk to you and there will be more time for you to talk. Give our best regards to your wife, to your friends, to your family. . . .

L.L. Yes, thank you and give our greetings too.

S.L. Yes, we will; our hearts are with you.

L.L. Thank you.

S.L. I do hope that I will see you this year in Jerusalem and that we'll be together in

the not too distant future. Finally, Passover, which will be coming soon, at our Synagogue there is a big seder and we are all going to be talking about the true meaning this year of "Let my people go," for people like yourself into Israel. I especially want to give you special greetings for Passover because this is the true exodus that is happening in our life time.

L.L. Yes, I understand.

S.L. We will be with you in spirit and will continue to work hard to make this dream become a fact.

L.L. Yes, thank you.

S.L. So please give our regards and we will see you in Jerusalem and our goal is that we will see you in Jerusalem this year not 1974.

L.L. Bashana Hazot (In this year).

S.L. Yes, I understand what you said, but I don't speak Hebrew well. I repeat the same to you. You are better than I am at Hebrew.

L.L. Yes, Yes.

S.L. L'hitraot. (See you soon).

L.L. I hope that we shall meet in Israel this year.

S.L. Absolutely; absolutely. That's our goal, and we will try to make that come true. So you keep your courage and spirit up, and we'll be talking to you again in April.

L.L. Yes, yes, of course.

S.L. Good, So, Shalom and a Happy Pesach (Passover).

L.L. Yes, Shalom.

S.L. Good-bye.

ACTION FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, in a recent proclamation by the Governor of Alaska, William A. Egan, the month of May 1972 was set aside as "Senior Citizens Month in Alaska." It is fitting that I take this opportunity to insert that proclamation and additionally important material.

During my service in the House, this has been an extremely vital issue for me. So that older Alaskans might see what legislation I am proposing on their behalf, I am attaching a list of all bills for older Americans which I have introduced and cosponsored.

The following bills and resolutions represent a recognition of our responsibilities to America's senior residents and as Alaska's only Congressman, I am proud to be a major participant in their design:

1. House Resolution 118: To create a non-legislative Select Committee on Aging. This select committee would function as an investigative body and report to the House various findings from time to time.

2. H.R. 2163: To create a national system of health security. This bill would guarantee every American proper health care through a national health insurance program.

3. H.R. 4245: Amends the Social Security Act to include compensation for qualified drugs, requiring a physician's prescriptions or certification and approved by a Formulary Committee under the hospital insurance program.

4. H.R. 5875: To permit all compensation paid at regular rates to certain employees of the Alaska Railroad to be included in the computation of their civil service retirement annuities.

This act would require that the overtime rail workers put in, that they are not com-

pensated for, be included in the computation of their civil service benefits.

5. H.R. 7682: To provide for the payment of chiropractor's services under the program of Supplementary Insurance Benefits for the Aged.

6. H.R. 7744: "Mobile Teachers Retirement Assistance Act."

This act would provide for retirement benefits for teachers who cross state lines and forfeit the amounts credited to their retirement compensation fund. The federal government would pay into the individual state retirement systems for teachers who retire after enactment of the bill for service out of state.

7. H.R. 7752: Provide for a 50% across-the-board increase in Social Security Benefits and raise the limit for outside earnings a beneficiary may have without suffering deductions from benefits to \$250.

8. H.R. 8238: To increase the lump sum death benefits payment under the Social Security Act from \$255 to \$750.

Although funeral costs have risen astronomically in the past twenty years, no change to date has been made in social security death benefits payments. This bill would bring the benefits back into range of costs. Even though those expenses are well over \$750, this would at least prevent any severe financial setback because of funeral costs.

9. H.R. 8403: To amend Title 10, United States Code, to permit the recomputation of retired pay of certain members and former members of the armed forces.

The purpose of this bill would be to recompute the benefits received by those members who retired prior to May 31, 1958 and require an automatic raise in retired pay when current active duty pay is raised.

10. H.R. 8917: To provide for the continued funding of nutrition projects under the Older Americans Act.

This Act would provide \$1,926,750 for eighteen demonstration projects for one year. These projects are for the improvement of nutrition services for the elderly.

11. H.R. 10255: To amend the Social Security Act so as to remove the limitation upon the amount of outside income which an individual may earn while receiving benefits thereunder.

This bill would allow recipients of Social Security Benefits to supplement their income without limit and not forfeit or decrease their benefits.

12. H.R. 10257: To amend the Social Security Act to provide payment under the supplementary medical insurance program for optometrists' services and eye glasses.

13. H.R. 10258: To amend the Internal Revenue Code to permit an exemption of the first \$5,000 of retirement income received by a taxpayer under a public retirement system or any other system if the taxpayer is at least 65 years of age.

This bill would allow senior citizens to supplement their benefits with an outside income up to \$5,000, without penalty.

14. H.R. 10261: To amend the Social Security Act in order to provide for payment of Chiropractors Services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged.

15. H.R. 10372: To amend the Internal Revenue Code to provide that personal exemption allowed a taxpayer for a dependent will be available without regard to income.

This would allow for a personal tax deduction for those who are supporting or helping to support older members of their family. Those over 65 would be treated as those under 19 years of age, with the exception that there would be no limit on their income.

16. H.R. 12136: Older Americans Act of 1972. To make available comprehensive programs which include a full range of health, education and social service to our older citizens who need them.

The purpose would be to furnish meaningful employment opportunities for many individuals, including older persons, young persons, and volunteers from the community, through the creation of these programs. The programs would be undertaken in partnership of community, state, and local governments with federal assistance.

17. H.R. 13215: To require that an additional \$4 per month (reflecting post-1970 across-the-board increases in social security and railroad retirement benefits) be passed along to public assistance recipients.

This bill would close a loophole in the Social Security Act, which left the elderly, blind, and disabled recipients of both public assistance and social security benefits in danger of losing the 5% increase in social security benefits by a decrease in public assistance benefits.

18. H.R. 13750: Senior Citizens Transportation Act of 1972.

To prohibit common carriers in interstate commerce from charging elderly persons, 65 and older, more than half fare for their transportation during non-peak periods of travel.

19. H.R. 13869: To amend the Social Security Act to provide that the remarriage of a widow, widower, or parent shall not terminate his or her entitlement to widow's, widower's, or parents insurance benefits, or reduce the amount thereof.

20. H.R. 14118: Senior Citizens Job Corps Act of 1972. To aid our older citizens living on fixed incomes (social security) that suffer from the continuing rise in the cost of living.

The bill would provide 50,000 jobs for persons of low income 62 years of age and older. This would give all senior citizens the opportunity to supplement their retirement benefits with earnings. Earnings are limited to the ceiling set by the Social Security Act as the maximum amount one can earn without reducing his other benefits.

21. House Joint Resolution 1145: Authorizes the President to issue annually a proclamation designating the month of May in each year as "National Arthritis Month."

This bill would call attention to the problems of arthritis and those organizations dedicated to combating them.

The resolution of the Governor of Alaska is as follows:

PROCLAMATION: SENIOR CITIZENS' MONTH

Traditionally, the month of May has been set aside to acknowledge and honor the accomplishments and needs of older men and women throughout America.

Particularly in Alaska, our older citizens have been pioneers who have endowed our State with moral values and achievements that have been in the most honored tradition of those who have built America.

Alaska's older generations, through their wisdom, skills, and the personal qualities that come with experience, serve as an inspiration to all of us.

Older Alaskans, through discussions, forums, and workshops, have played an active role in the 1971 White House Conference on Aging, which has designated 1972 as the "Year of Action."

Therefore, as Governor of the State of Alaska, I, William A. Egan, do hereby proclaim the month of May, 1972, as Senior Citizens' month in Alaska and urge all citizens to be mindful of the debt we owe our older Alaskans who have contributed to the advancement of our great State that it may be a secure, peaceful, and successful place to live, work, and retire.

Dated this 24th day of April, 1972.

PEACE IN OUR TIME

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I am inserting in the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Peace In Our Time" which appeared in the Beacon-News of Paris, Ill., on Saturday, May 13.

I am placing this editorial in the RECORD because I believe it expresses the point of view of the vast majority of the people throughout the country.

It will also have special interest to us because it was written by our former colleague from Illinois, Ed Jenison, publisher of the Beacon-News. Ed served in this body with great distinction.

The editorial follows:

PEACE IN OUR TIME

President Nixon's hard decision to take one more step—and a big one—toward possible resolution of the Vietnam problem has provided this week's biggest headlines. At the same time, his courageous action has opened the door to the possibility, at least, that peace can be won, in our time, without the fear that it might remain dubious for the future.

Monday night's bold announcement that the United States would launch a counteraction to offset the intensified enemy invasion of South Vietnam by mobilizing air and sea power to cut off the supply lines of war materials for North Vietnam obviously was preceded by agonizing hours of consideration of the countless risks involved. Yet the important factor lost sight of is the obvious fact that the situation was precipitated by a determined enemy.

Most Americans will agree it was high time to take this step which might well have been taken long ago. But many do not, and that was predictable, too, as the prompt renewal of anti-war disturbances on college campuses and elsewhere has confirmed. That was a calculated risk, and perhaps an acceptable one. Here there is freedom for dissent, although that should not be extended to include mob violence, vandalism and worse. There has been far too much of that.

But the problem posed in Vietnam will not go away, regardless of the actions of the relatively small percentage of demonstrators who see the solution a simple matter of "walking away." The President knows that, and, we believe, so do the vast majority of the American people.

It is essential to remember at least the highlights of recent history in order to appraise properly the most recent move to resolve the situation. This is not President Nixon's war. He came into office after eight years of escalation of combat at a time when some 600,000 American troops were deployed in the battle field. He pledged he would bring those ground troops home, and he has done that. More than half a million men who were there when he took office are home now. The withdrawal program has moved on schedule and it will continue to do so unless events beyond American control dictate otherwise.

Nor should it be forgotten that every avenue toward peace has been pursued by the President while the military effort continued. The Paris peace conference grew out of American good faith, but it has been frustrated by a bitter and arrogant enemy to the point where continued sessions have become an exercise in futility providing only a forum for enemy propaganda.

Through it all, President Nixon has stated and restated again that the goal of the American people is not conquest but freedom—freedom of choice for people everywhere and freedom from the threat of armed conquest by power-mad aggressors, whatever their political motivation might be. He knows—and most of us should know—that freedom can not be extinguished in one corner of this constantly shrinking world without threatening freedom everywhere else.

In taking one more step to curb Communist aggression, the President has been guided by the imperative need to protect the lives of Americans who are still locked in combat and to rescue those who are in enemy hands as prisoners of war. Who, in a position of responsibility, would do otherwise?

Naturally, political foes of the President are exploiting the situation in the hope of personal advantage. That is their right, if they choose. But the President, to his everlasting credit, has risen above the temptations of personal popularity to follow what his judgment tells him is the proper, if more difficult, course.

In the language of the day, it's all on the line now. We have passed the point of no return. In the lonely hours of decision, it is obvious that the only alternative was surrender. There is no surrender in the President, and no more among the vast majority of the people of the United States of America.

In the critical days ahead, President Nixon deserves nothing less than total national unity if we are to prevail over a foe counting on internal dissent to defeat the United States.

Illinois Governor Richard B. Ogilvie has called on all Illinois citizens to support the President's course.

"His goals are goals that all of us share," the Governor said, "the release of our prisoners of war in enemy hands, the safety of more than 60,000 American troops and the end of the killing in this regrettable war."

The blockade of ports and the halt in the flow of supplies of war to the enemy could be mighty steps toward peace, but the greatest force for ultimate success could come right here at home in a unity of support for the President's program to do what must be done to achieve the essential goal of peace in our time—for all time.

REPUBLICAN PROMISES

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in this morning's New York Times a letter which quoted a number of the major elements of the Republican platform on which Richard Nixon was elected in 1968. Their own words reveal only too well the depth and extent of the fraud which they have perpetrated upon this Nation in the past 4 years, and I insert the letter at this point:

1968 G.O.P. PLATFORM REVISITED

TO THE EDITOR:

Nearly four years ago, in its national party platform, the Republican party made the following pledges to the American people:

"We must urgently dedicate our efforts toward restoration of peace both at home and abroad.

"We must bring about a national commitment to rebuild our urban and rural slum areas. We must bring about quality education for all.

"We must assure every individual an op-

portunity for satisfying and rewarding employment.

"We must attack the root causes of poverty and eradicate racism, hatred and violence.

"We must give all citizens the opportunity to influence and shape the events of our time.

"We must give increasing attention to the views of the young and recognize their key role in our present as well as the future."

The Republican party also promised to:

"... put an end to increases in the cost of living.

"[make] a vigorous effort, nationwide, to transform the blighted areas of cities into centers of opportunity and progress, culture and talent.

"... avoid such economic distortions as wage and price controls.

"... reduce the heavy tax burden."

It said that "the balance-of-payments crisis must be ended, and the international position of the dollar strengthened."

It called for "modernization of the Federal judicial system to promote swift, sure justice" and pledged "vigorous efforts to assure jobs for returning Vietnam war veterans."

In the conclusion to the platform, the Republican party said:

"Beyond freedom we emphasize trust and credibility. We have pledged only what we honestly believe we can perform. In a world where broken promises become a way of life, we submit that a nation progresses not on promises broken but on pledges kept."

I leave it to the reader to decide how many "pledges" this Administration has kept.

FRED HOSKINS.

FAMILY FARMS ARE ESSENTIAL TO RURAL AMERICA

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, there have been many changes in agriculture in the past years. Some of these changes have been for the better, some have not.

Dr. Dale O. Anderson, professor of agricultural economics and director of the North Dakota Water Resources Institute at North Dakota State University, recently wrote a chapter on economic means of farm groups in a book published by the Iowa State University Center for Agricultural and Rural Development.

I would like, at this point, and with your permission, to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some of the pertinent facts included in the chapter by Dr. Anderson.

FAMILY FARMS ARE ESSENTIAL TO RURAL AMERICA

A system of family farms, not factory farms, is necessary to provide a quality life for rural America. And research should center on effective means of maintaining farm numbers at their present level, says Dr. Dale O. Anderson, professor of agricultural economics and director of the North Dakota Water Resources Institute at North Dakota State University, in a chapter on economic means of farm groups written for a book recently published by the Iowa State University Center for Agricultural and Rural Development.

The book, *Size, Structure and Future of Farms*, is edited by A. Gordon Ball and Earl O. Heady.

The development of American agriculture has been characterized by important structural changes resulting from technological developments, Anderson says. The total number of farms in the United States in 1900 was slightly over 5.7 million, with average farm size about 146 acres. The number of farms continued to increase until 1935 when there were slightly over 6.8 million farms with an average size of 155 acres. After 1935 the number of farms dropped to about 3.4 million farms in 1964, while the average size increased to 333 acres.

With net returns declining, farmers have been continually searching for ways of maintaining income goals. The individual farmer discovers he cannot influence market price, so he must attempt to lower his per unit costs of production, sell more output at the existing cost-price margin, or use some combination.

Farmers are continuing to increase the size of their units in an attempt to lower their per unit costs of production. Not enough is known about the effect of economies of size to make a judgment concerning the future of the family farm, but it appears that a substantial portion of the cost economies can be realized by firms consistent with the family farm concept, Anderson says.

Although the family farm is the dominant unit in American agriculture, there is a significant number of extremely large farms. In 1964, there were 31,401 farms in the United States with product sales of \$100,000 or more, accounting for 24 per cent of all product sales.

The future size, number, and decision-making control mechanism of the producing units that provide the nation's food and fiber are topics of vital concern. Will the family farm continue to be the dominant structure in agriculture, or will the family farm structure be replaced by a highly industrialized agriculture where a system of factory farms becomes the dominant structure?

The social and environmental problems associated with the concentration of population in metropolitan areas are becoming increasingly difficult. Solutions will involve development in rural areas, with emphasis on population balance and redistribution throughout the country. Incentives are needed to create employment opportunities in less populated areas. The future structure of agriculture will certainly be influenced by public policy developed to solve problems in metropolitan areas, Anderson points out.

The control mechanism of the farm firm of the future will be an expansion of the family farm unit. There will be a trend toward two-man and three-man operations to permit more economic use of capital, machines, labor and land. We will maintain an agricultural system with a relatively small number of large farms, a large group of relatively large farms, and a substantial number of part-time, hobby and recreational farms.

American agriculture can be characterized as having an expanding number of relatively large farms and a contracting group of relatively small farms. The farm is a part of the community, and the viability of the community, especially in a nonindustrial area, is highly dependent upon the wealth of the agricultural sector. The total system—farm firms, agribusiness, services and households—should be considered rather than directing efforts at making the commercial farm firm more efficient. Research should center on effective means of maintaining farm numbers at their present level.

"A point has been reached in the development of our economy where maintaining or expanding research and extension programs to achieve greater efficiency through increased production is providing greater declining benefits," Anderson says. "A system of family farms, not factory farms, is necessary to provide a quality life for rural America. If this is achieved, social and environ-

mental problems of our metropolitan areas have a much better chance of solution."

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR RAW MATERIALS

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I have been watching, with interest, the growth of a new agricultural organization, the National Organization for Raw Materials, Inc. While based in Texas, the group has nationwide membership and its goal is to achieve prices that reflect a fair return to the producer of raw producers.

The Agriculture Committee of this organization has formulated recommendations for a farm bill that would bring prices that reflect the cost of production. Without objection, I would like to insert these recommendations at this point for the benefit of my colleagues here in the House.

The recommendations follow:

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF RAW MATERIALS, INC.

The Agriculture Committee of N.O.R.M., Inc. makes the following report and recommendations:

(1) We recognize the tremendous importance of agriculture in the national economy, so important that it would be considered a public utility, and therefore;

(2) Because of its extreme importance to the nation, there are certain obligations that the nation owes to the agriculture community to see that it remains healthy and prosperous, not solely as a benefit to the agriculture community alone, but to the benefits received by the total nation indirectly by keeping a healthy agriculture community, and therefore;

(3) Because of its "public utility" status there are certain responsibilities which the agriculture industry must assume in relation to the rest of the nation, among which the most important is the production of an abundant supply of food at a reasonable cost to the nation's citizens. In return for this guarantee, and because of the unique nature of agriculture being unable to protect itself from price fluctuations, it becomes necessary that certain protections be established by the Congress of the United States to see that the agriculture industry is allowed to share in the economic growth and prosperity of the nation by:

(4) Laws which will protect the agriculture industry from undue competition from foreign nations whose citizens maintain a much lower standard of living than the U.S. citizen making it possible for those nations to produce and sell their agriculture commodities much cheaper than the U.S. agriculture producers, and—

(5) Laws which will establish a minimum price for all agriculture commodities which will guarantee the agriculture producer a return equal to his cost of production plus a reasonable profit, just as labor has a minimum wage law which protects labor from unfair labor practices on the part of employers.

It is the thinking of this committee that past and present agriculture programs have failed to bring about the conditions which they were originally incorporated to do, namely to protect the producer with a fair price, keep supply in relative balance with demand, and protect the consumer with an

abundant supply of food at a reasonable price.

Although the last priority, that of protecting the consumer with an abundant supply of food at a reasonable price, has been successful as far as the consumer is concerned, the "cheapest possible price" has been carried too far; so far in fact, that at the present time food costs represent less than 16% of the disposable income of the average American family, 30% less than 20 years ago. This fact, though commendable on the one hand, is deplorable on the other hand since it reflects a raw material price which is forcing thousands of producers from their farms each year, and at the same time is robbing the nation of the new wealth so vital to keep our economy prosperous and growing.

After much study and research from the Agriculture Committee of N.O.R.M., the following list of recommendations as to what a successful agriculture program must do was drawn up.

(1) It must be beneficial to the nation as a whole.

(2) It must satisfy the farmer and agriculture industry.

(3) It must bring agricultural income up to an equitable standard with the least possible increase in food costs.

(4) It must satisfy the consuming public and voter.

(5) It must be acceptable to Congress and the administration.

(6) It must control supply based on the needs of the nation.

(7) It must help to manage the sale and distribution of the supply.

(8) It must establish and enforce a minimum or floor price.

(9) It must provide a means of disposal of excess production, without that disposal affecting the price of that which is needed by the nation.

(10) It must be equitable to all segments of the nation's producing areas.

(11) It must reduce the cost to the government, both in direct payments and in administration costs of USDA and other agencies.

(12) It must provide for the continuation of more exports of agricultural goods and less imports of those commodities that the U.S. agricultural industry can supply.

The Agriculture Committee of N.O.R.M. wishes to emphasize the extreme importance of the agriculture industry to the nation and to remind the nation of a basic fact which we so often tend to forget . . . there are three basic requirements for life: air, water, and food. The first two God gave us in abundance, the third he gave us the ability and the responsibility to produce. If we fail to meet this responsibility it will be because of the failure to set a price which will give the producer an incentive to continue to produce. A price which will return him a fair profit in relation to the profit enjoyed by other segments of our economy. Let us not forget that food is the one thing that we produce which is demanded and consumed three times a day by every living person in our nation, and without it, our nation will perish.

With these thoughts in mind, the Agriculture Committee of N.O.R.M., Inc., wishes to recommend the following basic farm program be incorporated as soon as possible:

Item 1. 100% true parity, based on the 1946 through 1950 prices as indicated in the 1962 Economic Report of The President, be restored to all agriculture commodities.

Item 2. Imports of all commodities in direct or indirect competition with U.S. agriculture commodities, be restricted to enter U.S. ports of Entry at prices no less than 110% of true parity, F.O.B. port.

Item 3. All import charges will be placed in an import-export fund which will be used to supplement exports of all agriculture commodities in order to insure that U.S.

commodities will remain competitive in world trade.

Item 4. It is felt that import restrictions will alleviate the possibility of any excess production above the national needs. If any excesses should develop, we further recommend that the following program be incorporated:

1. A Board, within or without the USDA, or other Government agency, would determine annually the basic needs, this to be done with the assistance of commodity groups and producer representation. The producer would be given incentive to produce within that need, that being, that this production would be sold at a full parity price on a true base period, not one that is being continually adjusted.

2. A strict management of supply by the A.S.C.S. or other agency that would insure that only such projected portion was marketed. The balance would go into storage at the producer's expense, not the Government's. Any certificate commodity stored by the producer until such time as needed by the market, will draw an incentive payment from the buyer to cover storage, handling, and shrinkage. The local county ASCS producer committees would be given much more responsibility to see that the program is administered properly and for the benefit of the producer. This management supply is to cover both domestic and export goods.

3. The establishment of a minimum price by the continuation of a Government Loan to insure that purchasers pay at least the parity price. Full interest if in Government Loan, would be paid by producer. Government would never take over the commodity, but producers that overproduce would store commodity until next marketing season and produce less that year.

4. A check-off would be paid on each commodity into a fund which would be used to finance the administration of the program. This check-off would be considered a marketing expense, added to the price of the commodity, and paid for by the ultimate purchaser of the commodity.

5. The basis for each operator's production would still be his crop history average, as determined by the local ASCS, each being thrown back against the nation's need as adjustments were necessary.

6. Those producers not currently participating in the program and without crop history, but who had been producing a particular commodity, would in some way need to be taken into the program, based on their proportionate amount of cultivated acres. The producer would be free each year to plant and harvest whatever he chooses, but he would only be free to sell his proportionate amount of the nation's needs. Certificates to market would be issued, and only upon the presentation of such certificates would this commodity be sold. If a producer suffered a complete crop loss, or if he produced less than his certificate entitled him to sell, he would be free to sell such certificate to another who had an over-production. This would not increase the amount of the commodity coming up for sale in excess of the amount originally required by the nation.

7. Over-production on the part of an individual would require that he provide his own storage, either on his own farm or in commercial warehouses. Said individual would be required to pay all cost of this storage and this amount in storage would be ineligible for a Government Loan.

8. Any excess production of the nation would be considered as a National Consumer's Food and Fiber Reserve, with Federal safeguards to see that none found its way to the market place except in the event of a national emergency, and could then be purchased and taken out to go into the trade at 110% of parity.

SAMPLE OF AUDIENCE RESPONSE TO EDITORIALS

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, it has become increasingly evident over the last few years that a sense of hopelessness and powerlessness is pervading the Nation. The causes of this national malaise are many—an administration which acts in secret and allows the "democratic process" to work only after it has made its decisions; a Congress which has abdicated its responsibilities under the Constitution; and a general feeling of being a cog in some vast corporate machine.

The problem often manifests itself in the guise of apathy, a numbed acceptance of what is, without the hope of effecting change. It was therefore refreshing to read the editorial written by Mr. Martin Snider of Brookline. Mr. Snider made his comments on "Feedbacks," a program sponsored by WBZ in Boston. While Mr. Snider articulates the frustration that is felt by millions of Americans, he had made the effort to become involved in the political process by publicly airing his views. I commend the following editorial to the attention of my fellow Members:

[WBZ-TV 4/WBZ—EDITORIAL]

FEEDBACK—THE PEOPLE SPEAK, No. 1

(WBZ-TV now presents Feedback, a sampling of audience response to our station's editorials. Today's spokesman is Martin Snider of Brookline.)

Mr. SNIDER. WBZ's Editorial Department says it is bothered by apathy. And now the television station has devoted a whole week to the basic issue of communication. All that is fine. But I still wonder what I, as an individual, can do to help.

I see all kinds of problems around me—pollution, crime, dirty politics and the like. I want to do something about it. But what? Suppose I write my Congressman. What are the chances he'll do anything about the problem? I'm not even sure he'll see or read the letter. The top of the power structure is so far away from those of us down here at the bottom that an apathetic feeling is bound to develop. I'm not trying to support or condone apathy. I'm trying to obliterate it, just like WBZ. Only I don't know how.

If politicians really cared, they'd get started right now on some solid programs to produce action—just as we decided to go to the moon 10 years ago. But these people don't care because they've got re-election to worry about, money to raise for campaigns and their egos to maintain. These guys are running my life, and it seems there's nothing I can do about it.

Older people look at me and say I feel like this because I'm 20 years old and going through a stage. They say they went through it themselves along with the Depression and World War II. And they say we need something drastic to make us see what life is really like.

Both generations have their problems, but only the older one has the power to fix the big ones that exist today. Sure younger people can vote now. But what good is that if you don't have much choice and you don't know whether the candidates will do what they say after they're elected? I want to get involved. I really hope WBZ will help me

and others find some sensible, positive direction to follow.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF YOUTH ON NATIONAL PRIORITIES

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues, the remarks of a young woman who participated in a forum at Harvard University, April 5-7, 1972, on the reordering of national priorities.

The forum, sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus, the Harvard Institute of Politics and three major newspapers—the Chicago Sun-Times, the Boston Globe, and the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin—discussed the establishment of national priorities for blacks in the areas of law and justice, housing, health, education, communication, and employment.

Participants came from all areas of the society to develop a program in each of these areas from which legislation can be drawn.

The forum coordinator was Mr. Warren Jackson of the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, and the remarks which I am inserting are those of his daughter, Tenley. The perceptions of this remarkable young lady should enlighten those who continually disparage the maturity of concern of the youth of this country. Her awareness of the problems confronting black and poor people today, and her concern and dedication to solving these problems encourages my faith that the youth of this Nation will move their ideals forward to reality. Her remarks follow:

YOUNG BLACK WOMAN WITH A DREAM
(By Warren Jackson)

The hope of the world is in our young people, Malcolm X said many times—both black and white.

With that thought in mind my 16-year-old daughter Tenley is my guest columnist this week. Tenley attended the National Priorities Forum as a member of my staff last week at Harvard University.

Tenley from a fond father's point of view is an unusually sensitive and intelligent person. Even at 16 she has already charted the priorities in her life.

She wants to go to law school and become a public defender. She feels very deeply the discrimination against blacks, other minorities and the poor. She plans to dedicate her life to fighting for equality for all people.

Nobody in our family doubts for a moment that she will do exactly what she has cut out for herself. We know her too well to doubt.

Tenley will embark on this long journey next year. She will do this because she has already won her first case—against her parents: staying home another year versus going to college early. We lost because Tenley's in a hurry.

Some people might figure she has two strikes against her being black and female, but not me. I've lived with her determination for enough years and I'd like to warn the world: Watch Out. Here's Tenley:

As I observed the Forum on National Priorities April 5-7, 1972, the injustices admin-

istered to the poor and the black crossed my mind. America is reputed throughout the cultivated world as being a country bent on preserving freedom, and a land for the people. In reality, it is a country whose domestic problems are threatening to alter the entire social system.

The Forum can best be described as a math problem. Add black leaders across the nation, multiply the years of oppression the poor and the black have endured, then divide by the pressing problems which blacks are faced with, to come out with an answer which shall be eternally constant . . . success.

While participating in the law and justice segment of the Forum I began to relive some of the nightmares which justified blacks in demanding an end be put to discrimination. The imprisonment of Angela Davis, the murder of George Jackson, the assassination of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. all point to the prejudicial hate with which America has been afflicted.

The discussion of prison reforms seemed to remind many that those in prison were still blood relations and should not be left to stand alone at the mercy of a penal system which is corrupt. Alternative suggestions along the lines of prisoners being paid the minimum wage for the tasks they do in prison, that their right to vote be respected, and that the barring of family be forbidden were introduced and were met with enthusiastic approval.

A thought which touched me, and many of my peers, immediate world was the desperate necessity for qualified black lawyers. However, black lawyers will never survive if they are not staunchly supported by their own people. Henry Owens, an eminent young black lawyer and councilman from Cambridge, Mass., summed it up perfectly by saying, "black lawyers cannot be effective if blacks continue on the path of slave mentality in thinking the white lawyer is superior."

The issue of police versus the public brought to mind the tragic death of the policemen shot and killed in the act of duty. Death, is inevitable, but to die by the hatred of another only emphasizes the problems of an insane and immoral society.

Barbara Sizemore, director of the Woodlawn Experimental School Project in Chicago, recommended the total disarmament of the police and citizens. Trust has not proved to be one of the stepping stones upon which America was built, nor will it ever be if animosities continue to prevail.

Charles R. Jackson Jr. the chief criminal investigator of this county and my uncle, stated that law was a necessary entity for all black communities, and that blacks must stop being unwilling profiteers of a discriminating system.

John Conyers, a member of the Congressional Black Caucus expressed a point with which I agree. He reflected that the law, if it is to be effective must be understood, interpreted, and then voted upon. The black vote is presently one of the few methods which can bring about change, and until more effective methods are discovered the cooperation of every black citizen is needed.

The outcome of the law and justice session, and the Forum itself remains to be seen, yet the fact is that concerned blacks and whites from every aspect of society, were talking with and relating to each other's ideas which would make realities out of their dreams, their aspirations, and out of 400 years of political, economic, and social bondage. Somewhere it is written that a united people will defeat the power of any oppressor. The people are united, the people are ready, and it's a beautiful sight.

I have a dream, an inspiration, to see the black man standing on equal footing with his white brother, to see the poor man sit-

ting at the Ritz with a J. P. Morgan; and emerging out of the shadows of youth come many more like me, who are ready to make this dream a reality.

SOUND OF SPRING BALL FOR QUEENS SPEECH AND HEARING SERVICE CENTER

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, May 13, 1972, I had the pleasure and privilege of attending the 12th annual Sound of Spring ball sponsored by the Women's Auxiliary of the Queens Speech and Hearing Service Center.

This center was incorporated in 1939 to establish financial support for a program of speech and hearing reeducation at Queens College. The Women's Auxiliary has worked tirelessly to raise the funds necessary to provide fellowships for graduate students in training and to make available the excellent care of the facility to many individuals who might otherwise be unable to take advantage of this service.

I would like to commend the following people for their fine work in making this affair such a success and thereby helping to support the extremely important work of the Queens Speech and Hearing Service Center:

LIST

Mrs. Ralph H. Kress, Chairman; Mrs. Norman S. Gould, Honorary Chairman.

OFFICERS OF THE WOMEN'S AUXILIARY

Mrs. Jack E. Bronston, President; Mrs. Richard L. Geist, Vice President; Mrs. Alvin Benet, Treasurer; Mrs. Theodore Fuchs, Recording Secretary; Mrs. Samuel Fleisher, Executive Secretary.

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Mrs. Joseph R. Albanese, Mrs. Vincent M. Albanese, Mrs. Paul Beloff, Mrs. Alvin Benet, Mrs. Jack E. Bronston, Mrs. Edward H. Dawson, Mrs. Robert S. Dillworth, Mrs. Samuel Fleisher, Mrs. Henry L. Fox, Mrs. Theodore Fuchs, Mrs. John T. Gallagher, Mrs. Richard L. Geist, Mrs. Ben Geizhals, Mrs. N. Henry Granoff, Mrs. Irving J. Klein, Mrs. Kenneth M. Kupferberg, Mrs. Michael J. Lazar, Mrs. Leon Levy, Mrs. Stanley Maas.

Mrs. Donald Manes, Mrs. Hugh F. McShane, Jr., Mrs. Harold Merahn, Mrs. Joseph S. Murphy, Mrs. Frank Padavan, Mrs. Nicholas M. Pette, Mrs. Morton Roberts, Mrs. Maurice Rogers, Mrs. Sylvia Rosenthal, Mrs. Helen Savarese, Mrs. Frederic Savedoff, Mrs. Harry Savin, Mrs. Irving Schleim, Mrs. Chester Schwimmer, Mrs. Jean E. Smalbach, Mrs. Jule E. Stocker, Mrs. Michael Studdert-Kennedy, Mrs. Paul Weprin, Mrs. Abraham Werfel, Mrs. Israel Woloshin.

OFFICERS

Mr. Joseph R. Albanese, President, QSHC; Dr. Joseph S. Murphy, President, Queens College; Dr. Joel Stark, Director, Speech and Hearing Center.

Joseph R. Albanese, President; Morton Roberts, M.D., Vice-President; Hon. Ralph H. Kress, Vice-President; Theodore Fuchs, D.D.S., Secretary; Norman S. Gould, Treasurer; William J. Wright, Assistant Treasurer; Mrs. Samuel Fleisher, Executive Secy.

OWNERSHIP OF FIREARMS IS THE PEOPLE'S BEST ASSURANCE OF LIBERTY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as the antigun crowd tries to capitalize on the Wallace shooting by converting the tragic event into a new disarmament crusade, it becomes more and more apparent that the antigun lobby does not even understand the thinking of those who defend the right to keep and bear arms.

Those Americans who are unwilling to surrender their guns understand that the citizen soldier—not the military—is the strength and the defense of this country from foreign or domestic takeover. The patriotic citizen—who may or may not be a gun enthusiast or sportsman—knows full well there are other reasons he must keep his firearms. Too many great countries that have fallen because of political betrayal first suffered the indignity of government supported confiscation of its citizens weapons, thus rendering them unable to resist tyranny and aggression.

The crime escalation and the manipulated assassination syndrome are not reasons or justification for the American to forfeit his guns—rather they are all the more reason to keep them.

The GSA alone reports that 63 Federal installations were bombed since 1970. There are Federal laws against bombing, yet they fail to prevent the actions of those bent on violence and destruction. Why should the American people be deceived into believing that Federal gun control laws would be any more effective against crime, assassination, or revolution?

I ask that related news clippings follow my remarks.

[From the Washington Post,
May 20, 1972]

SIXTY-THREE FEDERAL PLANTS BOMBED SINCE 1970; 1,620 THREATS
(By Ken Ringle)

It was a little more than 14 months ago, on March 1, 1971, that a bomb shattered a marble-lined men's room on the ground floor of the U.S. Capitol.

Until yesterday, that had been the most symbolic bombing attack yet on the federal government, apparently by antiwar radicals, but it was far from being the only one.

The General Services Administration, which owns or leases 10,000 buildings across the nation, says there have been 62 federal buildings bombed since Jan. 1, 1970. The Pentagon blast was No. 63. In that same period, 1,620 federal buildings have been threatened with bombings.

A GSA spokesman placed the cost of the bombings at \$829,400, "not counting thousands and thousands of dollars for evacuating buildings when we get a bomb threat."

The attacks on public buildings are only a part of a much wider incidence of bombings that appears in the statistics of American crime. In the first four months of 1972, according to FBI figures, there were 607 bombings in the United States and its territories at a cost of 10 lives, 56 injuries and uncounted thousands of dollars damage.

Many of the targets have been personal, and some have been targets of the political right, like the buses used to carry out court-ordered school desegregation in Pontiac, Mich.

A spokesman at the National Bomb Data Center here estimates that "53 per cent of the bombings have some sort of political motivation—right wing or left."

Some institutions, particularly on the West Coast, are recurring targets: A Bank of America branch in Ben Lomand, Calif., was bombed 62 times between Jan. 1 and July 31, 1971.

The Capitol and Pentagon bombings have followed a pattern set by one of the earliest of the apparent New Left bombings—the destruction of a six-story, \$6 million Army Math Research Center at the University of Wisconsin on Aug. 24, 1970.

The blast, which also killed a graduate student, was preceded by a telephone alert and was followed by claims from radical groups of responsibility for the incident.

The groups have identified themselves in letters after similar bombings under such names as "The Proud Eagle Tribe," "The Quarter Moon Tribe," or—in the case of an Oct. 8, 1970, bombing of a National Guard Armory in Santa Barbara, Calif.—"The Perfect Park Home Grown Garden Society."

Virtually all have claimed kinship under the umbrella of the Weathermen—the violent splinter group of the Students for a Democratic Society.

In October, 1970, the Weathermen unleashed a "fall offensive" of bombings around the nation, after which the GSA tightened security at all federal buildings across the nation. GSA protects almost all federal buildings—including the FBI building.

Richard Vawter, director of information for GSA, said yesterday the tightening of security included closing off most entrances to government buildings except for those that were guarded.

In 1970, he said, most agencies did not have identification systems for their own personnel, and guards were instructed to inspect all packages.

Once the identification systems were devised, he said, guards were instructed to inspect packages only for those people without identification cards.

Recently, he said, even that restriction has been dropped, and guards were instructed to inspect only "suspicious packages," or those carried by suspicious persons. He added that the protection offered by any inspection system is "mostly psychological."

Modern explosives are so sophisticated, he said, they can be rolled out like a sheet of paper or fitted around a person's body and never detected by a guard.

[From the Manchester Union Leader, May 19, 1972]

OPPOSES "A GIRL'S BEST FRIEND"
(By William S. Loeb)

Speaking at Princeton and taking full advantage, in his usual demagogic fashion, of the attempted assassination of Governor Wallace, presidential candidate — said he doesn't know what handguns are for. He said he knows what shotguns are for, for shooting birds, and he knows what rifles are for, for shooting deer, but he doesn't know what handguns are for.

Well, this newspaper is delighted to be able to tell — what handguns are for. Handguns are for the protection of millions, and millions and millions of Americans who have been placed at the mercy of the criminals — permissive ideas, implemented by sob-sister courts, have let loose on the American people.

American men and women know the police cannot be everywhere and that, with the horde of criminals now loose in the nation, their only chance for real protection

against assault, murder, rape and the arson of their homes and stores is to have a gun handy and know how to use it. The criminals are not deterred by the police because they know they have only a limited number and they also know that even if they are caught some soft-hearted, soft-minded judges will, in most cases, let them off. So the only effective protection the average American citizen has is to own and know how to use his own handgun.

It is so perfectly obvious to any sensible person that legislation against handguns will not work—any more than Prohibition did—that one can only conclude that the politicians who advocate it are nothing less than demagogues who want to ride a wave of temporary public hysteria until they can do away with handguns. If they gain their objective, they will be no more successful than were the pious frauds who advocated prohibition—with all the disastrous results that produced.

What is needed, as this newspaper has said time and time again, is a mandatory 10-year sentence on top of whatever other penalty is levied on a criminal convicted for the commission of a crime in which he used a gun.

Criminals faced with such a certain penalty are going to be very, very careful about using guns.

Then if, on top of that, our bleeding-heart courts would stop crippling the police with ridiculous rules and restrictions, and would hand out harsh sentences to those who commit violent crimes, this situation could be brought under control.

Why punish millions of innocent Americans and deprive them of their protection in order to get at just a few criminals—who are going to have guns, anyhow, regardless of any anti-gun laws?

All you do when you pass stiff gun laws is to disarm the honest people and leave them at the mercy of the criminals.

The left-wingers have a new smear word. They call the small, inexpensive guns that many a housewife has bought out of the family budget a "Saturday night special," the implication being that these guns are the guns that are used on Saturday nights to kill people.

The answer, of course, is that these are not Saturday night specials. They would be much better called "a girl's best friend."

YOUR OPINION, PLEASE

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, next to the mailman the Member of Congress is the Federal official closest to the individual citizen. This is often overlooked or ignored. Also seldom realized is the fact that through the Congressman the citizen has a direct and rapid pipeline to the Federal Government—any part of it—at any time on any matter. This is a very real freedom that must be preserved and strengthened.

A public opinion poll is probably the very best way of keeping this pipeline open, and in constant use. It enhances the regular communication I have with my constituents and generates new and widespread interest in pending issues. As in past years, the results from the poll will be tabulated and inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with everyone being polled getting a copy of the insert.

Following are the questions for Your Opinion, Please—1972:

YOUR OPINION, PLEASE

- (1) Do you favor busing school children for racial reasons?
- (2) Should draft evaders and military deserters who fled abroad be allowed to return without penalty?
- (3) Do you favor a nationwide, federally-financed child care system?
- (4) Do you favor legalization of marihuana for personal and private use?
- (5) Do you favor total abolition of the draft and reliance solely on an all-volunteer Army?

(6) Environmental spending is high, and climbing. Federal outlays went up 600% between 1969 (\$431 million) and 1973 (\$2.5 billion proposed). Private industry will spend \$4.9 billion this year and must spend another \$22.8 billion to meet current anti-pollution regulations. Do you feel this indicates progress?

(Please write the number of the question most important or of greatest interest to you —.)

INAUGURATION OF CHIANG KAI-SHEK

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, May 20, 1972, marked the inauguration of Chiang Kai-shek for his fifth consecutive 6-year term as President of the Republic of China.

Despite the ouster from the United Nations of this stable nation of some 15 million people—a faithful rules-abiding, dues-paying charter U.N. member—it is eminently clear that the Republic of China will survive more than adequately as a viable, constructive member of the world community.

Second only to Japan, Taiwan's economy is expanding with a better than 10-percent growth rate in its annual gross national product. Foreign trade, surprisingly, in volume and value, is comparable to that of Communist China with its 750 million people, 50 times the population of the Republic of China. Further evidence of the stability and reputation this remarkable country has built is the observation of Henry Kearns, president of the U.S. Export-Import Bank, who says the Republic of China is "here to stay, offers a good market and has the ability to pay" and goes on to state that long-term credits will be provided on an unlimited basis. Substantial investments from the United States, Japan, and Austria have contributed significantly to the growth of Taiwan's economy and there is an energetic program to attract more foreign capital with tax benefits, lower labor costs, and bright prospects for proliferating development. Strongly anti-Communist, the Republic of China can be counted on to continue to offer an economic climate in which foreign investments will thrive without fear of nationalization of excessive governmental regulation.

Mr. Speaker, this is a fundamentally democratic, sturdy, and reliable nation that will not simply be swept off the map. What more could we ask in this hostile

world than to have more countries of the character of the Republic of China on whom we can depend despite the humiliating rejection of Taiwan's bid to retain its seat in the U.N.? That loss, however, will be seen in history as a major loss to the U.N. and the cause for which it purports to stand.

My congratulations and best wishes for an even more prosperous 6-year term go out to President Chiang Kai-shek and his administration.

REFLECTIONS ON PRESIDENT NIXON'S ESCALATION OF THE INDOCHINA WAR

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, since May 8, when President Nixon qualitatively escalated American military activities in Indochina, I have received more than 2,000 letters from constituents in opposition to the escalation. More than 98 percent of my mail on this issue opposes the President's actions.

I have today sent to a number of constituents my thoughts on this tragic war and our failure to end it.

I would like to share those thoughts with my colleagues.

Fifteen months ago a small group of Congressmen and myself had breakfast with Senator GEORGE McGOVERN. On that occasion Senator McGOVERN predicted, with sorrow but with certainty, that the war in Vietnam would be the key issue in the Presidential election of 1972.

I am not certain that I agreed with Senator McGOVERN on that occasion but his logic was flawless and his prediction accurate.

The speech of the President on the evening of May 8, 1972, demonstrated what Senator McGOVERN predicted. Vietnamization has failed, the invasion of Cambodia was fruitless, and the revival of the air war was as unsuccessful as the officials quoted in the Pentagon Papers had predicted.

The president stated on May 8 that he expects to use "decisive military action to end the war." He categorically rejected the other two options of withdrawal or negotiation.

The first 2 weeks of reaction and development after the unprecedented escalation of the war announced on May 8 unfortunately yield no evidence that the mining of Haiphong harbor will do anything except involve the United States in Indochina on a virtually indefinite basis. Any intimation of hope that the Nixon administration had worked out some informal arrangement with Russia to bring the war to an end cannot be substantiated by any credible interpretation of whatever facts are known.

The mining of Haiphong Harbor is possibly the most egregious error ever made in the long history of this war. Russia and China may not have the naval power to respond in kind but there is no reason to think that they will not continue

to escalate their own efforts to send more sophisticated weapons to North Vietnam. The mining of the harbor, an act which brings great risks for almost nonexistent benefits, is militarily unsound since it simply will not work. The Central Intelligence Agency—CIA—stated, as quoted in the Pentagon Papers, that:

The mining of the water approaches to the major port . . . would not be able to cut off the flow of essential supplies.

A statement in a National Security study prepared by Henry Kissinger, as published in the April 20, 1972 Washington Post, corroborates this conclusion by stating that the office of the Secretary of Defense and the CIA:

Believe that (if all imports from the sea were denied) the over-land routes from China could provide North Vietnam enough material to carry on, even with an unlimited bombing campaign.

In a statement on May 9, I concluded that the action of the President was illegal, unconstitutional, and totally unjustifiable—even if one accepts the validity of President Nixon's stated military and political objectives in Indochina.

The determination of the President to engage in "decisive military action to end the war" has had a broad impact on officials in the administration. Secretary of State Rogers has testified before a congressional committee that the President's proposed withdrawal 4 months after a cease-fire does not mean that the 100,000 Army, Navy, and Air Force personnel in and around Indochina would refrain from hostile military action if it appeared that the status quo in South Vietnam were being changed. The Navy's top official, Admiral Zumwalt, in response to a question at a press conference, stated that the United States will stop all ships even though it is known that these ships contain only food for civilian consumption.

WILL THE PENTAGON EVER LEARN?

The President's determination to engage in "decisive military action to end the war" can hardly be achieved by the military forces of South Vietnam. A study prepared for Henry Kissinger has recently revealed that in 1969 the South Vietnamese Army had the astonishingly high desertion rate of 34 percent on an annual basis. This means that during that year the South Vietnamese Army was losing the equivalent of one division a month.

There is overwhelming evidence, moreover, indicating that the Army of South Vietnam has the most serious morale problems—attributable in part to the fact that the regime of President Thieu has followed the old French custom of not allowing peasants to become military officers. Consequently the core of field officers, selected in part for political considerations, did not surprise anyone in South or North Vietnam when they broke and ran ahead of their troops in retreat from the battle at Quang Tri.

The cumulative evidence of the unwillingness or the inability of the South Vietnamese to carry out the objectives arrived at by the White House and President Thieu was overwhelmingly clear long before this tragic moment. That evi-

dence was clear a generation ago when the Truman administration in the years 1950 to 1954 paid three-quarter of the total cost of the war of the French which ended at Dienbienphu!

The political and military experts at the Pentagon, furthermore, cannot be unaware that the demilitarized zone, agreed to in the Geneva accords in August 1954, was an arbitrary line designed to be enforced only until an election of all of the Vietnamese people would occur. Since that election was prevented by President Diem, with the help of the United States, the 17th parallel has no legal or political or moral meaning for any nation in the world. Consequently it is contrary to fact to state that the North Vietnamese have been "an aggressor."

AN ANGUISHED AND BEWILDERED CITIZENRY REACT

I received at least 2,000 letters and telegrams in the 2 weeks following the President's May 8 reescalation of the war. I doubt if more than 10 of these 2,000 urged me to "support the President." At least 100 implored for the impeachment of the President.

Thousands of students, clergymen, and others have come to Washington in a desperate hope that they would be able to accomplish something. It is increasingly difficult to know what to advise these devoted persons. I have spoken to many groups including students from Kent State, clergymen from all over the Nation, and a group of some 300 physicians that gathered in Faneuil Hall in Boston on May 12.

I urged all these groups to become better informed about the tragedies in Vietnam with the hope that they could persuade Members of Congress and others that there was no reason under the SEATO Treaty why the United States should have intervened in South Vietnam originally nor is there any national interest of the United States involved in the political ideology of an area of the world smaller than New England and more than 10,000 miles from our shores.

I also remind the many audiences who ask me to talk to them that they should be fully aware of the provision in the SEATO Treaty to the effect that each signatory nation agrees to intervene only after all of the constitutional processes of that particular nation have been completed with. In view of this fact and many other circumstances it is clear beyond doubt that the President has no authorization for the institution of a blockade or the broadening of the war in such a way that a confrontation with mainland China and Russia is not impossible.

I also point out to the countless individuals and groups who desire peace that in the ultimate analysis it is not merely the President and the Congress that have continued the war in Vietnam but the voters themselves. After all, the voters, if they had been aware of the folly of the U.S. intervention in Indochina, had the opportunity in 1966, 1968, and 1970 of changing that policy by changing the Congress. The citizens of America have allowed the war to continue because of their political illiteracy.

In talking about the war I try to be nonpartisan. The awful fact is, however, that in the 40 months of the present ad-

ministration over 2 million Cambodian refugees have been created and the bombing in Laos has been double that under President Johnson. Mr. Nixon has dropped more than 3.3 million tons of bombs in Indochina—more bombs than have been dropped by any leader in history. Mr. Nixon has increased the number of B-52s from 40 to 130, attack planes from 350 to nearly 900, aircraft carriers from two to six and other naval vessels from 10 to 55. While the number of American soldiers on the ground in South Vietnam has been substantially diminished there are now some 40,000 airmen in Thailand the 40,000 naval personnel in the Gulf of Tonkin. The present situation is the first time in history that a nation has placed more men outside of a nation to conduct automated war than it has involved in the ground war.

President Nixon stated on May 8 that: Throughout the war in Vietnam, the United States has exercised a degree of restraint unprecedented in the annals of war.

This statement is simply erroneous in view of the fact that between 1965 and 1972 the United States has created over 23 million bomb craters, dropped over 100 million pounds of herbicide destroying an estimated 5 million acres of crops and forest land and has been responsible for the creation of over 6 million refugees in South Vietnam and 2.4 million additional refugees in Laos and Cambodia.

One of the most impressive and moving events conducted by persons coming to Washington to work for peace occurred on the morning of May 11 at 6 a.m. on the steps of the Capitol. This was the actual day and hour when the mines in Haiphong harbor were activated. Twenty-one Congressmen were joined by Senators KENNEDY, HUGHES, CRANSTON, and TUNNEY in speaking to a crowd of more than 1,000 persons who had come for a vigil as the dawn broke over Washington and a new and terrifying danger came into being in the Far East.

In talking and praying with all of the groups that I encountered in the 2 weeks after the May 8 address of the President I became more and more aware of the incredible situation in which the American people find themselves. The President stated that:

An American defeat in Vietnam would encourage . . . smaller nations, armed by their major allies, to attack neighboring nations at will, in the Mideast, in Europe and other areas.

This unbelievable throwback to the worst rhetoric of the cold war absolutely disregards the fact that nothing damages American credibility in the world more than the horrifying spectacle of the mightiest nation on earth attempting to bludgeon a small, agrarian nation into submission.

The President on May 8 asked the question:

Do we leave the South Vietnamese to a long night of terror?

That long night of terror was present in South Vietnam 3 years ago when I visited that country as a part of an American team to investigate South Vietnamese citizens in jail as political prisoners. Indeed, the "long night of terror" started 1 million Indochinese

lives ago. The "long night of terror" came in the form of men of a strange and different race with whom the Vietnamese could not even communicate. The "long night of terror" was present in Vietnam where two tons of bombs were exploding every 60 seconds during the 17 minutes of the President's address on May 8 during which he solemnly declared "I, too, want to end this war." "The long night of terror" was present in a particularly tragic way to the 200,000 or more refugees moving from Hue to Danang as the President spoke. They were fleeing not from the North Vietnamese whom the President called "international outlaws" but from the anticipated savage bombing of the U.S. Air Force.

The illegality, the unconstitutionality and the general futility of the most recent action of the Nixon administration become even more incomprehensible when one remembers the words of Mr. Nixon 3 weeks before the 1968 election:

I want to make one thing clear: those who have had a chance for four years and could not produce peace should not be given another chance.

WILL THE CONGRESS ACT?

Prior to the May 8 address of the President there was solid hope that the House of Representatives would finally face up to its constitutional duty of either declaring war or defunding the hostilities in Indochina. The Democratic Caucus—a body of the 256 Democrats in the Congress of 435—resolved in April by a vote of 144 to 58 to terminate hostilities in Indochina as soon as feasible.

A bill written pursuant to the resolution of the Democratic Caucus called for total withdrawal on or before October 1, 1972.

This bill did not actually call for the defunding of the war but a proposal sponsored by Senator MIKE GRAVEL of Alaska and myself, introduced on March 23, was designed to cut off all appropriations for the war in Southeast Asia. The Gravel-Drinan bill, which has the endorsement and total support of all of the major peace groups and of Common Cause, would terminate all hostilities within 30 days of enactment, secure the return of American POW's and encourage a political settlement of the differences in Indochina.

Hopes for the enactment of the Gravel-Drinan bill were somewhat dimmed by the dilution of the Case-Church amendment in the Senate on May 16. This bill, designed to terminate the war, was substantially weakened by the addition of a proposal made by Senator BYRD of West Virginia which in effect would support President Nixon's offer of withdrawal 4 months after a cease-fire by the North Vietnamese. The strongest antiwar proposal ever to come to a vote in the Senate was almost nullified on May 17.

Even if, however, the Gravel-Drinan bill were enacted, President Nixon would almost certainly veto it. The two-thirds required to override his veto would not be available so that the war would go on. The impact of a Presidential veto would nonetheless be tremendous on the people.

I wish that I could predict at this time that some meaningful antiwar legislation would pass the Congress. The simple and tragic fact is that the House of Representatives on four separate occasions in 1971 refused to stop the war. The highest number of votes was 193-218 are required—for the Mansfield amendment while only 163 were obtained for the cancellation of the appropriation for the war which was the subject of the Boland amendment voted on by the House on November 17, 1971. The House of Representatives is still, as it has been called so often, the silent House of hawks.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As a person and as a Member of Congress I shudder to think what one-half of humanity who live in Asia think of the conduct of the most affluent nation of the earth using the world's most advanced technology to rain terror on the most devastated and bombed nation in the entire history of mankind. I have the hope that public opinion will become aroused throughout the Nation so that the Gravel-Drinan bill (H.R. 14055) will be enacted and that no further funds will be utilized for naval bombardment, napalm bombs, incendiary devices or chemical agents to wound or kill the people in the four nations of Indochina.

I urge you with all of the persuasion at my command to work patiently but persistently in all of the ways available to you to end the war in Indochina which Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN rightly said is the "greatest military, political, economic and moral blunder in our national history."

I am fully aware of the intense frustration which almost everyone in the peace movement now experiences in an intensified form. In all probability that frustration will become even more intense as the President carries out his implementation of "decisive military action to end the war."

Against that type of determination only the most resourceful, heroic and persistent political, moral and spiritual endeavor can possibly succeed. I pledge that I shall continue to labor day and night, in season and out of season, to bring back to America a form of government in which the Congress and the people will never again be required to pay massive taxes for an undeclared war that they did not start and cannot terminate.

A PRAYER FOR THE EARTH

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 18, 1972

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, last January, I had the privilege of participating in the groundbreaking ceremonies for water factory 21, a joint project of the Orange County Water District and the U.S. Office of Saline Water, in the city of Fountain Valley, Calif.

At that ceremony, the Reverend James DeLange, pastor of Faith Lutheran Church, in Huntington Beach, offered a

most meaningful invocation. His inspired words called upon man to replenish the earth as he takes from it.

I have received a copy of Reverend DeLange's splendid prayer and include it in the RECORD for the benefit of all:

A PRAYER

O Lord, when you entrusted the world you made to us, you commanded us to have dominion over it and to replenish it. Forgive us, Lord, the many times we have taken without replenishing; the times we have filled without exercising dominion over our growth.

Give us a sense of awe at this world you have entrusted to us. Stimulate the minds of men and women who can give us the technical skill to replenish and have dominion over the earth. Stir the hearts and minds of our political leaders and all of us with responsibility for the future so that we will take, but replenish, fill, but not destroy.

Grant that what we as mere men dedicate today be a step in this direction. Guide us, O Lord, for without your help we can do nothing. Amen.

MORE DISSENSION IN THE UKRAINE

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the most recent wave of arrests in the Ukraine have demonstrated once again that freedom is but a myth in the captive nations of Eastern Europe. Locked under the iron rule of the Soviet Union, liberty is little more than a transparent phrase which gives lie to the realities of life under a dictatorship.

While the U.S.S.R. has signed and endorsed the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, their past actions toward the captive peoples of Europe and the religious minorities within their own domain have insulted and despoiled the very spirit and letter of that resolution.

In the Ukraine, where a growing trend toward national identification, culturally and politically, has been discernible in recent years, the crackdowns and arrests of the Russian secret police have been more severe. Writers, artists, and teachers who have dared to express the truth about the Russian tyranny of the last 52 years have been seized and summarily sentenced to years of imprisonment.

Mr. Speaker, the subjugation of the basic human rights of any people should not go unnoticed. I, therefore, rise to express my admiration and support for those brave Ukrainians who have risked their lives by their words and actions in support of freedom and self-determination for their countrymen.

Their courageous actions prove once again that regardless of the physical strength of any tyranny, that power cannot control the thoughts and desires of free men. The urge for freedom will not be stilled. Indeed, by these latest reprisals, the Soviets have only served to bring the weight of public opinion to bear upon their repressive policies. The Ukrainian intellectuals who have been seized and

sentenced after trials, which by any measure of justice were a mockery, have in fact become martyrs to the cause of independence.

For example, Valentyn Moroz, a young history professor, was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment for his writings which were critical of the Kremlin's Russification program in his homeland. After his trial, this young patriot of Ukrainian independence gave the following summation to those who had judged and punished his expression of free speech:

Faith is born where there are martyrs. And you have given them to us. . . . To sit behind bars is not easy. But to have no respect for oneself is even more difficult. And so we shall fight.

Mr. Speaker, the might and power of tyranny may be able to chain people behind walls, it may be able to interrupt or force underground the movement for freedom among the patriots of the Ukraine but most assuredly it cannot and never will destroy the drive and the will for freedom.

Ideas are not so easily captured. Indeed, as Moroz has suggested, the process of reviving the spirit of the Ukrainian people once begun is irreversible. In their attempts to choke off the inevitable movement of the Ukrainians for freedom, the Soviets have only succeeded in fanning the flames of nationalism and self determination.

Nevertheless, Mr. Speaker, the harassment and incarceration of Ukrainian intellectuals continues even today. Furthermore, we in the United States are witnessing but the tip of an iceberg. For each arrest which reaches the West through the underground news network, there are many, many more arrests which go unreported.

Mr. Speaker, we Americans have been most fortunate. We have been born free. The young Ukrainians who now lead the struggle for independence and liberty against oppression have not been so blessed. It has been said that to be born free is an accident, to live free is a challenge, and to die free is an obligation.

I concur with the sentiments of that statement and furthermore suggest that in the Ukraine the validity and truth of that maxim is being tested and tried despite the greatest obstacles. To the people of the Ukraine, I therefore offer my admiration and sincere hope that their sacrifices today will be rewarded with true freedom tomorrow.

THE SPACE SHUTTLE

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, when the NASA appropriation for fiscal year 1973 is considered on the House floor tomorrow, Representative LES ASPIN and I will offer an amendment to delete all funding for the space shuttle.

There are three basic reasons for our

position: First, while a program such as this might be justifiable if we had funds to spare, we are severely shortchanging such desperately needed domestic programs as child care, housing, health care, and education. Our Nation's needs demand that we reorient our priorities to these and similar domestic programs, rather than spending our limited dollars on additional space activities.

Second, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the shuttle's uses will be substantially military in character. With the possibility of meaningful arms limitations finally beginning to come into view, we should not be building space vehicles designed to carry armaments into space.

Third, while we support full employment as a national policy, this is not the kind of program that should be used to create it. This money could be used to employ the same 50,000 people to build houses or schools, thus giving the Nation a positive product in addition.

I insert at this point the text of the amendment which I will propose tomorrow:

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 15093, HUD, SPACE
APPROPRIATIONS

Page 11, lines 23 and 24: delete "\$2,550,000,000, to remain available until expended." And insert in its place "\$2,350,000,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That no amount appropriated pursuant to this Act shall be used to further in any way the research, development or construction of any reusable space transportation system or space shuttle."

KEY FEATURES OF COMPREHENSIVE
OLDER AMERICANS SERVICES
BILL

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, as we have become more sensitive to the serious problems which face the older segment of our American society, we have also come to recognize the need to take definite action to provide assistance for those of our American community who have too long been ignored because they have had no powerful political influence to use. Congress has taken a significant step toward the beginning of this kind of action when it passed the nutrition program for the elderly, which I sponsored. I may add that I hope funds will soon be received so that the programs anticipated may begin to function.

Relative to this issue, I would like to bring to your attention and the attention of my colleagues the comprehensive older Americans services bill, which I have cosponsored with Congressman BRADEN and other Members of Congress, and which, hopefully, will soon be moving out of the subcommittee.

As you are no doubt aware, the programs made possible under the Older Americans Act to aid and serve the elderly will expire soon, on June 30, 1972. However, the need for those services will not cease. The comprehensive older American services bill grew out of a response to the White House Conference

on the Elderly, and this bill is meant to extend and intensify the work that has to be done to bring a more comfortable life for those people who are older.

Among the key and important features of the comprehensive older Americans services bill are:

First, strengthened role of the Administration of Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare;

Second, expanded services under the Older Americans Act;

Third, low-cost transportation;

Fourth, expanded work service opportunities, including strengthening the retired senior volunteer program—RSVP—and the foster grandparents programs;

Fifth, effective coordination of Federal aging programs;

Sixth, preretirement training program;

Seventh, health, nutrition, education, and other social services;

Eighth, improved system of delivering services to older citizens and meaningful employment opportunities;

Ninth, gerontological centers to study the aging process; and

Tenth, senior citizen community centers.

Recently, the Democratic Policy Council's planning group on "Problems of the Elderly"—in their investigating and researching these difficulties—identified the five critical issues which concern older Americans:

In their thorough study, they found that meaningful retirement, the problem of fixed income, health care, housing, and transportation are the vital areas. Several recommendations were made to deal with these problems; among these were the following: Guaranteed annual income, increases in social security benefits, national health insurance, low-income housing, and property tax relief for the elderly.

It is indeed a distortion of values when we force people to fear growing older; instead of revering and honoring them for their greater experience and for their wisdom which only age can give. We have preferred to turn our backs to them because they can no longer produce as in their earlier years. A civilization which thinks of its older citizens as useless refuse shows a distressing lack of enlightenment and hardness of heart.

If we can understand that we are talking about very real people who are too many times suffering degradations which no person should have to experience, and if we can admit that being old is not a crime, perhaps we will be able to see the importance of taking concrete action. The comprehensive older Americans services bill should expand and reinforce the work that has already begun; I would urge you to consider it with care and compassion.

REGIONAL INVESTMENT BANKS

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, as one who has long adhered to a balance of power,

so to speak, both between the Federal Government and private enterprise, I have from time to time spoken out in this context on various issues facing the Congress and the various sectors of our economic structure.

Being a member of the Banking and Currency Committee and having a strong concern for the housing needs of the country, I have most often addressed myself in this regard to the issue of Federal regulation and control of the savings and loan industry. Other areas of our economic community, however, face a similar problem—resulting partly from the well-known tendencies of money and its managers to seek and develop their own geographical centers of operation, but also resulting from certain ill-advised legislative actions of our various levels of government. I believe another segment of our financial community—the investment banker—may well be facing just such a challenge to its regional-oriented concept of operation and it is to this timely concern that I address myself today.

There are clear regional realities which militate strongly for this focus for the investment banker. Being organized and constructed to serve a given locality, the regional investment banker is an integral part of that local area and as such maintains a strong community identification. In many instances, the regional investment banker may well be the sole source of necessary capital, both for the local municipality and small manufacturing firms, in many areas of the country. One might well describe this aspect as the grassroots of the investment banking industry. This essential function is clearly illustrated by the fact that during the year 1970 such regional firms served as the primary underwriters for all but one of the 636 new security issues of \$500,000 or less, issues which aggregated \$198 million. Equally significant figures can be cited in even larger issues—59 percent of issues ranging from \$500,000 to \$1 million, an aggregate of \$56 million, and 45 percent of issues ranging from \$1 to \$5 million, an aggregate of \$664 million, were also managed by these regional investment firms.

These firms, however, do not confine themselves just to this singularly important activity, but function as well as distributors for segments of many larger security issues nominally marketed through the larger, New York-based firms. For example, 30 percent of the \$1.4 million A.T. & T. preferred stock issued was distributed by these smaller, locally oriented investment firms.

Looking back over the 1960's, it is imperative that we in the Congress not take any action which may detract from the contribution these firms make to our continued economic growth—a contribution which totaled well over \$300 billion in essential funds to both local business and State and local governments during the past decade. Preliminary statistics point to an even better record of performance for the 1970's, a potential we cannot ignore even in the most productive of times, let alone in times such as today with our lagging economy.

It should be obvious that a diversified economy such as ours cannot function well with the overly concentrated investment structure we see in Europe and Japan. Our Federal structure and multi-level governments as well as our highly diversified economy requires the variety we have to date maintained in the investment financing field. The wide choice and flexibility in such a system cannot be lost.

NASSAU'S FINEST

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the May 1972 edition of Response contains an article entitled "Nassau's Finest," which describes the work of the Nassau County Civil Defense Auxiliary Police organization. I think that the fine work of this dedicated group will be of interest to my colleagues and I insert the text of the story following my remarks.

The article follows:

NASSAU'S FINEST

NASSAU COUNTY, N.Y.—One of the largest and most active Civil Defense Auxiliary Police organizations in the United States is in Nassau County, a large suburban community to New York City. Obviously proud of the organization, Brig. General Otho C. Van Exel, Nassau County Civil Defense Director, is quick to cite specific examples of how the men bring ready help to the people they serve.

Item—When an auxiliary policeman noticed that another car traveling on a county road had caught on fire without the driver apparently noticing it, he put on a burst of speed, flagged its woman driver off the road, and got her out of the car just before it exploded.

Item—When another auxiliary policeman saw three joyriding youths smash into a parked car and then run from the scene, he gave chase, collared them, and held them until regular police arrived. It turned out the car they were using had been stolen from a nearby village.

SAVE GIRL'S LIFE

Item—Two auxiliary officers spotted a young girl sprawled on a park bench. Quickly, they arranged for her to be rushed to a hospital. Doctors there reported she had suffered a heart attack, and credited the action of the two men with saving her life.

The 1,500-man uniformed Nassau County Civil Defense Auxiliary Police organization is composed of men from all walks of life—salesmen, engineers, real estate brokers, electricians, lawyers, carpenters, teachers, pharmacists, airlines employees, to name a few. Annually, they put in more than 100,000 man-hours on park patrols, and are also called to assist regular police at parades, festivals and other special events as well as in emergencies, such as hurricanes, floods, snow alerts, and blackouts.

"There is no vigilante element in the makeup of Nassau's Auxiliary Police," Civil Defense Director Van Exel said, "because the volunteers are checked out by the County Police Department and are given a training course totaling 34 hours over a period of 17 weeks."

ALWAYS ON DUTY

Even when they are going about their normal civilian activities, Nassau's Auxiliary

Policemen regard themselves as duty-bound to help in an emergency. Trained in first aid, they have saved youngsters from drowning, aided motorists trapped by fallen trees and wires, and helped people out of burning houses.

The Auxiliaries conduct some of their patrols in Auxiliary Police cars purchased by their units. But frequently the volunteers will use their own cars, and pay the costs of the gasoline, oil, and upkeep out of their own pockets. Command posts with two-way radio communications with Auxiliary Police cars on patrol have been established at Nassau County's police precinct stations.

Director Van Exel said a Cadet Auxiliary Police program, for young men between the ages of 18 and 21, was recently started in the county to get more young people to participate in Civil Defense and to involve them in volunteer service to the community. Also, consideration is being given to the establishment of a Marine unit of Auxiliary Police.

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMIC PROSPECTS FOR 1972

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I include the text of my Washington Report on the agricultural economic prospects for 1972:

WASHINGTON REPORT—AGRICULTURAL ECONOMIC PROSPECT FOR 1972

The agricultural economic prospects for 1972 include some improvement in net income, record-setting government payments, a further decline in the farm population, a continuation of the unparalleled productive capacity, and more searching for effective production adjustment programs—all this according to a report recently prepared by the Library of Congress.

The farmer's net income is expected to set a new record—yet it will be only slightly higher than the net income levels of 1947.

The report states that farm prices last year were only 5 percent higher than in the 1947-1949 period, while wholesale prices increased 44 percent in that period, and the consumer price index rose 73 percent, and the hourly wages paid nonagricultural workers in private employment increased by 183 percent.

Given this cost-price squeeze, it is not surprising that there has been an exodus from the farms—about 1 million Americans each year. We now have 9.4 million people living on farms, as compared to 25.8 million in 1947. The number of farm workers also has declined by more than one-half, from 10.4 to 4.4 million workers.

The farmers have reacted to the long decline in farm prices and income since World War III by increasing their productivity. In the last 24 years, U.S. farm production has increased 60 percent. Output per manhour of labor on the farm is now more than four times what it was in 1947, and improved seeds, fertilizer, and pesticides have also increased the crop production by 67 percent per acre.

This increased farm production, in spite of low prices and low farm income, has helped to keep farm prices and farm income depressed, even though rapid increases have occurred in consumer incomes. Farm prices and income would have declined even further in the 1950's except for the farm price-support loans and the accumulation of large Commodity Credit Corporation inventories of crops.

Since 1955, when a record \$8.2 billion was tied up in CCC loans and inventories, the

surpluses have been gradually reduced by increasing exports, and by more effective adjustment programs.

Farmers can look forward to the best income on record this year, largely because of record government payments and favorable livestock prices. Increased exports, acreage-adjustment programs, and government price-support loans have all been important in improved balance in crops and livestock in recent years.

Agriculture exports have more than doubled in the last 24 years, and, equally important, some 50 to 60 million acres of crop land have been held out of production by government price-support and adjustment programs in four out of the last five years. The expected increase of \$1.5 to \$2 billion in the farmers' net income in 1972 over 1971 is the result of an increase of about \$2 billion in livestock receipts, \$1.25 billion in government payments and a slowing rate of increase in production expenses. Government payments in 1972 are expected to account for close to 25 percent of the farmer's net income—a new record.

Farm exports this year are expected to maintain about the same level as in 1971. Farm program payments are expected to be \$4 billion, also a new record. Crop production in 1972, on the basis of the March 16 planting intentions report, will be excessive in relation to the market outlets available, in spite of the increased set-aside programs.

Export markets must continue to expand, inflationary forces must be held in check, and effective production adjustment programs must be reinstituted to assure reasonable incomes for the farmers and to avoid another build-up of surplus stocks such as occurred in the 1950's.

A DECADE LATER: CRISIS

HON. BEN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, I feel that the following article, "A Decade Later: Crisis," by columnist John Crown is worthy of my colleagues' attention. This column appeared in the Atlanta Journal of May 11, and contains facts of which all Americans could well be reminded in the context of the courageous action recently taken by President Nixon in the Vietnam struggle.

A DECADE LATER: CRISIS

(By John Crown)

Momentous events resemble lightning in that one may strike close to but not at the precise time and place as did an earlier one and as will a later one.

Thus it is with the United States and her crises in which the fate of the nation and the world could hang in the delicate balance.

This year marks the tenth anniversary of the last such crisis we faced—that concerning the installation of Soviet Union missiles in Cuban silos.

Thus it was in October 1962 that President John F. Kennedy, weighing all possible risks, came to the conclusion that the only realistic course of action for this nation was to confront the Soviet Union. Thus it was that he knowingly risked nuclear war with the Russians by placing a naval blockade around Cuba. It was his considered decision that the stakes were worth the risk.

Thus it is now, in May 1972, an exact decade later to the year—but not to the day and the month—that President Richard M. Nixon, weighing all possible risks, has come

to the conclusion that the only realistic course of action for this nation is to, in effect, confront the Soviet Union. He has knowingly risked possible war with the Russians by placing a naval blockade around the ports of North Vietnam. It is his considered decision that the stakes are worth the risk.

And it is ironic that one of those crying out, 'Woe and lament,' is President Kennedy's only surviving brother.

Crises of such magnitude are easily remembered.

When President Kennedy's Cuban missile crisis broke in 1962 I was on duty with the 5th Marine Regiment, 1st Marine Division, at Camp Pendleton, Calif. At that time the division's three infantry regiments took turns on a rotating schedule as the "ready regiment." This would be the first regiment mounted out on a crash basis should a national emergency require such action.

When the 1962 crisis broke, our regiment had completed its cycle as the "ready regiment" only a short time earlier. But we were informed what the situation was and what it might turn into. And we were to prepare to move out immediately should the crisis continue. We began packing.

The days were marked by tension and uncertainty. Every morning when I left home there was a reasonably good chance that I would not return in the evening.

The Marines from the 1st Division who did load out were embarked on troop ships off Cuba, ready for whatever contingency might evolve.

Then, suddenly it was all over.

And I recall that I was dismayed then over the hoopla generated by the Russians backing down. Key figures in President Kennedy's administration rushed into print with accounts of how we had forced the Russians to a showdown, how we were eyeball-to-eyeball with them and they blinked.

It was one thing for the Russians to back down, I remember thinking at the time, and it was something else for us to rub salt in the wound. The Russians have long memories and they would not forget our global laughter at their discomfiture.

And, I wondered then, what would be their reaction the next time such a crisis occurs. Would they, remembering how we exulted over their blinking, hold longer to a collision course in the belief that this time we would do the blinking?

We may have the unpleasant opportunity of finding out in this tenth year since the last such crisis.

The odds were in our favor in 1962. We then had unquestioned missile superiority over the Soviet Union. But in 1972 we are reaping the harvest of seven devastating years with Robert Strange McNamara as secretary of defense. And the net result of Mr. McNamara's dubious stewardship is that the missile balance has tilted.

Despite this, however, President Nixon could take no other course than the one he took. It is not easy at any time to make the stand that Richard M. Nixon is making off the coast of North Vietnam. It is excruciatingly painful to do in a presidential election year.

He has weighed the alternatives and has come to the conclusion that there are none. So he has taken his stand, and we should be there standing with him.

THE VIOLENT ALWAYS WITH US

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, once again, after an attempted assassination, we

have pronouncements from public figures who should know better that it is another example of how "sick" our society really is today.

An editorial appearing in the May 17, 1972, edition of the Peoria Journal Star spotlights the absurdity of that argument and I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

THE VIOLENT ALWAYS WITH US

Once again, after an attempted assassination, we have solemn commentaries that it is another growth of a "sick society."

That is pure bunkum, and an easy way to dodge the problem.

The only thing "sick" about our society in this regard is this tendency to blame anything wrong on everybody (society) and thus avoid fixing any real responsibility for their conduct on anybody.

In any society of more than 200,000,000 people you have some who are prone to violence, and some with very shaky mental and emotional stability. The larger the population, the larger the percentage.

We are surrounded by "societies" which for their size are consistently more "violent" in their politics than we, and by others who have less public violence because of total repressive systems and total protective systems for their leaders.

In China, half the Politburo has just simply disappeared. Nobody has been shot going out to shake hands with unorganized crowds, but the president of their biggest university was tossed out of an upper window to his death. In China, that isn't a "sick society," it goes under the bland name of "Cultural Revolution." Uplifting!

In this matter of political assassination and assassination attempts there are two clear elements involved in the nature of such crimes in the United States.

A fanatic who was mentally unbalanced tried to shoot F.D.R. A fanatic group of Puerto Rican nationalists tried to shoot their way into the White House and kill Truman.

A communist-oriented pro-Castro crackpot shot President Kennedy. A communist-oriented Arab fanatic shot presidential candidate Robert Kennedy.

This is the overwhelmingly dominant pattern on back through McKinley, and the long series of presidential assassinations and assassination attempts—including the shooting of Teddy Roosevelt while in the losing campaign against Wilson in 1912.

Among the forces at work on the unstable psyches of these killers and would-be killers, there needs to be included the social weight of a society that regards such a killer as basically responsible for his act and regards the act as intolerable. (Blaming "society" simply removes one basic restraint in the mix of motives that precede such action.)

Among the forces at work on the unstable psyches of these killers is the public atmosphere and the "image" of the man they consider to be "fit to be shot."

There is little doubt that Jack Ruby thought he would be a "hero" for killing Harvey Oswald.

Sirhan Sirhan thought he would become an Arab hero for killing Robert Kennedy—and he has been hailed as such, indeed, in Arab lands.

Hence, there is a responsibility on those who are regarded as "opinion leaders" and "image-makers" to deal with facts and issues—and to avoid those levels of vituperation and emotion-juggling that give any political figure the "image" of a man who deserves to be shot.

One can go a long, long way in disagreement on issues, and even the moral values, and still tell the difference between the kind of name-calling, and threat-evoking exaggeration that one knows marks a man for

hate and as "fit to be shot" in the minds of thousands.

Especially, those whose audience of millions on national networks has to number thousands of unstable persons must be held accountable for keeping within bounds—and not playing games with people's emotions.

One wonders sometimes if they don't come up with their solemn "sick society symptom" routine to evade their personal share in the "climate" and "devil-image" views that contribute to this sort of thing.

They have to lay off of Wallace now, and they ought to lay off the extreme stuff on Agnew. They certainly ought to use reason and restraint rather than inflammatory hocus-pocus regarding the President!

TEVYE'S PEOPLE

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, in the past year, the world has noted with surprise and admiration the indomitable surge of the Jews of Russia to be free to practice their religion and to emigrate, if that is their desire, to other nations, notably Israel.

At first the Soviets sought to treat these Russian Jews as dissenters have historically been treated; as traitors, lunatics, or criminals. One generation of Russian Jews after another had been subjected first to czarist oppression and then to Soviet intimidation and restriction. None of these policies, singly or cumulatively, had much success in extinguishing the burning desire of these people to be free.

No single case better illustrates this state of affairs than that of Boris Kochubievsky, a Russian-born engineer. Born in Kiev, he was orphaned, as were so many other Jewish children, by Nazi genocide. In late 1941, much of the Jewish population of Kiev was taken to a ravine named Babi Yar and slaughtered methodically, and in broad daylight.

The native militia of the area carried out much of this butchery, under the auspices of the Nazis. Pits were dug and the Jewish population of Kiev was marched steadily, in family groups, to the edge of these pits and shot down. Kochubievsky's parents were among these innocent people.

It is well to note historically that the Soviet regime has sought, in vain, to prevent the remembrance and commemoration of this atrocity, which was only one of many perpetrated upon the Jews of Europe. Raised in an orphanage, he attended a trade school and eventually became an engineer.

The harsh realities of Jewish life in Russia brought out his own pride in his background, and he shortly became a Jewish activist, seeking to assert his rights to practice his faith and to emigrate to Israel.

After the amazing triumph of Israel in 1967, a meeting was called in his factory to condemn the Israelis. Rather than participate, he stepped forth, proclaiming his Jewishness and pride in Israel and her accomplishments. After-

ward, he insisted on seeking to commemorate the Babi Yar massacre, in the process singlehandedly challenging the entire Soviet system. He then applied to authorities for permission to emigrate to Israel. Eventually he was arrested and brought to trial, in the same courthouse where the Mendel Beiliss trial was held. During the course of that trial, traditional anti-Semitic hostility was much in evidence.

Kochubievsky's demeanor throughout the ordeal was exemplary, as he maintained that he wishes to emigrate because of the continuation within Russia of anti-Semitism. He asserted, with great truth, that official Soviet policy engendered hostility and hate on the part of the Russian population against Jewish citizens.

He was sentenced to 3 years in a labor camp. But before this, he managed to smuggle out a letter that he had sent to Brezhnev, and it is one of the most moving statements of identity and courage I have ever had the privilege to read. I include it here at this point in my remarks:

NOVEMBER 28, 1968.

To: The Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee—Brezhnev.

The First Secretary of the (Ukraine CP) Central Committee—Shelest.

Copy: To the Investigator of the Prosecutor's Office of the Shevchenko Region of the city of Kiev—V. V. Doroshenko. From: The accused of slander against Soviet reality—B. L. Kochubievsky, Jew.

I am a Jew. I want to live in the Jewish State. This is my right as it is the right of a Ukrainian to live in the Ukraine, the right of a Russian to live in Russia, the right of a Georgian to live in Georgia.

I want to live in Israel.

This is my dream, this is the purpose not only of my life, but also of the lives of hundreds of generations which preceded me, of my ancestors expelled from their land.

I want my children to study in a school in the Hebrew language. I want to read Jewish papers, I want to go to a Jewish theater. What is bad in this? What is my crime? Most of my relatives were shot by the fascists. My father was killed and his parents were killed. Were they alive now, they would stand at my side. Let me go!

I have appealed many times to various authorities and I have achieved only this: dismissal from my job; the expulsion of my wife from the Institute; and, to crown it all, a criminal charge of slandering Soviet reality. Of what does this slander consist? Is it slander that in the multi-national Soviet state only the Jewish people cannot teach its children in Jewish schools? Is it slander that in the USSR there are no Jewish papers? Incidentally, no one even denies this. Perhaps it is slander that for over a year I have not succeeded in obtaining an exit permit for Israel? Or is it slander that people don't want to talk to me, that there is no one to complain to? Nobody reacts. But even this isn't the heart of the matter. I don't want to be involved in the national affairs of a State in which I consider myself an alien. I want to go away from here. I want to live in Israel. My wish does not contradict Soviet laws.

I have an affidavit from relatives; all the formalities have been observed. Is that why you are instigating a criminal case against me?

Is that why my home was searched?

I am not asking for mercy. Listen to my voice of reason:

Let me go!

As long as I am alive, as long as I am capable of feeling, I shall devote all my strength to obtain an exit permit for Israel.

And even if you should find it possible to sentence me for this, I shall, if I live till my release, be prepared to make my way to the homeland of my ancestors even if it means going afoot.

B. KOCHUBIEVSKY.

Boris Kochubievsky became a world cause celebre. Protests were held in many places, including this country. Many voices were raised on his behalf, including my own on the floor of the Congress. And the Soviet regime got the point and released him.

When he came here a few weeks ago, I sponsored a luncheon for this man. Some two dozen Members of the House attended that luncheon to hear him appeal to us on behalf of the Jews still in Soviet bondage. All of us were moved. His central theme was that we should communicate our concern to the President on the eve of his trip to Moscow, indicating our wish that he bring up the plight of Russia's Jews to the Soviet leaders on a face-to-face basis. Many of these concerned Members of the House have done so.

At the luncheon, Members in attendance were presented with plaques reading, "In grateful recognition of your aid to Soviet Jewry."

With Boris was Irena Markish, wife of David Markish, a well-known Russian poet, who seeks to emigrate but cannot because of the regime's recalcitrance. Their most recent act of repression against these people is to call them to active army duty, a stratagem reminiscent of czarist days, when young Jews were forcibly dragooned into the service for as long as 10 years' time. Such service was almost always performed thousands of miles away from the home village of the people in question.

How foolish are these latter-day czars. No dictatorship, no matter how determined or sophisticated, can murder an idea whose time has come or a way of life and belief that has endured through the ages and all kinds of persecution.

They fear the Jewish love of liberty and worship of human dignity. Such concepts do not easily lend themselves to the socialist conformity demanded by the Kremlin. It has been ever thus.

Kochubievsky was aware of his heritage in spite of no formal education in its tenets. The young Russian Jews everywhere spring to an awareness of their heritage, culture, and language, as if it is fed to them in a vacuum. How incredible. How fascinating. How enduring.

Almost every American is aware of or has seen and heard the play and movie, "Fiddler on the Roof," which portrays in microcosm the Jewish life in the Russian pale of the era around the turn of this century. Its hero is the dairyman, Tevye, who in his own person epitomizes the survival at that time of the Jewish people of that time and place.

Not an eye is dry in the theater at the conclusion of this presentation. One leaves wondering what became of them. Many emigrated? Many remained? We know now what became of them. Their children perished in the holocaust. Their grandchildren are the Boris Kochubievskys.

The march of history continues, inexorable, and methodical. The dictators

will be ground to dust. The Jewish spirit lives and will thrive. Somewhere and somehow, it will, I know, prevail.

PRAYER AND VIETNAM

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the President's decision to step up bombing and mine harbors in North Vietnam on May 8 was calculated to cut supplies to the North, force a cease-fire in Vietnam, gain release of American prisoners, and protect American troops in the process of withdrawal. The President's words gave all Americans cause to once more consider U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Regardless of political views, world peace must be the goal of our national policy. At the request of a constituent, I am placing an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor in the RECORD. It is a well-stated and thoughtful comment which is well worth considering in time of crisis:

VIETNAM: A CALL TO PRAYER

We believe it pertinent to the cause of peace that citizens pause at this moment to consider another level of approach to the Vietnam problem. Prayer. Individually and collectively to turn to the one divine governing power and humbly, expectantly seek God's guidance, wisdom, and protection.

There is precedent for so doing. The Bible contains throughout a vivid history of a people's deliverance through spiritual alertness. And in this century those who lived through the two great wars often sensed the forces of good prevailing over the assertions of wrong impulses, and felt the guiding hand of a higher power sustaining them.

In regard to Vietnam, it is best not to consider the war simply a United States issue, or a Southeast Asian issue, or a Big Three power issue. There is no such thing as a Southeast Asian peace or a U.S. peace or Big Three stalemate peace. World peace is indivisible. And it is in a willingness to see that peace is above and yet available to the participants, supported in a divine plan and impulsion for harmony among men, that efforts toward peace can begin. The idea that will bring harmony to this situation exists now. All that men have to do is recognize it, and listening prayer will reveal it. Peace has always been elusive. But by men's raising their vision above the evidence of battle to the spiritual norm of harmony and peace, the inspiration and courage to secure peace will be found.

This is not to cover one's eyes to the nature and course of the war. The daily reportage of this newspaper from the battle scene and from Washington and Paris indicates we believe in the most realistic scrutiny of the passage of events.

And yet it must be recognized that peace is ultimately spiritual and must be unfolded through divine power in individual thought. It cannot be planted by force, only in righteousness.

Mary Baker Eddy, the leader of the Christian Science movement and founder of the newspaper, once urged her followers when the United States was at war: "Pray that the divine presence may still guide and bless our chief magistrate, those associated with his executive trust, and our national judiciary, give to our congress wisdom, and uphold our nation with the right arm of His righteous-

ness." This counsel pertains today and is equally applicable to the welfare of all nations, their leaders, and their peoples.

For some time now, the Vietnam experience has generated negative feelings of disgust, futility, fear. This is not the time, however, to let ourselves be consumed by such feelings. Nor is it the time to dwell too much on "where we (or they) went wrong." To do so is to fix thought on the issues that divide, and to deflect attention from the goal of harmonious world relations. It is also to fail to see that what is good in American history—the high regard for freedom and self-governance which it shares with various other lands—survives as the thread guiding its role in the progress of nations.

Again, the seed of peace can take root only in the prayerful thought of men. The Revelator described the promise of this seed in what he called "the tree of life," whose leaves "were for the healing of the nations." In prayer we become aware of the divine plan which impels the burgeoning of that tree. Let each of us pray earnestly and daily that the seed of international peace take root in his own consciousness.

WHAT GENERATES CRIME?

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, Americans are frequently called upon to account for certain happenings that disturb our country. One of the more serious riddles before us now is that of determining the origin of crime in this country.

We know that there is much violence portrayed in the movies and on television. Some believe that the exposures are an accurate portrayal of our society rather than being the generator of the violent acts.

The movie producers and the television stations are saying that they are merely presenting society as it is in this country and that they should not be blamed for creating such conditions. Now, how do we answer this "which comes first, the hen or the egg" question? It is another riddle before us which all right-thinking Americans should ponder in an attempt to come up with the right answer, and then try to do something about it before we are engulfed.

David Hendin, newspaper columnist, presents some of the facts in his column of May 9, 1972, as it appeared in the Dublin, Ga. Herald Courier, as follows:

SCREEN VIOLENCE: IS IT CONTAGIOUS?

(By David Hendin)

The recent Surgeon General's report on the effects of TV violence on children is being supported in several ways by the research of a University of Utah psychologist.

The psychologist, Dr. Victor B. Cline, adds motion pictures to the list of media that may be leading Americans into an era of unrelenting violence and exploitive sex devoid of love and responsibility.

"Evidence is mounting that motion pictures and television can alter behavior patterns, influence values and attitudes and possibly contribute to changes in life styles," Cline remarked after conducting a recent study of theater fare in his home town.

"By making violence appear glamorous and exciting and illicit sex normal and desirable,

these media are setting the stage for a society based on aggression and irresponsibility," he added.

To examine some of today's theater offerings, Cline and four of his research assistants sat through 37 movies in one week in Salt Lake City. After carefully analyzing the films' content, themes, values, behavior of heroes, etc., they found the following in the 37 films:

- 833 aggressive acts.
- 566 sexual acts or displays.
- 59 murders.
- 89 "justifiable killings."
- 76 attempted murders.
- 11 massacres.
- six bombings.
- 168 nude scenes.

It all averaged out to some 23 acts of violence and 15 episodes of sex per film. And these weren't "skin flicks." Cline says, because there are no hard-core pornographic theaters in Salt Lake City. Breaking down the films by ratings, 16 per cent were "X," 24 per cent "R," 46 per cent "PG" and 14 per cent "G."

In 57 per cent of the films the movie-watchers found that dishonesty was presented in a heroic light. In 38 per cent, criminal activity was made to "pay off," and was presented as a successful, exciting pastime with no negative consequences.

In 43 per cent of the films the heroes were lawbreakers or antisocial characters. In 60 per cent of the films, premarital and extramarital sexual relations were presented as "normal, acceptable and desirable."

Only one film out of the 37 depicted sexual relations between a man and a woman legally married to each other.

According to the Surgeon General's report, there is a causal link between the exposure of some children to television violence and subsequent aggressive behavior.

"Psychologists have for years demonstrated, for example, that you can overcome a person's fear of snakes by gradually exposing him to others who casually play with snakes," Cline noted. "It stands to reason that you can also change attitudes and emotional responses to violence, sex and various antisocial behavior by repeated exposure."

The real question raised by all of this research, however, is this: Is the violence in television and the movies the cause of troubles in our society? Or is the trouble in our society, perhaps, being accurately portrayed by these media?

It all boils down to the chicken or the egg riddle, and since we don't know where these behavior patterns come from, we are hard put to find ways to stop them.

THE CHINESE JEWS OF KAIFENG

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's recent trip to mainland China has brought about an increased awareness of that country among the American people. We are learning more each day of the Chinese medical, social, political, and military traditions. I recently came across an interesting and quite informative article on a rather unique facet of Chinese history. The article appeared in the American Zionist magazine and was entitled, "The Chinese Jews of Kaifeng," by Mr. Leon Lutovich.

The fact that Jews lived and prospered

in China well before the arrival of Marco Polo is interesting indeed. In fact, the article describes the rise and fall of the small Jewish Chinese population. The assimilation, the floods, famine, and destruction of their "Kaifeng Temple," all accounted for the eventual disappearance of the large Jewish community. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the Record this excellent article dealing with the early Jewish community in China.

[From the American Zionist, May 1972]

THE CHINESE JEWS OF KAIFENG

(By Leon Lutovich)

During my long World War II peregrinations I arrived in China for what I thought would be a few months' stopover. Yet only four weeks after I landed in Shanghai the night of Pearl Harbor came, and I awakened the following morning to see Japanese tanks patrolling the city. Thus any route of escape had been sealed off. This time I was stranded for good. After nine months in Japan my stay in the Far East was extended to six long years.

From Shanghai, in December 1946, I went to Switzerland to attend the 22nd World Zionist Congress as delegate of the General Zionists in China, and immediately upon arrival in Basle I found myself surrounded by a group of newspaper correspondents curious to have a look at the "exotic" newcomer. They had apparently expected to meet a Jew whose appearance, name, and speech would leave no doubts of his Chinese origin. Their disappointment was obvious at discovering just one more Jew of European descent.

Quickly recovering from their disillusionment the journalists began to question me about my constituency. "Well," they said, "we now understand that you represent the European Jews in China. But what about those real Chinese Jews who have lived there for centuries? Where are they?"

It was the same intriguing question that I myself had had in mind when I came to China, and one which has been repeatedly and universally asked of me in this country. Here then is what I learned of the "real Chinese Jews."

The story goes as far back as the first century C.E. when groups of Jews, probably remnants of the tribes of Israel, came to China from the Near East by way of Persia. At that period and in the course of the following centuries they traversed the continent of Asia as merchants engaged primarily in silk trade. According to another version these Jews together with the Arabs later introduced cotton into China, a product that figures most prominently in Chinese trade and industry up to the present.

With the opening of maritime routes, Jewish merchants from India reached Canton and penetrated from the coast into the interior, settling in widely scattered places. Their biggest and most important center, however, had been set up during the twelfth century in the city of Kaifeng, in the northern province of Honan, where about a hundred Jewish families established themselves permanently, organized a community and erected the first synagogue on a site granted by the Chinese Emperor.

After the Mongols invaded and conquered China, the Jews for the first time appeared on the political scene and began to exert influence in government circles and in the army. Some of them were even appointed to high office and became part of the Mongolian bureaucracy which did not feel safe with the Chinese educated class and distrusted Confucianism. It was at this time that the almost legendary Marco Polo appeared among the many foreign-born who, besides the Jews, occupied positions of importance in the Mongol administration.

In many respects Jewish life under Mongol

rule resembled on a small scale the magnificent era of the development of the Jewish communities under the Arabs in Spain. And although Jews never suffered persecution in China, here as in Spain their influence faded quickly, after the fall of the Mongol dynasties, the restoration of Chinese monarchy and the reestablishment of Confucianism, more powerful than ever before.

Yet their economic position was enhanced for several generations under the lenient and tolerant rule of Mongols and continued for a time under the Chinese. But along with the gathering of wealth and the enhancement of unhampered relations with the Chinese population the first symptoms of Jewish communal disintegration started to appear.

During the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries intermarriage and cultural assimilation proceeded rapidly, resulting in radical changes in the life of this small community which struggled hard for the preservation of its national and religious identity against the constant pressure of an age-old culture, in a vast sea of hundreds of millions of Chinese.

It should be recalled that during all this time the Chinese Jews were isolated from the rest of the Jewish world, which hardly knew of their existence. Even their link with the small Jewish communities in Southwestern Asia was cut after the Jews in China shifted from international trade to business on the local market. They heard nothing of the Inquisition, persecutions, and dispersals of their fellow-Jews in Europe. They spoke and dressed like Chinese, adopted Chinese customs and finally the children borne by their Chinese wives gradually introduced a strong Chinese element in their features. Their only connection with the past was expressed in their adherence to Jewish religious tradition and in the communal life around the temple at Kaifeng—the only place where organized Jewish life could ever be traced.

At the beginning of the 17th century a disastrous flood, a frequent catastrophe in China, levelled ancient Kaifeng almost to the ground. All the inhabitants and the Jews among them escaped. They returned later, decimated by famine and epidemics, to find their splendid synagogue ruined and most of the Holy Scriptures lost. They plunged into a magnificent effort to rebuild it, and according to reports of foreign travelers in the early 18th century, the new house of worship was again the spiritual center for the new faithful who gathered again in their unhappy home-town. Now very few in number and poor in means—all other Jewish communities in China had long since disappeared—the Jews of Kaifeng never regained their once flourishing state. It was the beginning of the end.

According to information I obtained in Shanghai, their last rabbi, who still knew a little Hebrew, died early in the 19th century and with his passing, Jewish religious services, the only means to attract the last Israelites of China to their faith and people, ended.

Some time later, the synagogue was sold to local Moslems who used its building material for a mosque. A few scrolls of the Pentateuch, the last remaining priceless treasure of Chinese Jews were sold to Christian tourists toward the end of the 19th century.

Missionaries who visited Kaifeng on the eve of the First World War found an ancient memorial stone standing forlornly on the site of the ruined synagogue. They bought it from the remaining Jews for the Mission of the Church of England in Kaifeng, where it was placed under one of the pavilions on the grounds of the Church. On its tablets, in Chinese characters, is engraved the old history of the tribes of Israel and a full account of the arrival of their children into the remote Chinese exile. One can find them

there today, silent witnesses of a vanished Jewry in the great country of sorrow.

In 1900 a group of Sephardic Jews in Shanghai organized a committee with the aim of rescuing at least a few of the Jews of Kaifeng. They brought several of them to Shanghai, gave them some money, installed them in small business and cared for their purely religious re-education. It was a nice but futile gesture. In this case, history did not admit of any return.

Ten years ago I read in the London *Jewish Chronicle* of October 12, 1962 a letter by a Mrs. R. D. Abraham, formerly of Shanghai, then a resident of Hong Kong. She wrote that one of the Jews of Kaifeng named Lee was a friend of her family. He was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Shanghai, and a tombstone in Chinese was erected on his grave. His son Samuel was brought up by Mrs. Abraham's father and was educated at the Shanghai Jewish School. He returned to his native Kaifeng after the Second World War, and died there a few years ago.

A Jewish-English newspaperwoman told me of an incident which occurred to her in Shanghai on Yom Kippur Eve in 1940. Late in the afternoon, shortly before Kol Nidre, she dropped into a florist's. As she was choosing a basket of flowers, the Chinese owner hurried her, saying that he must close the store. When asked why the haste, he explained in a mixture of English and Chinese that on that night began his great holiday, with a fast which would continue until next sunset. She was baffled, and looked more closely at him trying in vain to trace some Jewish features in his face. She nevertheless understood. He was a Chinese Jew.

This is the story—a wistful chapter of a wandering people whose sons grew roots in a strange but hospitable land.

Perhaps the best answer to the question put to me by the newspapermen in Basle is given by Pearl Buck in the introduction to her beautiful novel *Peony*, devoted to the Chinese Jews, of whom she says: "Today even the memory of their origin is gone. They are Chinese."

THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS REHABILITATION CENTER

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting the concluding articles in the series on the University of Illinois Rehabilitation Center written by Carol Mathers, staff writer for the *Champaign News-Gazette*.

I am sure everyone who has followed this series and who has personal knowledge of a handicapped individual has been impressed with what this center at the University of Illinois is doing and its plans for the future. The center has been in operation for 25 years and is continually looking ahead for better ways to help the handicapped live productive and useful lives. The fruit of its efforts are human beings, life's most important and valuable product. As the director has said, "the work is never done" and may I add that it continue to be successful.

The articles follow:

EDUCATION ALSO IMPORTANT AT REHABILITATION CENTER

(By Carol Mathers)

As its name implies, the University of Illinois Rehabilitation-Education Center is con-

cerned not only with rehabilitation, but with education as well. The center's teaching program, though less visible than its rehabilitation program, involves both handicapped and able-bodied students.

On the less formal level, graduate assistants participate in the programs of several departments at the center. A dozen or so of these assistants usually work in physical therapy, recreation, blind services, and counseling every semester.

Our graduate assistants receive some instruction as to the needs of our students and the reasons behind our methods," physical therapist Chuck Elmer explained. "This is not a formalized program, but we do have training sessions for them."

The center also instructs students engaged in programs leading to graduate and undergraduate degrees. Although no degrees in rehabilitation are offered by the university, many students working on degrees in guidance and counseling, blind education, driver education and recreation use the facilities at the center.

The only formal undergraduate course taught by the center's staff is kinesiology—the study of muscles and joints in relation to movement. The course is taught to occupational therapy students in their junior year.

Elmer and Pat McLean, the center's occupational therapists, instruct the course, the enrollment for which has almost doubled in the past year.

"We have 38 students in kinesiology this semester—really too many for the kind of course we like to teach," Elmer said. "Beginning next fall the course will be offered both semesters instead of just one," he added.

Elmer explained that his course is "slanted toward the medical and therapeutic applications" and that it combines a lecture and a lab.

"A good deal of the work involves observation of students at the center: our OT (occupational therapy) students have to spend an entire day observing a handicapped student and then submit a report of their observations and impressions," Elmer said.

He added that the center's students are also involved in the class's work with muscle testing and range of motion studies.

"This kind of experience, working directly with a rehab patient, is very valuable," Elmer emphasized. "First of all, the OT students get instant feedback from our kids—there's a kind of immediate rapport because they're all students."

"Just as important is the fact that the OT students don't have to put up a front of complete competence, which is a definite advantage," Elmer continued. "Most of our kids know more about occupational therapy than the OT students do, so it's not unusual for one of our kids to correct an OT student in some testing procedure. This helps to OT students modify his techniques and learn from a situation firsthand."

In addition to stressing manual muscle examination and the use of machines to measure range of joint motion, Elmer's course in kinesiology also aims to give the students a basic background in the physiology of therapeutic exercise, crutch walking, passive exercise, wheelchairs and their prescription and activities of daily living skills.

The biggest benefit of using the center as a teaching resource, according to Elmer, is that OT students have a chance to observe first-hand what can be accomplished in the field of rehabilitation.

"Our students are excellent examples of where rehabilitated patients can go," Elmer said. "Our OT students have something to strive for when they see our kids."

Using the center's resources, Elmer also teaches a shorter course in rehabilitation nursing to various student nurse groups in Champaign-Urbana.

Graduate students are involved in almost every phase of the center's program. Director of Recreation Stan Labanowich estimates that he has anywhere from two to six graduate students per semester working in his department on master's or doctoral degrees in therapeutic recreation.

"Many students seeking credit to fulfill a requirement of the therapeutic recreation curriculum spend time with us—particularly if they are interested in recreation for the orthopedically handicapped," Labanowich said. "We supply the practical experience with handicapped people which is so essential to the student."

Labanowich noted that graduate students in recreation study all the aspects of this field, including leadership, administration, teaching skills—even corresponding with other groups.

Another type of education in which the center's recreation department is involved takes place on the road with the UI Glizz Kids. "We hold clinical seminars at various universities while we're on tour to demonstrate to students and professional people just what can be done in the field of rehabilitation," Labanowich explained. "Many of these seminars are taped by the universities for continued use in their own educational programs."

Services for the blind and deaf provide another area of practical experience for graduate students in orientation and mobility.

Department supervisor Ron Texley expects his first intern this month, a graduate student from the University of Nebraska. "She will do her practicum under my supervision and I'll be teaching her things like how to teach mobility in public schools, individual instruction of the blind in improving daily living skills and braille skills and listening training," he said.

Other center staff members are actively involved in the teaching of various university courses in many different colleges and departments. Director Timothy Nugent said that his staff members are frequently invited to lecture or to act as advisers to master's and doctoral candidates working in research.

The center has an elaborate environmental control laboratory—equipped with treadmill, respiratory gas analysis mechanisms, electrocardiogram, machines which measure energy expenditure, and video-tape recorders—in which extensive research is conducted on patients with all types of physical disabilities. Nugent estimates that an additional quarter-million dollars is needed to complete the lab.

In addition, Nugent is now developing "a master's curriculum in comprehensive rehabilitation administration and master level studies in several specialties," which will be taught in conjunction with the center.

"The center is a valuable resource, and we encourage its use as such," Nugent said. "We can do many kinds of teaching and research that is not possible anywhere else because of the available disabled-student population."

"The center is a wonderful teaching tool—and in the future we hope to use it even more extensively," he said.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS REHABILITATION CENTER HAS INTERNATIONAL IMPACT—MANY ARCHITECTURAL BARRIERS TO HANDICAPPED ELIMINATED BY CENTER'S WORK

(By Carol Mathers)

The University of Illinois Rehabilitation-Education Center is rebuilding the lives of hundreds of UI students every year, but its sphere of influence goes beyond the campus—its reputation and its work are having national and international impact.

"For example, almost all of the research which has been done on American standards (for making buildings and facilities accessible to the physically handicapped) was

done here at the center," said director Timothy Nugent. Nugent was director of research and development on the American standards projects.

In 1971 the standards resulted in federal legislation to eliminate many of the architectural barriers which, in Nugent's words, "result in a tremendous loss of human resources by preventing the physically handicapped from pursuing their aspirations, developing their talents and exercising their skills."

Some of the barriers with which the center's research is especially concerned include the construction of ramps instead of or in addition to stairs, widths of doorways and hallways, the design of public restrooms, safety factors such as audible and visual warning signals, the design of public telephones, the design of public restaurants and hotels and the design of public recreation and assembly areas.

"Of course, you can't make all public buildings and facilities accessible overnight," Nugent acknowledged. "We're going to be using our present buildings for decades to come—so these must be modified in all ways possible to permit their use by the physically handicapped. But buildings which are currently being designed or built can and must take these people into consideration."

Every building constructed on the Champaign-Urbana campus in the past 13 years has been required to have its plans previously approved by Nugent to insure its accessibility. More than 100 ramps have been constructed and numerous other modifications made in the older buildings on campus.

"The campus today is quite accessible," Nugent said. "But downtown, in the community—that's another story. We can cut curbs on campus and construct ramps into buildings, but it's harder to get these things done in town."

Most of the standards which resulted from the research done at the center can be incorporated into public buildings without loss of space or function to the able-bodied person, and without any extra cost.

Furthermore, Nugent noted, the recommended standards would benefit not only the physically handicapped but the general public as well.

"For example," Nugent said, "we designed a fold-away shower seat to enable a wheelchair person or an able-bodied person to use the same shower stall. When we installed them we expected them to last several years. But they wore out in less than six months—and we discovered that all the AB students preferred to use the showers with the seats down, too!"

Another example is the use of ramps on campus. A survey revealed that about 80 per cent of the students and professors on campus use the ramps instead of the stairs, even when the two were constructed side by side.

When Nugent, his staff and students aren't engaged in research on architectural barriers, they are exploring other matters relating to the function of the permanently disabled. Extensive research has been done at the center on heat adjustment of the paralyzed person, the mechanics and energy expenditure of wheeling, range and motion of the orthopedically handicapped and recreation skills.

In addition, lining the walls of Nugent's office there are scores of theses summarizing research on paraplegia done in cooperation with the center on a wide variety of subjects including adaptive equipment, social adjustment, analysis of daily living activities, employer prejudice, driver skills (and their relation to insurance laws), sports participation—even an analysis of the dreams of paraplegics.

Transportation research is another field in which the center and its staff have pioneered. Twenty years ago Nugent designed a hy-

draulic lift which could be built into a standard bus to enable wheelchair patients to use public transportation.

"Today we're still the only people to have buses like that," Nugent said. "In fact, I had a call last month from Washington—the government wants to buy 22 of our buses, and seven mass transit districts have been here to review our system."

In addition to all his other duties, Nugent is serving his second term as president of the National Paraplegia Foundation. The Foundation is promoting research on spinal cord injury through research seminars and the establishment of a \$10,000 annual award, the first of which will be granted this summer "to the individual who has made the most significant contribution toward a cure for paraplegia."

"We've come a long way in the treatment of spinal cord injury and in the rehabilitation of paraplegics and quadriplegics—but there's still a lot to be done," Nugent stressed. "We've got to do more than preach prevention—we've got to try to find a cure."

RECREATION IS IMPORTANT AT REHABILITATION CENTER (By Carol Mathers)

Being a college student—disabled or otherwise— isn't easy. It means a lot of long hard hours pounding the books.

But the University of Illinois Rehabilitation-Education Center's staff has always believed that its students should be involved in all phases of university life—both academic and extra-curricular.

In fact, so committed is the center to this total involvement that it sponsors a broad range of activities for its students and, according to one quadriplegic, "If you don't have time to get into some of these activities, you'd better make time!"

Probably the best-known of these activities are the wheelchair sports events. Organized wheelchair basketball was born at the University of Illinois, and since the first national tournament in 1949, has spread across the nation to include more than 60 organized teams in 11 conferences.

Stan Labanowich, recreation and athletics supervisor at the center for the past nine years, urges every student at the center to become involved in an activity program. "Between track and field events, football, basketball, swimming, bowling, table tennis, archery, square dancing, fencing and volleyball, we involve almost all the students," Labanowich said. "Kids who don't participate directly in the sports are involved in other ways—as cheerleaders, managers, or ticket-takers."

"In fact, we regard activities and recreation as one of the most important services of the center," Labanowich added. "The enthusiasm of the kids is reflected in the intensity of their participation."

Playing is serious business around the center. In 1969 and 1970 the Glizz Kids, the UI wheelchair basketball team, won the national championship. The team practices at least three times a week with Labanowich, who coaches all the center's teams.

But the importance of sports participation goes beyond the game itself, according to Labanowich. "Playing sports offers these kids opportunities they've never had before. Most of them have never played wheelchair games of any kind before they come here—and kids crippled from childhood have never thrown a ball, even though they may have wanted to, because their parents sheltered them too much," he said.

For students who make the Glizz Kids team, the experiences are even more far-reaching. "We go on tour every January between semesters," Labanowich explained. "We spend 10 days traveling out of state, playing other wheelchair teams and putting on demonstrations for the public. For some of our kids,

this is the first time they've ever been in a motel or a nice restaurant or on an airplane," he said.

With only three other college wheelchair basketball teams in the country, the Glizz Kids play most of their games against community wheelchair teams—like the C-U Black Knights, many of which are UI graduates and themselves former Glizz Kids. There are no other college wheelchair football teams in the country.

"We get inquiries all the time about how to start these teams at colleges," Labanowich noted, "but there's always the problem of facilities and money." All fund-raising for the UI team is done by the Glizz Kids themselves.

Two organizations promoting the expansion of wheelchair sports are the Wheelchair Basketball Assn. and the National Wheelchair Athletic Assn., which supervises all wheelchair sports except basketball. Under the auspices of the NWAA, national games are held in New York every year. Teams from the center never fail to ————— they've been national champs nine out of 12 years for men and six out of nine years for women.

In addition to the national games, international games are held annually in England. Every fourth year, these games are moved to the site of the Olympics for the "Paralympics."

Except in basketball, competitors are grouped by classes according to the severity of their disability. According to Labanowich, every player competes in a wheelchair, even if he is not usually confined to one.

"The wheelchair is the common denominator," Labanowich explained. "It's like hockey—if everyone out there is on skates, you don't have one guy playing in rubber boots."

The growth of wheelchair sports has been "fantastic," according to Labanowich. "It's doubled in the past few years and will mushroom in the future," he predicted.

Its greatest impact may very well take place off the field. "The more games we play the more people we come in contact with," Labanowich said. "And the more people we meet, the more chance we have to educate the public about physically disabled people."

"On our tours, for instance, we are very effective in breaking down preconceived attitudes toward the handicapped. It's amazing the impact we have on professionals and students in rehabilitation training, as well as the general public," he added.

"But most of all, this is our chance to do for others. By example, we can show people in other communities just what is possible, what activities they can organize for handicapped people in their area," Labanowich said.

"For example, our kids don't particularly like to square dance. But when we go on tour, we always put on a demonstration of square dancing because, like I tell the kids, even though it's not popular here it might be very popular someplace else. The more ideas we can give people, the better," Labanowich stressed. "We have an obligation to educate the public."

Another organization at the center, dedicated to educating the public and doing for others, is Delta Sigma Omicron. DSO is a service fraternity whose members are all physically disabled. It began almost 25 years ago, when the program was still on the Galesburg campus, to prove that "the best rehabilitation therapy is to serve others and not wait for others to serve you."

Since its incorporation in 1949, DSO had taken that pledge seriously, contributing more than \$30,000 to charitable organizations all over the country. Since then it has also sponsored the National Wheelchair Basketball Invitational Tournament every year.

In addition, DSO members publish a year-book which has become one of the Center's

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chief educational and public relations tools. "Sigma Signs" graphically explains the center and its operation, and helps to show the public what the rehabilitated can accomplish.

DSO, its members say, exists to serve others. It holds an orientation week for new students each fall, lectures to many on- and off-campus groups, sends entertainment groups to hospitals and nursing homes and finances special center needs and activities.

Said one member, "DSO is our way of giving back some of what we have received."

REHABILITATION CENTER GRADUATES HAVE NORMAL LIVES

(By Carol Mathers)

Jackie and Don Grazier have been married almost five years.

They live in a first-floor, two-bedroom apartment which Jackie, although she works full time, maintains by herself.

Don is employed by the University of Illinois office of administrative studies and goes to school part-time. He is majoring in accountancy.

The Graziers would seem to typify young married America. They even have young married America's biggest reason to be happy—they are expecting their first child.

All this would not be extraordinary except for the fact that the Graziers are both severely physically disabled. Jackie is a partial paraplegic (paralysis in the lower extremities) and Don is a victim of birth defects which left him with underdeveloped, useless arms and legs.

Don and Jackie attribute their present lifestyle to the University of Illinois Education-Rehabilitation Center where they both were students.

"It's hard to say what life would have been like without the center," Don reflected, "but it certainly wouldn't have been anything like this!"

Until he came to the university, Don had spent most of his life in institutions of one kind or another. "Some doctor—I wish now I could get my hands on him—told my parents that I'd never be able to do anything and that they should put me in a custodial care home as soon as possible," Don recalled.

"They did—and I was there for more than six years, until I was 19," he added. "What a waste of time!"

Then Don was sent to the New York Institute of Physical Medicine for evaluation. "There they discovered that I wasn't exactly stupid," Don said with a wry smile. "I was allowed to finish high school through a correspondence course, and then I attended New York University night school for a year."

But Don's dream was a college education—in every sense of the term. "In 1969 when I was looking for a school, Illinois was the only place where they would take wheelchair students," Don said. "Oh, there were other schools that said they'd take me—but only if I brought a fulltime attendant with me. I just couldn't see that."

Far from requiring an attendant, the center emphatically forbids them. "When I arrived here for my interview, they told me I'd have to push myself up the ramp (leading to the center's front door) before they'd talk to me."

"It took me three hours to go about thirty feet—but I finally made it," Don said with a satisfied smile.

But getting accepted at the center was hardly half the battle. "I'd never been independent before," Don said, "and it wasn't easy being on my own. It was fun—but it wasn't easy."

Unassisted, it took three hours for Don to dress himself with the use of various helping devices. "With a full study load, I just couldn't afford that kind of time," he said. "But the way they stress independence at the center—I really didn't want to tell Tim

(Nugent, the center's director) that I couldn't dress myself."

Finally, though, the process became too impractical, so Don broke down and went to see Nugent. "I finally convinced him it just wasn't worth it and told him that I had decided to pay a roommate to help me," Don recalled. "Tim was understanding, but not exactly overjoyed. He said, 'O.K.—but officially we don't know anything about this.'"

That was the only concession which the center—or Don—made in his fight to overcome his physical disability and achieve functional independence. Using his mouth and several simple devices held in his teeth, Don performs all other activities of daily living that an able-bodied man does.

Holding a short hooked stick in his mouth, Don compensates for his useless hands. He is able to read, write, dial a phone—even cook a meal—without assistance.

"I used to write holding the pen in my mouth—but being that close to the paper gave me eye strain," Don explained. "I designed my pen-holder—and most of my other devices—myself. The simpler the better."

While Don was becoming self-sufficient, Jackie was also making adjustments in her life, which had been drastically changed at age 16 when she fell off a ladder and pinched her spinal cord.

"That accident changed my life," Jackie said. "In a way it was even a blessing in disguise. There were five kids in my family and I never gave college a thought—until my accident," Jackie said.

When she returned to high school after lengthy hospitalization, the school nurse began trying to convince Jackie that the University of Illinois had everything Jackie needed.

"We couldn't have afforded college before, but after my accident, I was eligible for benefits from the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation," Jackie explained.

"I was still afraid of going away to school, but my father just said of course I was going, since I had the opportunity, and that was that," she added.

Jackie was a sophomore, majoring in elementary education, when she met Don at the center. They admit they weren't too impressed with each other at first glance.

"Talk about an on again-off again relationship—that was ours!" Jackie said with a laugh.

But eventually they decided to marry. Reaction to their announcement was generally favorable, although Don recalled that his father was not convinced it was a sound idea.

"He just said he hoped I knew what I was getting into and washed his hands of the whole thing," Don said.

As soon as Jackie's teaching position with Unit 4 was confirmed, they were married. With Don's job at the university, they lived a comfortable life.

"But I decided that classroom teaching wasn't for me," Jackie said, "and about the time I decided that classroom teaching really wasn't for me," Jackie said, "and about the time I decided to leave, I sort of fell into the job as receptionist at the center."

Shortly thereafter a position in the department of blind services opened up, and Jackie took the job. She's been there ever since.

"I hadn't been working at the center very long before Mr. Nugent started urging me to take driving lessons," Jackie said. "I was absolutely terrified, and for a long time he couldn't convince me."

But Nugent can be very persuasive and he usually accomplishes what he sets out to do. "Once I started taking lessons, I gained a little confidence," Jackie recalled. "Chuck Elmer (the center's physical therapist and driver education teacher) was wonderful and very patient."

Learning to drive was a big financial plus—the Graziers had been spending about \$100 a month on cab fares. "I knew what an ad-

vantage it would be and I wanted to surprise Don—so I kept my lessons a secret for six months," Jackie said.

Don added, "At Christmas she presented me with her driver's license and a diary she'd kept of all her experiences. I was so shocked, I couldn't speak!"

He was also very proud. Today the Graziers can travel independently any time they want to. Last spring they went to Philadelphia—"just the two of us, and Jackie drove every mile of the way," Don beamed.

Achieving the independence of being able to drive was a big step—but not nearly as big as the one the Graziers are about to take.

"It's still a little unreal—parenthood," Don admitted. "We're awfully excited about this baby—but fathers have their own hang-ups during pregnancy, you know. It isn't easy for us, either!"

Jackie has been "almost too busy to worry" with all the arrangements to make. "Actually, we're not making any major alterations in the apartment," she said. "Just the usual stuff like moving dangerous household items out of the reach of children."

"We know our child is going to have some unusual adjustments to make," Don said. "For example, if someone hands me something, I have to take it in my mouth. So maybe our child will go around shoving things into people's mouths for a while. But he'll learn."

"He'll have the outlook of both worlds—two different perspectives," Jackie added.

So the nursery is shaping up and the prospective parents have names all picked out. "We're just about ready," they said.

But their shining eyes said more than that. "We're not just ready—we're ecstatic."

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS REHABILITATION CENTER NOT COMPLACENT

(By Carol Mathers)

The rehabilitation-education program at the University of Illinois is celebrating its 25th anniversary. It is a time for pride for the Rehabilitation-Education Center and its staff.

But it is also a time for looking into the future. The center's director, Timothy J. Nugent, is not a man to rest on his laurels.

Nugent believes that the work has only begun. Many doors have been opened—but people are just now beginning to go through them.

"We have a tremendous responsibility to educate the public," Nugent emphasized. He wants to overcome a long tradition of prejudice against the physically disabled—a prejudice born of ignorance, but a prejudice nevertheless.

"So often people have one singular association with a handicapped person and they lump all other handicapped people together," Nugent said.

"For example, I had a professor tell me he didn't want any more of our kids in his course because he said they simply couldn't do the work required," Nugent said. "He didn't know we had already graduated seven honor students in that same curriculum."

"It turned out that this prof had had one blind student who did very poorly. He assumed she was a bad student because she was blind," Nugent continues. "That wasn't it at all—she was a bad student just because she was a bad student, and it had nothing to do with her blindness."

Joe Konitzki, the center's admissions director, added that his department sometimes has trouble with professors who are prejudiced in the opposite respect.

"We still find some professors who grade handicapped students leniently because they think the kids need a break," Konitzki said.

The goal of public education is slowly but surely being achieved. Organizations such as Delta Sigma Omicron, the UI Gizz Kids, and the National Paraplegia Foundation, promote

programs of public education which carry the message all over the world.

"This is a two-way street, of course," Nugent added. "A change in attitude on the part of the public comes only when there is a change in the attitude of the physically disabled. They have to be shown what they can do—and they have to be given a chance to do it."

That idea lies behind much of the standards research that Nugent and his staff at the center have done. "It all begins with accessibility," he stressed. "We can't shut out the physically disabled—and that's what we do when we erect architectural barriers."

The elimination of as many of these barriers as possible had top priority in the 1960's. In the 1970's, Nugent predicts more extensive medical research on spinal cord injury and increased accessibility.

"The medical research is essential," Nugent emphasized. "We can't inoculate against spinal cord injury and eliminate it the way we did so many other things. We can't wipe it out the way we did polio—for instance."

"On the contrary, since the majority of spinal cord injuries are the result of car accidents—which are on the increase—and leisure-time activities such as swimming and diving—which are also on the increase—we can expect the incidence of spinal cord injury to increase as well," Nugent explained.

"As for the architectural barriers," he continues, "the battle is by no means won. But we've made a start. I'm constantly being called on to deliver addresses to various groups of architects, legislators, and city planners. Our message is getting through."

Nugent believes that more and more college campuses will become accessible to physically disabled students in the future. "We had to develop our campus and program the hard way—by ourselves," he said. "But now we are responsible for training the faculty of seven other universities. And in the future, more and more universities will be using our facilities as a training resource."

For the center itself, Nugent has great plans. His chief and most immediate objective is the completion of phase two of the center's building program.

"What we have here now is just phase one," Nugent explained. "Phase two will include a gym and swimming pool in a two-story addition, plus a new wing of offices and research labs."

No official steps to complete phase two of the center have yet been taken by the University, but Nugent said, "That phase two will be finished in two years or I won't be here."

The center will continue to grow in the future—not just in size, but in reputation also. It is in a unique position to be the number one rehabilitation-education program in the nation—or the world.

"We have 12 disciplines working together here," Nugent said. "With only seven full-time staff members—another area for future increases—we get more than 200 special requests a week on all phases of rehabilitation facilities, treatment, transportation, therapy, research."

"The work," he said, "is never done."

1970 CENSUS RESULTS FOR INDIANA'S NINTH DISTRICT

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I include the text of my Washington Re-

port on the 1970 Census results for Indiana's Ninth District:

WASHINGTON REPORT—CENSUS REPORT

If you would like to know how you compare with your Hoosier neighbors in age, life style, housing and voting, you will find interesting the following information from the 1970 Bureau of the Census report on the new Indiana Congressional Districts.

The 19-county Ninth District has the least number of residents per square mile of any of the state's 11 Congressional Districts. More than half of its residents, 54.4 percent to be exact, are classified as rural residents. It has the least number of residents living in metropolitan areas, and is the only Congressional District without a "central city" designation.

While the Census information is a statistical report of population distribution, housing patterns and election trends, it nonetheless provides many insights into the makeup and character of the Ninth District and Southeastern Indiana. The report includes the following facts:

POPULATION

The Ninth District has 472,321 residents, 9.1 percent of the state's population. The median age (that point at which exactly one-half the residents are above or below) is 27.7 years. The median voting age (18 and over) is 43.1 years. The Ninth District has the smallest percentage of blacks (1.8%) and other minority groups of any of Indiana's 11 Congressional Districts.

The District has mirrored the state's population growth. The District's population increased by 11.1 percent in the 1960-1970 period. The state's population increased by 11.4 percent in that time. The median age in Indiana—27.3 years—is about the same as the District's 27.7 years.

The rural makeup of the District is emphasized through some comparisons with state statistics. There are 78 persons per square mile in the District, as compared to 143.9 for the state as a whole, and 2,894.2 persons per square mile in the First District in Lake County.

According to the Census figures, 64.9 percent of Indiana's residents live in urban areas, as compared to 45.6 percent in the Ninth District. There are 311,393 Ninth District residents living in non-metropolitan areas, by far the highest total among the 11 Districts.

There are more females (241,827) than males (230,494) in the District. The population breakdown by age is not significantly different from the breakdowns among the state's other 10 Districts. The age makeup of the District includes:

Under 5 years, 42,733; 5 to 13, 90,813; 14 to 17, 38,640; 18 to 20, 21,129.

Twenty-one to 24 years, 26,930; 25 to 34, 59,155; 35 to 44, 53,132; 45 to 64, 92,742; over 65 years, 47,047.

HOUSING

The Ninth District has 155,905 housing units, 75.8 percent of them owner-occupied. This is the second highest percentage among the 11 Districts. Of the total number of housing units, however, 21,017 lack some or all plumbing facilities, and this is the highest total. The median value of owner-occupied housing units in the Ninth District is \$12,800, as compared to a state median value of \$13,800.

The median rent in the Ninth District is listed as \$68 per month, the second lowest in the state. The state median for rent is listed as \$83, and rentals range from \$66 in the Eighth District to \$95 in the Eleventh District.

ELECTIONS

The Census Bureau reports that 169,617 Ninth District residents went to the polls to vote for a Congressional candidate in 1970. This was the second highest voter turn-out

total among the 11 Districts. In 1968, the Ninth District voters were third in total turn-out for the Congressional Race.

Ninth District voters ranked second in turn-out for the Presidential election in 1968, and third in the Presidential election in 1964.

REGIONAL COUNCILS CONCENTRATE FEDERAL POWER AND CONTROL OVER STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND THE LIVES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, on February 16, 1972—page 4272—I called the attention of our colleagues to Executive Order 11647, "Federal regional councils," which established a Federal regional council for each of the 10 standard Federal regions supposedly to develop "closer working relationships between major Federal grantmaking agencies and State and local governments and improved coordination of the categorical grant system."

President Nixon campaigned on a promise to bring the workings of Government closer to the people. Indeed, he has, but rather than bringing the people closer to or into the Government, Executive Order 11647 brings the watchful eye of the bureaucracy and the awesome power of the Government closer to the people and strengthens already extensive Federal control over every aspect of American life. The menacing "Big Brother" of Orwell's "1984" comes even closer because of Executive Order 11647.

A letter from the Associate Director of the Office of Management and Budget explaining the President's actions and his interpretation of the effect of this Executive order along with the text of the Executive order follows my remarks:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
OF THE PRESIDENT,

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET,
Washington, D.C., May 18, 1972.

HON. JOHN RARICK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RARICK: I am taking the liberty of writing you in reference to Executive Order 11647 and the effect of establishing a uniform pattern of regional organization for Federal agencies and ten Federal Regional Councils. Your remarks on this subject in the Congressional Record of February 16 have recently been called to my attention.

Three years ago, the President was faced with the problem of a chaotic pattern of regional organization among Federal agencies responsible for programs of grant assistance to State and local governments. The regional offices of the Departments of Housing and Urban Development, Labor, Transportation, and Health, Education and Welfare, as well as other grant assistance agencies such as the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Small Business Administration, had been located in a variety of cities over the years. As a result it was necessary, for example, for the mayor of a city in Pennsylvania or the Governor's Office in working with Federal agencies to travel to Charlottesville, Virginia, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia to contact Federal regional officials.

The President determined at that time that a more uniform pattern of Federal regional organization and greater coordination among Federal programs at the regional level were essential to promote more effective and economical working relationships among the various levels of government—Federal, State, and local. To this end he established in the spring of 1969 a standard pattern of regional boundaries and ten regional headquarters cities for the principal Federal departments and agencies with programs of assistance to State and local government. He also directed the establishment of the Federal Regional Councils to promote coordination among the Federal agencies and improved working relationships with State and local governments. The President intended that Federal Regional Councils not in any way create a new bureaucratic layer between Federal agencies and State and local government, but rather that they provide a forum to facilitate coordination of the hundreds of Federal programs which aid States and local governments.

The President issued Executive Order 11647 on February 10, 1972, to strengthen the Federal Regional Councils which he had established in 1969, and to direct them to be more active in both interagency and intergovernmental cooperation and coordination. It has been the purpose of the President from the beginning, and this Order is no exception, to assure that Federal agencies act to strengthen and reinforce State and local government. All of the Federal Regional Councils and their members, the regional directors of seven Federal departments and agencies, are dedicated to this principle. You will find I am certain that in no way do they in practice or substance subvert the constitutional powers of State government.

I hope that this information will persuade you of the seriousness of the President's dedication to improving the functioning of all levels of government in our Federal system. I would be glad to discuss this matter further with you if you would like.

Sincerely,

FRANK C. CARLUCCI,
Associate Director.

THE PRESIDENT

EXECUTIVE ORDER 11647

Federal Regional Councils

The proper functioning of Government requires the development of closer working relationships between major Federal grantmaking agencies and State and local government and improved coordination of the categorical grant system.

I have heretofore directed the Domestic Council to:

(1) receive and develop information necessary for assessing national domestic needs and defining national domestic goals, and to develop for the President alternative proposals for reaching those goals;

(2) collaborate with the Office of Management and Budget and others in the determination of national domestic priorities for the allocation of available resources;

(3) collaborate with the Office of Management and Budget and others to assure a continuing review of ongoing programs from the standpoint of their relative contributions to national goals as compared with their use of available resources; and

(4) provide policy advice to the President on domestic issues.

Furthermore, I have assigned to the Office of Management and Budget the responsibility for assisting the President in developing efficient coordination mechanisms to implement Government activities and to expand interagency cooperation. Three years ago I directed that the senior regional officials of certain of the grantmaking agencies convene themselves in regional councils to better coordinate their services to Governors, Mayors, and the public.

I have now determined that the measures prescribed by this Order would assure improved service to the public.

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. *Federal Regional Councils.* (a) There is hereby established a Federal Regional Council for each of the ten standard Federal regions. Each Council shall be composed of the directors of the regional offices of the Departments of Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, and Housing and Urban Development, the Secretarial Representative of the Department of Transportation, and the directors of the regional offices of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The President shall designate one member of each such Council as Chairman of that Council and such Chairman shall serve at the pleasure of the President. Representatives of the Office of Management and Budget may participate in any deliberations of each Council.

(b) Each member of each Council may designate an alternate who shall serve as a member of the Council involved whenever the regular member is unable to attend any meeting of the Council.

(c) When the Chairman determines that matters which significantly affect the interests of Federal agencies which are not represented on any such Council are to be considered by that Council, he shall invite the regional director or other appropriate representative of the agency involved to participate in the deliberations of the Council.

SEC. 2. *Functions of the Councils.* Each Federal Regional Council shall be constituted as a body within which the participating agencies will, under the general policy formulation of the Under Secretaries Group, and to the maximum extent feasible, conduct their grantmaking activities in concert through:

(1) the development of short-term regional interagency strategies and mechanisms for program delivery;

(2) the development of integrated program and funding plans with Governors and local chief executives;

(3) the encouragement of joint and complementary grant applications for related programs;

(4) the expeditious resolution of interagency conflicts and coordination problems;

(5) the evaluation of programs in which two or more member agencies participate;

(6) the development of long-term regional interagency and intergovernmental strategies for resource allocations to better respond to the needs of States and local communities;

(7) the supervision of regional interagency program coordination mechanisms; and

(8) the development of administrative procedures to facilitate day-to-day interagency and intergovernmental cooperation.

SEC. 3. *Under Secretaries Group for Regional Operations.* There is hereby established an "Under Secretaries Group for Regional Operations" which shall be composed of the Under Secretaries of Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, and Transportation, the Administrator of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Associate Director of the Office of Management and Budget, who shall serve as the Chairman of the Group. When the Chairman determines that matters which significantly affect the interest of Federal agencies which are not represented on the Group are to be considered by the Group, he shall invite an appropriate representative of the agency involved to participate in the deliberations of the Group. The Under Secretaries Group for Regional

Operations shall, consistent with the objectives and priorities established by the President and the Domestic Council, establish policy with respect to Federal Regional Council matters, provide guidance to the Councils, respond to their initiatives, and seek to resolve policy issues referred to it by the Councils. The Under Secretaries Group, under the Chairmanship of the Associate Director of the Office of Management and Budget, shall be responsible for the proper functioning of the system established by this Order.

SEC. 4. *Construction.* Nothing in this Order shall be construed as subjecting any department, establishment, or other instrumentality of the executive branch of the Federal Government or the head thereof, or any function vested by law in or assigned pursuant to law to any such agency or head, to the authority of any other such agency or head or as abrogating, modifying, or restricting any such function in any manner.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 10, 1972.

THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, horizontally bisected by the Tropic of Cancer, the 78-island complex that encompasses the Province of Taiwan—base of the Republic of China—covers 14,000 square miles—equivalent to Delaware, Maryland, and Rhode Island combined—and is home to more than 15 million people.

The province is comprised of two groups of islands—14 of them in the Taiwan group and 64 in the Penghus or Pescadores, including Kinmen—Quemoy—and the Matsus which lie immediately off the coast of mainland China.

The main island, Taiwan, has a sphere of strategic influence that dominates the Taiwan Straits separating it from the South China Province of Fukien and gives it potential naval and air patrol range over the East China Sea northeast to Japan and the South China Sea southwest to the critical Gulf of Tonkin.

Second only to Japan, its economy is booming with an annual gross national product growth rate in excess of 10 percent. Its per capita income in 1971, as compared with that of Red China's \$60-\$90, was \$330, second highest in all Asia. Its 1972 per capita income is running at \$418.

In 1971, the same year that saw Communist China seated in the United Nations at the expense of the charter UN member and faithful, rules-abiding, dues-paying Republic of China, the ROC's gross national product jumped 11.4 percent. External private investment set a record of \$163 million. Foreign trade reached \$4.1 billion with a 36.7 percent increase in exports and a 27.6 percent rise in imports—comparable, incidentally, to the foreign trade of Communist China with 750 million people and 4 million square miles of territory.

For many years, until 1971, the United States has been the principal private investor in the ROC economy. Last year an

Austrian combine called VOEST put up \$66 million for a large, integrated steel mill to serve Taiwan's growing industrial plant. But of the nearly \$800 million so far invested in the ROC's private sector, most has come from the United States and, secondly, from Japan. Now a campaign is afoot to interest Western European industrialists, particularly those in West Germany, to help Taiwan's expansion and enjoy the tax benefits, lower labor costs and proliferating development under the Republic of China's capital.

Despite "doomsday" prognostications of a stifled economy in the wake of the U.N. ouster of the ROC and the international recognition of Peking, two-way trade in the Republic of China showed a 41.6 percent increase in the first quarter of 1972 over the first 3 months of 1971.

The January-March totals showed exports of \$574 million and imports of \$526 million, leaving a trade surplus of \$48 million for the ROC. In that same quarter, industry showed a growth of 26.1 percent in comparison to the same period of 1971. The money supply totaled nearly U.S.\$1.2 billion or an increase of nearly 30 percent. Wholesale prices climbed 1.42 percent while consumer prices went up 2.13 percent. Foreign investment amounted to \$16 million in the first 3 months of 1972, a gain of 1.08 percent over the corresponding period last year.

The growth in foreign trade suggests that by the end of this year, the Republic of China may be reporting a total volume in excess of \$5 billion, considerably above the amount projected at the present time for Communist China, which has been at or below the \$4 billion mark since before the so-called cultural revolution.

Far more indicative of the future of Taiwan and the Republic of China's plans for survival and growth in the face of recent adversity is the following:

First, Henry Kearns, president of the U.S. Export-Import Bank, says long-term credits will be provided the Republic of China on an unlimited basis because the ROC is "here to stay, offers a good market and has the ability to pay." Kearns said Chinese officials and business executives showed him a shopping list of more than three-quarters of a billion dollars—demonstrating an extremely viable economy which the Nixon administration is determined to acknowledge.

Second, a spokesman for the Council for International Economic Cooperation and Development—CIECD—announced on May 6 that loans from the Overseas Private Investment Corporation—OPIC—will be provided in both medium and long terms to the industrial, agricultural, and commercial enterprises in Taiwan. OPIC is a U.S. Government operation which, through private channels, funnels loans of U.S. dollars or local currencies and guarantees repayment of the loans from private U.S. lending institutions.

An announcement from the ROC in Taipei stated:

Most OPIC loans will be in amounts ranging from US \$50,000 to US \$2,000,000, while

loans to be covered by an OPIC guaranty will normally be denominated at a minimum of U.S. \$250,000.

Third, two-way trade by the ROC with Western Europe in the first 3 months of 1971 totalled nearly \$135 million, suggesting that within a short time the annual export-import total to Western Europe alone will reach \$600 million. What is more, the balance was definitely in Taiwan's favor.

Fourth, U.S. investments in the ROC climbed to \$7.7 million from a 1971—first quarter—total of \$1.5 million according to U.S. Ambassador to Taipei Walter P. McCaughy. He noted that U.S. investment through 1971 accounted for nearly 55 percent of all foreign investment in Taiwan which has now approached the three-quarter billion dollar mark. Furthermore, over the past 5 years the rate of growth of ROC exports to the United States has been 50 percent per annum as compared to a 30 percent annual growth in all ROC exports.

Fifth, the Mitsui industries of Japan will invest more than \$2 million in Taiwan to turn out titanium oxides for pain relief, paper, textiles and rubber products, according to an announcement in mid-April. This, the largest single investment by Japan in the ROC economy since the U.N. showdown last fall, follows Japanese investments in Taiwan's electronics industry of more than \$35 million and more than \$20 million in the ROC chemical industry.

Sixth, Taiwan passed Japan as principal exporter of black and white TV sets in 1971, sending nearly a quarter of a million to the U.S. in that year. Now one of the leading Japanese manufacturers of television sets plans to use Taiwan to mass produce color sets.

Seventh, the Asian Development Bank, which has already extended loans of \$98 million to the ROC, has agreed to make additional loans as needed for Taiwan development. This was learned during an ADB meeting in Vienna in late April and early May.

Some other facts that point up the thriving economy of the ROC: Since 1952, the production of rice—Taiwan's principal cash crop—has grown 60 percent on the same amount of acreage. A similar rate of growth in productivity has been achieved for sugarcane. The production of pineapples, bananas, tea, and other crops for both domestic consumption and export has risen at appreciable rates. Most of the increase in farm production is attributable to the introduction in the early 1950's of a land reform—called "land to the tiller"—program which made most of Taiwan's farmers independent and solvent operators.

For the past 10 years, industrial productivity under the ROC in Taiwan has grown at the rate of 8.6 percent per year. This compares with a questionable but claimed growth rate in productivity of 2.4 percent on the Red Chinese mainland.

Whereas sugar and rice once were the principal export commodities of Taiwan, in the past two decades under ROC direction textiles, metals and machinery, canned foods, electrical and electronic

items, and chemicals have become the principal exports. It is now projected that while textiles may show a tapering off among exports, electronic equipment and chemicals will probably advance to the one-two spot on the export list in 1972-73.

Significantly for an island complex that was once agriculturally impoverished, Taiwan is now a major exporter of some fruits and nuts and an important exporter of grains including corn as well as rice, wheat and some cereals, beans, peas, and mushrooms. It is also prospering in its fisheries industry, forest products, ores and other natural resources.

Despite typhoons last year, total agricultural output climbed 2 percent in 1971. There was a 2.5-percent increase in livestock, a 7.4-percent rise in forest products and a 6.2-percent jump in fishery production.

At the same time these gains are being made, the number of farmers on Taiwan is declining as more and more opportunities for better paying jobs in industry open up. The farm population presently amounts to about 36 percent of the ROC total and by 1980 it will be down to 25 percent. In Communist China, the farm population is about 80 percent. Industries that will need more people are manufacturing, construction and power. Transportation and service industries are expected to register the fastest employment growth.

Interesting is the fact that this year the ROC will become the world's top ship salvager. An estimated 250 ships weighing over 2 million tons will be salvaged in Taiwan's second biggest city and largest international port, Kaohsiung, at the southern tip of the main island.

It should be noted that illiteracy has been virtually wiped out on the islands under ROC administration. There are some 85 universities, independent colleges and junior colleges available. Government expenditures for education are high on the list of national priorities.

The government is fundamentally democratic and most public officeholders were born and raised on Taiwan as opposed to the popular misconception that mainlanders are given preference at the expense of so-called Taiwanese. Most of the 600,000-man military forces of the ROC are native born in Taiwan. (With the exception of less than half a million aborigines on the main island, all of the population is Chinese in origin.)

This—then—is the Republic of China today, an extremely viable and valuable member of the family of nations, growing "by leaps and bounds" without U.S. financial assistance and on its own terms.

GUN CONTROL

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, we all regret the shooting of Gov. George Wallace, but

what can we do to reduce the opportunities for such tragedies?

The Christian Science Monitor, in an editorial on Wednesday, May 17, suggested several excellent steps. Here is the editorial:

In the wake of the unconscionable shooting of Gov. George Wallace, for whom one prays a swift recovery, there are at least two constructive public things the American people can do.

The first is resolving to come to grips with the symbol and instrument of assassination and violence in America—the handgun. There are now probably 30 million handguns in the United States, and that total is being swelled by another 2.5 million each year. This is enough for every other household in the country to have such a weapon.

One can concede that stricter national gun control would not of itself disarm criminals nor thwart the would-be political assassin. It is true that it is people's thought, not a piece of metal, that harbors or releases murderous intent.

And yet given the staggering totals of weapons in private hands in America, and the totals of aggression involving those weapons, in good conscience one can only conclude that strict and effective gun control laws must be adopted forthwith. We would like to see the recall of all handguns, the melting down of most of them, and the use of the remainder only for special purposes and by special permit.

We believe that this is politically attainable, despite the pessimism of skeptics. Therefore, we urge that such stern control measures be pushed. Even differences in ethnic makeup cannot account for the discrepancy between American gun-crime levels and those of other nations. Britain, for instance, a year ago had only 1/300th as many gun-murders as the U.S., with one fourth the U.S. population. A return to saner levels of social conduct can only come about when the number of arms in private hands is drastically reduced. If citizens would only match the pressures brought on Congress by firearms proponents, by writing letters to their legislators, this lamentably tardy gun control could be won.

The second constructive step the people can take following the Wallace shooting is to consider the full range of violence-inciting aspects of modern life. Movies which glorify cruelty, television violence, magazines whose editorial lenses distort all events into strife—these daily poison the social climate. More basically, Americans should expose old myths about the legacy of frontier life and everyman-for-himself lawlessness. The opposite of violence is humane, honest, and democratic dealing. If one looks to a higher power for guidance in private and national affairs, having obeyed all moral and legal responsibilities, he is acting to replace violence by peace and decency.

A final point is to stress again the hopes and prayers of citizens for Mr. Wallace's swift recovery. His political viewpoint has a right to representation in national affairs. To attempt to remove him from the campaign is to infringe not only on the Governor's right to seek office, but on the rights of his supporters. This is an injustice to them and a threat to the democratic political system, which must register all views to function truly.

It would be premature to say with any certainty what the effect of the shooting incident will have on the Democratic nomination or Governor Wallace's role in it. All that can be said is that the dark cloud of violence of the past decade has appeared again, and profoundly resolute prayer and action are needed to dispel it.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION—1972

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, this year, the Democratic National Convention in Miami Beach will be unlike any in history. Perhaps even more interesting than the dramatic contest for the presidential nomination will be the cross-section of America represented by the delegates.

As a result of the McGovern reforms this country will witness, for the first time, a national nominating convention that reflects all facets of American society. Our Arizona delegation is a good example of that delegate diversity.

There are the somewhat predictable delegates such as big-city lawyers Richard Wilks, John Ahearn and Bob Begam from Phoenix; a Congressman from Tucson and a former Ambassador to Bolivia.

Then there are copper miners from the mountains, like George Baca and David Duarte. There are students from the campuses like Larry Sparling and Ed Pastor of Phoenix and Frank Maish and Julie Ferdon of Tucson. And there is ethnic group representation in an Indian, Lawrence Enos, a Phoenix factory worker.

But possibly the most unusual example of delegate selection reform at work is a Roman Catholic nun, who plans to stay at a convent when she travels to Miami Beach.

Sister Claire Dunn, a teacher at Salpointe High School in Tucson, is a delightful and remarkable woman and I would like to take this opportunity to share with my colleagues a recent newspaper column in the Tucson Daily Citizen about her.

[From the Tucson Daily Citizen, May 11, 1972]

NUN FOR MCGOVERN: NO SMOKE-FILLED CONVENTS

(By Asa Bushnell)

Politics, like religion, hold up the torches of martyrdom to the reformers of error—Thomas Jefferson.

As the typical national delegate looks down the campaign trail at his party's nominating convention, he jubilantly views it as his party's party.

Plush oceanside hotels. Countless cocktail parties. Smoke-filled rooms. Political string-pulling out of TV range.

One Democratic delegate from Tucson is atypical. Her only budgeted expense will be transportation to and from Miami Beach. She will avoid booze bashes like the plague.

Instead of billeting at a \$40 a day hostelry, she will seek free thought—and free lodging—at the nearest convent.

"It's important to me to give public witness to my feelings," explains Sister Claire Dunn. "It's important to me to keep myself free from manipulation."

The 38-year-old Tucson nun, a history and political science teacher at Salpointe High School, believes it would be hypocritical of her actions as a delegate were not consistent with her principled way of life as a servant of God.

Needless to note, the Roman Catholic hierarchy has faith in Sister Claire. "As long as I'm responsible, I have the approval of the

church and my religious supervisors," she says.

Bishop Francis J. Green indicated no objection whatsoever when the attractive, articulate teacher ran successfully for state delegate last January. Her supervisors were concerned only that "everything be for the right reasons."

Actually, sisters these days are much more civic-minded than ever before—with the church's blessing. In response to a call of the Vatican Council, the National Assembly of Women (NAWR) promotes the active participation of sisters in public affairs.

Sister Claire, a member of the executive board of the Sisters Council for the Diocese of Tucson, thinks such activity is her colleagues' natural inclination by education. Now it is bolstered by NAWR's impact.

This 3-year-old organization plumps for social justice, emphasizing the peace movement and prison reform. Sister Claire finds the aims in harmony with those of Sen. George McGovern, for whom she is a dedicated delegate.

"We have known where McGovern stands for a very long time," observes the idealistic nun, using "we" to show that she represents a number of sisters. "He has spoken out clearly and forcefully on justice for the poor and against the war. We like his position on tax equity."

A coterie of Tucson sisters, which counseled, encouraged and supported Sister Claire as she earned one of the 25 delegate spots, has "no trouble identifying with an underdog." (They admit his status has improved in recent weeks with the addition of primary bite to challenger's bark.)

Sister Claire, a local teacher since 1965 and a gung-ho precinct worker, also admits complete surprise over her quick climb up the political ladder. It has served as a real motivation to get her Salpointe students involved.

"Students who always feel so powerless became interested," she recalls. "Some campaigned for votes for themselves to attend the state convention. It caught fire throughout the school, helping the faculty and the young people. It was the best example of our belief that the system still works."

Clad in color-coordinated nun's veiling and knee-length skirt, with a McGovern button to set off her fresh white blouse, Sister Claire symbolizes a new breed of sisters. They "look at all the angles," so she's politically hip.

Arizonans who fear the delegation's "amateurs" may be manipulated by the old pros, Mo Udall, Sam Goddard and Bob Begam (in spite of the collapse of their presidential choices), can allay these fears.

There are no smoke-filled convents—not even in Florida.

STEREOTYPED SEX ROLES

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a May 17, 1972, Wall Street Journal article addresses the question of stereotyped sex roles and its effects on boys and girls. Feminists have mustered evidence to indicate that the schooling experience limits women's job opportunities. They insist that the submissive roles depicted in folklore and the entire children's educational process, contribute to pressuring children subtly or otherwise into stereotyped sex roles.

In Boston, for example, a survey of the city's two vocational high schools found

that girls could choose from only four major vocational courses—cosmetology, commercial art, culinary arts, and apparel arts. Boys, on the other hand, could pick from 12 major courses in well-paying trades.

I commend the article to my colleagues:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 17, 1972]

WHAT ARE LITTLE GIRLS MADE OF? TRY
SNIPS, SNAILS, PUPPIES' TAILS

(By Rona Cherry)

Snow White is a household drudge for six or eight freaky-looking male dwarfs. Cinderella is another servant, and it takes a prince to take her away from the Electrolux and the Venetian-blind cleaning and all that. And Sleeping Beauty wakes and lives it up happily ever after only after a prince (not Cinderella's) finds her in bed.

Such are the submissive roles that folklore, and the whole children's educational process, thrust upon women. That, at least, is the way many feminists in the women's liberation movement see it. From early childhood, these women say, children are pressured subtly or otherwise into stereotyped sex roles. Girls get dolls, teacups and exhortations to become nurses; boys get firetrucks, baseballs and exhortation to become doctors. And schools, the feminists say, reinforce the stereotypes.

Now, many mothers and women schoolteachers who themselves reject traditional female roles—along with some male supporters—are trying to change all that. They're focusing on alleged sexism in school curricula, on textbook content and on educational practices that limit the access of girls to some courses.

MARRIAGE AND MOTHERHOOD

These efforts are beginning to provoke intense controversy. Many persons, male and female, are extremely sensitive to any real or imagined threat to their children's sexual identity, and these persons are by no means all close-minded bigots. James Malfetti, a professor of education at Columbia University who is sympathetic to the women's movement, recalls how startled he was when his basketball-playing son enrolled in a home-making course. "And if it raised a question in my mind, I could see other parents trying to yank him out or question his identity," Mr. Malfetti says.

Moreover, while the feminist movement can claim some substantial influence over schooling in a few places, in many others around the land women's liberation is just a phrase. For girls in many towns, cheerleading remains the most prestigious activity, and marriage and motherhood, rather than a career outside the home, beckon in the future.

Nonetheless, things are stirring. Big-city feminists say they have received letters from all over the country, even from towns as small as Shippery Rock, Pa. (pop. 4,949), expressing an interest in changing the schools.

Some schools have changed radically. An example is Brooklyn's private Woodward School, one of the first to try to eliminate all traces of "sexism." Woodward acted after a committee of mothers complained to the faculty that traditional sex-role attitudes were limiting opportunities for some children, especially girls. "It's crucial that we don't limit little girls," says Andrea Ostrom, a committee member. "They should have the opportunity to do what they want."

A GIRL ASTRONAUT

A few years ago, Woodward had two playrooms for younger children: one with dolls, where the girls tended to congregate, and one with blocks and other more-active toys, which the boys seemed to prefer. Even when the girls did visit the other room, all they did was build block houses for their dolls and

help the boys put up more complex structures.

But this year, boys and girls are taking part equally in building cities, garages and roads. Boys are encouraged to hug and kiss dolls. "Sally can have her dolls, but Jimmy can have them, too, if he wants them," says Gertrude Goldstein, the school's director. "And if at classroom play a girl wants to be an astronaut and a boy says no, a teacher intervenes and asks why not?"

Teachers also try not to let "sexism" in books go unchallenged. "When we discuss Cinderella, we say her sisters were ugly because of the way they behaved, and Cinderella was kind of ugly for letting herself be passive and masochistic," says Mrs. Goldstein. "Anyway, what's so great about having a small foot? It implies she's small and helpless. A woman who has a big foot is a woman who gets around and does things."

At San Francisco's Primary Life School, teachers also try to make children more aware of sex stereotyping. In class, pupils are urged to question why a textbook portrays only boys as astronauts. And teachers actively try to break the sex barriers in play by, for example, leading girls in a game of baseball instead of hopscotch.

Under pressure from feminists, some public schools also have changed their practices. At John Witherspoon Elementary School in Princeton, N.J., boys and girls now attend the same gym classes, and girls are urged to take up traditional boys' chores like lugging books for teachers.

Some schoolteachers and administrators have only reluctantly sided with the anti-stereotyping movement. To combat their reluctance, many school systems, like the Princeton Regional School System, have held sessions for teachers to examine their own sex biases. In Ann Arbor, Mich., one school official balked at opening woodworking classes to girls because, he said, "then we could only deal with crafts." The classes were opened only after the school system issued an order forbidding sex discrimination in such fields as industrial arts and physical education. The Ann Arbor system has since permitted girls to become hall monitors, and it plans to review stereotyping in its textbooks.

But most schools have taken little action. "Basically, we're standing still," says Cheri Register, a member of Minnesota's Emma Willard Task Force on Education, a women's group studying the state's system. "The state department of education admits sexism might be something they should be concerned with, but they're putting the burden on us to prove it's a problem." For now, the feminists there have contented themselves by providing teachers with material that suggests they may be limiting girls and burdening boys with sex stereotypes.

Other feminists are taking after textbook publishers. Women on Words and Images, a Princeton group, found that 75% of the heroes in 15 widely used textbook series it surveyed were men. In primers, the group found, nearly 70% of women were housekeeping mothers, while the fathers had exciting jobs as politicians, astronauts and explorers. The Princeton group, supported by the National Organization for Women, has asked major publishers to revise their textbooks.

Some publishers have begun to respond. A statement that "girls are only smart enough to sew" was deleted from one fifth-grade workbook. Another statement cut out of the same book asked, "After all, who built this country but men and boys? The girls just sat around sewing." Dan Lacy, senior vice president for editorial development for McGraw-Hill, says his company is reviewing its books, and he expects to find "some instances of sex stereotyping."

Feminists have mustered evidence to indicate that schooling limits women's job opportunities. In Boston, for example, a survey

of the city's two vocational high schools found that girls could choose from only four major vocational courses—cosmetology, commercial art, culinary arts and apparel arts. Boys, on the other hand, could pick from 12 major courses in such well-paying trades as plumbing, painting and carpentry. In addition, boys could take courses in nonvocational subjects such as physics, geometry, chemistry and trigonometry, while the only one offered girls was biology.

On graduation, the Boston survey found, 95% of the boys found jobs related to their major course, and they got a median salary of \$124.50 a week. Only 11% of the girls got jobs for which they were trained, and their median starting pay reached just \$77 a week. "It was appalling," says Gail Bryan, a member of the Boston women's group that made the survey. The group now is trying to open each of the city's vocational schools to both sexes.

The feminists insist they aren't trying to force girls into male roles. "What we're trying to do now is create a more accepting, open society and let it filter down to children," says Ann Grant West, a member of NOW. "It's important they know there are alternatives." Some conservatives, however, are skeptical of the feminists' aims. "I think we're allowing a fringe group—and I don't want to say lunatic fringe—to dictate to a vast majority of the public their aim to re-order society," New York State Assemblyman Dominick DiCarlo says.

YOUNG LEGISLATORS PROPOSE IMPROVEMENT TO CAMPAIGN SPENDING ACT

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, I recently sponsored a Legislative Youth Conference in Riverside, Calif., where outstanding young people from throughout the 38th Congressional District grappled with a number of the problems faced by this body. I was pleased by the constructive suggestions that resulted from this conference. Today I would like to share with my colleagues the text of a bill I have now introduced to implement one of the proposals generated at that conference.

My bill, H.R. 14959, recognizes the difficulty faced by an official appointed by any political party in retaining complete fairness and, just as important, the appearance of fairness while riding herd over something as partisan and complex as the election of the entire House of Representatives. In place of the Clerk of the House and Secretary of the Senate, my bill would establish a Federal Elections Commission with three Members from each major political party appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Such a commission would assure every voter that his vote counts as much as anyone else's. The text of the bill follows:

H.R. 14959

A bill to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to establish a Federal Elections Commission

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSION

SECTION 1. (a) A Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"FEDERAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION

"SEC. 312. (a) There is hereby created a commission to be known as the Federal Elections Commission, which shall be composed to six members, not more than three of whom shall be members of the same political party, who shall be chosen from among persons who, by reason of maturity, experience, and public service, have attained a nationwide reputation for integrity, impartiality, and good judgment, are qualified to carry out the functions of the Commission, and shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. One of the original members shall be appointed for a term of two years, one for a term of four years, one for a term of six years, one for a term of eight years, one for a term of ten years, and one for a term of twelve years, beginning from the date of enactment of this section, but their successors shall be appointed for terms of twelve years each, except that any individual chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member whom he shall succeed. The President shall designate one member to serve as Chairman of the Commission and one member to serve as Vice Chairman. The Vice Chairman shall act as Chairman in the absence or disability of the Chairman or in the event of a vacancy in that office.

"(b) A vacancy in the Commission shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the Commission, and four members thereof shall constitute a quorum.

"(c) The Commission shall have an official seal which shall be judicially noticed.

"(d) The Commission shall at the close of each fiscal year report to the Congress and to the President concerning the action it has taken; the names, salaries, and duties of all individuals in its employ and the money it has disbursed; and shall make such further reports on the matters within its jurisdiction and such recommendations for further legislation as may appear desirable.

"(e) Members of the Commission shall, while serving on the business of the Commission, be entitled to receive compensation at a rate fixed by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget but not in excess of \$100 per day, including traveltime; and while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code.

"(f) The principal office of the Commission shall be in or near the District of Columbia, but it may meet or exercise any or all its powers at any other place.

"(g) All officers, agents, attorneys, and employees of the Commission shall be subject to the provisions of subchapter III of chapter 73 of title 5, United States Code, notwithstanding any exemption contained in such subchapter.

"(h) The Commission shall appoint an Executive Director without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, to serve at the pleasure of the Commission. The Executive Director shall be responsible for the administrative operations of the Commission and shall perform such other duties as may be delegated or assigned to him from time to time by regulations or orders of the Commission. However, the Commission shall not delegate the making of regulations regarding elections to the Executive Director.

"(i) The Chairman of the Commission shall appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it is deemed necessary to fulfill the duties of the Commission in ac-

cordance with the provisions of title 5, United States Code.

"(j) The Commission may obtain the services of experts and consultants in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code.

"(k) In carrying out its responsibilities under this title, the Commission shall, to the fullest extent practicable, avail itself of the assistance, including personnel and facilities, of the General Accounting Office and the Department of Justice. The Comptroller General and the Attorney General are authorized to make available to the Commission such personnel, facilities, and other assistance, with or without reimbursement, as the Commission may request."

(b) Section 5316 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(131) Executive Director, Federal Elections Commission."

CONFORMING AMENDMENTS

SEC. 2. (a) (1) Section 102 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(7) The term 'Commission' means the Federal Elections Commission established by section 312."

(2) Sections 104(a)(3)(C), 104(a)(4)(B), 104(a)(5), 105, and 308(c) of such Act are each amended by striking out "Comptroller General" wherever it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

3 Section 301(g) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(g) 'Commission' means the Federal Elections Commission established by section 312."

(4) Sections 302(d), 302(f)(2) (A) and (B), 303(a), 303(b)(11), 303(c), 304(a), 304(b)(12), and 306 (b), (c), and (d), the section heading for section 308, and sections 308(a), 308(b), and 308(d)(1) of such Act are each amended by striking out "supervisory officer" wherever it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(5) Section 304(a) of such Act is amended by striking out "appropriate supervisory officer" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(6) Sections 304(a) and 308(a) (1) and (4) of such Act are each amended by striking out "him" and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

(7) Section 307 of such Act is amended by striking out "Comptroller General of the United States" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(8) Sections 308(a)(7) (B) and (C), 308(a)(9), and 308(d)(1) of such Act are each amended by striking out "he" and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

(9) Section 309(a) of such Act is amended by striking out "a supervisory officer" and inserting "the Commission".

(b) The second sentence of section 303(a) of such Act is repealed (but such repeal shall not affect any obligation existing under such sentence on the effective date of this subsection).

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 3. The amendments made by section 1 of this Act shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act. The amendments made by section 2 of this Act shall take effect thirty days after the date of enactment of this Act.

A PLAN OF ACTION TO HELP AMERICA

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, many people talk about what is wrong with our

Nation, but too few people speak out on exactly what can be done to solve the problems that confront us. In a recent front page editorial, M. Virginia Rosenbaum, crusading editor of the Citizen newspaper of Finzel, Frostburg, Md., offered up a plan of action for the citizens of all communities throughout the United States.

It may not be the only solution to help America, but it is a fresh idea, and certainly one of the few detailed outlines I have read on this subject in some time. I think it is based on sound logic and is worthy for all of us in Congress to read and discuss, and I therefore submit it to you at this time:

SAVE AMERICA BLOCK BY BLOCK

(By M. Virginia Rosenbaum)

The senseless attempt on the life of Governor George C. Wallace was the straw that broke the camel's back with "permissiveness," so far as this editor is concerned!

America is facing the greatest crisis in her history, when it is no longer safe to walk the streets at night in our cities, and where it is necessary for business men to put bars on their windows and doors in an often futile attempt to preserve their property.

It is easy to place "blame," and to generalize but that is not our purpose here. We know that there is only one solution to our sick society—and that is to find a practical way in which America can heal herself!

IT STARTS ON A BLOCK

To say that we will make America safe again is a sweeping statement that staggers the mind and causes us to shake our heads and enter our homes and lock our doors and hope that the "government" (they) can do something about it!

But we are they.

And since we are such little people individually, we must bring this problem down to a little, individual solution.

We must Save America . . . Block by Block! Now when you look at your block . . . which, in this area may include only one or two houses, and in a city may contain only twenty or thirty, it is not too overwhelming a problem, is it?

BUT WHAT DO WE DO?

If you are in a small town, you call a town meeting, first of all. If you are in a city, you call a meeting of the block. Every person must be informed and there is no better way than to have printed or mimeographed enough copies of a sheet telling where the meeting will be held, the time, and date. In a town, it can be held in a church, school, firehall . . . in a block, it can be held in someone's home, or a public building if one is available on that block.

No, you won't know everyone in a town or a block, but if this problem is to be solved, you must know each other and this is one way to get acquainted . . . black and white and brown and yellow. It doesn't matter because this is America's problem!

Where are you going to get the money to buy the paper and pay for the printing or mimeographing? Well, folks, if you are the leader, you are just going to have to dig down and pay a little, or you might approach a church, school or business with such a machine, or approach your neighborhood printer, and you will find that everyone is as anxious to do something as you are, and each will contribute of his talents!

Where there is a will, there is a way. We mention this small detail, because we find that many important things are left undone because of such a small detail as a dollar for paper!

AT THE MEETING—FIND THE PROBLEM

Each community has its own problem. Only by discussing it can one mark down that community or that block's problem.

The problem may be drugs. The block may be an area where pushers find their victims. If this is true, and there are not enough homes on your block, it may be a problem for the authorities.

But let's say yours is the average small town or average residential block.

Teams of parents could be assigned to patrol the block at peak trouble times such as weekends, with each parent taking his turn. When such a patrol is established, signs could be placed at each end of the block reading "This block is Parent Controlled."

In a small town, teams of parents, each taking his turn, could patrol the entire town since the area is small. "This Town is Parent Controlled."

What is the duty of the parent patrol?

First, a curfew should be set for a reasonable time for each person under 21 to be off the street. Then if they are not off the street, the Parent Patrol escorts them home, wakes up the parents and makes sure they know where their child is and what time he is getting home. Since it is "parent" talking with "parent," it will soon become the "in" thing to make sure it is not your child being escorted home by the Parent Patrol.

In this way, parents can see whether or not their children are drinking, on drugs, disheveled from an intimate parking session, or what have you.

If your problem is drag racing on the public highways, Parent Patrols can patrol the highways, taking down license numbers of cars involved, and reporting them, being ready to testify against the culprit, regardless of what family might be involved.

This frees the police to watch those areas of known trouble that take expert, trained handling.

MANY OTHER SOLUTIONS

When a group of concerned parents get together, many ideas will pour forth for solving the problems confronting the community. Solutions will be brought forth not dreamed of here.

INVOLVEMENT

Today, the first thing one thinks of when reading something like this is "Fine, but I don't want to get involved."

In fact, this lack of involvement is so prevalent that when Governor Wallace had been shot and the Wallace Campaign workers in Cumberland were seeking a Church in which to hold a prayer service, one Minister refused to permit the use of his Church because he "did not want to get involved."

Now when parents don't want to get involved, it's sad but maybe understandable . . . but when a Minister, who is supposed to lead in a spiritual way, doesn't want to "get involved," that man has missed his calling and should be fired by his flock! And to substantiate what we are saying, if you must, contact any of the Wallace workers and they will be glad to tell you who it was.

So we must all get involved! If America is to be saved, every person in these United States must get involved!

THE TREND MUST BE REVERSED

If America is to be saved and the permissiveness to be reversed, it will take the combined effort of every media to encourage parents to get involved and become part of the Block By Block Crusade!

Madison Avenue must include it in its campaigns. Every radio station and TV station, newspaper and magazine in the land must start beaming its commercialism to "Get Involved."

Involvement and Parent Control must now be made the in thing, and slowly, slowly we can reverse the trend . . . slow down the wheel to a grinding halt and reverse it!

Every politician should make this a part of his platform and it should be a part of the national platform of both major political parties.

This should be done if for no other reason than to make it safe once again for a man to campaign safely. The Secret Service cannot protect a candidate . . . nor a President. President Kennedy was surrounded by Secret Service; so was Governor Wallace. We are not sure of the Secret Service coverage of Martin Luther King, or of Robert Kennedy. But the tragedy of their untimely deaths and the near death of Governor Wallace must not be in vain!

SAVE AMERICA NOW—BLOCK BY BLOCK

Don't just lay this aside and forget it. Think about it. Discuss it with your neighbor. Send it to some influential person. Write letters to your friends in distant cities. Enclose your copy. Listen to fresh ideas. Get people talking about what we can do about saving America . . . about making America safe again . . . about stopping the permissiveness in our society.

Get together with your neighbor, your Pastor, your Priest . . . set up a neighborhood meeting now . . . not tomorrow . . . right now . . . today!

And feel free to use any or all of this material in any way you wish, free of charge. May God guide us all!

NEW BAILOUT FOR LOCKHEED

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird has requested that the House Armed Services Committee provide a new \$50 million bailout for the Lockheed Corp. of Marietta, Ga.

I am publicly releasing today Secretary Laird's request which was contained in a letter to the distinguished Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. HÉBERT) and distributed to all members of the committee.

In his letter, dated April 27, Mr. Laird asked that part of the \$226 million deleted by the Senate Armed Services Committee, from the AWACS aircraft program be used to buy additional A-7, C-130, and F-5B aircraft.

It is interesting to note, Mr. Speaker, that Secretary Laird's request to Chairman HÉBERT for the new Lockheed funds was made within 24 hours of the Senate panel's decision to cut \$226 million from the AWACS program.

What amazed me at the time is that Secretary Laird is ready to give up AWACS so easily. In testimony earlier this year, both Department of Defense witnesses and Department of the Air Force witnesses described AWACS as "vital to the national security."

After Secretary Laird's request to the House Armed Services Committee, I received a letter from Henry Durham who first alerted me to this potential bailout. Mr. Durham, a former Lockheed employee, charged in his letter to me that Lockheed was seeking \$50 million in what Mr. Durham termed "a blatant bailout" for 12 C-130 transport planes. The transport planes, according to Lockheed of-

ficials, are needed to keep the line open at the Marietta plant. In addition, Mr. Durham asserted, that political pressure even at the White House was being used by Lockheed to win this \$50 million bail-out.

As many of my colleagues may know, Mr. Durham earlier has charged waste, mismanagement, and collusion in the Lockheed C-5A program and his charges of a \$400 million overpayment by the Air Force to Lockheed have been substantiated by a recent General Accounting Office report.

The timing of a Laird letter indicates that Durham is right. This seems to be a fix motivated by political considerations, not considerations for the national defense.

It is my belief, Mr. Speaker, that it is foolish to award Lockheed for its miserable performance on the C-5A with a new \$50 million contract for 12 C-130 transports.

In addition, I will seek a complete review of this move by the House Armed Services Committee when it begins final consideration of this year's defense procurement operation authorization bill.

I have also written to Secretary Laird and asked him to respond to Mr. Durham's charges. Since Mr. Durham has been such a perceptive critic in the past, I am most interested in learning the Department's position on this matter.

I am also asking Secretary Laird to explain why AWACS was given up so easily by the Pentagon.

It appears that politics comes before national security, at least in this case. It is the interest of giant contractors and not the interests of the national security that seem to be foremost in the Pentagon's mind today.

I am including at this point in the RECORD Secretary Laird's letter to Chairman HEBERT, Mr. Durham's letter to me, my letter to Secretary Laird, and an article which appeared in this morning's Washington Post by Michael Getler. The letters and article follow:

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., April 27, 1972.

Hon. F. EDWARD HEBERT,
Chairman, Committee on Armed Services,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Yesterday the Senate Armed Services Committee deleted \$309.9 million in Aircraft Procurement funding for the AWACS for the Air Force. It added \$83 million in RDT&E, Air Force, for AWACS. The net effect of these actions is to support both Procurement and R&D. It has also permitted a reduction in the total budget of \$226.9 million. This action is acceptable to us.

During the course of my testimony before your Committee, a concern was expressed that production for the A-7, C-130, and F-5B aircraft would be terminated after the FY 1972 buys. It was emphasized that in the event of additional requirements for these aircraft, it would be extremely costly to restart the lines and that as a matter of prudence small quantities of these aircraft could be procured to sustain a production base at reasonable costs. Additionally, it was pointed out that there is a current requirement for the aircraft, but as a consequence of priority considerations, they could not be included within the budget totals. The current invasion of South Vietnam has increased aircraft losses and emphasized the need for continued production, particularly in the case of the C-130 and the F-5B. In fact, the

F-5B aircraft are needed for training for the South Vietnamese Air Force.

Following my appearance before your Committee, I concluded that as a prudent measure we should release the \$5.8 million of A-7 advance procurement funds added by the Congress to the FY 1972 DoD budget request. It is now recommended that a portion of the authorization which would otherwise have been required for the FY 1973 AWACS Program be applied to the procurement of 24 A-7s, 12 C-130s and 7 F-5Bs. An amount of \$50 million would be required for the C-130s, \$12 million for the F-5Bs, and \$90 million for the A-7s. The latter amount is to cover the amount of aircraft procurement plus squadron equipment. The total of \$152 million can be partially offset by an amount of \$60 million in savings from prior year A-7 programs. These savings in the Fiscal Year 1971 and prior Aircraft Procurement, Air Force appropriation could be transferred to the FY 1973 account. Thus authorization for new appropriation in the net amount of \$92 million would be required.

This request has been cleared with the Office of Management and Budget.

Sincerely,

MELVIN R. LAIRD.

MARIETTA, GA.,
May 9, 1972.

Representative LES ASPIN,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ASPIN: The other day I sent you one of the form letters I am attempting to send to all members of Congress, concerning the Lockheed situation and its ramifications. However, I particularly wanted to write you a personal letter to solicit your help in this important matter.

As mentioned in my previous letter, the GAO substantiated the very serious charges I leveled at Lockheed and the Air Force last September concerning gross mismanagement, waste and collusion on the C-5 Program.

I am writing to request your assistance in combating efforts by the Lockheed Georgia Company to force another "give-away" of public money. As can be seen from the enclosed clippings, there are three key areas.

First, the company is desperately seeking funding for twelve additional C-130's which they say is necessary to keep the production line open. There is actually no need for additional C-130's, and as it stands now, the twelve C-130's are not in the 1973 Procurement Bill. According to news reports, the Georgia delegation is apparently abandoning its plans to amend the Procurement Bill to include the twelve planes and will attempt to obtain a "Programmatic Extension" of the present C-130 Contract from the Pentagon. One member of the Georgia delegation even alluded to "a series of talks with the White House" regarding the planes. Last year, funds for twelve C-130's were included in the 1972 Bill at the last moment for the same reason. The cost would be around 55 to 60 million hard-earned tax dollars.

From any viewpoint, these efforts constitute another blatant "bail-out" attempt for the very same Lockheed management team that botched the C-5 Program. Why continue to reward these people for corrupt and inept management? If the Pentagon has 55 to 60 extra million dollars to blow for unneeded C-130's, it could more profitably be used to start paying back the \$400 million C-5 overpayment revealed by Senator Proxmire in the March 27 hearing.

The second area is Lockheed's attempt to win the Production Contract for the Advanced Short Take-Off and Landing Aircraft (AMST). In my opinion, the Lockheed Company . . . particularly the Lockheed Georgia Company . . . should not even be remotely considered for another military contract in view of their absolutely horrendous track

record of the C-5 Program. Again, here are the very same people who mis-managed the C-5 Program being offered an opportunity to "win" another lucrative contract involving vast sums of public money. Why is Lockheed even considered for additional contracts? Why were they even asked to bid?

The third area is the deep cloud of suspicion surrounding the \$250 million loan guarantee because of Treasury Secretary Connally's refusal to testify or release records regarding the loan arrangement. Is this another "under the table" bail-out of the Lockheed Corporation?

If everything is honest and above-board, why would it be necessary to hide the facts and refuse to open the books to the American people who are footing the bill?

I desperately need your help at this crucial time. Would you please openly, publicly and forcefully raise the same questions to help thwart this latest attempt at grand theft of public funds? Would it be possible for you to take immediate and positive action? I would be most grateful for your assistance.

With best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

HENRY M. DURHAM.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 19, 1972.

The Honorable MELVIN LAIRD,
Secretary of Defense,
The Pentagon,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am enclosing a letter that I have recently received from Mr. Henry Durham, a former employee of Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in Marietta, Georgia.

In his letter, Mr. Durham charges that Lockheed Corporation is seeking a \$50 million "bailout" for the production of 12 additional C-130 aircraft. I hope that you are able to respond to Mr. Durham's charges. Since Mr. Durham has been such a perceptive critic in the past, I would be interested in learning of the Department's position on this matter.

I am also interested in learning why AWACS was given up so easily by the Pentagon. Earlier in the year, AWACS was described as "vital to the national security" by various witnesses from the Department of Defense and the Department of the Air Force. Your sudden switch in priorities indicates to me that, in fact, AWACS was not considered vital to the national security. I hope that you will also present the Department's official position on this matter.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

LES ASPIN,
Member of Congress.

LAIRD ASKS FUND SHIFT FOR PLANES
(By Michael Getler)

A day after the Senate Armed Services Committee cut \$226.8 million from a supposedly high-priority Air Force national defense project, Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird wrote to the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and told him those cuts were "acceptable" to the Pentagon.

In that same letter, Laird recommended that the House committee allow the Pentagon to transfer \$152 million of the money saved by the Senate cut back to buy other aircraft whose production lines might otherwise close soon and which had not been scheduled to receive any more funds in the current \$83.4 billion military budget request for fiscal 1973.

Laird's recommendation would allow the Air Force to buy 24 more A-7 attack planes from Ling-Temco-Vought in Texas at a cost of \$90 million, 12 more C-130 transports from Lockheed in Georgia at a cost of \$50 million

and seven of the small F-5B export fighters built by Northrop in California for \$12 million.

The Defense Secretary's letter, written April 27 and made available to The Washington Post yesterday, has drawn a sharp response from Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.). Aspin is a freshman congressman, former Pentagon civilian analyst and House Armed Services Committee member who now regularly bombards the Pentagon with charges of waste and wrongdoing.

Aspin charges that the 12 extra C-130 transports constitute "a new \$50 million bailout" for Lockheed.

He also cites a letter from Henry Durham, a former Lockheed aircraft production manager who has testified before Congress on the C5A transport cost overruns, that says "political pressure, even at the White House, was being used by Lockheed to win this \$50 million bailout."

Asked about this yesterday, White House spokesman Gerald Warren said, "We have no evidence of any pressure being exerted or anything like that."

Aspin in a statement to The Post yesterday, said he would ask Laird to respond to Durham's charges and also to explain why the Pentagon gave up so easily on the Senate's cutback of the Air Force's Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) project.

In testimony earlier this year, Aspin noted, "Department of Defense officials described AWACS as 'vital' to the national security."

AWACS involves an Air Force plan to develop and build a fleet of radar and computer-packed airplanes that would provide early warning against a possible Soviet bomber attack on the United States. The Air Force wants a fleet of 42 of these planes at a total cost estimated at about \$2.7 billion over the next several years.

Despite inclusion of \$474 million in the Air Force fiscal 1973 budget request for AWACS and Laird's overt support, there is known to be considerable high-ranking opposition within the Nixon administration to the United States making any major new investment in defense against a very limited Soviet bomber threat.

In January, administration officials hinted that AWACS might wind up being limited to a much smaller number of planes that could be used to plug air defense gaps or in localized air control situations. There is also a group forming in the Senate to oppose AWACS.

In his letter to House Armed Services Committee Chairman F. Edward Hébert (D-La.), Laird noted the Senate committee cuts and said, "This action is acceptable to us."

When Laird volunteered this opinion, the House committee had not voted on the military authorization bill that includes AWACS. The committee still has not passed on the measure and Aspin—who as a Pentagon critic is in a distinct minority on the committee—now says he will ask his colleagues to review the bill again because of the Lockheed situation.

The Senate committee had actually cut out \$309.9 million in AWACS procurement, but added \$83 million to allow research-and-development work to continue on the project, causing a net reduction of \$226.9 million.

Laird went on to explain to Hébert that "during the course of my testimony before your committee, a concern was expressed (by some committee members, Defense officials say) that production for the A-7, C-130 and F-5B aircraft would be terminated after the FY 1972 purchases."

"It was emphasized," the letter continues, "that in the event of additional requirements for these aircraft, it would be extremely difficult to restart the lines and that as a matter of prudence small quantities of these aircraft could be procured to sustain a production base at reasonable costs."

"Additionally, Laird wrote, 'it was pointed out that there is a current requirement for the aircraft, but as a consequence of priority considerations they could not be included within the budget totals.'"

Citing "the current invasion of South Vietnam," and "increased aircraft losses," Laird said this "emphasized the need for continued production, particularly in the case of the C-130 and the F-5B." The latter, he said is used for training the South Vietnamese Air Force. Following the Senate Committee action in cutting AWACS, Laird said "it is now recommended that a portion of the authorization which would otherwise have been required for the FY 1973 AWACS program be applied to the procurement of 24 A-7s, 12 C-130s and 7 R-5Bs."

While this would cost \$152 million, Laird said there was still \$60 million saved from earlier A-7 funds and thus a net amount of \$92 million would have to be authorized.

The four-engine C-130 is the workhorse of the U.S. tactical airlift forces in South Vietnam and is also an excellent gunship.

The Air Force, however, has 350 of these planes already operating, 12 more on order from last year which will be delivered in 1974, and 1975 in the reserve fleet, according to Air Force figures.

Durham, the former Lockheed official, wrote to Aspin on May 9 and included a short news article from the May 5 edition of the Marietta (Ga.) Daily Journal.

The article reported that the head of Lockheed's C-130 program had told a local Kiwanis meeting that the company had enough C-130 orders to keep the production line running through 1973 "and is working on 1974 now. He didn't mention," the article states, "the hoped-for Air Force order of an additional 12 planes in the 1972-73 budget which the company has said are needed to fill a future gap in the line."

Durham said he was writing to Aspin to prevent another "giveaway" of public money to Lockheed. "If the Pentagon," he wrote, "has 55 to 60 extra million dollars to blow for unneeded C-130s, it could more profitably be used to start paying back the \$400 million C-5 overpayment revealed by Senator (William) Proxmire in the March 27 hearing."

Durham's charges of Lockheed mismanagement on the C-5A program were attacked as "highly inaccurate" by Lockheed, but the former manager's charge of overpayments made to the firm by the government were substantially validated by the General Accounting Office during hearings last March.

SPECIAL REPORT ON THE ENERGY CRISIS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, there follows the text of a special report on the energy crisis which I am issuing to residents of the 32d Congressional District of California, whom I am honored to represent:

THE ENERGY CRISIS

Q. Is there an energy crisis?
A. You bet. Our nation has prospered largely because of an abundance of cheap energy. Now we face the possibility of being unable to meet our requirements. We are faced with the certainty of being unable to meet them cheaply. A debate has emerged over whether they ought to be met to the extent that they have in the past. Meanwhile, the growing population seems likely to nullify any over-all energy savings made

by any foreseeable per capita cut-backs in energy use.

Q. What went wrong, who's responsible?

A. Everybody and nobody. Domestic oil and gas exploration isn't very profitable. New environmental requirements and public concern over oil spills delay offshore and Alaskan fields. Cleaning up coal is a tough R&D task and reclaiming land ruined by strip mining is expensive. Nuclear plants are taking longer to build than planned while a prudent regard for the environment and public health and safety indicates a "go slow" approach to licensing them. If we had a unified fuels policy we would have spotted our energy problem sooner, but not necessarily solved it any quicker. It usually takes a crisis to do that.

Q. Where do we get our energy, what do we use it for?

A. Presently 44% comes from oil, 33% from gas, 20% from coal, 3.7% from hydro and only .3% from the infant nuclear power industry. We use energy about this way: 25% to make electricity, 20% for transportation, 20% for heating and cooling, and 35% for commerce, industry and agriculture.

Q. Can we have clean energy?

A. Chemically non-polluting nuclear electricity could replace $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of all other fuels now in use—60% in the case of automobiles—but that will take time. Meanwhile many pollution abatement steps are needed. President Nixon asks for a tax on sulphur oxides. I support emission taxes on sulphur tants so industry will find it cheaper to stop pollution than to pay taxes. We will clean things up with some rise in prices, but without any more taxes on the people. Cleanliness is next to godliness, but it doesn't come free.

Q. Are nuclear plants safe?

A. They aren't risky, neither are they riskless. No member of the public has ever been injured by a nuclear accident. But no one can guarantee that one will never happen. The issue is not absolute safety, but one of balancing risks against benefits—Do the benefits to society of having nuclear electricity outweigh whatever costs and risks there are from (a) generating it, or (b) going without it?

Q. Is southern California about to lose part of its natural gas supply?

A. Were fighting to keep it, but shortages have caused the Federal Power Commission to hold hearings on rationing imports into California. I've told FPC that deficiencies should be allocated where air pollution is less critical. I've also asked Southland utilities, when they must burn oil, to burn it at remote locations and save the cleaner gas for use in plants at population centers, like Rossmore Leisure World.

Q. Can we produce more gas?

A. Yes. Rate increases will get more of it out of the ground. Another way is to use underground nuclear explosions to break up tight gas formations in the Rocky Mountains and let the gas flow. It seems safe and I've introduced legislation moving in this direction, but with industry instead of the taxpayers footing the bill.

Q. Are oil imports a good way to conserve our own resources?

A. Not really. They consume ever increasing billions of dollars in foreign exchange and can be cut off unexpectedly. The Kremlin ultimately controls much Mideast oil. Our major reliance for all fuels should be on domestic energy resources.

My report also includes the appropriate forms requesting absentee ballots in Los Angeles and Orange Counties. Since the primary and general elections of 1954, it has been my custom to encourage voter participation by the reproduction of such forms.

The current form for Los Angeles County is as follows:

CONSOLIDATED PRIMARY ELECTION—JUNE 6, 1972—APPLICATION FOR ABSENT VOTER'S BALLOT—BY MAIL

(Read Instructions on Back Before Filling in this Application)

If you have moved prior to April 13, 1972, you must re-register before you can obtain an absent voter's ballot. A voter moving within this county within 54 days or to another county within 90 days prior to this election, may obtain an absentee ballot. A voter moving within this county over 54 days or to another county over 90 days and who has not registered prior to the resignation closing date for this election is not eligible to vote. (Elections code, Sec. 14621.55)

Applications are accepted for mailing absent voter's ballot:

First day—May 8, 1972.

Last day—May 30, 1972.

ABSENT VOTER'S BALLOT WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE UNTIL MAY 8, 1972

JAMES S. ALLISON,
Registrar of Voter's Office,
Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR SIR:

I, _____ am a voter of Los Angeles County.

My registered address is: _____
1. I am presently residing at the above address: -- yes or -- no.

(If answer is "yes", do not complete item 2 below.)

2. If answer to item 1 is "no", indicate date of move and check appropriate box:

Date of move _____
-- Permanent move from registered address.

-- Temporary move (will return to Los Angeles County).

The only reasons a voter may vote an absent voter's ballot are as follows:

-- I expect to be absent from my election precinct.

-- I will be leaving _____
Phone _____

-- Because of physical disability, I will be unable to vote in my election precinct.

-- The tenets of my religion will prevent me from attending the polls throughout that day.

-- I reside more than 10 miles from polling place by the most direct route for public travel.

I am therefore making application for an absent voter's ballot for the above named election.

Please mail ballot to me at _____

Date of signing _____
Signature of applicant _____

If you have registered within the last 60 days, please give date of registration and affidavit number.

Social Security No. _____
Date of Registration _____
Affidavit number _____

Important: This application will not be accepted without the proper signature of the applicant.

Office use only—Work record:

IDX...TL... Aff. No... Addressed by... CK'D & Stuffed...

PB...RS... Aff. to DPD... Re-checked by...

Date of mailing...

RP...HC... Grouped by... Ballot No... Date of pick-up...

Posted... Voted in office...

Precinct...

Group...

Party...

Name...

The current form for Orange County is as follows:

APPLICATION FOR ABSENT VOTER'S BALLOT
To: Registrar of Voters, P.O. Box 11298,
Santa Ana, Calif.

This application must be received by the Registrar on or before May 30, 1972.

First day ballots will be available for mailing, May 8, 1972.

I hereby apply for an absent voter's ballot for the primary election, June 6, 1972.

I will be unable to go to the polls for reason checked:

-- Expect to be Absent from my precinct on election day.

-- Because of Physical Disability.

-- I reside more than 10 miles from nearest polling place.

-- My religion prevents me from attending.

-- I reside within a 30 or less precinct.

Name _____
Address _____
Mail ballot to City _____
State _____
Signature _____
Date _____

If your residence address is other than that shown on your Affidavit of Registration, you must complete the following:

I moved on _____ from the address that is shown on my affidavit to:

New address: _____

If you have moved (within this county to another precinct) prior to _____; you must reregister before you can obtain an absentee ballot.

(A voter moving within this county within 54 days or to another county within 90 days prior to this election, may obtain an absentee ballot. A voter moving within this county over 54 days or to another county over 90 days and who has not registered prior to the registration closing date for this election is not eligible to vote.)

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA—FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

Party affiliation _____
Precinct _____
Affidavit No. _____
Ballot No. _____ Group No. _____
Date of mailing or delivery _____
Ballot returned _____

TYPE

-- Regular Mail.

-- Air Mail.

-- War voter.

-- War Voter + Affidavit.

-- Voted In Office.

-- Took Ballot.

Other California jurisdictions will generally honor written requests for absentee ballots which contain the substance of the content of either of these forms.

SEEKS TO ESTABLISH THE KOSCIUSZKO HOME AS NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the Heritage Council of the Philadelphia Bicentennial Corp., composed of representatives of approximately 70 ethnic groups of the Delaware Valley region, has unanimously adopted a resolution calling for the preservation, protection, and enhancement of the Kosciuszko home in Philadelphia.

As sponsor of H.R. 6759, which seeks to establish the Kosciuszko home as a national historic site, I wholeheartedly endorse the position of the Heritage Council. As you may know, the Senate approved this proposal as S. 1973 on March 23, while hearings have not even been held as yet in the House.

The council's resolution is herewith entered in the Record for the attention of my colleagues:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, Thaddeus Kosciuszko was an extraordinary military engineer and planner who made indispensable contributions to the success of the American Revolution in both the North and the South; and

Whereas, after helping to achieve American independence, he returned to his beloved Poland and devoted the next decade of his life in an unsuccessful struggle to free his country from foreign domination; and

Whereas, when he was exiled, which was intended to silence his voice and end his fight for freedom, he decided to keep alive the torch of freedom and picked Philadelphia, the cradle of liberty, to hold the torch as high as he could; and

Whereas, the building at 301 Pine Street is the only remaining house in Philadelphia that General Kosciuszko occupied and its protection and restoration would be a significant contribution to the vitality of Philadelphia's "Historic Square Mile", an area that will certainly be a major focal point for visitors during the United States Bicentennial in 1976; and

Whereas, without a clearcut recommendation of the Nixon administration and the Secretary of the Interior, the architectural and historical significance of Kosciuszko's last residence in America would suffer; now, therefore, be it

Resolved: By the Philadelphia 1976 Bicentennial Corporation, That we hereby respectfully memorialize the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Interior to take affirmative action now to preserve, protect and enhance the historically significant house that General Kosciuszko occupied in Philadelphia; and be it

Further resolved: That the Senate and House Interior Committee hold public hearings as soon as possible on the merits of proposed legislation to create a Kosciuszko Shrine in Philadelphia; and be it

Further resolved: That the Philadelphia 1976 Bicentennial Corporation transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the Secretary of the Interior, to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to the Chairman of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, to the two United States Senators from Pennsylvania and to each Representative from Philadelphia in the Congress of the United States.

A SPECIAL SALUTE TO GIRL SCOUT TROOP NO. 450 OF BOGGSTOWN, IND.

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, in the hurried life of the 20th century many things are passed by, and forgotten, and neglected. I have been concerned to read, too, assertions that our citizens, and especially our young people, have no thought for the future and only wish to burn themselves out in the present, while scorning the past. But not all things are forgotten; and this gratuitous slur against American youth is not true, as the following story makes clear.

Indiana is dotted with small, often

remote, and mostly neglected old cemeteries, some dating back over 150 years. The stones, where they still stand, are often worn so smooth by time and nature that they can no longer be read. Only the memories of the oldest inhabitants of an area serve as guides to the persons who are buried there. These graveyards are the last resting places of the Hoosier State's earliest settlers and pioneers, and serve as direct links and reminders to the days when the American Republic was young.

Such a spot was an historic but little known cemetery located north of Boggs-town, Ind., on the London Road. Cluttered with debris, overgrown with weeds, and even young trees, it was almost totally forgotten, neglected, and abandoned. Little is known about who is buried there, but it is certain that one grave is that of a veteran of the War of 1812. As in many such cemeteries, the tombstones are worn smooth and the inscriptions are no longer visible, but it is certainly 150 years old, at least.

It would have remained that way if it had not been for Girl Scout Troop No. 450 of Boggs-town, Ind., and their leaders. In the finest traditions of reverence and respect and without any great amount of fuss or ceremony, they cleaned away the accumulation of weeds and debris.

Now, this in itself was a small thing. But the spirit and the example shine large and bright, indeed. American youth are not rootless, drifting, uncaring and unthinking persons that some would have them be. They still have within them—and, I know, always will have—those qualities that have made our country great in the past and will make it greater in the future.

The names of the leaders and members of the Troop No. 450 follow:

Leader—Mrs. Sandra Robinson; Assistant Leader: Mrs. Dorothy Osborne; Committee Chairman: Mrs. Janet Joesten; Committee Co-Chairman: Mrs. Joanne Eck.

Troop members: Stacy Robinson; Deanna Osborne; Cathy Mink; Debbie Michael; Cheryl Michael; Suzanne Kinnett; Diane Kinnett; Nan-Ellen Joesten; Diana Haverly; Lisa Guy; Ronette Eck; Marneta Darby; Krista Cradic; Mary Jo Crowder; Dana Chaney; Pam Atnip; April Arnold; Susan Hill; Becky Kirby; Donna Beemer; Anna Higdon.

PROFESSIONALS FOR PEACE

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, May 20 was Armed Forces Day in America. The following editorial honors those veterans, past and present, standing in defense of this Nation. It was written by Mr. George Nickolas, a constituent of mine from Davenport, Iowa, and former State commander of Disabled American Veterans:

PROFESSIONALS FOR PEACE

(By George T. Nickolas)

Every citizen of the United States of America owe the men and women of our Armed Services special thanks and a vote of confidence. These outstanding Americans have been placed in a fish bowl, their activities are closely monitored, and their mistakes are magnified by the press and others who look to attack our society.

Our combat troops have had to fight two limited wars with restraints that have subjected them to increased dangers. It was not always so! Twenty-eight years ago the 6th of June men of this country's Armed Forces launched the mightiest invasion ever undertaken by man. On that day, ten thousand of the cream of America's manhood died. They were of all branches of the armed forces, all ages and all races, but they stood united in a common cause. They fought, in what a few call, a "Just War". No war is "just"! As long as men wish to dominate other men, as long as men use force of arms to achieve their goal of domination, we must stand ever ready to repel aggression. We must maintain a corps of professional military men who are willing to forego some of their personal liberty and freely give many of the productive years of their lives to unselfishly serve this country. The title "Professionals for Peace" is truly a fitting title.

These "Professionals for Peace" come from the same stock that the ten thousand who fought, sacrificed and finally paid with their lives on D-Day to allow all of us to enjoy freedom. Others have died in countless other spots which history so lightly records and many others live and carry the mental and physical scars of those battles as a reminder of their contribution to freedom.

The observance of Armed Forces Day should remind every citizen that the men and women of our armed forces stand ready to sacrifice, fight, and, if necessary, even die for every man, woman, and child in the United States of America.

THE CONTINUING ILLEGAL ALIEN CONTROVERSY

HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, for the past several months we have witnessed a raging controversy over the plight of the exploited, intimidated, and frightened aliens who are in the United States illegally. We have heard countless charges and countercharges over the illegal aliens' effect on the economy, over their political beliefs and aspirations and over their actual numbers.

As I have mentioned on earlier occasions, the majority of charges are irresponsible and baseless. It is claimed, for example, that they are depriving Americans of their jobs, yet the majority of "illegals" are doing work which most Americans would not even consider performing.

The campaign to purge the country of illegal aliens has, unfortunately, primarily focused on the Spanish-speaking. In addition, I am fearful we are coming dangerously close to establishing some form of national identification system in order for one to prove that he is a citizen.

These and other issues are discussed in a well-written and penetrating article by Christopher Norwood in the May 11 issue of the Village Voice. As Norwood aptly observes, if Federal and State authorities would effectively enforce minimum wage laws and measures stipulating decent working conditions, the conditions in which illegal aliens are now forced to work would not exist and the economic benefits accruing to unscrupulous employers by hiring them would vanish. The same holds true for the effective enforcement of laws which prohibit the illegal importation of farmworkers by large agribusiness concerns.

Much of what Mr. Norwood has written makes a great deal of sense. As this is an issue with which we are being confronted in various forms—such as in the original version of the minimum wage bill and pending legislation in the House Immigration Subcommittee—I believe we should all very carefully consider every possible aspect of it. I commend Mr. Norwood's article to our colleagues' attention and present it herewith for inclusion in the RECORD:

ILLEGAL ALIENS: 'THE LATIN PERIL'

(By Christopher Norwood)

It is one of those axioms peculiar to American history that, as an immigrant country, mistrust of the "strange" people in our midst has repeatedly restricted the very freedoms which incited our birth as a nation. Other countries have imposed police states on various pretexts—fear of revolutionaries, fear of counter-revolutionaries, etc., but in the United States the alleged treachery of aliens has always led us the closest to internal controls we have come, beginning with the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 and continuing with many intervening incidents, through the Japanese internment camps of World War II.

The question this time around is not what to do about immigrants we have admitted purposely, but what action to take against the some two million aliens in the United States illegally. The measures that the Nixon administration, along with support from strange quarters, is currently promoting to get rid of some "wetbacks" are suspiciously out of proportion to the problem. These aliens are close to providing the final excuse to put the whole country under some form of "national identification," i.e., internal passports.

It comes as a surprise to most people to learn that there are so many illegals in the country and they wonder vaguely why they haven't heard about it before. The number of illegals began escalating when the Immigration Act of 1965 not only put a quota on Latin America for the first time, but made it more difficult for Latin Americans to enter than Europeans. (Latins, mostly Mexican, constitute at least 80 percent of the illegals; the rest are mainly Canadian, Chinese, British West Indian, Greek, Philippine, English, and Italian.)

Nobody much minded the illegals, since poverty placed the majority of them in the exclusive position of being exploitable by almost every power group in the country—from big business to big labor. Fear of being turned over to the Immigration Department and sent back home to starve made them accept anything. (I know of one woman in New Jersey whose employer, upon learning she was an illegal, attached a buzzer to her desk. He buzzes whenever he gets that good old-fashioned feeling.) In the Southwest particularly, the government winked at the situation. Large farms were importing illegals to provide a hedge against Cesar Chavez.

Except when their presence hampered organizing, the big unions were usually delighted by the illegals. They presented endless opportunities for sweetheart contracts, pay-offs for membership, and just collecting dues without the expense of aiding the membership.

The illegals also singlehandedly provided a retirement fund for officials in some areas of the country. Chicago now has the second largest Mexican population of any United States city, perhaps half of whom are illegal. The Chicago Sun-Times recently reported charges that on payday the police were standing outside factories where illegals were known to work. They demanded \$50 to \$100 from each Mexican on the threat of deportation. Travel agents, notary publics, and a variety of crooks and forgers, including some lawyers, have preyed on the aliens' desperation to secure legal status and have set themselves up in the business of "getting" papers for aliens. The going rate for papers in New York now ranges from \$500 to \$2000, payable in advance.

With so many people making so much money out of the illegals, nobody minded too much. Then, of course, the United States decided to have a depression. These aliens, who had been serving our purposes most admirably for years, became a hot item. Politicians now denounce them for "stealing jobs from Americans." The conservative press, having discovered that "illegal alien" is the new password for slandering certain nationalities, has pounced on the issue. A series in the New York Daily News accused the aliens of "flooding the labor market," "selling drugs," "raping our economy," and being "dedicated Communists."

The Immigration and Naturalization Service says it has no evidence to back these charges and that nearly all the 345,000 deportable aliens it discovered last year were doing nothing but working. As for the aliens "stealing jobs," the majority are apparently doing work that Americans won't touch any more at any price, even during hard times. In cases where aliens have shut out American workers, it is a result of the exploitation that their illegal status leaves them open to—from them being underpaid, submitting to union pay-offs, etc. That is a different matter than presenting the vision of aliens "raping our economy" as an excuse to promote the legislation now before Congress.

Nevertheless, the combination of racial differences and an exaggerated economic threat is a time-honored and powerful drawing card. When brown-skinned and slit-eyed people are accused of "stealing" American jobs, Congress begins passing measures that in other circumstances wouldn't be considered. The government's main concern now is the fastest way to get rid of the illegals—not how to enforce present laws which could halt the worst abuses. After tacitly permitting the problem to grow so large, the logistics of ferreting out the illegals and deporting them are horrendous. So the Nixon administration has decided on what looks like the simple method of "cutting off the flow at its source." The administration has been pushing a bill making it a crime (punishable by a \$1000 fine and a year in jail) for an employer to "knowingly" hire an illegal. The alien would be equally punished for the crime of working. Senators Kennedy and Muskie have backed similar measures, with the "liberal" difference that the alien would not be put in jail.

This clumsy attempt to blame our economic problems on aliens has startling implications. In a country with the heterogeneous population of the United States it says one of two things.

First, employment discrimination will be legalized. That is, most minority groups, as well as several million naturalized citizens who still retain accents or other characteris-

tics which distinguish them from "Anglo" Americans, will have to prove they are citizens when applying for jobs. (This will be quite a feat for the millions of people of working age who didn't have their births registered or who don't have documentation to prove they were born here.) Of course, no congressman would have dared propose a law which singled out white Americans for such a burden.

However, since the courts probably won't permit any law to be enforced so discriminatorily, there is a second method. Every citizen and legal resident of the United States will have to be identified and filed. Most suggestions along this line center on making the Social Security card into a national identifier, possession of which would be considered proof that you legally existed. (Remember when the law was passed how the records were supposed to be confidential and for insurance purposes only?) Many congressmen have denounced the Social Security Administration for "giving" illegal aliens cards and thus enabling them to work. But Social Security has no authorization to investigate the national origin of applicants. It is just supposed to assign a name and a number. The excuse illegals present to finally get everybody located, investigated, filed, and laminated should be taken seriously.

The recent Senate Finance Committee hearings on President Nixon's appointment of Mrs. Ramona Banuelos as Treasurer of the United States brought out the droolings. Mrs. Banuelos, in one of the highly publicized raids the Immigration employees' union has been staging to dramatize the plight of its "over-worked" men, was found to be employing illegals at her tortilla-processing plant. Her hearing turned into a hearing on aliens. Arthur Hess, Deputy Director of Social Security, was called to testify on Social Security's inability to distinguish legal from illegal. He pointed out that the card was not designed to be a "reliable identification or work permit cards."

Several senators, led by Russell Long, asked why Social Security couldn't investigate and fingerprint every card recipient. Hess, turning a whiter shade of gray, said it would be too expensive and he felt the American people might object. "They don't object when they want the benefits, do they?" countered Long.

With sentiments like this lurking behind the bill, with its racial inspiration, and with the Labor and Education Committee's purposeful neglect to hold the public hearings it should hold for a measure of such implications, one must seriously question if this pernicious little law, which has come so far so quietly, represents a genuine concern with American working conditions. (The bill was rammed through under union pressure. However, while the unions publicly take the required stance of protecting American labor, it would be hard to name one union in the country which isn't happily collecting dues from illegals.)

The hypocritical politics of the bill's presentation aside, what makes it especially suspect is that there are already adequate remedies to prevent aliens from "stealing" American jobs, if that is the only purpose of this law. However, if current laws aren't being enforced, why will this one be enforced against aliens instead of just being used to turn life into a nightmare of proof, identification, and restriction, first for minorities and finally for every body? That is why it is surprising to find people like Kennedy and Muskie backing it.

Kennedy's office admits the major abuses with illegals could be solved "administratively" under present law. Among other things, if the federal and state Labor Departments would ever get around to enforcing the minimum wage laws, decent working conditions, and other things they are supposed to enforce, alien labor could not be used to

squeeze out Americans. Further, federal authorities can already nab employers who are deliberately importing aliens. Many large farms, for instance, have their own smuggling operation. That's five years in jail, but I haven't noticed any "agribusiness" chiefs being prosecuted—or, for that matter, unions being prosecuted for payoffs.

Kennedy has tried, without success, to see that measures to minimize the problem are enforced and has "reluctantly concluded" that the illegal employment bill, despite its possible consequences, is the only solution left. In other words, and as usual, because law enforcement doesn't extend to people who are well-connected politically, let's have the kind of dangerous and all-encompassing legislation that makes everyone suffer.

So this rider, neatly buried in the minimum wage bill (which is sure of passage), waits for a Congress which is not averse to invoking "the Latin peril" for our own economic blunders—or to seeing the country law and ordered once and for all.

"Oh boy," said the public relations lady at the Social Security Administration, "that reporter from the Daily News called up here demanding to know why we couldn't investigate aliens and do this and that. Just wait until he has to be investigated. He'll be calling back."

Well, we can wave goodbye to the wetbacks with hands blackened from the fingerprint pad.

BUSING STUDY CASTS DOUBT ON SYSTEM

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, throughout our country the citizens who are concerned with improvement in education read Dr. David Armor's report with keen interest. Dr. Armor has made an extensive study of busing and his conclusions are that it improves neither student achievement nor racial tolerance.

When President Nixon voices opposition to busing he is said to have limited vision. When Governor Wallace speaks out against busing, he is called a racial bigot.

I ask all of my open-minded colleagues to analyze this study made by Dr. David Armor who is a professor at Harvard University. His analysis and report is factual and documented. He is a scholar who has made an exhaustive study of the greatest domestic issue.

Harvard University is to be congratulated on contributing this excellent report. You will find the article by Lawrence Feinberg to be most challenging. From the front page of yesterday's Washington Post you can read the article as it follows:

ACHIEVEMENT TOLERANCE UNIMPROVED—
CASTS DOUBT ON BUSING
(By Lawrence Feinberg)

A major study of school desegregation by five Northern cities concludes that achievement test scores of black students have not been raised. Moreover, the busing experiments, in several cases, have led to a worsening of race relations, rather than an improvement.

The study reports that the grades of Negro students generally fell when they were

transferred to predominantly white schools because grading standards were higher.

Black youngsters in these schools, the study says, have a stronger sense of racial identity and a greater desire for black separatism than do students in predominantly black schools.

The report suggests that much of the research on race and education done before the late 1960s and widely used in court integration decisions is now outdated because it fails to take into account the new militancy and pride of many black students.

The 64-page study was written by David J. Armor, an associate professor of sociology at Harvard University who previously had conducted research for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

It includes research on a city-suburb desegregation program in Boston, which Armor conducted himself, plus data on similar programs in Ann Arbor, Mich., Hartford, Conn., Riverside, Calif., and White Plains, N.Y.

Overall, about 5,000 students, ranging from grades one to 12, have participated in these busing programs. The data that Armor compiled from 1965 to 1971 follows the children from one to five years.

Armor's study has been presented at a seminar at Harvard, and it is scheduled for publication this summer in *The Public Interest* magazine.

He said in an interview that his study is the largest showing the "before and after" effect of long-term busing projects by using the same tests to compare bused children with others.

In the mid-1960s Armor worked on a government research project, headed by James S. Coleman, which compiled a massive report on race and education. The report concluded that lower-class black students make some academic gains in predominantly middle-class white schools.

But in his new study Armor notes that the tests Coleman used were all given at the same time—in the fall of 1965. Thus, conclusions about the effect of integration were made, he said, by comparing youngsters in schools with different proportions of black and white students, rather than by following the same children after they had switched from a predominantly black school to a predominantly white one.

"NO SIGNIFICANT GAINS"

In four of the programs he studied, Armor said, black children bused to suburban schools made "no significant gains" when compared to other black students who stayed in inner-city schools or to whites who took the same achievement tests.

In the fifth program, Hartford, the results were mixed. Negro children in suburban schools did better in some grades. But in others, the children in their neighborhood schools scored higher.

Armor, whose prime field of work is research methods and statistics, said he also reviewed reports on over a dozen other desegregation programs, including Berkeley, Calif., and Rochester, N.Y. All of them, he said, were seriously flawed, either by including different tests at different times or by not having a control group against which to check the progress of the students who were bused.

Besides the data on achievement, Armor's study contains the results of questionnaires and psychological tests given to measure children's attitudes toward themselves and toward other races.

Contrary to expectations based on earlier research, Armor said the aspirations of black children were slightly lower in mostly white schools than in all-black ones. But in both types of schools, he said, their ambitions—for white-collar jobs and a college education—were generally high.

One factor in the slight decline, he said,

may be the lower grades that many Negro students get in predominantly white schools. He said that in his study their marks averaged about half a grade lower in these schools—about C, compared to a B-minus average in the mostly black schools.

"Since black students are behind white students (on standard achievement tests)," he said, "we should expect their grades to fall when they are taken from the competition in an all-black school to the competition in a predominantly white school."

In the measures of racial attitudes, Armor said the data indicated that "integration heightens racial identity and consciousness (and) enhances ideologies that promote racial segregation."

This finding, he said, is "the converse . . . (of one of the central sociological hypotheses in integration policy . . . that integration should reduce racial stereotypes, increase tolerance, and generally improve race relations."

Instead, he said, "the effect is the opposite." One indicator of this, he said, was the question he asked black students in Boston: "If you could be in any school you wanted, how many students would be white?"

Among those bused to suburban schools the proportion wanting a school less than half white increased from 51 per cent to 81 per cent between 1968 and 1970. For a group of their brothers and sisters who stayed in city schools, the proportion increased less markedly—from 47 per cent to 66 per cent.

The bused students also became "much more likely to support the idea of black power," Armor said, and between 1969 and 1970, they reported "less friendliness from whites, more free time spent with members of their own race, more incidents of prejudice, and less frequent dating with white students."

"In other words," he concluded, "the longer the contact with whites, the fewer the kinds of interracial experiences that might lead to a general improvement of racial tolerance."

He said the trend is "clearest" for older black students, but also occurred in the elementary grades. "It seems to be true for whites also," he said, "insofar as their support for the integration program decreases and own-race preferences increase as contact increases."

Even though "in the formal sense . . . all races are treated equally" in an integrated school, Armor said the integration itself "does very little in the short term to eliminate the socio-economic and academic status differentials." Thus, he said, stereotyped beliefs can be reinforced.

"For black students," he said, "initial stereotypes about white students as snobbish, superior, and straight may be partially confirmed by actual experience; the same may be true for white stereotypes of black students as non-intellectual, hostile, and having different moral standards."

Pride in their own culture, he said, has been one of the main elements in the change in black attitudes, especially those of young Negroes, during the past decade.

"It would be a mistake," he added, "to view the increased racial solidarity of black students as a completely negative finding (for) . . . a certain amount of culture conflict (is) inevitable and even necessary if an integrated society is to be realized."

Armor, who is white and lives in a Boston suburb, said his own children attend a school to which black youngsters are bused in a voluntary program, and he urged that such programs be continued.

In his study Armor also presents data from two reports showing that black students in suburban schools are more likely to go to prestige colleges than those attending inner-city schools. This "channelling effect," he said, supports one of the hoped-for gains in integration.

But, Armor said, the "integration policy

model," advanced by sociologists and courts, also contends that integration will "enhance black achievement, aspirations, and self-esteem, and (improve) race relations."

All four of these goals, he said, have "failed to be supported by the data." And this, he said, "calls into question" the value of mandatory busing programs.

THE GREEK ECONOMY: ILLUSIONS AND REALITY

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, John Pasmazoglou is widely recognized as Greece's leading economist. A political moderate, a man still in his 40's, he helped achieve Greece's associate membership in the Common Market.

Mr. Pasmazoglou, the first Greek recipient of an Eisenhower Fellowship, was formerly assistant director of the Bank of Greece and professor of economics at Athens University. He is a friend of the United States. The NBC "Today" Show recently interviewed him during a series on Greece.

On April 29, 1972, he issued a statement in Athens analyzing the state of the Greek economy.

A few days later he was placed under arrest by the dictatorship, charged with "damaging the national economy."

The tragedy of this arrest reflects the larger tragedy of Greece. Force is rewarded, and moral and intellectual honesty are punished. Again and again the men who may well form the future leadership of a democratic Greece are arrested. And our Government continues to support the jailers.

Under leave to extend my remarks, the Pasmazoglou analysis follows:

SUMMARY STATEMENT ON THE GREEK ECONOMY

(By John Pasmazoglou)

ILLUSIONS AND REALITY

At the beginning of 1967 the Greek economy was strong with a safe monetary and balance of payments situation. Nothing could justify the suspension of democratic procedures for the alleged promotion of economic development. Such an argument is in any case hardly acceptable, since it would also imply that democratic rule should be discontinued whenever a country faces economic difficulties.

Neither would Greek economic developments in the last five years justify ex post the coup of April 1967, although the argument could again be hardly acceptable, morally and politically. With the application of internationally established criteria it can be ascertained that progress in crucial economic magnitudes has significantly slowed down since 1967, while at the same time the constraints on growth are becoming tighter, in particular, from the balance of payments, the basic credit relationships and the suspension of major parts of Greece's Agreement of Association with the European Community.

Certain appearances, which are being frequently emphasized in Greece and abroad, are misleading and cannot form the basis for an accurate assessment of Greek economic achievements and perspectives since 1967. The increase of per capita income, which reached the 1000 dollar mark in 1971, was almost exclusively the product of the develop-

ment mechanisms set in motion before 1967 and was realized despite the decline of the average annual rate of growth of gross national product from 7.65 per cent in the four year period 1963-66 to 6.2 per cent in the four year period 1967-70 or 7 per cent in the four year period 1968-71. Total private consumption (as a measure of the overall standard of living) increased since 1967 at an average annual rate of about 6.3 per cent which was the rate of improvement over the whole ten year period 1957-66 as against 7.6 per cent in the four year period 1963-66. The manifestations of an expanding modern consumer society are the consequence of a number of developments such as (a) the increase of urban incomes which was followed by an acceleration in the growth of demand for consumer durables, such as cars, electrical appliances or television sets, (b) the major expansion of bank credit associated with "credit leakages" which reinforced the liquidity and spending power of the borrowing business community, their associates and other professionals and induced a significant expansion of sales on credit, (c) the resumption of mass emigration and of tourist expansion leading to the spread of modern consumer patterns in the provincial urban centers.

These manifestations however can not affect the conclusions on the developments and perspectives of Greek productive development drawn from the following considerations, based on published statistics and on estimates and announcements by various government departments or other agencies.

THE RELEVANT CONSIDERATIONS

1. Major slowdown in the development of the agricultural sector.

The average annual rate of increase of income from agriculture at constant prices has fallen from 4.2 per cent in the four year period 1963-66 to 2 per cent in the four year period 1968-71. The rates after 1967 correspond to about half or less than half the 5 per cent rate, which was the target of the regime for the five year period 1968-72.

The relative decline of growth rates is more pronounced for income from agricultural activities at current prices, from an annual rate of 9.1 per cent in 1963-66 to 4.7 or 4.0 per cent in 1967-70 or 1968-71, respectively. The decline of 5 percentage points in the rate of increase of agricultural income corresponds in four years to a loss of more than the total amount of agricultural debts cancelled by the regime in 1968.

The slowdown in agricultural progress is not unconnected with the sharp fall of the average annual rate of increase in agricultural exports from about 12 per cent in 1963-66 to 2.6 in 1967-70 or less than 2 per cent in 1968-71. The difficulties and uncertainty in the exports of agricultural products are largely due to the suspension of "agricultural harmonisation" provided in Greece's 1961 Agreement of Association with the European Economic Community for the permanent application of common agricultural policies to the benefit of Greek export products. Major parts of this Agreement were set in abeyance after the suspension of democratic rule in April 1967.

2. Significant decline in the rate of increase of private fixed capital investment in manufacturing.

The average annual rate of real increase of private fixed capital investment in manufacturing declined to half or two thirds of the corresponding rate before 1967, from 25.3 per cent in 1963-66 (four years) to 11.3 per cent in 1967-70 (four years) and 15-16 per cent estimated for 1968-71 (four years).

The continued rise in industrial production and exports after 1967 results from investments, 3/5 of which are estimated to have been already realized before 1967 by firms already operating at that time.

3. Public Finance: Exceptional tax treat-

ment for the benefit of economically powerful groups; low rates of increase in expenditure for education and social services.

Favourable tax arrangements were introduced since 1967 in favour of various categories of "non-labour" income, such as dividends and shipping profits but the resulting benefits to economic development are at best doubtful. The exemption of larger ships, engaged in international transportation from taxes on inheritance, donations and dowries is a serious breach of a principle of major economic and social importance.

The average annual increase of public expenditure (current prices) in the three year period 1967-69 (complete statistics for the 1970 financial year are not yet available) was 7 per cent for the Ministry of Education, 8 per cent for the combined Ministries of Social Services and Labour and 21 per cent for defense and public security. The relative orders of magnitude would not be significantly different if corresponding national account statistics were used or if the four year period 1967-70 were covered.

4. The rate of expansion of bank credit is significantly higher (double in the two year period 1970-71) than the corresponding rates of increase in the national product, industrial production and private fixed capital investment.

The annual rate of increase of bank credit to the private sector rose from 14 per cent in 1963-66 to 19 per cent in 1967-70 and reached 22.5 per cent in 1970-71. The last rate is more than double the average annual increase of 1970-71 of gross national product (at current prices), industrial production and private fixed capital formation.

According to other estimates the ratio of financing from domestic bank credit and identifiable external sources to private investment rose since 1967 by 40 to 70 per cent, over the corresponding average ratios for 1963-66.

These findings suggest a smaller and falling participation of own funds in investment which would imply a weaker risk taking and a declining borrowing capacity for future business ventures.

5. Major increase in the deficit on current account and in the "basic" deficit of the balance of payments.

The rate of increase in export earnings declined from 13.5 per cent in the four year period 1963-66 to 11.1 per cent in the four year period 1967-70 or 8.5 per cent in the four year period 1968-71. Although the rate of increase in payments for imports declined and current invisible earnings sharply rose in the last two years, the balance of payments deficit on current account (which is the net balance of payments for imports of goods minus earnings from exports and net current invisibles) increased from 264 million dollars in 1966 to 361 million dollars in 1971. The increase in the deficit by more than 35 per cent between 1966 and 1971 makes rather unlikely the achievement of the 10 per cent decline in the deficit between these two years, which constituted the target of the present rulers.

Developments in the balance of payments are internationally analysed with the help of the so-called "basic" balance or deficit, i.e. the difference between the deficit on current account and the net inflow of long term capital, private and public, excluding short-term capital and accommodating finance by the monetary authorities. According to the estimates of the International Monetary Fund a "basic" surplus over the period 1960-66 (as presented in the IMF Annual Report) was reversed into average annual deficits of 67 and 101 million dollars in the 1967-70 and 1968-71 four year periods, respectively, with a corresponding estimate of 145 million dollars for 1971.

Greece was deprived of about 200 million dollars in earnings from the decline of tourism in the five years 1967-71. This loss was

not offset by the significant rise in 1970 and the sharp increase in 1971 in receipts from tourism. The economy was also deprived of an estimated total of about 200 million dollars in the form of long term loans or other capital over a period of about five years following the suspension of the financial assistance provisions of the Agreement of Association of Greece with the European Community. The total loss of 400 million dollars of resources on these two counts represent the shortfall which, until 1971 inclusive, is directly imputable to the suspension of democratic rule in Greece in April 1967. As against this shortfall 440 million dollars in the four year period 1967-70 or 600 million dollars in the four year period 1968-71 were raised through short or medium term distress borrowing for the maintenance of overall equilibrium in the balance of payments. Total external debt of the country rose from an estimated total of about 1100 at the end of 1966 to about 2400 million dollars (excluding pre-war debt) at the end of 1971.

The increase in official reserves from 273 million dollars at the end of 1966 to 503 million dollars at the end of 1971 is largely the result of the increase in short term foreign exchange deposits and borrowing by the Bank of Greece. The ratio of official reserves to obligations maturing within twelve months declined from 0.95 at the end of 1966 to 0.71 at the end of 1971 while the same ratio for total reserves, i.e. including the special gold sovereign fund at the Bank of Greece, declined from an estimated 1.25 at the end of 1966 to an estimated 0.78 at the end of 1971.

6. Widening of economic inequalities.

(a) The per capita income at current prices from agricultural activities rose at an annual rate of 11 per cent in 1963-66 and 6-6.5 per cent in the four year periods after 1967. Since the rate of increase in per capita urban income remained unchanged, these developments led to a widening of the gap between the two income categories.

(b) The average annual increase since 1967 in money earnings of civil servants, of the employees of public corporations and banks and of minimum wages varies between 5.2 and 7 per cent and is substantially lower than the corresponding rates of increase of 8-9 per cent in 1963-66. Weekly and monthly earnings by workers and employees in industrial establishments with hired personnel of 10 or more, rose by annual rates varying between 7 and 9 per cent which are slightly lower than the corresponding annual rates in 1963-66. The relatively more rapid increases of wages and salaries in industry compared to minimum wages in 1968-71 should be accounted for by the resumption of mass emigration in numbers probably twice as high as the increase in urban employment over the last four years.

(c) The exceptional tax treatment to the advantage of economically powerful groups, with at least doubtful results for the development of the national economy, does not contribute to the narrowing of economic inequality.

7. "Order and tranquillity" without representative government, does not promote entrepreneurial activity according to recent Greek experience.

The inflow of private productive capital with the approvals and guarantees of Greece's special legislation as well as of "other" business capital, declined since 1967. The gross total of such inflows has fallen from 377 million dollars in 1963-66 to 320 million dollars in 1968-71 (excluding the value of aircraft hired, not purchased, by Olympic Airways). But if repatriation is deducted the total net inflows declined from about 350 million dollars in 1963-66 to about 200 million dollars in 1968-71.

Despite the acceleration of the rise in bank credit and tax or other powerful inducements, the average annual rate of increase in total private fixed capital investment de-

clined from an average of 15 per cent in the four year period 1963-66 to about 13 per cent in the four year period 1968-71 and to 5 per cent in the two year period 1970-71 according to recent official statistics.

A GLIMPSE OF THE FUTURE

Greek economic experience since 1967 is associated with a grave loss of opportunities, resources and strength. The origin and character of the present regime make reliance on increasing profit inducements and concessionary deals inevitable. Under such impulses and arrangements economic development is found to suffer either from difficulties in securing rapid and abnormal profits—as has already appeared in the breakdown of almost all major foreign investment contracts concluded in recent years—or by wild rapid profit-seeking undertakings. Nevertheless growth is likely to proceed on the mechanisms already established and there will be an appearance of improvements in social conditions as long as mass emigration continues.

Despite the fallout of the world tourist explosion and possible further increases in current invisibles, the balance of payments constraint will very likely become increasingly pressing. However, the rise in spending and consumption may continue and a climate of euphoria may be maintained, as long as "windfalls" and "window-dressing" or other "distress action" postpone the moment of reckoning.

The long-term prospects of the Greek economy largely depend on the restoration of democratic procedures. For it is only on the strength of popular support and social acceptance that the conditions of economic and social progress can be secured in Greece. These should include: (a) social peace based on the rule of law in the form of democratically enacted legislation, as distinct from stillness enforced by intimidation and arbitrary action; (b) an increasingly wide and active participation in decision-making and in the fruits of progress of farmers and workers, trained specialists and technicians; (c) the political ability to undertake drastic action and essential reforms and to enter into lasting contractual arrangements; (d) an international position commanding respect and allowing effective negotiation and protection of vital Greek interests.

With such conditions, the long-term prospects of the Greek economy are bright. Political antagonism frequently became heated in the past but many causes of social strife, such as the racial or religious discrimination encountered in developed and underdeveloped countries, are absent in Greece. Poverty still exists in the rural areas, yet repeated land reforms since the early part of the century have almost eliminated large-scale landownership. Despite marked inequalities in wealth and income there has been continued improvement in social conditions over the last sixty years.

With brief interruptions (about 12 in almost 130 years) representative government from about the middle of the nineteenth century secured substantial democratic advances and significant progress in labor and social legislation in comparison with many Western countries. A profound attachment to the ideals of freedom is associated in the Greek people with a feeling of repulsion towards totalitarianism practices of any kind.

These characteristics explain why an authoritarian regime has small chance of ever gaining popular support in Greece. These same features imply that only by the respect of the democratic principles in public life can real long-term social peace and permanent improvements in government be secured.

Within such a perspective, the principal force of Greek economic development would be the available, still underemployed and untapped human resources. Imagination and

drive in business initiatives could become a constructive factor only within a wider international framework and in co-operation with a truly representative government. A rapid expansion and improvement of the educational system would release an increasing number of responsible experts, managers and State officials, who would become a leading force for progress in a Greek society playing its full part in the emerging European context.

ISRAEL AT 24 FAIR AND EXPOSITION

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, on May 7 I served as honorary cochairman of the Israel at 24 Fair and Exposition held at C.W. Post College. I want to take this opportunity to inform my colleagues in the House that this fair was an overwhelming success.

The exposition was particularly meaningful because it graphically illustrated numerous aspects of Israeli life and culture and served to demonstrate the commitment of the people of Long Island to the ideals of the State of Israel.

It was a great pleasure for me to participate in and attend this important event. I would like at this point in the Record to include the people and organizations who devoted their efforts to this exposition.

LONG ISLAND COMMITTEE FOR THE CELEBRATION OF ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE DAY AND THE AMERICAN ZIONIST FEDERATION OF LONG ISLAND PRESENT ISRAEL AT 24 FAIR AND EXPOSITION, SUNDAY, MAY 7, 1972, C. W. POST COLLEGE, BROOKVILLE, N.Y., MARCH 21, 1972.

Chairman Mel Dubin.
Hon. Chairman, Hon. Ralph G. Caso.
Chairmen of the Board, Mrs. Jack Eisen, American Zionist Federation of Long Island.
Mrs. Harry Newman, Mrs. Murray Singer, L.I. Comm. for Celebration of Israel Ind. Day.

Honorary Co-Chairmen, Sen. Jacob J. Javits, Hon. Stanley Harwood, Hon. Norman Lent, Hon. Francis T. Purcell, Hon. Michael J. Tully, Jr., Hon. Lester Wolff, Hon. John W. Wyder.

American Zionist Fed. Reg. Dir., David Disenhouse.

Coordinator, David L. Posner.

Liaison, Mrs. Philip Levy.

Treasurer, Hank Bruder.

Legal Counsel, Norman Feiden.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Long Island Committee for the Celebration of Israel Independence Day

American Jewish Committee, Harold Applebaum, Walter Brecher.

American Jewish Congress, Mrs. Gustave N. Goldman, Dr. Stanley Greenberg, Stanley S. Kreutzer, Harry Minkoff.

Anti-Defamation League, Joel Komarow.

B'nai Brith, Mrs. Sydelle Miller, Harold Stangler.

Chal Committee, David L. Posner.

Hebrew Academy of Nassau County, Rabbi Meyer Fendel.

Jewish War Veterans, Rick Drawas, Commander.

L. I. Committee for Soviet Jewry, Mrs. Inez Weissman.

Mid Island YM-YWHA, Percy Abrams.

Nassau-Suffolk Board of Rabbis, Rabbi Krohn.

New York Board of Rabbis, Rabbi William Berkowitz.

ORT, Mrs. Morton Shumsky.

United Synagogue of America, Irving I. Silverman.

National Council of Jewish Women, Sylvia Monk.

Workman's Circle, Harry Levine.

L.I. Council of Jewish Organizations, Rabbi Julius Goldberg.

American Zionist Federation of Long Island

Americans and Canadians for Aliyah.

American Jewish League for Israel, Judah Richards.

Americans for Progressive Israel, Norman Rabinowitz.

B'nai Zion, Joseph Brown.

Hadassah, Mrs. Alfred Dreisman, Mrs. Gerald Shukow.

Hapoel Hamizrachi Women.

Labor Zionist Alliance, Ben Barlas.

Mizrachi Women, Mrs. Joseph Fuller.

Pioneer Women, Mrs. Leonard Berger.

Religious Zionists of America, Norman Feiden.

United Zionist Revisionists of Amer.

Zionist Organization of America, Nat Schwartz, Martin Altman.

All Zionist Youth and Student Organizations, Israel Aliyah Center, Yehoshua Yadlin.

Midway Jewish Center, Phillip Krieger.

L.I. Assn. of Reform Rabbis.

Rabbinical Assembly Nassau Suffolk Region.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Nachum Golan, Dir. Israel Aliyah Center.
Mrs. Shirley Kalb, American Zionist Youth Foundation.

Yehoshua Leor, Dir. Sherut La'am Service, to our people.

Zalman Segal, V.P. First Israel Bank.

Yehuda Shiv, V.P. Leumi Securities.

Shaul Peer, Dir. Kibbutz Aliyah Desk.

A. Ady Gelber, El-Al Airlines.

Mordechai Peled, Dir. Youth Aliyah.

Abram Salomon, Exec. V.P. Jewish Nat'l Fund.

Pinhas Friedenberg, Summer Programs & Study in Israel.

Nahum Eshkol, Israel Consul, Cultural Affairs.

Ram Oren, Sect. Gen. Israel Students Organ.

Arie Shiby, Israel Gov't Tourist Agency.

Irving Green, Bar Ilan University.

Harry Levine, Treas., Amer. Comm. for Weizmann Inst.

Dr. Sol Stein, NCL (Histadrut).

Rafael Aldor, Israeli Consul, Israel Coins and Medals.

Shimon Topor, Dir. Tour V'Alah.

Yitzhak Leor, Consul, Consulate General of Israel.

HON. LESTER WOLFF,

Port Washington, N.Y.

DEAR MR. WOLFF: It is with great pride and pleasure that we look forward to your joining us for the opening ceremonies on Sunday, May 7th, 1972 at 12:30 P.M., C. W. Post College.

Nearly an acre of indoor and outdoor facilities will be utilized to accommodate the expected attendance of 25,000 people. Ambassador David Rivlin, Counsel General of Israel in New York is our special guest this year. We have also requested a taped message from Prime Minister Golda Meir which I have just learned is on the way.

The day promises to be one of great excitement and entertainment. I want to thank you for your cooperation and participation above and beyond the call of duty in many areas. Looking forward with pleasure to seeing you on Saturday, March 25th at the Franklin Square Post Office and Sunday, May 7th at C. W. Post.

Cordially yours,

LYNN SINGER, Chairman.

BREIDNER CHAIRMAN OF COMMON COUNCIL

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared recently in the Ledger referring to the election of Mr. Samuel Breidner to the position of chairman of the Northeast Queens Common Council.

I take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Breidner and the other officers and directors on their election and to commend them for their fine efforts in getting the community involved in local affairs. The article follows:

BREIDNER CHAIRMAN OF COMMON COUNCIL

Samuel Breidner of Douglaston was elected chairman of the Common Council of Northeast Queens at a meeting last week in the St. Anastasia's Catholic Church hall.

William T. Glover was elected vice chairman, Norman George, recording secretary, Seymour Seplowe, corresponding secretary, and Samuel Abrahamer, treasurer.

Directors are Mrs. Rose Simon, Mrs. Anne Jawin, Robert Homsey, Mrs. Edna Dwyer, John N. Smith, Robert Denigar, Mrs. Helene Zaro, Mrs. Marilyn Lipner, Louis Butti, Frank Padazan, Harry Shea and Milton Horowitz.

The purpose of the council, which includes the area north of Hillside Avenue and east of Francis Lewis Boulevard, is to inform communities of proposed changes in public service, land use and laws and to take appropriate action in fact-finding and formulating recommendations.

Breidner, an English teacher at Benjamin Cardozo High School said the key to the council's success would be to get "everyone involved," despite differences in politics and despite the fact that the many members represent dozens of organizations in the area, each serving different purposes.

LOUISIANA SENATE SUPPORTS PRESIDENT'S ACTION IN VIETNAM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. RARICK. The Senate of the Louisiana Legislature recently passed a resolution in support of the bombing and mining of North Vietnamese harbors as an effort to protect the lives and safety of our troops and of our allies.

I insert a copy of Senate Resolution No. 18 as approved by the upper house of the Louisiana Legislature in the RECORD at this point.

The resolution follows:

A resolution to express to the President and the Congress of the United States the support of the Senate of Louisiana for the recent action taken by the President in the Vietnam conflict

Whereas, there are some 60,000 American troops engaged in the Vietnam conflict and fourteen to fifteen hundred American soldiers remain confined in prisoner-of-war camps in Vietnam, who have loved ones in the United States anxiously awaiting their return; and

Whereas, the interests of world peace and the welfare of all peoples make it imperative

that the Government of the United States do everything possible to protect the lives and safety of our troops and of our allies in South Vietnam because men cause wars, weapons do not; and

Whereas, there is a need to terminate this terrible war but in an honorable manner.

Therefore, be it resolved by the Senate of the Legislature of Louisiana that members of the Senate do hereby express to the President and the Congress of the United States their support for the recent action taken by the President in the Vietnam conflict.

Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution shall be sent to the President of the United States, the members of the Louisiana Congressional delegation, the Department of Louisiana Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Department of Louisiana American Legion, the latter two both located at the Old State Capitol in Baton Rouge.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

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

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

How long?

PHILADELPHIA PORT

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, since the colonial period the Philadelphia port has been one of the Nation's leading ports. It has a long history of excellent service both to the shipper and other businesses which use its facilities.

At this time I enter into the RECORD a statement from the city government about the increasing facilities and service at the port:

PHILADELPHIA PORT

Associated Container Transport (ACT) inaugurated a twice monthly container service from the Port of Philadelphia to Australia and New Zealand ports today, City Representative and Director of Commerce Harry R. Belinger announced.

The first of five containerships to call at the Packer Avenue Marine Terminal "ACT 3" arrived today. The vessels are capable of carrying 1,183 twenty-foot containers of which 556 are refrigerated. In addition, every ship has 168,000 cubic ft. of space for lifts too large or too heavy for containers.

ACT is a consortium of four major steamship companies which for the past year have been operating a fleet of new containerships between the East Coast of North America and Australia/New Zealand under the name PACE Line. PACE is a short title for Pacific American Container Express.

Michael B. Northen, president of ACT said that Philadelphia was selected as one of the

ports to be served directly because the volume of cargo makes it economic to do so.

"In fact," Northen added, "many of our customers surveyed particularly stated a preference for Philadelphia. It now offers very modern container facilities and in many cases, more favorable inland transportation rates."

Lavino Shipping Company, which operates the Packer Avenue Marine Terminal, has been appointed agents for ACT's PACE Line Service in the Pennsylvania area. They will be responsible for all export and import activities including operations and sales.

POLICE PAY HIKES

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, all of us know that a key element in the success the District of Columbia has had in reducing crime has been the dedication and expertise of the men and women of the District of Columbia Police Department.

But despite their tremendous achievements and the great risks they take every day, they have not had a raise since 1969.

In a recent editorial, WMAL AM-FM-TV called on Congress to end this inequity. I agree wholeheartedly with WMAL and its call for police raises and have indicated to the House District of Columbia Committee my strong support for pending legislation to give the police and firemen a much-deserved raise. I insert the WMAL editorial in the RECORD:

POLICE PAY HIKES

We can't help but be impressed with the way in which the D.C. Police Department continues to chop away at the crime problem. According to the latest statistics, serious crime was down again in March, more than 27% under March a year ago. That rolls the serious crime level back to where it was in 1966.

All this in the face of rising crime just about everywhere else, including the Washington suburbs.

And Police Chief Wilson predicts the rate will continue to drop here.

Not bad when you consider that District police, and firemen as well, have the lowest starting salary in this area. They haven't had a raise since 1969, while the salaries of federal and D.C. workers were going up 17%. So that's what the police and firemen are asking Congress for now.

This low pay has taken its toll. Over the past two years, about 1100 policemen with less than two years service have quit, many to join police units in the suburbs. Money was a major reason.

It's time Congress put an end to this inequity at least.

SUPPORT URGED FOR VEHICLE COST SAVINGS ACT

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 22, 1972

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to urge congressional support today for a

bill intended to help reduce car repair costs caused by structural, manufacturing deficiencies. This measure was drafted by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on which I serve.

Known as the Motor Vehicle Information and Cost Savings Act, the legislation would direct the Department of Transportation to establish Federal bumper standards to reduce damages sustained in low-speed collisions. It would also establish a consumer information program intended to stimulate competition among manufacturers to produce cars

more resistant to damage and less costly to repair. It would prohibit any tampering with odometers to mislead buyers about the actual mileage of a car.

Certainly, there is not a car owner in the Nation who has not seen repair costs grow by leaps and bounds in recent years. Nationally, we are now spending between \$25 and \$30 billion a year to get our cars repaired, and billions more for accident insurance coverage.

Yet reputable tests have shown that better bumper construction in cases of minor accidents would help enormously

to reduce these repair costs, since about 60 percent of all automobile accidents occur at impact speeds of 5 miles per hour or less. The legislation we have drafted is carefully designed to stimulate car manufacturers to build better bumpers that will withstand these minor bangs and bumps without requiring major structural repairs. We know the technology already exists to do the job.

I believe consumers will be well served by this and other features of this measure, and recommend its passage wholeheartedly.

SENATE—Tuesday, May 23, 1972

The Senate met at 12 noon and was called to order by Hon. LAWTON CHILES, a Senator from the State of Florida.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Father, who has taught us that even good leaders must themselves be lead, that wise governors must themselves have a wiser governor, that wielders of power must themselves be under a higher power, be to us that leader, governor, and higher power. We beseech Thee to grant to the President and to all in positions of public trust that higher wisdom, that nobler vision, and that stewardship of power which leads to peace and righteousness on this earth. Keep those who labor here cheerful when things go wrong, persevering when things are difficult, serene when things are irritating, strong in mind and resourceful in spirit until the day is done. Then grant them Thy peace.

Through Him who is our light and our salvation. 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 23, 1972.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. LAWTON CHILES, a Senator from the State of Florida, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
President pro tempore.

Mr. CHILES thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE SUBMITTED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the Senate of May 22, 1972, the following reports of a committee were submitted on May 22, 1972:

By Mr. JACKSON, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, without amendment:

H.R. 1915. An act to provide for the conveyance of certain real property of the United States (Rept. No. 92-800).

By Mr. METCALF, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments:

S. 3230. A bill to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay a judgment in favor of the Assiniboine Tribes of Indians in Indian Claims Commission docket No. 279-A, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 92-799).

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on May 18, 1972, the President had approved and signed the following act and joint resolution:

S. 1379. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to establish a volunteers in the national forests program, and for other purposes; and

S.J. Res. 234. Joint resolution deploring the attempted assassination of Gov. George C. Wallace, of Alabama.

REPORT ON OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore (Mr. CHILES) 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 Labor and Public Welfare:

To the Congress of the United States:

On-the-job protection of American workers continues as a high priority goal in this Administration's effort to improve the quality of life for all Americans.

The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, which I signed into law on December 29, 1970, is a major step towards improving workplace conditions. As I said at that time, this legislation is one of the most important measures ever taken in behalf of those American workers who are covered by the provisions of the act.

The accompanying President's Report on Occupational Safety and Health describes what has been done to implement the act during the first year of its operation, and it also indicates the magnitude and direction of the task ahead. The report examines the responsibilities of the Department of Labor for setting safety and health standards, and for gaining compliance with those standards. Another part of the report explores the activities of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in research and training.

Like many problems that we face today, the improvement of job safety and health cannot be accomplished by simply pressing a button. If we are to reduce the injuries, the illnesses, and the deaths connected with working conditions, we must take determined actions: we must increase the number of people who are trained in health and safety techniques; knowledge of the causes of accidents and illnesses must be developed; this knowledge must be translated into effective standards; employers and employees require adequate instructions; and standards must be enforced through energetic and rigorous inspection programs.

Above all else, if we are to be successful, the full collaboration of private industry, the States and the employees must be enlisted.

The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 recognizes the need of reinforcing the role of the States in resolving our national problems. As a consequence, the implementation of the act has emphasized cooperative programs with State Governments. The involvement of the States in these programs has been gratifying. It is a testimonial to the flexibility and vigor of our Federal-State system that the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Virgin Islands have all expressed a willingness to develop plans for setting and enforcing standards that are at least on a par with the Federal requirements fixed by the act.

In addition, many States are actually aiding the Federal Government by gathering superior statistical data that will provide a basis for charting the future direction of safety and health programs. Many States, too, are now assisting the Federal Government in the enforcement of standards.