

cannot be reached on Tuesday, action will occur thereon on Wednesday, together with any of the enumerated amendments, in inverse order, left over from Tuesday.

In fine, there will be rollcall votes tomorrow, there will be rollcall votes Tuesday next, and there will be rollcall votes Wednesday next.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, the distinguished majority whip has done an excellent job in getting the various time agreements and lining up the business of the Senate. It is even conceivable, I hope, that the unfinished business, the State Department USIA bill, might be completed next week. I hope so.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. As far as I know, if I may respond to the distinguished assistant Republican leader, there is only one amendment other than the amendments that have been clocked in, on each of which we have agreed to a time limitation—and other than the pending amendments by Mr. GRIFFIN, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. CASE, Mr. STENNIS, all of which are so-called war amendments—there is only one additional amendment, and that would be an amendment by Mr. BOGGS and Mr. ROTH. So conceivably—and I emphasize con-

ceivably—the Senate could complete action on the State authorization bill Wednesday. I would prefer to think, in view of the lineup of amendments, that in all likelihood it would be Thursday of next week before the Senate would complete action on the State authorization bill.

The distinguished majority leader has stated his intention of then calling up the nomination of Mr. Kleindienst immediately upon the disposition of the unfinished business.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I thank the distinguished majority whip for that information and I join in the hope that it will be by at least Thursday.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and I assume this will be the final quorum call of the day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President,

if I may add one postscript, tomorrow will be a reasonably long day for a Thursday preceding a holiday. By that I mean I would expect the Senate to be in session until 4 o'clock, 4:30, or perhaps 5 o'clock—but hopefully not that long. Tuesday next will be a long day, and Wednesday, I should think, would be a long day. So there may be a good many long days ahead.

ADJOURNMENT TO 10 A.M.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and at 5:33 p.m. the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, May 25, 1972, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate May 24, 1972:

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

Edwin S. Cohen, of Virginia, to be Under Secretary of the Treasury, vice Charis E. Walker.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ARE AGENCIES INDEPENDENT?

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations has been conducting hearings on S. 448. This legislation would bring the budgets of independent regulatory commissions directly to the Congress, rather than through the Office of Management and Budget, which on numerous occasions has eroded regulatory functions, especially in the consumer protection field, by reduction of fund and personnel requests.

Previous hearings by the subcommittee have dealt in part with OMB impediment, through industry advisory committees, of information collection by the regulatory commissions and other Federal agencies. These hearings have led to unanimous subcommittee approval of S. 3529, the Federal Advisory Committee Act, which is cosponsored by Senators MUSKIE, PERCY, GURNEY, ROTH, BROCK, CHILES, HUMPHREY, HART, and myself.

Another area of questionable executive branch influence on the independent regulatory commissions was described by Stephen M. Aug, of the Washington Evening Star, in its May 21 issue. In the article, entitled "Are Agencies Independent?", Mr. Aug discusses the practice of several agency chairmen of sending regular reports to White House Assistant Peter Flanigan.

The provision of information, some innocuous and some not, only to the White House, without making this information equally available to the pub-

lic and to the Congress, in another of the methods by which the regulatory commissions are losing their independence and becoming part of the executive establishment. I would emphasize here that this practice of monthly reports by regulatory commissions to the White House was not established by the present administration. It was begun early in 1961, at the request of an assistant to President Kennedy.

We are dealing here with a bipartisan problem of diminution of legislative authority, brought on in part by lack of legislative oversight of the regulatory commissions established by the Congress.

The Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, under the able direction of the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE), with the full cooperation of the ranking minority member of the subcommittee, Mr. GURNEY, and the ranking minority member of the full committee, Mr. PERCY, with tremendous contributions by the freshman members, Mr. CHILES, Mr. ROTH, and Mr. BROCK, is attempting to redress the present imbalance that has removed power from the legislative branch and the regulatory agencies responsible to the Congress, and concentrated power in the executive branch.

Mr. Aug's article provides Senators with information that will be most useful in this effort. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

ARE AGENCIES INDEPENDENT?

(By Stephen M. Aug)

Once a month Federal Communication Commissions Chairman Dean Burch signs a short "Dear Peter" letter to White House as-

stant Peter M. Flanigan and bundles off a summary of what the FCC did during the previous 30 days.

Similar letters—some more formal—are sent to Flanigan by the heads of the Federal Maritime Commission and Federal Power Commission, while the Interstate Commerce Commission sends a monthly report addressed to the President.

At the Civil Aeronautics Board, where the practice of giving the White House a written monthly summary was abandoned several months ago after it was found that nobody was reading them, Chairman Secor D. Browne meets periodically with Flanigan.

In fact, over a 31-month period beginning in October 1969, Flanigan and Browne met 24 times to discuss the state of the airlines in general, the problems of Pan American World Airways in particular, and international airline matters.

The Securities and Exchange Commission apparently never has filed monthly reports, but its chairman, William J. Casey, has discussed financial industry matters, primarily those involving legislation, with Flanigan at some length.

Contacts between the White House and the regulatory agencies are very sensitive on two grounds.

First, Congress views the agencies as its chosen instruments to regulate commerce. In fact, the agencies regulate a wide range of the economy, from the price of long distance telephone calls and the price of airplane tickets to the construction of power projects and the amount of stockbrokers' commissions.

Second, the commissioners of these agencies have responsibilities much the same as judges for individual cases on rates, license renewals, airline and trucking route awards and the like. They are, in short, supposed to be independent of outside influences.

And, as a May 21, 1969, memo from Flanigan to the White House staff put it: "Obviously, any executive interference in this quasi-judicial function would be highly improper."

Flanigan, the presidential assistant whose special area includes economic matters, and regulatory affairs, was a central figure in the recent controversy involving allegations of White House interference in a major Justice Department antitrust suit against International Telephone & Telegraph Corp.

It was through Flanigan that a financial consultant—one of his old acquaintances—was hired to study the financial effects of forcing ITT to give up a subsidiary firm, the Hartford Fire Insurance Co. The study, which was critical of such a divestiture, was said to have been a principal reason why the Justice Department settled the suit and allowed ITT to retain Hartford, while giving up other companies, rather than taking the matter to the Supreme Court.

THE 1961 MEMORANDUM

Those monthly reports from regulatory agencies to the White House date from early in the administration of President John F. Kennedy—February 1961—but few individuals outside or inside government know about them. The agencies themselves have sought primarily to keep them private, despite the fact that the 1961 White House memorandum that asked for them was made public following a newspaper's disclosure of its existence.

The original request, dated Feb. 7, 1961, and sent to all the regulatory agencies, was signed by Frederick G. Dutton, an aide to President Kennedy. Dutton, now a Washington lawyer, wrote that "the President will appreciate receiving . . . a brief, informal written summary from the chief officer of the agency on its principal activities during the preceding month and pending for the period immediately ahead."

With the exception of the CAB, which lists upcoming speeches and hearings, none of the agencies regularly includes future events.

The CAB, further, was the only agency where copies of the report, though not normally considered a public document, were promptly provided to a reporter. At the ICC and FMC they were provided officially only after interviews of the chairmen. The FTC required a written request and took 23 days to approve it. Burch refused, through an aide, to grant access to the FCC reports.

Although monthly reports are sent to the White House by all agencies in the executive branch of the government, one long-time Justice Department lawyer in a policy role at first expressed amazement when told that the independent regulatory agencies were submitting them as well.

Then he shrugged and said, "You know, years ago nobody in the executive branch would dare get involved with the agencies; but in recent years, well . . ."

For the most part the agency reports represent an innocuous compilation of activities during the preceding month. In fact, the Federal Trade Commission, which does not file the monthly report, provides the White House daily with a bundle of press releases, speeches and texts of FTC orders.

There appear to be, however, some monthly memos which do provide an insight into agency thinking—and, in some cases, non-public information. The Federal Power Commission is an example.

The FPC regulates rates charged by natural gas producers and gas pipelines and rates for wholesale sales of electric power. In September 1969, less than a month after he became chairman of the agency, John N. Nassikas wrote Flanigan about an upcoming report.

"A commission staff report on the adequacy of natural gas reserves is in the stage of final review and is expected to be released within the next few weeks," Nassikas wrote, giving the White House an indication that could have been helpful if the President or one of his advisers were, say, preparing a speech on energy matters. Or, it would have given the White House time in which to call the FPC

for an advance copy of the report before it is made public.

The Nassikas letter explained that the report, which would examine the full range of natural gas supply and demand relationships "is intended to provide a factual basis for future government and industry policy decisions" dealing with natural gas.

By the fall of 1969 it was widely known that the nation's natural gas supply was in trouble. The American Gas Association, a trade organization on which the FPC for years has relied for estimates of natural gas reserves, had reported months earlier that for the first time in history the nation had consumed more gas than it had added to reserves.

Nassikas' predecessor, Lee C. White, had alluded to the gas problem in a monthly report to Flanigan dated June 10, 1969. After pointing out the gas association's figures, White disclosed that "we have held informal meetings during the last month with representatives of the pipeline industry, producers and gas distributors for general discussions focusing on gas supply questions."

White outlined some of the problems that were discussed during the meetings that had been sought by the industry.

William L. Webb, FPC public information director, told The Star there had been no public announcement of the meetings, and they were not open to the public. He contended, however, that the fact they were held was not a secret because White's letters setting up the meetings were placed into files which are available for public inspection.

The FPC, initially reluctant to make copies of the monthly reports available for a reporter's examination, has since decided that the reports will be made available to anyone on request.

MARITIME COMMISSION

The monthly reports of the Federal Maritime Commission—which regulates ocean shipping—also appear to contain information that in some instances has not been given wide publicity. One report, dated Feb. 2, 1970, details a host of problems dealing with Latin America.

Helen Delich Bentley, a former Baltimore newspaper reporter who now is FMC chairman, said the problems involving Latin America probably came from speeches she had given. But FMC public information files do not contain such a speech.

The 1970 letter says "staff members of the Federal Maritime Commission are participating in meetings, looking toward the formation of an interim United States shipping policy for the developing nations, to permit greater participation of South American lines in the movement of cargoes without patent discriminatory action against the operation of U.S. shipping lines."

The letter contains a rundown of problems in Brazil, Peru, Chile and Mexico.

The monthly reports, however, aren't Mrs. Bentley's only way of keeping in touch at the White House. She discusses personnel—presumably ranking appointments at the agency—as well as upcoming vacancies on the five-member commission.

Further, she indicated there have been discussions over skyrocketing freight rates on some foreign trade routes—rates over which the commission has no control. She is considering legislation that would give the agency power to block increases it believes are unjustified.

Lengthy talks, have taken place between Flanigan and the CAB's Browne. The discussions, Browne said in an interview "were my idea. They involved what the President ought to know."

Among the matters discussed, he said, was the 25-year history of relations with Ireland on air rights. The Irish have refused to allow U.S. airlines to land at Dublin, relegating them to the distant Shannon airport. U.S. airlines have complained, because Irish Airlines, a government-owned company, flies direct,

Dublin to New York. Browne said he urged Flanigan to convince the President to support a decision to ask the Irish to allow U.S. airlines to land at Dublin.

Browne said he and Flanigan did not discuss the explosive subject of airline mergers—up to a point. "The only discussions there would ever be of a merger would be if the board reaches a decision and then it goes to the Office of Management and Budget . . . and then to the President," Browne said. He added also that "the President, through Peter Flanigan, has every right to complain that mergers take too long" at the CAB—and this was discussed, too.

Browne pointed out that "we are independent, but the law gives the final action (in mergers) to the President if the action involves international matters" (specifically, foreign routes).

He emphasized there had been "no direction from the White House" on airline matters generally. "The White House as a whole and Mr. Flanigan in particular have been entirely and thoroughly correct. The only mention of mergers has been in this general area of why they take so long."

The board chairman also discussed at the White House the matter of airline subsidies. But Browne said the discussions were only to convince Flanigan and Caspar Weinberger, then deputy director of OMB, that the government must pay subsidies, and that they may not be cut from the CAB budget.

Browne said "we have also discussed—not lately because the airlines look so much better—but when the airlines were going through the bottom, the over-all state of the industry." Specifically, he cited the problem of Pan Am and what the President could do. He listed five areas: mergers ("which we don't talk about"), lack of a domestic airline to feed traffic to Pan Am, subsidies, a guaranteed loan, removal of competition.

Flanigan corroborated much of what Browne said: "What is discussed is the health of the airline industry and do we have more Penn Centrals . . . and international airline policy . . . We have discussed the financial problems with Pan Am and whether or not there is an impending serious problem here. We have not discussed route cases, even though these are appropriate matters of White House concern and do come here."

Flanigan said his own contacts with other regulatory agency officials include extensive discussions with William J. Casey, chairman of the SEC. Initially, the discussions dealt with legislation involving the Treasury Department that set up the Securities Investor Protection Corp., which indemnifies customers of bankrupt brokerage houses. Flanigan, whose background is largely that of Wall Street investment houses, currently discusses with Casey "the legislation that continues to be put forward" as well as major operational problems of the securities industry.

Just how proper—or improper—are the continuing connections between Flanigan and the regulators is an open question. Flanigan has emerged, in the press at least, as the business community's man in Washington. The chairman of one regulatory agency—who declined later to be identified with the quotation—also called Flanigan "the President for regulatory matters."

Regulatory "purists" take exception to not only most contacts between the regulators and the White House power structure, but to the seemingly innocuous monthly reports.

The FCC's controversial Nicholas Johnson is one: "Probably the best thing for the agency to say (in regard to matters like the monthly reports) is just like what the courts would say: We're independent . . ."

"We publish reports and releases over here and if you want to be on our mailing list you're free to get them. . . . I don't think there ought to be any special sort of clan-

destine effort to let them know what we're doing." (Johnson made the statement after a reporter told him that FCC Chairman Burch had, through an aide, refused to make the monthly reports public).

Johnson filed a strong dissent when the FCC agreed to an industry compromise—between feuding broadcasters and cable TV operators—that was worked out by the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy and that resulted in new commission rules on cable television.

"THREAT TO INDEPENDENCE"

Referring to Clay T. Whitehead, director of OTP, Johnson said, "His participation, indeed the very existence of his office, looms large as a threat to the independence of the FCC as an agency responsible only to Congress."

And one of Ralph Nader's associates, Reuben Robertson III—who has been involved in CAB proceedings—said, "This kind of requirement, that the allegedly independent regulatory commissions report every month, seems to undermine the sense of independence that we should expect."

Robertson conceded, however, that the monthly summaries of activities are a good idea and should be made public.

He was skeptical of the Browne-Flanigan talks: "I think the way the law is set up with the White House having a certain kind of veto about some CAB decisions creates a need for some kind of contact. I see nothing improper about that. But it stretches the imagination to believe that they don't sometimes stray into areas not limited to the question of international cases."

Flanigan points to his May 21, 1969, memo to the White House staff. It says that in spite of the sensitivities of contacts between the White House and the regulators, "matters often arise which do require official or informal contacts with the commissions or the staffs of these agencies."

The memo explicitly warns his staff that "any expression of interest or any attempt to influence the outcome of any case pending is illegal," and that cases before these agencies "are often extremely important to the parties concerned and involve large amounts of money."

Yet, clearly there is a difference between the "purists" and those who believe in Flanigan's viewpoint. "We have to be absolutely clean as a whistle on even an appearance of interest in the exercise of their judicial and quasi-judicial responsibilities," he said, "but we clearly share policy responsibility. That doesn't mean they have to agree with us. . . ."

"But there is no impropriety in discussing policy matters in which both the independent regulatory agencies and the other portions of the executive branch for which both . . . have responsibility. This administration has rigidly observed this."

ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE: A
WORKABLE ALTERNATIVE TO
PROTECTIONISM

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in recent months we have heard an increasing chorus of calls for quotas and other protectionist measures designed to "safeguard" the jobs of American workers—jobs allegedly being placed in jeopardy by the increasing volume of foreign imports in many of our domestic markets. In particular, the Burke-Hartke bill with its rigid provision for automatic

quotas when imports reach a specified share of the domestic market, embodies this backward-looking approach to the new realities of international trade in the 1970's.

I certainly would not deny that a rapid influx of imports in particular markets can cause great hardships to workers, firms, and entire communities, and for that reason would not rule out voluntary international agreements to moderate the pace of market penetration in appropriate circumstances. But temporary agreements designed to ease the transition rather than build a protective wall around the American economy are a far different proposition than the rigid, unilateral, and permanent quota approach advocated by the Burke-Hartke enthusiasts. Moreover, temporary agreements must be viewed as only one policy instrument, and by no means the most important, in a wide array of trade policy options.

Specifically, I believe renewed efforts to spur our lagging productivity growth and moderate the pace of wage increases, new international monetary arrangements designed to keep currencies in proper relationships with one another, and more efficient and effective enforcement of antidumping and countervailing duty statutes should be equally important policy tools in implementing our overall trade strategy. But most important of all must be the recognition that we can neither succeed, nor ought we to, to freeze the American economy in its current mold in terms of distribution of productive activities and investment of human and capital resources.

Our private market system is based on the notion, and the fact that productive resources will be in a continual process of shifting from one sector to another in response to changes in market demand, competitive opportunities, technological development and productive efficiencies.

It is now apparent that in some areas of industrial production traditionally carried on in our economy, we can no longer compete very effectively in international markets, nor even in our own. In the long run this means that human and capital resources cannot be efficiently and profitably invested in these areas and that resources currently devoted to these sectors must be allowed to shift to areas where opportunities are more attractive. Yet, across-the-board quota legislation would drastically impede this process and lock into the economy a permanent, inefficient and unproductive use of resources that would in time lower the overall level of economic growth and social welfare. Therefore, what we need is a policy that will work with, and facilitate the natural processes of resource shifts in the private market rather than interfere with and constrain them.

An important program designed to accomplish this latter objective is the adjustment assistance program enacted into law as part of the Trade Adjustment Act of 1962. I realize that this program has not proved very satisfactory and that there were grave deficiencies in concept and draftsmanship in the original measure. But the Nixon administration has made very conscientious and sustained efforts to overcome these obstacles and

to put the program on an effective as possible basis until better legislation can be put on the books. While one of our highest priorities in the trade must be to fashion a more workable and effective adjustment assistance program, I think the following press release from the Department of Labor concerning a determination made in my own State of Illinois indicates the promise inherent in the adjustment assistance concept. It demonstrates, I believe, that we can provide aid to workers and communities adversely affected by the process of economic change and progress, but that we can also do it in such a way that will strengthen our economy rather than cripple it or sap its dynamism and potential for growth and higher standards of living for all Americans.

The text follows:

FOUR HUNDRED ILLINOIS ELECTRONICS WORKERS CERTIFIED ELIGIBLE FOR TRADE ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE

Approximately 400 workers at the General Instrument Corporation plant at Joliet, Illinois, whose employment was adversely affected by increased imports of electronics products, have been certified by the Labor Department as eligible to apply for trade adjustment assistance.

The certification was issued by Associate Deputy Under Secretary of Labor Edward B. Persons following a Department investigation. On April 18, 1972, the U.S. Tariff Commission had found that because of increased imports, resulting in major part from trade-agreement concessions, a significant number of workers at the plant became unemployed or underemployed.

On February 18, 1972, a petition requesting certification of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance was filed with the Tariff Commission by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, on behalf of the workers formerly employed at the Joliet plant.

Prior to closing in June 1971 the Joliet plant produced auto radio tuners. The plant's closure was attributable in major part to increased imports of like or directly competitive products.

The Labor Department's certification provides that all workers of the Joliet plant who became unemployed or underemployed on or after December 3, 1967, are eligible to apply for adjustment assistance under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

Workers assistance under the Trade Expansion Act includes cash readjustment allowance, testing, counseling, training and job placement and relocation if needed and desired.

The cash readjustment allowance for certified workers is equal to 65 percent of the worker's average weekly wage, but the weekly payment may not exceed 65 percent of the national average weekly wage in manufacturing. (Currently the maximum weekly benefit for unemployment beginning on or after April 1, 1972 is \$93.)

Duration of payments is normally limited to 52 weeks, but up to 26 additional weeks may be allowed for workers in order to complete approved training courses. Up to 13 additional weeks beyond the 52 week period may be allowed for workers who were over 60 when separated from their jobs.

All eligibility rulings, payments, testing, counseling, training, and job placements and relocation are conducted through the Illinois State Employment Service with funds provided by the Federal Government.

To be eligible, a worker must have been employed at the Joliet plant for six months out of the year prior to layoff and must have been gainfully employed for at least half of the previous three years.

A NEW VETERANS HOSPITAL FOR
PHILADELPHIA

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, for some time I have been concerned about the problems faced by veterans needing medical care in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. Recently I had the privilege of testifying before the Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Development, Space, Science, and Veterans, of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, on the pressing need for a new Veterans' Administration Hospital for the Greater Philadelphia area.

The committee is currently considering the fiscal year 1973 Veterans' Administration appropriation, along with a proposed amendment by the distinguished Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON) to include funding for fiscal 1973 for much needed hospital work in Arkansas, West Virginia, Colorado, New Hampshire and several other States as well as in the Philadelphia area.

I wish to emphasize the importance to the Philadelphia area of an early beginning on this hospital, and strongly urge favorable consideration of Senator MAGNUSON'S amendment.

I ask unanimous consent that my testimony and the statement of my distinguished senior colleague from Pennsylvania (Mr. SCOTT) be printed in the RECORD.

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

STATEMENT BY SENATOR RICHARD S.
SCHWEIKER

Mr. Chairman: I very much appreciate the opportunity to bring to your attention a most serious problem in Philadelphia today: the very grave and pressing need for a new VA hospital.

But first, let me express the regrets of my senior colleague from Pennsylvania, Senator Scott, that he could not be here personally to support inclusion of funds to initiate planning and site selection for the new Philadelphia Veterans Administration Hospital.

I concur entirely with his views on this matter and would, therefore, like to request that his statement be inserted into the record of these hearings.

The Primary Service Area of the Philadelphia Veterans Administration Hospital encompasses four counties in Pennsylvania and four in New Jersey. The Veterans Administration estimates a current veterans population of approximately 725,000, due to increase to more than 736,000 in the next six-eight years. The Veterans Administration, in its planning projections, estimates that approximately a third of these, some 250,000, will require medical treatment at one time or another.

It is one of the four or five Primary Service Areas with the largest veterans population, yet it is the only one not served by more than one VA general hospital. This distinction is very amply demonstrated by the following statistics.

1. The nationwide average number of beds available per 1,000 veterans is 3.56. In the Philadelphia area it is .79, less than one bed

per 1,000 veterans! In New York it is 3.26, and in Chicago it is 3.71.

2. The number of applications for admission to VA facilities per 1,000 veterans, nationwide, is nearly 46. In the Philadelphia PSA it is less than 16! In New York it is just under 41, and in Chicago it is over 52.

The number admitted per 1,000 veterans, nationwide, is over 26. In Philadelphia it is less than nine. In New York it is nearly 20, and in Chicago almost 27.

I think it is safe to conclude that this discrepancy is not due to the fact that the Philadelphia area veterans are so much healthier than veterans anywhere else in the United States. What these two statistics indicate is, clearly, that the Philadelphia VA hospital receives far fewer applications for medical care, because they don't bother to apply because they know there is no room for them.

3. Confirming this conclusion is still another statistic. During 1971, the Philadelphia Veterans Hospital treated nearly 14 patients per operating bed, as compared to the nationwide average of about eight!

Now, either this means that Philadelphia is extremely efficient and the rest of the nation is badly underutilizing its excess facilities, or, more likely, that the Philadelphia facility is being overwhelmed, and must maintain a much higher patient turnover than good medical practice might dictate.

The present 492 bed facility is now more than 20 years old. An additional 75 beds are contracted from the Philadelphia Naval Hospital, which has been having its own problems lately and many veterans are referred elsewhere.

It is my understanding that the Veterans Administration places a high priority on the construction of a new veterans hospital in the Philadelphia area, and I would not like to see things fall through for lack of a congressional appropriation. Needless to say, it would benefit the Greater Philadelphia area in many ways in addition to greatly improving the delivery of medical care to our veterans.

Philadelphia represents one of the nations leading medical centers with the medical schools of the University of Pennsylvania (which is associated with the existing VA facility), Temple University, Hahnemann Medical College, the Medical College of Pennsylvania, and Thomas Jefferson School of Medicine.

The Veterans Administration has had a standing policy to affiliate its medical facilities with existing medical centers for the obvious benefits this would provide.

The total cost of the projected new 560-bed facility is estimated to be approximately \$34 million.

The initial appropriation for planning and site acquisition in the 1973 fiscal year budget should amount to approximately \$1.7 million for design and \$2 million for site acquisition; totaling only \$3.7 million.

It is extremely important to our veterans population and their families that this \$3.7 million be included in the fiscal 1973 appropriation for the Veterans Administration.

STATEMENT OF U.S. SENATOR HUGH SCOTT

There are 78 percent fewer hospital beds available in the Philadelphia area for veterans in comparison with the national average per thousand veterans. Although the Philadelphia area ranks sixth in total veterans population, fifty-four other areas have more Veterans Administration hospital beds. This underbedding in the hospital facilities results in an admission rate 66 percent lower than the national average.

The Philadelphia area veterans deserve better hospital facilities. A new Veterans Administration hospital facility is needed in the Philadelphia area now, and it is a must that planning funds for this facility be included in the fiscal year 1973 budget of the Veterans Administration. A first year com-

mitment of \$3 and \$4 million should be adequate to initiate the planning mechanism for this much needed project.

The medical needs of the veteran in the Philadelphia area are served by a 492-bed general hospital constructed in 1950 and by using 75 beds in the Philadelphia Naval Hospital. These hospital facilities are intended to serve the needs of the 721,430 veterans in the Philadelphia area, however, only 0.79 beds per thousand veterans is provided compared to a national average of 3.56 beds per thousand veterans.

As a result of the deficiency of beds, only 8.84 admissions per thousand veterans is permitted compared to a national ratio of 26.45 admissions per thousand veterans. Philadelphia area veterans requiring medical service must either be transferred to other service areas, wait to be accommodated by the Philadelphia hospitals, or seek private medical care.

The health care needs of the veteran in the Philadelphia area are constantly increasing because of the increase in veterans population. The Veterans Administration health care services in the Philadelphia area are inadequate today, and the increasing veteran population is burdening these facilities more and more each day.

The Veterans Administration has been planning a new hospital in the Philadelphia area for the past three years. The Veterans Administration estimates a requirement of 560 new beds in this area. This 560 bed facility would include an affiliation with a medical school in the Philadelphia area, 440 acute hospital beds, 120 intensive care (skilled nursing care) beds and an ambulatory out-patient facility.

The existing 492 bed Veterans Administration hospital in Philadelphia was constructed in 1950 on a site adjacent to the University of Pennsylvania's School of Medicine. This hospital services eight counties, four counties in Pennsylvania and four counties in New Jersey, with a total veterans population of 721,430. The veterans population in the Philadelphia service area ranks sixth in the nation, and only the service areas of New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco and East Orange have greater veterans population. Four of these service areas are served by at least three Veterans Administration General Hospitals.

The patient demand in the Philadelphia area has exceeded the capabilities of the Veterans Administration Hospital to the extent where a contractual agreement has been made with the Philadelphia Naval Hospital to supplement the existing facilities. The critical situation in the Philadelphia area is best expressed by comparing the work load statistics of the existing Philadelphia hospital with the nation-wide statistics. The existing Philadelphia hospital with its 492 medical, surgical and neurological beds servicing a population of 721,430 veterans derives a ratio of 0.68 beds per thousand veterans. This compares quite unfavorably to the nationwide ratio of 3.56 beds per thousand veterans.

This bed shortage, commonly referred to as under-bedding, is reflected in the utilization rates experienced in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. The ratio of Philadelphia area veterans hospitalized in VA facilities for medical and surgical reasons is only about half that of the nation's average. Likewise, the admission ratio shows a similar picture.

In summary, it appears that there is ample justification for the establishment of another VA hospital in the Philadelphia area. Therefore, I respectfully request adequate funds, \$3 to \$4 million, be added to the fiscal year 1973 planning and site acquisition budget of the Veterans Administration for a new hospital facility in the Philadelphia area.

I regret very much that it is not possible for me to appear before the Appropriations Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Development, Space, Science, Veterans to re-

quest planning funds for a new Veterans Administration Hospital in the Philadelphia area. I want to emphasize that I consider this request important enough to justify personal testimony and your Committee was pre-empted only by the timing of my trip to the Peoples Republic of China on official business.

HORTON PRAISES NEW NURSING COLLEGE AT UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the critical need for more highly trained people in the field of medicine is generally recognized throughout the world. Certainly, in our country, there seems to be a constantly increasing demand for those who minister to the sick and infirm.

It is with pride, therefore, that I bring to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress, an announcement of increased medical training facilities in Rochester, N.Y.

W. Allen Wallis, chancellor of the University of Rochester, recently reported that the university will establish a college of nursing this summer which will succeed the present department of nursing.

A grant of nearly a million dollars from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation of Battle Creek, Mich., has made this possible, and will bring into being the University of Rochester School of Nursing, which will share equal status with other colleges within the university system. Chancellor Wallis' enthusiasm is certainly understandable, for this new college has been among longheld plans for future progress.

No new college has been established at the University of Rochester since 1958 so this is indeed a milestone.

The increase in training facilities for nursing made possible by this generous grant from the Kellogg Foundation, has prompted other quite sizable sums to flow into the financing of the project, including one grant of \$54,000 from an anonymous donor. Because the Federal Government has provided for Federal financial support of medical care education programs, it is particularly gratifying that the money for the expansion of the university nursing school came from private sources.

Additional details concerning the establishment of this newest college at the University of Rochester were reported in the spring edition of the Parents Bulletin, published by the university.

The story follows:

NEW NURSING COLLEGE ESTABLISHED THROUGH KELLOGG GRANT

A grant of nearly one million dollars from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation of Battle Creek, Mich., will enable the University to establish a college of nursing this summer. The college will be called the University of Rochester School of Nursing and will have equal status with UR's other colleges.

UR Chancellor W. Allen Wallis says the Kellogg Foundation award, totalling \$930,

000 over the next five years, will "bring to reality our long-held plans for a college to succeed the present Department of Nursing."

This will be the first new college established at the University since its professional units in education, engineering, and management were created in 1958.

Kellogg officials said the grant will give the University "an opportunity to structure a college of nursing that can serve as a model for all university-based nursing schools, particularly in relation to schools of medicine." The School will be one of only a handful of nursing colleges in the country in which education, research, and service are integrated as they are in leading medical schools.

According to Chancellor Wallis: "The School of Nursing will have the professional stature necessary to integrate and expand the University's programs . . . and to promote the professional identity and independence of nursing."

A primary contribution of the School, he said, will be "its role in providing the highly qualified teachers so sorely needed in nursing schools throughout the country."

Over the next five years, the School will expand undergraduate and graduate programs and enrollment; nearly double the number of full-time teachers of nursing; expand programs of continuing education; and develop increased emphasis on research designed to improve the quality of patient care and of nursing education.

Since the Kellogg support for the School was announced, an additional grant of \$54,000 was received for the School from an anonymous donor.

NIXON VERSUS FTC: BUDGETING AGAINST THE CONSUMER AND THE PUBLIC

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, during hearings on S. 448 before the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, Miles W. Kirkpatrick, was asked to describe for us the real impact of Executive Office budget cuts and fund withholding on the Commission's programs and plans. He has done so in a candid and forthright letter to me dated May 16, 1972. It portrays a picture of fiscal manipulation by the Chief Executive—a grinding down on personnel and funding—which, in my opinion, can only be translated into an "anticonsumer" and "antipublic interest" budget for this independent regulatory agency.

S. 448 would require that seven independent agencies submit their budgets directly to Congress instead of first going through the budget slashing process at the Office of Management and Budget.

According to Mr. Kirkpatrick, OMB has withheld \$620,000 from the Commission's fiscal 1972 appropriations, forcing him to abolish permanently 72 new positions for which funding had been granted by Congress for one-half of the current fiscal year. Among the new positions abolished were 31 higher grade attorneys; nine economists; seven accountants; eight consumer protection special-

ists; and a deputy executive director for management. Indeed, this small battalion of trade enforcers was expected by Congress to be on the job by now and permanently worked into the system.

But this is only the beginning of a sordid story. Mr. Kirkpatrick goes on to say that, in addition, the Executive Office cut 208 positions from the Commission's budget request for fiscal year 1973 with what appears to be a disastrous impact on his consumer protection, competition, economic investigation, and regional support programs.

According to his letter, this cut would appear to result in:

First, a slowdown in spot-checking compliance of cease and desist orders—only one man is on the job now;

Second, no chance to bring enforcement action against violators under the Commission's well-publicized advertising substantiation program;

Third, cancellation of plans to enter the field of hospital and medical costs, including cost of hospital supplies, medicines, surgical instruments, and other items;

Fourth, cancellation of an investigation of the business conduct of multinational corporations—such as ITT—to determine their adverse effect on competition and increased prices.

Fifth, cancellation of a new program to look into patent interference and infringement settlements which lead to price-fixing and antimonopoly practices;

Sixth, postponement of investigations into joint ventures which dampen competition between parent firms. Certainly this is critical where oil, gas, and other energy sources are involved;

Seventh, a significant hampering of compliance investigations and actions relative to Commission orders and anti-trust decrees;

Eighth, curtailment of the study into concentration of economic power in the automobile market as well as other big industries; and

Ninth, a drastic reduction of regional office activity and support effort for the larger consumer and antimonopoly programs spearheaded from Washington.

In the past, the Federal Trade Commission has not been as aggressive as the other regulatory agencies, but during recent years the Commission has emerged as a tough enforcer on behalf of the consumer and the competitive businessman.

Now, just when it asserts itself, when it begins to succeed in its responsibilities to Congress, the FTC is denied logistical support by the Commander in Chief. I understand why the morale of the troops is low.

This is why it is imperative that every Member of Congress know what is going on in the budgetary process of independent regulatory agencies. They are creatures of the Congress, an extension of legislative decisionmaking and enforcement. The true needs and plans of these independent agencies should be placed on the congressional table for all to see, not buried and bludgeoned by penny-pinching bureaucrats in the Office of Management and Budget, who reflect

policy directives from the Chief Executive and his Domestic Council.

This is why it is important that S. 448 be considered seriously in this Congress, so that a direct access be established between the regulatory agencies and congressional committees and Members, in order that all of us can analyze and support the budgets these agencies really need.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter from Miles W. Kirkpatrick to me dated May 16, 1972, be printed in the RECORD following these remarks. Likewise, I ask unanimous consent that FTC's "Highlights of Fiscal Year 1973—Budget Justification" be printed in the RECORD. These "Highlights" should be of special interest since they are a part of the original budget submission to the OMB on September 15, 1971, which documentation has been obtained by the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations from the FTC.

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

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., May 16, 1972.

DEAR SENATOR METCALF: Commissioners Dixon, MacIntyre and I have corrected the enclosed transcript of our February 22, 1972, testimony on S. 448.

During the hearings on S. 448 before you and the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations many questions were asked which could not be answered fully without consulting our operating bureaus. In response to those questions the following information is submitted.

First, to avoid any misunderstanding I would like to state that the draft letter mentioned on pages 310 and 311 of the transcript should be considered our final letter. However, please be sure to note the two errors in the letter mentioned on page 311 on lines 14 and 21.

On page 311 you asked whether the OMB has interfered with or suggested that we curtail our activities in investigating the combined ownership of coal and oil companies. Having consulted further with our personnel involved in these investigations, I can assure you that we have not been subjected to any interference or curtailment in that regard whatsoever.

Similarly, you asked whether the OMB has interfered with the full staffing of, and freedom of activity in, our current investigation of gas reserves reporting practices in South Louisiana by the American Gas Association. Again, I can confirm to you we have experienced no such interference from the OMB.

We have assigned from two to four attorneys to the gas reserves investigation at all times since its commencement in the fall of 1970. These attorneys have devoted a major portion of their time to the gas reserves investigation during such assignment; and they have been totally free to incur all necessary expenses in conducting this investigation. These expenses have included trips to such places as New Orleans and Houston and to interview various public and consumer critics of the gas industry. Similarly, investigational hearings have been held, and doubtlessly will continue, in the conduct of this investigation; and the attorneys have been under no restrictions whatsoever in incurring the necessary expenditures for witness fees, travel, court reporters, and copies of the transcripts.

We currently have only two attorneys assigned to the gas reserves investigation, but this simply reflects the status of the inves-

tigation. The Bureau of Competition, pursuant to delegated authority from the Commission, issued extensive subpoenas duces tecum to eleven of the principal gas producers in late November 1971. These subpoenas were not cleared with OMB under the Federal Reports Act, since it is the Commission's position that OMB clearance is not required under these circumstances.

All eleven of the gas producers have filed motions to quash the subpoenas. Therefore, pending Commission determination of these motions, the Bureau of Competition has concluded that the gas reserves investigation is adequately staffed with two attorneys. The Bureau reports that it will be able to add additional attorneys to this investigation in the future, if required.

On page 317 you asked what major studies were being conducted by the Bureau of Economics and whether we have experienced any interference from the OMB in carrying out these studies.

The Bureau of Economics presently has four major studies underway. The studies deal with energy, electrical equipment, automobiles, and prescription drugs.

The particular issues under investigation in the energy study derive their focus from the movement of oil companies into coal and uranium which may indicate the beginning emergence of an energy company. The subjects to be examined are:

(1) Whether uranium, coal, oil, and natural gas are now, or will soon become, close competitive substitutes for one another in the electric utility sector. This staff study has just been released by the Commission.

(2) The degree of market concentration, and trends in concentration, on a production basis in each of the fuels, with a special interest in whether the oil companies are among the leaders in all of the fuel markets.

(3) The pattern of profitability before and after a merger between an oil company and another nonoil fuel producer.

(4) The pattern of research and development expenditures before and after a merger between an oil company and another nonoil fuel producer.

The electrical equipment industry has been an industry subject to a number of antitrust actions directed at behavior, most recently the well-known price fixing conspiracy case in 1960. This conspiracy presents a direct opportunity to explore the hypothesis that firms in a highly concentrated industry will substitute a legal means of coordinating their price behavior in reaction to successful antitrust prosecution.

The issue in the automobile study is whether there is room for a viable antitrust policy after the social costs of automobile production (pollution, congestion, less safety) have been absorbed by the auto firms. It may be that the imposition of the standards set by the Environmental Protection Agency will raise the cost of production such that only a very few firms can be economically viable. In short, it may be that the solution of environmental problems inevitably necessitates a highly concentrated industry. Therefore, before an intelligent antitrust policy with regard to automobiles can be formulated, an analysis of the impact of the Environmental Protection Agency's standards is necessary. However, the demands on the Bureau are very heavy and the staff assigned to the auto study have had to be diverted to another very important assignment—the development of a model to guide the Commission in the best allocation of its antitrust resources—however, we do hope to resume this study in the fall.

Academic research has found that intensive advertising tends to make for high concentration and difficult entry. A means of easing entry and reducing concentration would be to place restrictions upon heavy expenditures for advertising. But such a policy may not work if firms can substitute

other means of sales promotion for advertising. Prescription drugs offer an opportunity to examine the latitude firms may have for such substitution.

In past years, the proliferation of large numbers of new products has been cited by academic economists who have studied the drug industry as a major means of differentiating products with the consequent effect of blocking entry and protecting the high profitability of the dominant drug firms. The recent decreases in new product offerings, then, should reduce barriers to entry unless the major companies have found other ways by which to differentiate their products.

On none of these studies has a 6(b) survey yet been issued, although each will require one at some stage. Up to this time, therefore, we have had no experience indicating whether the OMB will, or will not, facilitate carrying these studies forward. We assume that OMB will cooperate in our endeavors as has been the case in the past.

The Bureau of Economics now is committing a substantial portion of its personnel (40%) to the Concentrated Industries Project. The OMB has not interfered in any way with the staff's freedom to conduct their investigations.

On page 319 Mr. Turner asked the Federal Trade Commission to describe the impact the \$620,000 reserve had on the Federal Trade Commission.

The fiscal 1972 budget request of the Commission to the OMB was based on what we thought was reasonably necessary to carry out all our functions and at the same time recognizing the agency must be prepared to assimilate and effectively utilize new personnel. As a result of the \$620,000 budget adjustment associated with the President's goal of reducing Federal-Civilian employment and the collateral withholding of funds, the Federal Trade Commission was required to abolish 72 new positions for which funding had been granted by the Congress for one-half of the current fiscal year as follows:

	Posi- tions	Grade	Title
Office of Executive Director.....	1		
Deputy executive director—Management.....	1	GS-13	Systems analyst.
Bureau of Competition.....	10		
Office of director.....	3	GS-5	Clerical.
Attorney staff.....	2	GS-14	Attorneys.
	3	GS-13	Do.
	2	GS-12	Do.
Bureau of Consumer Protection.....	3		
Division of consumer education.....	2	GS-15	Do.
	1	GS-7	Secretary.
Bureau of economics.....	18		
Office of director.....	3	GS-5	Clerical.
Division of economic evidence.....	3	GS-13	Economists.
	2	GS-12	Do.
Division of industry analysis.....	1	GS-14	Do.
	2	GS-13	Do.
Division of financial statistics.....	1	GS-13	Accountant
	2	GS-12	Do.
	2	GS-11	Do.
	2	GS-9	Do.
Regional offices.....	40		
	23	GS-13	Attorneys.
	8	GS-12	Cons. prot. spec.
	9	GS-6	Clerical assistants.

The 72 positions and \$620,000 have now been permanently taken from our appropriation base.

I was also asked how the operations of the Federal Trade Commission will be affected if it does not receive the total budget sent to the OMB. The OMB has cut from our fiscal 1973 budget request a total of 208 positions.

This reduction meant 46 positions request-

ed for consumer protection activities at headquarters had to be eliminated. This cut will affect our consumer protection program in many ways:

(1) It will slow down the spot-checking of compliance of outstanding cease-and-desist orders. Presently, we have one man on this job. We estimate that a spot-check program for the first two or three years would require five attorneys full time in Washington with substantial assistance from our regional offices. However, this program will now have to be handled on a limited basis.

(2) Our advertising substantiation program has turned out to be more costly in direct financial outlay and in staffing effort than expected. This is because information submitted by advertisers in many cases is very technical and must be evaluated by outside consultants for in-depth analysis of technical data or by our Division of Scientific Opinions. In addition, it appears that there are more instances of nonsubstantiation or insubstantial supporting data than originally predicted. We probably could bring enforcement actions against roughly 5 to 10 percent of the ad claims for which substantiation was requested in the first four rounds of questionnaires. This means a commitment of 15 attorneys full time—assuming most of these cases will not go to trial—and we do not have the resources for that kind of program at this time.

(3) Our flammable fabrics responsibilities are steadily increasing. This is because the Department of Commerce is promulgating new standards of flammability for products, such as children's sleepwear, mattresses, carpets, etc., that must be enforced by the Commission. To keep up with this job we have shifted personnel in the Division of Textile and Furs from wool, fur and textile enforcement to flammable fabrics enforcement. We have now tipped the balance to the point where over 80% of the professional resources of the Division are devoted to flammable fabrics enforcement and less than 20% to textile and fur labeling review. At least for the next several years we could profitably employ another 15 attorneys in Textiles and Furs. We would also need 11 clerks, stenographers, and typists to support the work of the above-mentioned professionals.

Turning to competition, the OMB disallowed 48 of the requested positions and \$736,800. The requested positions were needed to relieve current shortages being experienced in handling the present caseload.

The Commission had plans to enter the field of hospital and medical costs, including the cost of hospital supplies, surgical instruments and other medical items, to determine whether or not restraints of trade or unfair practices were contributing materially to the high cost of medical care.

It was also anticipated that investigation of the business conduct of selected multinational corporations would be undertaken this year in order to determine whether actions were being taken with adverse effect on competition within the United States leading to high or increased domestic prices.

Resources were also sought for allocation to the field of patent interference and infringement settlements. Past experience of the Commission leads to the conclusion that such settlements may frequently leave standing invalid patents with severe anticompetitive effects.

In addition, many investigations of joint ventures have been postponed. Joint ventures can dampen competition between the parent firms. They may also eliminate entry by the parent firms in the field in which the joint venture is undertaken.

Similarly, compliance with Commission cease-and-desist orders in antitrust and other competition matters require review and attention. The manpower shortage prevailing in fiscal 1972 has significantly hampered compliance activities, and some of the additional positions sought for fiscal 1973 were to be

allocated in part to review outstanding orders in certain key industries.

Our economic activities will be obviously affected by the reduction of 10 positions from the number requested for our Bureau of Economics. One of the studies in the Concentrated Industries Project, automobiles, has been interrupted so that the staff presently committed to that particular investigation could work on policy planning. Present staffing is not sufficient to get the automobile study underway again at this time and to meet expanding workload. A major portion of our economic effort workload has escalated to meet the increased demands for services being requested by the staff in connection with the investigation and trial of antitrust matters.

Our regional offices carry out the enforcement responsibilities associated with many new statutes such as the Flammable Fabrics Act, and the new standards relating to children's sleepwear, carpets and rugs, the new Fair Credit Reporting Act, as well as monitoring compliance with the Commission's present trade regulation rules such as the retail food store advertising and marketing practices rules and pending trade regulation rules such as care labeling of textiles, holder-in-due course and cooling off.

The fact that our support offices like the General Counsel's Office, Secretary's Office and administrative staff have also received cuts cannot be overlooked in operating an enforcement agency. While no specific programs can be pointed to as being affected by these cuts, it should be clear that the substantive staff cannot function without good support.

On pages 320-322 and 325 and by your letter of February 22, 1972, you inquired about the advertising practices of utility companies. In particular, you referred to an advertisement by the Montana-Dakota Utilities Company which appeared in the *Terry Tribune* and the *Fallon County Times*.

In addition to your complaint, we have received during the past year correspondence about utility advertising from consumers, scientists and environmentalists.

In response to these various complaints the staff of the Bureau of Consumer Protection has been engaged in a review of the advertising practices conducted by and on behalf of the electric utilities. For reasons of jurisdictional limitations and resource allocations, this review has been limited to substantial instances of advertising in interstate commerce, and the staff's work has primarily been focused on advertising engaged in by national trade associations. However, even with this limitation, the amount of advertising to be reviewed was substantial.

At this time the staff has substantially completed its review of this advertising for accuracy and content. In this connection, I might point out some of the issues raised with respect to the advertising in question involved technical and scientific questions of a very complex nature. As a practical matter evaluating questions of this type has been a time-consuming activity. Since the initiation of this inquiry into this subject, it has become quite apparent there are a substantial number of complex issues involved in this matter in addition to whether or not the advertising representations may be deceptive.

In this vein there is some question as to whether some of the advertising statements under close scrutiny are really material, that is to say significant to prospective purchasers. There is also some question as to whether some of these advertisements are "commercial speech" as the courts have defined those terms. It can be argued that certain of the advertisements promoting atomic energy as absolutely safe and pollution free and advertisements which speak of the tax "advantages" of public power are really attempts to influence public opinion and governmental action and therefore immune from Commission scrutiny by the First Amendment.

There is also some question as to the foreseeable results in this matter were the Commission to bring a case. There is concern that the majority of the public might not understand fully what the Commission was attacking in some of these advertisements and that the net result of any Commission action might be more harmful than beneficial.

Unfortunately, at the present time the staff has not resolved all of these important questions, and, accordingly, I am not able to advise you as to what action, if any, the Commission will take in this matter.

You asked us to comment on a particular advertisement by the Montana-Dakota Utilities Company for possible false and deceptive representations. Of special concern was the representation that Montana-Dakota was presently paying 9¼ percent on its most recent loan. The staff of the Bureau of Consumer Protection has been in contact with the officials for Montana-Dakota. The staff has been informed that the advertising representation in question refers to the company's last bond issue which was offered on October 8, 1970. The staff was further informed that as a result of this bond issue offering, Montana-Dakota Utilities borrowed \$15,000,000 at the interest rate of 9¼ percent. Apparently, these are 20-year bonds callable 5 years from the date of issue. Until 5 years have expired from the date of issue, however, Montana-Dakota must pay 9¼ percent interest on this money.

The Bureau's staff also inquired into the other representations made in the mentioned advertisement. However, the staff uncovered nothing which would raise any questions concerning the accuracy of statements made therein.

Accordingly, on the basis of the information available to the staff at this time, it does not appear that this advertisement is false, misleading, or deceptive in any material respect. Nevertheless, a copy of this advertisement will be incorporated into our files. If information subsequently received indicates that this advertisement is violative of any of the laws administered by the Federal Trade Commission, appropriate action will be taken.

On page 361 Senator Gurney asked if there were any Federal Trade Commission employees who previously worked with the OMB. A review of our personnel file indicates that none of the Federal Trade Commission's professional staff ever worked for the OMB.

On page 380 there was some discussion about the Commission's 6(b) procedures. To avoid any misunderstanding, I would like to state that the OMB does not review FTC subpoenas. We do not clear Section 6(b) special reports or letters which are addressed to persons under investigation for law violations. This is true even if we send ten or more subpoenas.

OMB does review Section 6(b) special reports where we send ten or more to persons not under investigation for law violations, i.e., third parties. The same applies to letters asking for information. If the Federal Trade Commission sends ten or more identical letters to third parties asking for information, these letters must be cleared with OMB under present procedures.

I believe the above information answers all the questions raised during the hearings. Should you like any other information or need any clarification of the matters discussed above, please do not hesitate to call on me.

The answers given above are supplemental to the answers given by me in response to questions addressed to me after my statement to your Subcommittee on behalf of the Commission. As in the case of my answers to questions at the hearing, the answers in this letter are mine and are not necessarily those of the other Commissioners.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely,

MILES W. KIRKPATRICK,
Chairman.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,

Washington, D.C., September 15, 1971.

DEAR MR. SHULTZ: I am transmitting the Federal Trade Commission's budget request for fiscal 1973, prepared in accordance with Circular No. A-11.

As required by section 1311(b) of the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1955, as amended (31 U.S.C. 200(b)), all statements of obligations furnished to the Office of Management and Budget in connection with the Commission's appropriation request for fiscal 1973 consist of valid obligations as defined in section 1311(a) of that Act.

In Commission meeting on September 8, 1971, the appropriation request for fiscal 1973 was given full consideration. The President's Economic Message of August 15, 1971, was a part of this consideration. It was determined that the 1973 request submitted herewith was the irreducible minimum at which this Commission could operate effectively in fiscal 1973.

The schedules for fiscal 1972 and increase for fiscal 1973 have not been amended to show in the first instance the 5% cut and the second instance the increases that would be appropriate in line with this cut. These two schedules will be revised as soon as word is received from your office as to the dollar amount of reduction required of FTC under the President's directive for fiscal 1972.

The Commission will be available to discuss these budget estimates in greater detail at your convenience.

Sincerely,

MILES W. KIRKPATRICK,
Chairman.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION HIGHLIGHTS OF FISCAL YEAR 1973—BUDGET JUSTIFICATION

For fiscal 1973 the Federal Trade Commission requests an appropriation of \$30,647,000, which represents an increase of \$5,458,000 over the amount appropriated for the current fiscal year.* These additional funds will be used principally to recruit additional personnel that are urgently needed to cope with increasing workloads, as well as to provide imaginative approaches for effectively protecting the Nation's consumers and businessmen. Specifically, this budget request will increase our staffing structure by 228 new positions in fiscal 1973, as follows: one position in the Office of Information; eight in the Office of Policy Planning and Evaluation; 20 in the Office of the Executive Director; ten in the Office of the General Counsel; 17 in the Office of the Secretary; four additional Hearing Examiners; 50 positions in our Bureau of Competition; 61 in the Bureau of Consumer Protection; 27 in the Bureau of Economics; and 30 in our Regional Offices. Each of these areas is highlighted below.

OFFICE OF INFORMATION

The most serious problem facing the Office of Information concerns the handling of case news releases. The increased tempo of Commission activities requiring the preparation of case news releases—which constitutes approximately 90 percent of the annual output of releases—seriously overburdens the current staff. An additional Information Specialist, requiring personnel compensation funds of \$8,400, is requested in fiscal 1973 for this work.

OFFICE OF POLICY PLANNING AND EVALUATION

Recognizing that systematic resource allocation judgments require that the FTC have available adequate planning information, a "policy planning inventory" is being developed to facilitate the grouping and presentation of matters for evaluation and analysis by the Commission. Also, a system is being developed by which quantitative data from the inventory on the actual resource usage of the Commission can be evaluated

*Does not include additional funds for pay increases.

against the framework of systematic, extrinsic planning factors. These "benchmarks" will provide a basis for establishing antitrust and consumer protection priorities in the various market areas which present themselves for possible resource commitment by the Commission.

Guidelines are being developed to assist in the evaluation of specific projects for enforcement action; also, active involvement will continue in the development of research projects on consumer behavior to assist in framing enforcement action.

To initiate these extensive projects, as well as continue its ongoing evaluation and other activities during fiscal 1973, personnel compensation funds totaling \$103,100 are requested for five additional professional and three clerical positions for the Office of Policy Planning and Evaluation.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

An increase of 13 professional and seven clerical positions, requiring personnel compensation funds of \$190,000 is requested in fiscal 1973 for effectively staffing the Office of the Executive Director. Heavy emphasis will be placed upon enhancing our data processing capabilities to form a sound foundation for present and future FTC application. The implementation of comprehensive, fully integrated systems will assist the Commission in several areas: evaluation of issues, development of priorities, allocation of resources, and monitoring performance. The implementation of systems is designed to improve staff operational efficiency in the areas of performance evaluation and administrative reporting. The personnel requirements of the enhancement plan are heavily programming and operations oriented and are in line with the added capabilities of the hardware/software system which will be put into effect the last part of fiscal 1972.

To provide an optimum level of administrative support to the operating areas we serve, additional staffing is requested in the areas of Personnel, Administrative Services, and Budget and Finance. Also, compliance with the Budget and Accounting Procedures Act of 1950 necessitates that a small internal audit unit be established during fiscal 1973 to apprise key officials on the efficiency, effectiveness and economy of our program operations. Finally, personnel compensation funds of \$27,700 are requested for hiring disadvantaged youths on a temporary basis during the Summer.

OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL

The number of court actions handled by this Office during the past three fiscal years has averaged 102 cases. At the same time, the records in injunction cases have required substantial commitments of manpower. Also, the anticipated increase in investigative, adjudicative and rulemaking proceedings commenced by the Commission is expected to result in more suits and actions.

The recent increase in the filing of Commission complaints charging violations of our various statutes is expected to result in a corresponding increase in cease and desist orders. Also, complex administrative records will be compiled for the increasing number of antitrust cases expected to be instituted by the Commission.

Special legal research into fundamental areas of procedural and substantive law of special concern to the work of the Commission, as well as reports on consumer and ecological legislation will require additional commitments of manpower.

It is anticipated that Congress will expand the authority of the Commission in two significant respects: extending the Commission's authority to practices "affecting" commerce; and the granting of preliminary injunctive power against unfair or deceptive practices adversely affecting consumers. These actions, if taken, could also increase the litigative workload of the Office.

To effectively carry out the increasing responsibilities of the General Counsel, personnel compensation funds of \$109,400 and ten new Attorney positions are requested for fiscal 1973.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

The Correspondence Section has been authorized to increase its size and expand its correspondence handling capability to cope with a doubling in the volume of the Commission's mail. Also, the Section plans to increase the percentage of correspondence wherein substantive replies are prepared from less than one percent to 25 percent in fiscal 1973.

In fiscal 1973, the Division of Legal and Public Records expects a ten percent increase in the volume of paper work and record keeping resulting from a projected increase in size and volume of production on the part of the operating bureaus.

To cope with the increasing workloads, 17 additional clerical positions and personnel compensation funds of \$89,800 are requested.

HEARING EXAMINERS

Beginning in fiscal 1970 the volume of litigated cases and the formal case load of the Commission began to increase, necessitating greater involvement by Hearing Examiners in evidentiary hearings and prehearing conferences. This trend will continue to accelerate through fiscal 1973 as a result of the anticipated increase in the number of litigated cases, particularly those of a regional nature. Accordingly, four additional Hearing Examiners, requiring personnel compensation funds of \$90,000, are requested.

BUREAU OF COMPETITION

The critical aspect of preventing undue restraints on competition and preserving opportunities for small and large business concerns to compete fairly, as well as fashioning an antitrust enforcement program, is evaluating the merits of particular complaints and the potential competitive benefits of corrective enforcement. This is an especially vital phase of the Bureau's enforcement activity because sufficient manpower is not available to fully investigate each complaint, or to remedy every competitive problem which may from time to time affect an industry simultaneously in several regions of the country.

The Bureau's present litigation burden is increasing. In fiscal 1971, 33 restraint of trade complaints were issued, about one-third more than the 24 in the previous period. This upward trend seems likely to accelerate through fiscal 1973, and will increase the number of cases to be tried.

Investigations performed by the Bureau are related to a broad range of industries and products, and concern alleged antitrust violations of many types. For example, significant investigative resource commitments continue to be directed at two major investigations in the energy field: acquisitions by oil companies of coal companies and coal reserves; and reserve reporting practices of companies marketing natural gas from the Southern Louisiana basin. Both inquiries are part of a four-phase study of concentration in the energy field. The study, also involving the Bureau of Economics, will extend through fiscal 1973.

Some of the current matters involving petroleum marketing also will require staff commitments into fiscal 1973. Service station lease limitations, dealer coercion, vertical price fixing, and reciprocity, are being actively investigated now, but the complex nature of some of the competitive problems raised indicate the likelihood that investigations will continue into fiscal 1973.

Also, milk investigations, requiring significant legal expertise, will continue. Orders issued in the early sixties against Borden, National Dairy (now Kraftco), Beatrice Foods and Foremost, prohibiting acquisitions

of smaller dairy firms, will begin to expire in fiscal 1973. A broad-scale investigation of milk marketing practices and present market structure in selected major metropolitan markets is necessary before the Bureau can recommend action to be taken with respect to market pricing problems, and dairy mergers which can be anticipated after expiration of these orders. Adjudicative proceedings in this industry may be required in fiscal 1973.

In the drug industry, the Commission is currently investigating a number of large acquisitions by leading pharmaceutical firms of well-known cosmetic and toilet goods companies. A major manpower commitment to these inquiries, to determine merger effect on the structure of the cosmetic and toilet goods industries, should carry over into 1973.

Other matters which are expected to carry over into fiscal 1973 involve investigations of reciprocity principally in the oil and chemical industries, and an extensive review of the effectiveness of the Commission's Robinson-Patman orders in restoring or preserving competition.

Each of these studies has generated public attention and the correspondence and complaints received from consumers have added to the workload of this Bureau.

Of major importance is the task of assuring compliance with Commission orders. Many of the orders issued under Section 7 of the Clayton Act, and in some instances under Section 5 of the FTC Act, contain prohibitions against future acquisitions without prior Commission approval. Requests for merger approval by those firms under order have increased steadily and this trend should continue during fiscal 1973. Additionally, a sizable number of orders requires the supervision of divestitures directed for acquisitions held to be in violation of Section 7.

To enable the Bureau to accomplish the activities planned for fiscal 1973, 35 new Attorney and 15 clerical positions requiring personnel compensation funds of \$431,700 are requested for fiscal 1973.

BUREAU OF CONSUMER PROTECTION

During fiscal 1973 the Bureau will increase its involvement in the complex marketplace problems facing today's consumer. This concern ranges far beyond coping with the simpler malpractices of an earlier day, extending as it now does into complex questions of environmental quality, access to equal marketplace treatment for deprived groups, and the redress of imbalance between the small buyer and the larger seller. To deal with problems of this scope and magnitude requires one additional Attorney to assist the Bureau Director in carrying out these ever-increasing responsibilities. Also, seven additional clerks are necessary to process the expanding workloads generated within the programs of the Bureau.

Two additional Attorneys are requested to assist in the continuous review and evaluation of problem areas and in the planning and implementation of Bureau-wide projects to be undertaken.

To fully implement a survey designed to determine the degree of present-day compliance of all orders issued in the 1960's as well as to recommend appropriate action to obtain compliance with the old orders or to halt current deceptive practices not covered by the original orders, three additional Attorneys and two clerical employees are required in fiscal 1973.

The President, in his 1971 Message on Consumer Affairs, reported that his Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs was examining the feasibility of establishing a national consumer fraud clearinghouse to facilitate the exchange of information between appropriate Federal, state and local law enforcement officials. Through continuing discus-

sions between Commission officials, representatives of Mrs. Knauer's office, and the National Association of Attorneys General, it has become clear that additional steps must be taken to further explore the President's directive. One such step is the analysis of the data processing ramifications associated with that proposal.

The Commission has been working during the past year to establish Consumer Protection Coordinating Committees by bringing together Federal, state and local officials responsible for the prosecution of fraudulent or deceptive consumer practices. By pooling information possessed by these several agencies it is possible, through computer technology, to tabulate and classify consumer complaints with considerable benefit to the consumer. However, at best the present application is extremely limited and unsophisticated. Also, it is becoming increasingly clear that additional analysis must be given the data collected by these Committees in order to better serve the consumer protection responsibilities of the Commission.

Although there has been measurable progress in the development of an ongoing consumer fraud clearinghouse type operation, much needs to be done. Our sense of the problem is that these Coordinating Committees in essence form the nucleus of what would become a consumer fraud clearinghouse should our continuing review and analysis indicate that the program should be expanded. Accordingly, the Commission is requesting additional contractual funds, identified under our general operating expenses, to better evaluate and upgrade the processing of data from its now existing Coordinating Committees.

In fiscal 1973, the newly renamed Division of National Advertising plans to expand the monitoring of all national television advertising by requiring networks to submit complete advertising storyboards, thereby expediting corrective actions. Also, it hopes to conduct a more concerted review of dentifrice, cosmetic and device advertising.

Continuing programs for fiscal 1973 include timely and effective action against deceptive advertising appearing on national television; conducting a study and hearing on the Impact of Modern Advertising Techniques on consumers; policing drug advertisements, with particular emphasis on analgesics, calmatives and sedatives; reviewing health, nutritional, and weight reduction claims; and examining advertisements associated with health and beauty aids, devices, and plans. Also, significant commitments of manpower must be programmed for cigarette advertising, "environmental" advertising, and insuring that the advertising of nonprescription drug products is in accordance with the labeling requirements stemming from FDA-FTC labeling standards.

To cope with these new and expanded ongoing projects, 18 additional personnel (11 professional and seven clerical employees) are requested for fiscal 1973.

In the area of General Litigation, eight additional Attorneys and two clerks are requested in fiscal 1973 to handle the increasing litigative workload related to such important consumer areas as product safety; advertising and performance of warranties and product reliability; interstate support by national finance companies and manufacturers for local hard core fraud; unfair business practices; career schools; magazine, newspaper and direct mail advertising; and personal contact sales practices. In addition, a significant amount of time will be allotted to a preliminary investigation function planned to respond to a large volume of Congressional and consumer complaints, as well as determine whether formal investigations should be opened.

For fiscal 1973 the Division of Rules and Guides is requesting eight Attorneys and three clerical employees to assist in prepar-

ing guides and/or rules in several new areas of particular concern to consumers, as well as completing ongoing activities. New projects scheduled for fiscal 1973 include prorate guarantees; standardization of clothing sizes; destination charges; the shelf life of dry cell batteries; a uniform symbol (glyph) system for advertisements involving dangerous or hazardous products; automobile dealer guidelines regarding price, guarantee representations, model designation and year, demonstrator and repossessed cars, and used car representations; trading stamps; and special assignments, compliance activities, and general interpretive work. Numerous ongoing projects will carry over into fiscal 1973, and will continue to require substantial commitments of manpower.

The Division of Scientific Opinions will be called upon increasingly to render scientific advice and assistance to the Commission and the Divisions of National Advertising, General Litigation, and Rules and Guides. In fiscal 1973, scientific opinions will be provided in the areas of nonprescription and hundreds of "me-too-drugs"; analgesics; weight reduction; product safety; alleged environmental contaminants; foods with special dietary and nutritional claims; cosmetics and drugs; and dentifrices, dental preparations and adjuncts. It is also anticipated that research into the "tar and nicotine content" of cigarettes will be stepped-up and that the gas phase analysis of, and heavy metal determination in cigarettes will be initiated. Five additional professional and two clerical personnel are requested for these activities in fiscal 1973.

In summary, to carry out the programs planned for the Bureau of Consumer Protection in fiscal 1973, an increase of 61 additional positions (38 professional and 23 clerical employees) requiring personnel compensation funds of \$612,600 is requested for fiscal 1973. Also, \$15,000 is requested for hiring Consultants to assist in training state and local consumer education and law enforcement personnel, as well as to implement the President's Consumer Fraud Clearinghouse project.

BUREAU OF ECONOMICS

Seven additional professional positions are requested to enable the Division of Economic Evidence to cope with increasing investigative assignments. For the foreseeable future the pre-merger notification program will continue to require substantial manpower commitments. Also, the collection, coding and computerization of significant data relative to merger activities will continue to be of increasing significance.

The staff will become more involved in Robinson-Patman investigations, which will require additional manpower in fiscal 1973. Also, heavy manpower commitments are being made to FTC Act Section 5 investigations, which include a follow-through on the complaint issued against bottling franchise restrictions; examinations of reciprocity practices, primarily in chemicals; and the affects of advertising on competition and on the quality of information given to consumers by producers of cereals, analgesics, rubber tires, and soft drinks. The commitment of staff resources to Clayton Act Section 7 matters will continue. In the consumer protection area, the Division is becoming involved in trade regulation rules where the effect of the rule raises issues concerning competition among firms affected by the rules.

To assist the Commission in its policy planning functions, the staff will complete three studies of past Commission enforcement policy in fiscal 1972; an analysis of the effectiveness of Clayton Act Section 7 orders; and analyses of the Commission's enforcement policies in the dairy and in the food distribution industries. In fiscal 1973 the review of Robinson-Patman enforcement, begun during the current fiscal year, will continue. These reviews will continue to be

emphasized to assist the Commission in determining which types of enforcement actions are likely to have the highest rewards in terms of maximizing consumer welfare.

The Division of Industry Analysis requests seven additional professional positions in fiscal 1973 to expand its capabilities in three broad areas: conducting long-range research on structural and competitive problems in the economy; completing special projects undertaken at the request of the Congress, other Federal agencies, and the Commission; and providing complex economic analyses needed to identify industries and practices most in need of enforcement action.

For some time the Commission has planned to study important industries which appear to be highly concentrated. The energy crisis which began to develop in late 1970 prompted the Commission to direct the Bureau of Economics to expedite its study plans for this area and to give special emphasis to a proposed study of the energy sector of our economy.

Pursuant to this directive, the staff completed and submitted to the Commission a report outlining the possible dimensions of the study areas within the energy sector of our economy requiring attention. The Commission, noting that the energy study would involve a considerable portion of our existing manpower, approved the priority study of four specific areas bearing on concentration: (1) a market boundaries inquiry; (2) an industry structural analysis; (3) effects of structural change on market power; and (4) effects of structural change on new investment and research and development. These studies, which are now underway, will extend through fiscal 1973 and will require additional manpower.

Four additional studies involving prescription drugs, electrical machinery, autos, and chemicals have been recommended to the Commission, with plans to begin in the current fiscal year and carry through fiscal 1973. These industries are large and raise fundamental issues with respect to competitive policy. For example, in the automobile industry, problems in the area of safety and pollution may, according to some, only be solvable by coordinated, cooperative activity of the producers. Such action, however, raises serious antitrust concern.

Also, joint ventures in the chemical industry have been increasing in importance. We plan to examine the economic benefits of this activity and the possible anticompetitive aspects, particularly since it is alleged that the major chemical companies avoid confrontation with each other by jointly entering new markets.

Six new professional and two clerical positions are requested to allow our financial statistics program to expand its coverage of the annual lines of business report to an additional 500 multi-billion-dollar corporations; obtain from 2,800 very large corporations monthly estimates of profits and corporate tax accruals to ascertain the fiscal well-being of the Nation's business community and the status of the Federal budget; and expand the coverage of the quarterly financial reporting program beyond its present commitments and plans.

Five new clerical positions are requested for the stenographic unit to expedite increasing workloads generated by the Divisions within this Bureau.

In summary, to accomplish the important activities planned for the Bureau of Economics during fiscal 1973, 27 additional positions requiring personnel compensation funds of \$316,200 are requested. Also, \$10,000 is requested for hiring Consultants needed to complete the concentrated industries studies and other Bureau projects.

REGIONAL OFFICES

To more effectively discharge the expanded responsibilities of the Regional Offices, an increase of 30 Consumer Protection Spe-

cialists and personnel compensation funds of \$277,000 are requested for fiscal 1973.

Additional personnel will accommodate enforcement of the new carpet and rug standards, as well as further intensify enforcement of the overall Flammable Fabrics Act as applied generally to wearing apparel and fabric to be used in wearing apparel. In fiscal 1973, the Commission anticipates being faced with responsibility for enforcing additional standards in the area of children's sleepwear. These additional employees will permit the Regional Offices to carry a heavier workload than in previous years. This workload has been expanding rapidly because of additional delegations of authority.

Adequate performance of the expanded responsibilities assigned to the Regional Offices can most economically be performed by Commission personnel stationed in the cities and major metropolitan areas where potential workloads exist—particularly consumer protection problems. To effectively structure and utilize the Commission's field staff, it has been recommended that our Regional Office activities be strengthened in Dallas and Denver. Funds of \$30,000 are being requested in the Commission's "Other Expenses" portion of the budget for this purpose.

MAINTAINING THE STAFFING BASE

Additional personnel compensation funds totaling \$803,000 are requested to maintain the staffing base provided for the administration of the Commission's ongoing programs in the current fiscal year. Of this amount, \$527,400 will be used to annualize the payroll costs of the 77 new positions authorized in the current fiscal year but funded for only one-half a year; \$230,800 is needed to cover the costs of mandatory within-grade salary adjustments for the Commission's staff. Due consideration has been given to savings of \$155,200 resulting from two less official workdays in fiscal 1973.

GENERAL OPERATING EXPENSES

The proposed expansions in the Commission's programs and the related increases in staffing will require the provision of personnel benefits and related support such as travel, office space, communications, contractual services, supplies and equipment. These items, together with funds to defray rising operating expenses of the Commission, will require additional funds for general operating expenses of \$2,670,200. This amount will provide funds for such extraordinary items as equipment for our cigarette smoking laboratory and our flammable fabrics testing facility; data contracts of our financial statistics program; extramural data processing services necessary to accelerate the completion of our important concentrated industry studies; independent testing of advertising claims; expansion of the computer capabilities of our Consumer Protection Coordinating Committees; planning a comprehensive and fully integrated management information system; and determining the feasibility of establishing a consumer fraud clearinghouse. Also, the additional funds will allow for leasing additional computer equipment and procuring related supplies; renting additional office space for the additional staff requested in fiscal 1973; strengthening our Regional Office staffing pattern; defraying the postage, envelopes, and maintenance costs associated with the Commission's centralized and automated mailing system used for the mass distribution of such printed material as flammable fabric notices; providing for stenographic reporting services that currently exceed the amount available in our appropriation base; and enabling our Consumer Protection Specialists and Attorney staff in the major bureaus to travel. These items are explained in greater detail under the "Other Expenses" portion of our budget.

CONGRESSMAN JOSEPH P. ADDABBO REPORTS ON THE 92D CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, each year I summarize the activities of Congress, reprint it from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at my expense, and mail it to my constituents. I have followed this practice during my 12 years in the House of Representatives in order to place my record before the residents of the Seventh Congressional District and to encourage them to send their views on the major issues of the day to me.

In addition to sending the summary of congressional activities, I send to my constituents a questionnaire on those issues expected to come before the Congress. From the answers received to those questions, from the many letters received by my office each day and from my personal contact in the district, I am able to learn the thinking of the people I represent in Washington. This is helpful to me in deciding how to vote on various measures as well as in the other duties connected with my representation of the Seventh Congressional District. It is important for a Member of Congress to reflect the concerns of his constituents and I have tried to do just that during my service in the House of Representatives.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Earlier this year I sent out approximately 200,000 questionnaires and received a return of nearly 15 percent. This is a very high return and illustrates the high level of interest in the issues on the part of the people of our district. It is both challenging and encouraging to know that my constituents are active and informed about the legislation pending before the Congress. Following are the questions asked and the answers received:

Please indicate your views on the following questions:

- Which of the following should be U.S. policy in Vietnam?
 - Withdraw all U.S. troops and negotiate for the return of prisoners after our military involvement has ended. 44.6
 - Maintain a residual military force in Vietnam until prisoners are released. 27.2
 - Suspend withdrawals and take military action to free prisoners. 12.3
- Which of the following should be U.S. policy on amnesty for those who refused to comply with draft laws?
 - No amnesty under any condition. 15.4
 - Amnesty in return for 3 years service in a nonmilitary conscientious objector field. 47.7
 - General amnesty for all following the end of our role in the war. 13.5

Please answer each question Yes No

- Do you favor continuation of wage-price controls? 61.3 28.1
- Do you favor a national health insurance law? 58.9 31.7
- Do you favor a welfare reform bill which would provide a Federal minimum payment for all poor, including the working poor? 48.3 31.6
- Do you favor increased Federal aid to States and local government through revenue sharing? 53.3 22.4
- Do you support the President's request for increased military appropriations? 22.6 56.1
- Do you believe a greater percentage of the total budget should be spent on domestic programs? 64.1 23.6
- Do you favor legislation to prohibit compulsory school busing? 56.3 37.1
- Do you support increased Federal efforts to control drug abuse? 91.6 3.2

You will note that many of the percentages do not total 100. The missing percentages represent those who did not respond to particular questions and whom I have assumed are undecided.

At the present time Congress is finding it quite difficult to pass any controversial or new legislation because of the election year primary activities. We will have to recess for the political conventions of both parties in July and August and most Members hope to adjourn by October 1 in order to return home for the November election campaigns. Pending final action by the Congress, I can give you this report on the major activities of the second session of the 92d Congress to date.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The recent escalation of the U.S. role in the Indochina war has caused a great deal of concern in the Congress. There seems to be increasing support for the establishment of a final date for total U.S. troop withdrawal from Vietnam and I have cosponsored a number of resolutions calling for total U.S. withdrawal within 6 months conditional upon the release of U.S. prisoners of war.

The world picture can be quite hopeful if the United States and the Soviet Union can agree to work together for peace. The situation in the Middle East, for example, is dependent to a large degree on the involvement of the major powers. I have supported U.S. military aid to Israel, including the prompt delivery of phantom jets, because of the need to bolster Israel's defense position in the light of Soviet military aid to the Arab States.

The decisions of the major powers in sending or not sending military aid to other nations can provoke dangerous confrontations or at the other extreme can cool off potentially hazardous situations. The SALT talks can if successful go a long way toward controlling these kinds of actions in the future and can play a significant role in reducing the very high defense and military budgets of both the United States and Russia. We must watch developments in this area very closely during the months ahead and hope that responsible and reasonable progress will be made in this area.

As a member of the House Appropriations Committee I had the opportunity to participate directly in a number of decisions in the foreign affairs field. I have supported efforts to end appropriations to continue the war in Vietnam for more than 6 months although such amendments have as yet not been approved by the House. I was able to sponsor and vote for legislation authorizing the appropriation of \$85 million for the resettlement of Soviet Jews in Israel. The House acted favorably on this just a few weeks ago and I was gratified by that action. I voted to reduce the U.S. contribution to the United Nations, another vote sustained by the House, because I believe it is time to express our disappointment over the failures of the world body to play a more meaningful role in bringing belligerent parties to the peace table. We must reassess the peacekeeping functions of the U.N. in the years ahead if we are to

avoid future Vietnams and improve the chances of future generations for peace.

COMMITTEES

As I have mentioned I serve on the House Appropriations Committee, a most important and influential committee. That committee assignment gives me an opportunity to express my views on the priorities which I believe we ought to establish and emphasize. In voting on appropriation measures, I have voted consistently to increase appropriations for education, health, job development, and law enforcement assistance programs. These are major areas in which I believe we should be doing more to encourage our States and local communities to make greater efforts. I have also tried to scrutinize the proposed budgets for defense, space and other programs where I believe there is room for cutting non-essential spending. In those areas I have voted to reduce space program expenditures, against the development of the supersonic transport, and against expansion of the ABM program.

Last year I was named chairman of a Select Small Business Subcommittee. Since that time we have held a series of hearings on the minority small business program highlighting the lack of coordination of the programs designed to help minority businessmen. It is quite clear that we have had a great deal of talk about helping the small businessman in general and the minority businessman in particular, but very little action in either area. Our subcommittee will be making recommendations for changing these programs very shortly.

Our subcommittee has also held hearings in Washington and New York on the increasing and varying prices of gasoline and unfair action by refiners against local stations.

HOUSING

The House will probably consider amendments to the National Housing Act later this month. I have been particularly interested in programs to rehabilitate small private homes in order to preserve the character of residential neighborhoods. During the debate on Federal housing legislation, I will make every effort to inform my colleagues about the problems which can result from imposing massive housing developments on communities which are not able to absorb these projects. We must guard against the "saturated-housing" projects such as the one which has caused the disruption and division of communities like Forest Hills. The lesson of Forest Hills has hopefully taught us that in order not to destroy or polarize neighborhoods there must be community participation and planning of all support facilities such as schools, hospitals and transportation.

THE ECONOMY—TAX REFORM

It is too early to tell whether the economic control program begun last summer will work. It has certainly not produced the short-term results we would have wished to see. The inflationary spiral continues, particularly in the area of food prices. Most disappointing is the failure to reduce the rate of unemployment. I have voted for increased public

works programs and public employment programs in order to put more people in jobs, open new job opportunities and reduce increasing welfare rolls.

The tax structure has been criticized throughout our Nation's history but never with the force and volume of today's critics. We need not only tax reform to close loopholes and rearrange the burden of taxes but we need tax relief as well to help the middle-income family. In this latter area, I have recently introduced a property tax and rent relief bill. This legislation would provide a tax credit for local property taxes and 25 percent of rent paid by apartment dwellers. The tax credit, up to a maximum of \$300 would benefit the middle-income family which bears the greatest burden in connection with local taxes and high rents.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Drug addiction and the crime it produces remains our No. 1 law enforcement problem. I have voted for increased funding of law enforcement assistance to local agencies as well as increased Federal efforts to stem the flow of narcotics into the United States. We must act to stop the flow of heroin at its source abroad and I have urged greater United Nations action in this area. I voted for the creation of the new special office on drug abuse recently established in the White House to coordinate our efforts to combat addiction.

In addition, I have sponsored legislation to fund local educational programs in our elementary and secondary schools as well as adult education courses in police-community relations. Perhaps the most serious problem facing our Nation today is the breakdown of respect for law enforcement officers and agencies. We must act now to restore confidence and respect for our institutions, otherwise chaos and increased crime will destroy our society.

ENVIRONMENT

My chief interests in the environmental area have been the sponsorship of the Gateway National Park bill, which has passed the Senate, has been voted out by the subcommittee of the House and which now awaits House action. This most important plan would make the unique recreational resources of the Jamaica Bay area a national park, safe from further destruction from pollution or construction.

The noise problem in the Kennedy Airport area has continued to illustrate the dangers of pollution from both noise and exhaust of aircraft. I have continued to criticize the FAA for failure to enforce the 1968 Aircraft Noise Abatement Act which I cosponsored and I have urged transfer of noise control powers to the Environmental Protection Agency.

The most recent environmental crisis in Queens concerns the drinking water of many residents of south Queens. Reports of dangerous levels of nitrates provoked my asking the EPA to investigate and that Agency has issued a report critical of city action.

HEALTH

This Congress has been very active in the field of health legislation. While we may not vote on any national health in-

insurance program this year, the Congress probably will pass some form of national health program. The House has voted to authorize new and expanded research efforts to find a cure for cancer and to control heart disease in the United States. Similar legislation in the area of sickle cell anemia will also add to this congressional record in the health field. Federal funds will also be increased for use in training more physicians, nurses, and other health personnel under legislation passed at the end of last year. It is imperative that we make quality health care accessible to all Americans and find a way to prevent the high cost of illness from bringing financial disaster to middle- and low-income families. I believe this will be a priority in the next Congress.

SENIOR CITIZENS

There are many areas in which we must press for Government action and community action to help the elderly. The problems of our aging population do not exist in isolated areas but rather they exist in every corner of our daily lives. Special problems for the aging appear most dramatically in the state of the economy where persons living on fixed incomes cannot fight back against inflation; in health where the costs of increased care required are prohibitive; in housing where access to reasonably priced housing is scarce; in transportation where the easiest trip for the young presents obstacles to the elderly; and in every other avenue of living.

The opening of a senior citizens office in south Queens and a senior citizen service center in Jamaica is an achievement for the aging of our communities.

To meet the soaring cost-of-living increases and to assure a secure retirement, I have sponsored legislation to increase benefits under the social security law by 50 percent, with increased minimum monthly allowance and an increase in amount permitted to earn without loss of benefits.

In addition, in the area of social security I have sponsored legislation to increase benefits for husbands and wives who both work. The legislation provides that the earnings of married couples should be combined for purposes of computing benefits.

I have sponsored important legislation to strengthen and improve the Older Americans Act of 1965. The bill would authorize the following new programs:

Make available comprehensive programs which include a full range of health, education, and social services to our older Americans who need them;

Provide meaningful employment opportunities to many individuals including older persons, young persons, and volunteers from the community.

Provide Federal grants and contracts for special impact programs to provide opportunities for older persons to render public service;

Authorize grants for programs to meet nutritional and dietary needs of older Americans, including provision for hot meals in neighborhood centers and in residential housing and home delivered meals for persons homebound or disabled;

Finance construction of multipurpose senior citizen centers; and

Authorize programs to improve transportation services available to older Americans including subsidized fares.

We must update and expand medicare. We must meet the new benefit needs of the 20 million senior citizens entitled to medicare benefits and consider reducing the minimum age for eligibility from 65 to a more realistic number.

It is time to recognize that social security and other benefits should be adequate to provide security.

MY WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK OFFICES

During my six terms as the Representative of the Seventh Congressional District, I have tried to make myself available to constituents who have problems involving Federal departments and agencies. In addition to my continuous weekend appearances in my district at meetings and functions of various civic, fraternal, veterans, and religious organizations, I maintain a full-time district office, and my Washington office is always ready to assist my constituents.

Please write or call me at room 2440, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515 or at 96-11 101st Avenue, Ozone Park, N.Y. 11416.

CALIFORNIA TURNS TIDE ON VET JOBLESSNESS

HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon, in October 1970, manifesting his continuing concern for the welfare of the returning Vietnam veteran, announced a nationwide "jobs for veterans" campaign. He instructed the Veterans' Administration, the Department of Labor and other Federal agencies to support the program fully and to cooperate with American business, organized labor, veterans organizations and State and local governments in assisting returning veterans to obtain meaningful employment.

This important program, under the direction of national chairman James F. Oates, Jr., and his efficient staff has served to focus the public spotlight upon the fact that the young veteran's blend of skills and self-discipline make him an ideal candidate for employment.

An outstanding example of the success of the jobs for veterans campaign may be found in the following article entitled "California Turns Tide on Vet Joblessness" from the April 1972 issue of the JVF Report. Here, we find Federal, State, and local government joining with the news media, business and industry in promoting jobs for veterans in a statewide campaign spearheaded by a California jobs for veterans task force headed by Gordon Elliott, who is, coincidentally, the able Director of the Veterans' Administration regional office in Los Angeles.

The article follows:

CALIFORNIA TURNS TIDE ON VET JOBLESSNESS

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.—In a few days Californians will be seeing and hearing Gov. Ronald Reagan—in a spot announcement on television—remind them that a pool of ex-GIs have returned to California and that they want jobs.

Women shoppers at Safeway stores around Los Angeles and San Diego will be getting the same message: Safeway has agreed to put the imprint "Hire the Vet" on all its shopping bags in its Southern California stores.

It is the kind of commitment—stretching from the governor's mansion in Sacramento to the grocery store in Southern California—that is needed because, like so much else in California, the problem is bigger here. Overall there are more than 3,000,000 veterans in the state, the largest veteran population of any state in the nation. Of these, 630,000 are Vietnam era veterans.

If one calculates that California, with 10 per cent of the country's population, has 10 per cent of its unemployed veterans, the figure of young Vietnam era ex-servicemen looking for work here would be around 40,000. (This is the basic formula for calculation by the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics.)

But officials around the state have the feeling, if not the figures to back them up, that California has a bit more than its "apportioned" share of recent discharges. A very high percentage of men are separated here, officials point out, and, they add, unemployment compensation, which many new veterans will be taking advantage of, is higher here than almost anywhere else in the country. Then, of course, there is the allure of California, particularly in the southern part of the state, with its endless beaches, predictably mild and sunny climate, and an industry boom providing boundless employment opportunities.

These days, though, new realities have scraped the luster off of these images. It is the rare day now when you can see a smogless sky over Los Angeles or any place near it. Oil slicks are all too common. And it is a long wait to find work with 6 per cent unemployment statewide. Nonetheless California is a strong magnet for young people, veterans and their peers alike.

The ax of the budget-tighteners in Washington, looking to stem the tide of inflation, fell heavily on California. In the north, around San Francisco, employment possibilities dried up in research firms that dot the suburbs of the city. In the southern part of the state, around Los Angeles and San Diego, the crunch came when the aerospace industry took a nose dive.

The picture, though, these days is not overly bleak. Officials are cautiously optimistic that better times economically are on the way, and there are already signs in the wind that that is the case: Some aerospace contracts have been awarded to firms around Los Angeles; construction is doing well all over the state; San Francisco has been dropped from the list of those with 6 per cent unemployment. So, while the going is still not easy for the job seeker in California, the worst seems to have passed.

In June of last year, when Gov. Reagan appointed a statewide Jobs for Veterans task force, he was anticipating, with good reasons, an economic upturn in the state. He was also anticipating, and again with good reason, the results that he might expect from a task force headed by Gordon Elliott.

Mr. Elliott (who also heads the Southern California Regional Office of the Veterans Administration) is a short, broad-faced man whose easy conviviality tends to belie the frantic pace he keeps for himself as the state's No. 1 promoter of Jobs for Veterans.

A glance at Mr. Elliott's February calendar shows that nearly half of his working days in that abbreviated month were spent making speeches, cutting commercials, attending luncheons and dinner banquets—all for the purpose of pushing jobs for veterans. Five times he traveled from his Los Angeles office to other cities in the state.

This kind of activity has clearly prompted the state's media to join Mr. Elliott's promotional bandwagon. Newspapers throughout the state have carried stories on the veteran and his problems in readjusting to civilian life; have carried promotional material distributed by the National JFV Committee; and have given free space so the veteran can advertise himself as a job candidate to his local community. Advertisers have donated billboards. Radio and TV have cooperated by running spot JFV announcements from the Advertising Council and those cut by Gov. Reagan, Mr. Elliott, and Fred Bradley, coordinator for the JFV task force in northern California.

Mr. Elliott credits the media with splendid cooperation. "You know, the FCC requires radio and television to give so much of their time to public service advertising. They just plug in whatever they're given. But in the case of promoting Jobs for Veterans, they've been calling us to get material."

It's really not a hard job selling employers on the idea of hiring veterans, according to Mr. Elliott. "Most employers were veterans themselves—a vast majority—and they are more than willing to cooperate with us in hiring veterans. It's a question of making them aware that there are veterans out there who want jobs."

Of course, Mr. Elliott concentrates on the business community because that's where the jobs and on-the-job training slots are going to come from; and he doesn't wait for a desire on the part of businessmen to hire veterans to spring up on its own accord.

One case in point is Mr. Elliott's recent interest in the possibility of California's credit unions hiring and training a large number of veterans. It is an untapped hiring source, and he has knocked on its door with determination and gusto, making one speech after another to the local meetings of the California Credit Union League urging members to train and hire veterans. Particularly train.

"Because these people don't hire great numbers all at once, it would be more useful if we could get an on-the-job training curriculum approved. We've already passed the point of defining job descriptions and now we're mapping out a full training course. When business turns up, credit unions will expand. They already have 5 per cent of all savings, and 15 per cent of all short-term credit loans. What we want is to get veterans into jobs, jobs with a future, now."

Doing that is, of course, more than just the problem of increasing awareness among employers that veterans want jobs; it is really a question of a pickup in the economy. It is also very much a question of delivery—matching employer demand to job-seeker need. In short, a problem for the employment service.

As in other states, the success or failure of any push to find jobs for veterans is going to turn on whether the veteran, in the local office of the employment service, is getting the attention and priority referral to jobs to which he is entitled. Providing that kind of service depends very much on a pervasive commitment to Jobs for Veterans running from top employment service officials through to local office managers.

At the top of California's Human Resources Department the commitment is a firm one. The director of HRD, appointed last September, is totally convinced of the need to have the department do all it can to help returning veterans.

In fact, one month after Sigurd I. Hansen came on board as HRD director he was tell-

ing a Sacramento audience that "we have no program more important than that of putting our talents and resources to work to help those who have finished their military service and are eager to get back into step with the civilian business community . . . and, I assure you that my department will give maximum effort to the opening of more doors of opportunity for the men and women who need help in getting jobs."

Mr. Hansen, like other employment service chiefs, faced the ticklish problem of instituting a veterans priority program in an agency that for the decade of the '60s had turned its attention primarily to the plight of the disadvantaged. Redirected attention to one group must necessarily draw attention from the other, critics contend.

However, some observers of the California scene are quick to build a case showing that the veterans emphasis in the employment service has actually strengthened the agency and made it a more efficient tool for all who use it.

William Fly, who is California's program supervisor of services to veterans, points out that the number of employers who were calling in job orders to HRD spiraled downward during the period that emphasis was placed so heavily on aiding the disadvantaged. Simultaneously, private employment agencies, essentially supplying the competent, highly skilled and educated workers, sprang up at every hand. The private agencies became brokerage houses for good jobs.

The result, as indicated by Melvin Sparks, veterans employment representative for California, was a decrease in the number and variety of jobs coming into local offices. Those coming in were too frequently low-wage and low-skilled positions, offering little hope for a future to a veteran, non-veteran, or disadvantaged job-seeker.

Bill Fly puts an operational aspect of the new guiding philosophy succinctly. "We have recognized that employers are important, and we are trying to get in touch with them. We will court their favor because we think if we can increase the number of job orders, we will strengthen HRD and improve the service we give the whole range of its clients."

Melvin Sparks adds another pertinent note: "We also recognize here in Sacramento that a large part of the problem of unemployed veterans is the fact that those who are having difficulty finding work are those who have always been handicapped in the labor market. They have little education, and probably did not acquire a marketable skill in the military."

"Our increasing focus on veterans is helping very large numbers of those who had difficulty finding and keeping jobs before they went into the military and who are experiencing the same kind of trouble now."

Statistics bear out the contention of the amiable Mr. Sparks that California is well on its way to easing the veteran unemployment problem. From July 1 (the start of the fiscal year) through February 29, the state had made 32,936 placements of Vietnam era veterans in jobs. This was 83 per cent of a revised placement goal assigned to California under the President's Veterans Programs, but with only two-thirds of the year gone.

(Sigurd I. Hansen, HRD Director noted in a recent press release that California's "original goal for the fiscal year ending June 1972 was set by the Department of Labor Regional Manpower Administrator at 28,449 placements, and by the halfway point of December 31 we had reached 25,097." This revamping of California's goal upward followed on the heels of the Labor Department's January commendation of HRD's "steadily gaining momentum, with the number of veterans placed being larger each report period."

Of course, this kind of progress takes more than pious statements of concern from either Washington or Sacramento. It requires commitment, administrative tools, and money.

Crucial to California's success was the infusion last year of new manpower into the employment service to work solely with and for veterans—52 assistant VERs and 38 veteran aides. These extra men have enabled California to boast that it now has at least a part-time VER operating in all of the state's 109 employment service offices. There is more time for the individual veteran and more time to contact employers to uncover jobs.

Mel Sparks is convinced that the President's mandatory listing requirement for federal contractors is also beginning to bear fruit. While these jobs can be filled by anyone, veterans will have first crack at them all.

While officials are convinced that the enormous amount of publicity supporting jobs for Veterans and the increased focus on veterans programs by the Department of Human Resources has paid off, they are certain that more work has to be done. The early release program has particularly—and will continue to do so for the next several months—tested the effectiveness of the new efforts in finding veteran jobs.

The broad outlines of California's continuing drive on behalf of new veterans were recently sketched in by Gordon Elliott in a report to Gov. Reagan and to the 50 members of the statewide Jobs for Veterans task force: a beefed-up outreach effort to "stimulate employers who have not hired veterans with the attitudes, opinions, and experiences of those who have;" and a greater focus on large employers to hire more veterans and small employers to train veterans in on-the-job training situations.

Particular attention should be paid to the needs of minority group and educationally disadvantaged veterans, the report said. In a tight labor market, these men have additional handicaps that make their job-finding efforts all the more frustrating.

Greater cooperation between all the groups trying to help veterans would serve to increase the effectiveness of the overall Jobs for Veterans program, Mr. Elliott pointed out in the report.

In some ways that criticism by Mr. Elliott is really a compliment to the range of programs that have sprung up at every hand and in every agency to help veterans. With the commitment in California to help veterans as deep as it is, it seems unlikely that state officials won't be able to iron out the administrative details to deliver service more efficiently. Placing veterans in jobs here is everybody's top priority.

HON. ED ESHLEMAN'S LATEST NEWSLETTER

HON. EDWARD G. BIESTER, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. BIESTER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues Congressman Ed ESHLEMAN's recent newsletter to residents of the 16th Congressional District of Pennsylvania. I am sure all of us are pleased to hear that Ed is recovering so quickly and that he will be returning to Washington next month.

The newsletter follows:

REPORT FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN,
ED ESHLEMAN
BACK TO WORK

If you haven't gotten a letter from me, or heard me on the radio, or read the news reports about my activities, maybe this newsletter can serve to let you know that I'm back on the job after my recent heart surgery.

Since it will be another couple of weeks before I resume attending legislative sessions in Washington, perhaps that the back to work statement should be qualified to say that I'm on the job while recuperating at home. But that means I'm seeing, dictating and signing the mail; studying and evaluating national and legislative issues; and keeping up communications with constituents through my radio show and newspaper columns. And I'm in regular, daily contact with both my Washington and District offices.

As always, the work I'm doing is in conjunction with my staff. For instance, this newsletter is the result of collaboration with my legislative assistant, Bob Walker, who assists me each time in writing and assembling these reports. Unlike other occasions, however, our collaboration this time had to be via telephone.

My point is that the "ceasefire" period is over. I have the feeling that many people held off letting me know about their problems with the Federal Government or telling me their opinions about national issues while I was hospitalized and immediately thereafter. But there is no need for hesitation now and if I can help you or listen to you, get in touch.

CAPITOL COMMENT

Congressman Don Brotzman of Colorado said it, but anyone with legislative experience knows his statement is well worth repeating. It is, "Hell hath no fury like a vested interest masquerading as a moral principle."

ONE NOT ALL

Another political leader is gunned down in another senseless and regrettable tragedy. But that repugnant act should not be used to label our Nation as sick.

The Nation is not sick. We are confronted with a small percentage of sick people who are capable of attempting to murder someone with whom they disagree.

If one-half of one percent of the people in our country have that capability, that is one million persons against whom there is little defense. Their sickness should not be called a national sickness, but should be labeled for what it is—a personal affliction that too often in recent history has resulted in national tragedy.

ANSWER TO CRITICS

Those who are attempting to revive the Vietnam war as a major political issue were answered by President Nixon when he issued his third annual Foreign Policy Report several weeks ago.

He said: "I have no complaint over the fact that during this period, when I have been ending a war I did not begin, I have been subjected to vigorous criticism. I do not question the patriotism or the sincerity of those who disagree with my policies to bring peace; but as I said in 1968 when I was a candidate for President, we have only one President at a time and only the President can negotiate an end to war."

DOWN DRAFT

The chart at the right shows graphically how draft calls have been dropping.

JUST DO IT

One reason why Congress has lost power and influence in the last twenty-five years is that it has become increasingly unwilling to assume responsibility for the direction of government. It has become content to legislate in such a way that real responsibility is put in the hands of the Executive. The reason should be obvious. This gives Congress the "out" of blaming everything that goes wrong on the President. "We passed a good program," Congressmen will say, "but the White House didn't administer it right."

A colleague of mine has a modern folk tale that puts the problem into proper perspective:

There was an old owl who had a reputation for wisdom and statesmanship. A grasshopper came to see the owl and explained that he had played all summer and now needed advice on how to get through the winter without any food. The owl said, "That's easy. Just turn yourself into a bear, hibernate all winter, and you won't need any food." The grasshopper thanked him, but as he was hopping out, turned back and said, "By the way, how do I change myself into a bear?" The owl angrily responded, "Don't bother me with your silly questions. I'm in policy and that's an administrative matter."

PETE BIESTER—PENNSYLVANIA

The guest editorial in this newsletter was written by my good friend Edward G. (Pete) Biester, Jr. who represents the Eighth Congressional District of our Commonwealth, including Bucks County and parts of Lehigh and Montgomery Counties.

GUEST EDITORIAL

I'd like to address myself to penal reform, a subject about which I feel very deeply. I've had the opportunity to work closely on this through my House Judiciary Subcommittee.

Conditions in penal institutions throughout the country have recently come under close public scrutiny. Prison uprisings and increases in the crime rate have served to focus attention on the need to realize progressive reforms in the law enforcement, judicial and correctional fields—to assure the accused his legal rights, to assure him and society a fair and speedy trial and, if convicted, a conscientious effort at rehabilitation.

Ninety-eight percent of all those now imprisoned will return to society. If they come out poorly equipped for life in the real world without good job training programs, if they are more solemn, more angry and more anti-social than when they went in, we are endangering ourselves and are subjecting ourselves to their criminal behavior when they come out. If, on the other hand, they come out with job training, marketable skills, and a more wholesome attitude, then we all have a fair chance that they will not repeat their criminal behavior.

We have approached this effort with considerable humility. I don't think anyone has a sure answer on how great numbers of men and women may all be rehabilitated, but I am convinced from what we have seen so far that we are not doing nearly enough to protect the public from the repeat offender. We must be willing to experiment with work release programs, weekend furloughs, better job training, and other steps to help make society a safer place in which to live.

STARFISH SAGA

Like millions of Americans, I am committed to doing everything possible to clean up our environment. But I have never hesitated to caution that our antipollution efforts must be reasonable and responsible. We must not act emotionally and too quickly to each thing called a potential environmental disaster.

A case in point is the menace that supposedly was brewing on the Great Barrier Reef in Australia. The Crown of Thorns starfish was said to be endangering the area, and over-zealous environmentalists demanded all sorts of radical and expensive remedies. Now the latest reports show that the starfish population has returned to normal—not because the government acted, but through the cyclical population swings created by Mother Nature.

BIG SHOW

Dulles Airport outside Washington, D.C. will be the scene of the world's largest transportation exhibition from May 27 to June 4. TRANSP0 72 will feature displays of equip-

ment and ideas from all fields of transportation. The air portion of the exhibition alone will be bigger than the Paris Air Show.

If you and your family are interested in things that move like planes, trains and automobiles, Dulles Airport may be a good place for you to plan to spend a day.

LOOPHOLE LESSON

In this political year there is a lot of talk about tax loopholes. It makes a dandy point in a campaign speech to denounce the rich who use loopholes to escape paying income taxes. For example, by now nearly everyone has heard about the 222 people with incomes over \$200,000 who paid no income tax in 1968.

I, for one, find it hard to accept that these individuals did not ante up with the rest of us. But doing something to close the loopholes is more difficult than campaign talk might lead you to believe.

Those 222 non-payers cannot be considered without also considering the 19,001 people in the same income group (over \$200,000) who did pay their taxes. In other words, only 3 people in a million actually escaped the tax burden, which makes the loophole seem a good deal smaller. And the question arises whether the drastic changes in tax law that might be needed to catch those few people are worth the chance that the new regulations might be just as easily evaded and maybe even worse.

In all fairness, it also needs to be pointed out that the rich who paid their taxes paid heavily. All told, they came up with almost \$4 billion, which is close to five percent of the total tax revenue from far less than one percent of all taxpayers.

This is not a justification for anyone to look for an escape route at tax time. It simply is intended to show that all that glitters in a campaign speech may not be real gold.

TOO REAL

The National Association of Professional Bureaucrats lists the following guidelines for its members: "When in charge, ponder; when in trouble, delegate; when in doubt, mumble."

HELP FIGHT HEROIN

Do you want to help in wiping out the evils of drug abuse?

The Government has established a new "heroin hotline." If you have knowledge of someone who is selling heroin, you may call from anywhere in the continental United States—seven days a week—to pass along your information. Anyone who calls is guaranteed that their information and identification will remain strictly confidential.

If you can help apprehend a pusher, call the following number toll-free: (800) 368-5363.

HOW SWEET IS IT

The Federal Government has gone to great lengths in recent years to protect Americans from substances that might be harmful. People on sugar-restricted diets don't have to be reminded that their cyclamates had to be thrown away because evidence was found that this sugar substitute caused cancer.

Now someone has decided that sugar, itself, is "a crucial health hazard for all ages." A doctor is claiming that it may cause heart disease, diabetes, gout, peptic ulcers and several other "often-fatal diseases."

You might be thinking that people have been eating sugar for several thousand years, and you'd be right. But if the Federal Government decided to protect us from the sugar menace, you can bet it would be pointed out that people have been dying for several thousand years, too.

The scary part is not that sugar may actually get banned (the chances seem rather remote), but that issues just as phony have caught the attention of Washington bureaucrats before and have been acted upon.

SEX DISCRIMINATION IN
CONSUMER CREDIT

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the National Commission on Consumer Finance held hearings this week looking into sex discrimination in the granting of consumer credit. The Commission, which will report its findings to the President and the Congress following completion of its study of the consumer finance industry and consumer credit transactions, is chaired by Ira M. Millstein. Members of the Commission include Senator JOHN SPARKMAN; Senator WILLIAM PROXMIER; Senator WILLIAM E. BROCK; Representative LEONOR K. SULLIVAN; Representative HENRY B. GONZALEZ; Representative LAWRENCE G. WILLIAMS; Dr. Robert W. Johnson of Purdue University; and Douglas M. Head, former attorney general of Minnesota.

At this time, I would like to insert in the RECORD testimony which I submitted to the Commission on May 22, 1972. My testimony follows:

TESTIMONY OF MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

For those who believe that women have no trouble securing credit, please listen to these letters from the Detroit area. This one came from a retired woman:

"Why can't single women and widows get credit to buy homes or have credit cards? I'm one of these, yet I have worked 30 years at General Motors. . . . Who are they kidding when they give credit to youngsters who can't meet their bills? I myself loaned [youngsters] money to cover their bills, but I couldn't . . . buy a home unless I paid cash. . . ."

Single women are not the only ones who have difficulty in obtaining credit. Many lenders will not extend credit to a married woman in her own name. The following letter was written by a young bride:

"I began working after graduation from college on September 5, 1967. Until March 3, 1972, I was single, gainfully employed, and enjoyed a flawless credit rating. . . . On March 4, 1972, I married. *Nothing else changed!* The fact of my marriage meant, however, that I had to reapply for credit at stores here in Detroit where I had been charging and faithfully discharging my debts for the over 2½ years since I moved here. Even though my income of over \$16,000 is the same as my husband's, I had to reapply for credit in *his* name."

Even when a married couple applies for credit in the husband's name, some lenders will not count the wife's income. This letter came from a licensed practical nurse whose husband's earnings are not sufficient to obtain financing for a car:

"I'm married but have a job and need transportation. I tried a credit union and two small loan companies to finance a car. All said it would be my husband's credit, not mine, that they would go on. My husband has been ill for several years and naturally has not worked steady. On the other hand, I work seven days a week at two jobs (one full time, one part time). And [I] think it very unfair they will not take that as a fact. It is getting rather monotonous asking for rides home."

Divorcees have no easier time in obtaining credit. The following letter was written by a woman who had been married for nine years:

"About two years have passed since I was divorced, and I have just recently been given

credit. . . . I had to have someone cosign for furniture. I had to have a cosigner for a new car; the old one was stolen. Only six months ago I was given a credit account at the very store I'm employed by and have been for 2½ years. . . . Every credit department I've come in contact with assumes since you're divorced or a woman alone, you can't be trusted to pay your bills"

Complaints such as these are abundant, and they are by no means limited to Detroit. Nationwide, men and women today do not have equal access to credit. Banks, savings and loan associations, credit card companies, finance companies, insurance companies, retail stores, and even the Federal Government discriminate against women in extending credit. And they discriminate against women in all stages of life—whether single, married, divorced, or widowed; with or without children; rich or poor; young or old.

I

Many single women have difficulty in obtaining credit, especially mortgage credit, although their income is quite sufficient. A single woman has trouble getting credit to buy a home even if she is employed by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

Lenders who refuse to extend credit to single women explain this policy by saying that a single woman might marry and then stop working. But the truth is that a single woman is a better credit risk than a single man. A woman who enters the labor force by age 20 and never marries has a longer work life expectancy than the average man. And a working woman who marries usually continues to work and often gains a second income which is larger than her own. Credit practices which treat single women differently than single men are not fair.

Recently a woman doctor in San Francisco wrote to me about discrimination against women in life and disability insurance. She is the president of a health services company, and she had just negotiated the purchase of long-term disability insurance for her 35 employees. Even under the most desirable disability plan available, single women had to pay considerably higher premiums than men. One single woman's policy under the plan was not renewable after age 65. And the same woman was required, if partially disabled, to seek employment outside her profession after twenty-four months. Let me quote from the doctor's letter:

"In the past I have also found it very difficult for me to obtain adequate life insurance. Whenever I've inquired about this, I've always been told that women are generally considered poor risks, and it is the policy of the company not to insure women on the same basis as men. Needless to say this policy cannot be substantiated medically, since any insurance table or list of medical statistics will show that women have a longer life span than men."

II

Like single women, married women suffer discrimination in obtaining credit. Many lenders will not grant credit to a married woman in her own name. Regardless of a wife's income, many lenders will not permit her to open a charge account, borrow money, or buy a car. These lenders will extend credit only to the husband, or to the husband and wife together, on the basis of the husband's credit record. This policy gives the husband control of the couple's finances, of course, and prevents the wife from ever establishing her own credit record. (When a wife goes through life without establishing her own credit, stores won't even cash her Social Security checks.)

Lenders who refuse to extend credit to a married woman in her own name defend this policy on the basis of state support law. A husband is legally liable for the support of

his wife. Lenders say that they extend credit only in the husband's name so that they can hold the husband responsible for any unpaid bills.

But when a single woman who has credit accounts marries, lenders often insist on changing the accounts to her husband's name, even if her husband has no income! If she has been paying her bills, why should the accounts be taken away from her? And if her husband has no income, what good is his signature?

Under the Married Women's Property Acts, a married woman may acquire, own, and transfer all kinds of property just as if she were unmarried; she may make contracts; and she may sue and be sued. Why, then, shouldn't a married woman be able to obtain credit in her own name, on the basis of her own earnings, just like other adults?

If a husband cannot or will not support his wife and she cannot get credit on her own, she has problems. I have a letter from a woman who was abandoned a year ago by her husband. She earns \$7,800 a year to support herself and her three children. Sixty dollars a month is deducted from her paycheck to repay the debts which her husband left. She receives no child support payments. She cannot even get credit to buy a sewing machine! It is not easy to raise a family when everything has to be paid in cash.

In theory, the legal doctrine of necessities permits a wife to purchase what she needs and charge it to her husband. But in practice the doctrine is almost useless. As one expert has observed, the doctrine of necessities "is hedged about with so many limitations that few merchants would wish to reply on it."¹

Even when a husband supports his wife faithfully, the policy of putting everything in the husband's name may have cruel results later in life. Recently I received a letter from a 60-year-old woman in Winchester, Virginia. She and her husband would like to get a divorce. But their insurance company insists that the couple's health insurance policies belong only to the "head of household"—the husband. (And it was the wife who paid the insurance premiums all along.) Because the wife had a heart attack, she can no longer get health insurance on her own. So she is trapped in an unhappy marriage.

Another woman who came to me for advice had just lost her husband after a long illness. The wife had been the complete support of the family. Before the body was cold in the ground, a representative of the FHA had the colossal nerve to call that woman and ask her to use the insurance, if any, to make a complete payment on the home. She inquired from me if she had to do it. I assured her that she did not. The truth was that the woman's money had paid for the home from the beginning.

III

Lenders discriminate against a wife not only by denying her credit in her own name, but also by failing to count her income when she and her husband apply together for credit. Whether or not a couple already has children, lenders worry that the wife will become pregnant and quit her job. (Traditionally this rationale has also been used to exclude women from employment.) When one couple applied for a mortgage in Rochester, New York, the bank would not count the wife's income until the husband proved that he had had a vasectomy! And I have heard that before the Veterans Administration will count the income of a wife of childbearing age, she must bring a note from her doctor saying that she cannot bear children.

If a husband's income is too low for him to get credit on his own and if lenders will

¹ Professor Homer Clark, Jr., *The Law of Domestic Relations in the United States*, West Publishing Co. (1968), page 192.

not count his wife's earnings, that couple cannot get credit at all. Let me tell you about a young couple in Chicago. Both husband and wife are 24 years old. The wife has worked as a secretary for the Federal Government for almost two years. The husband is attending college under the G. I. Bill. Together they have an income of over \$10,000. When they tried to buy a house, real estate brokers who found out that the wife was the breadwinner would not show them around. When they tried to rent an apartment, several apartment managers turned them down. One manager who learned the source of their income told them that the husband's father would have to cosign the rental contract. When the husband showed some surprise, the manager snapped, "What's the matter? Doesn't your father work either?" This couple finally found an apartment to rent, but to this day then have not been able to buy a home or obtain a credit card.

The extent of this kind of discrimination is hard to determine. When a husband and wife apply for credit and are turned down, often they do not know how much of the wife's income was actually counted. The lender need only say, "Your 'effective income' is not sufficient," and that is the end of the matter.

In a revealing statement, John Farry, president of the U.S. Savings and Loan League, characterized today's situation as follows:

"There are regional differences, as well as differences between one institution and another in the same locality. But generally speaking, the working woman or the divorcee or widow with her own financial resources has a far better chance of getting a mortgage today than she would even two or three years ago."²

Not even Mr. Farry would suggest that a woman has an equal chance with a man.

It is hard to view the present situation as an improvement. In 1971 Bernard Meltzer reported in *The Washington Post* that he had surveyed many mortgage lenders regarding their policy of counting a wife's income. These were his findings:

"In recent marriages (less than five years) or when the wife has been working only a short time, no recognition is given to the wife's income. Also, with young married couples, no matter what their background, the wife's income is not recognized.

"If the wife is classified as a professional and is between the ages of 26 and 35, a lender may give half credit to her income. Over 35 years, it is customary to give full credit. If the wife is in a nonprofessional occupation, usually no allowance is made for her income up to age 35, half allowance between 35 and 42, and full credit beyond that age."³

Recently the Federal Home Loan Bank asked savings and loan associations the following question:

"In qualifying a loan applicant, what credit would you allow for the applicant's spouse's income if she is age 25, has two school-age children, and works full-time as a secretary?"

Of the 74 associations responding, only 22 percent said they would count all of the wife's income; 26 percent would count only half of her income; 12 percent would count only one quarter; and 25 percent would count none. Since savings and loans tend to have more liberal qualification criteria than other mortgage lenders, these figures probably overestimate the willingness of most mortgage lenders to count a wife's income.

The idea that wives of childbearing age are unreliable borrowers is a myth. Most women have control over whether or not they will

become pregnant. And certainly all women have control over whether or not they will quit their jobs. The fact that some wives stay home to care for their children does not mean that working wives whose incomes are needed to pay the mortgage will quit their jobs to do the same. I know of no evidence showing that married couples tend to default on their loans when the wife bears children. If a spouse's income is to be discounted solely because that spouse is female, in my judgment the amount of the discount should not exceed the cost of child care services to enable the wife to keep working.

In the Housing Act of 1949 Congress set as a national goal "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every family." Federal agencies having duties with respect to housing are required by law to act so as to further this goal. Mortgage lenders who unfairly discount the income of a working wife are wrongly denying that wife and her family a home. Yet federal agencies have not tried to prevent this kind of discrimination. The Federal Government backs every mortgage, and the Federal Government should not back mortgages where the lender discriminates on the basis of sex.

IV

Like married women, widows and divorcees suffer discrimination in obtaining credit. Whether or not a widow or divorcee has worked in the past, she has difficulty getting credit unless she has established her own credit record—a feat which is almost impossible, since a married woman can seldom obtain credit in her own name.

Sometimes the results of discrimination against the formerly married are extremely harsh. One unremarried widow with two daughters was refused a rental contract for a certain apartment because she was a "woman alone." (Apartments in the same building were available to widowers with children.) This widow was clearly able to pay the rent. She had an adequate, steady income from Social Security and from a veteran's pension, for her husband had died while on active duty in the Marine Corps. And the only place that would sell her a washing machine on credit was a store where the credit manager was an ex-Marine who wanted to "help an old buddy."

Formerly married women also report discrimination in insurance. Some companies raise the amount of a woman's auto insurance premium when she becomes divorced, regardless of her driving record. And if a divorcee has never owned a car in her own name before—even if she has been driving for 20 years without an accident—she has a hard time getting any auto insurance at all.

Credit practices which discriminate against widows and divorcees are not justified. Formerly married persons are no more immoral or unreliable than the rest of us. Nor are their incomes more unstable. Female heads of households have a tremendous economic need to work—they are not temporary workers.

In sum, credit practices which discriminate against women are prevalent, harmful, and not supported by reason.

V

No law prohibits sex discrimination in consumer credit. Nor has any federal agency charged with protecting consumers acted to prevent discrimination against women. The Federal Trade Commission has largely ignored women's special problems in obtaining credit. And the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, the Comptroller of the Currency, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Federal Reserve Board have not issued regulations to prevent sex discrimination in home financing. Women have no legal protection against discrimination in consumer credit.

The right of a woman on welfare with il-

legitimate children to buy housing under Section 235 of the Housing Act makes a mockery of the failure of the same Housing Act to guarantee a middle class woman the same right to buy a house. It seems to me the Act is saying—"Welfare is for women." It would be so simple to correct, and unless the housing bill this year corrects it, I intend to offer an amendment on the floor of the House that the F.H.A. cannot guarantee any loans of any lender who discriminates in such loans on the basis of sex.

It is my hope that this Commission will highlight the ridiculous practices of department stores, so that young women will be encouraged to use the same self-help as my husband's secretary, who wrote to me as follows:

"When I married at the age of 27, I was forced to close existing charge accounts and re-open them in my married name. At Winkelman's, where I had had an account with unlimited credit for seven years, I was welcomed as a "new customer" and the explanation that my credit was limited to \$100.00 until the time (one year) that such credit became established. In a remarkably lady-like fashion, under the circumstances, I advised them I was no longer interested in an account with them."

Legislation, it seems to me, could be worked out which stops cold the insurance companies who refuse to insure women or who charge them more for a lesser benefit. I trust you will suggest and support such legislation.

I hope you also do some surveys or demand some proof that women with jobs, accustomed to supporting themselves, are poorer credit risks than men. Do not let them confuse you with comparisons with wives without jobs. The home mortgage discrimination was brought to my attention some years ago by a man who had made a fortune buying mortgages of widows. He told me then that a woman was the best risk there was on a mortgage. She would pay for a home if she went without food.

I congratulate you on holding this hearing, and I look forward to your making a real change in the Nation's credit practices toward women.

MEMORIAL DAY 1972

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, Monday, May 29, we will observe Memorial Day.

In recognizing the significance of Memorial Day, we must not only remember the many brave men who gave their lives to preserve our freedom, but we should take this time to reassert our devotion and dedication to the cause of freedom and democracy for America and all the world.

As Americans, we share a common heritage. Our valiant men throughout our comparatively short history have fought and died so that we may remain free. Let us not forget these men nor the purpose for which they made the supreme sacrifice.

Memorial Day 1972, we should give our solemn thanks and reaffirmation of our responsibility as citizens of a great nation—a free nation—and a grateful nation.

² "More Mortgages for Women," *The Washington Post*, March 18, 1972, page E15.

³ "Dialogue on Real Estate Topics," *The Washington Post*, February 13, 1971, page D9.

IN SUPPORT OF HOUSE JOINT
RESOLUTION 620

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, as a strong proponent of the neighborhood school concept, I appeared before the Committee on the Judiciary in support of House Joint Resolution 620 which is a proposal for a constitutional amendment to prohibit forcible school busing.

At this time I would like to share my remarks with my colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives.

The remarks follow:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE LOUISE DAY HICKS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. Chairman and Members of the House Committee on the Judiciary, I am pleased to appear before you as the Representative of the Ninth Congressional District in Massachusetts. I support House Joint Resolution 620 and have sponsored similar legislation which is now before your committee. The proposal for a constitutional amendment to prohibit forcible school busing is a lengthy process—but one that is required if we are to guarantee that the future of our children will remain in the hands of their parents, where it belongs, and not under the arbitrary decrees of judges and bureaucrats. Forcible busing to achieve racial balance is opposed by the overwhelming majority of my constituents, for reasons which I hope to explain here today.

Our country is the land of the free—a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. There are constitutional limitations on the amount of coercion that the government can exercise over the citizens. Throughout our history, the judicial branch has served as the guardian of the people, seeking to guarantee that the other two branches did not exceed these limitations. Today, however, we are threatened by the judicial branch itself. The recent examples of court ordered busing have placed fear in the hearts of all parents of young children, regardless of race. If under a court order a child can be forcibly taken from his parents and his neighborhood and bused miles and hours away into unfamiliar, often hostile, neighborhoods, then we shall have opened a Pandora's box of new, unlimited government powers. Then the government and the courts shall have all powers to decide all things that are best for these children. The erosion of parental control is the erosion of fundamental human freedoms.

Have we forgotten our objective—quality education? The goal of educating each child to his fullest potential? Quality education should remain the motivating factor in making any educational decision.

Twenty years ago, this Nation committed itself to removing discrimination from its educational systems—and I support that commitment. Yet, busing is itself an example of discrimination—the conscious assignment of a certain student to a certain school, solely because of his social or racial background. It is a poor educational decision that is made solely on the basis of color. When will there again be a time when educational standards of excellence will be the criteria for educational decisions, rather than the artificial, mathematical balancing of races?

Recent court decisions, which order children to be forcibly transported over separate, well-defined county or city geographic and political boundaries to be educated in a city

or county that is foreign to them, have created chaos and disorder in the community and traumatic experiences for the children.

In Massachusetts, parents and communities affected by the so-called racial imbalance law are experiencing the same hardships and fears as those communities under court-ordered busing. A change in a district boundary line for the purpose of racial balance in the schools in Boston, Massachusetts, is tantamount to a forcible busing edict.

The Massachusetts racial imbalance law states that no school may have more than 50% non-white children in attendance. In 1965, the time of the enactment of the law, there were 70,703 white students enrolled in the Boston public school system—and 21,097 non-white students or 23% non-white students. In 1972, there are 63,798 white students enrolled and 33,429 non-white students enrolled, or 33.4% non-white students enrolled. The non-white student population increased 12,332 students from 1965 to 1972, or a 58% increase. The white student population decreased 6,605 in that same period. In 1965, there were 46 racially imbalanced schools. In 1972, there are 66 racially imbalanced schools.

Because of these recent court decisions and the racial imbalance law, the very future of public education is at stake. School districts are becoming more black, as the white flight takes place and troubled white parents place their children in private schools. White parents refuse to put quality education in second place after racial balancing, the creation of some artificial, numerical ratio determined by a court order or a racial imbalance law. "White flight" has thus led to a decline of the inner city, as tax resources undergo radical shifts. If the money now being demanded for massive busing were instead used to improve the inner city schools, the "white flight" might stop or even reverse itself.

Busing destroys the neighborhood school concept, which is more than a mere tradition, neighborhood schools are a time-honored and meaningful force for community wellbeing. Schools are an integral part of the community, a center for cultural enrichment, a meeting place for parents, children, and teachers—an environment for extra-curricular activities.

It is unfair to parents who have bought homes in a good school neighborhood to suddenly find that their children are to be bused out of that neighborhood—often into the worst areas of a city, with the highest rates of crime. Such a situation was certainly never intended by the *Bill of Rights*. What moral or legal justification could there possibly be for forcing any parents to send their children into the grim world of the ghetto? Would not the better answer be the elimination of the ghettos, and the equalization of all educational facilities?

We cannot ignore the fact that for those children who are victims of poverty, the sense of security developed by living in a community with a happy home situation is often lacking—and school for them often becomes especially important as the only place to gain an awareness of their problems and to develop the skills needed for them to better themselves. They do not need the traumas brought on by busing to a new district and being segregated in the new area by being singled out as "different" or inferior to their other classmates. What a senseless indictment has been placed on a single race—the implication that because one is black, one can learn only through the process of osmosis sitting next to a white child.

What these disadvantaged children really need is a quality education in their neighborhood schools. Busing would cost millions of dollars and hours of time, and it still will not bring us our real goal—good education. If we are to reach that goal, why not direct that money and time into *compensatory programs* in the schools now? The schools need new equipment, more teachers, and pro-

fessional and para-professional personnel to offer guidance to disadvantaged school children in the form of practical instruction of how to survive in today's mass industrial society. Let us give complete funding to the title I program and leave education of children in the hands of the educators.

Let us invite self-help to clean up the inner city, so it will be safe and more inviting. Let us give higher per pupil expenditures in city ghetto schools, where children begin life with so many handicaps. Let us finally face the problem realistically, rather than indulging in social experiments that risk the safety and rights of our children. Let us bring the resources where the children are.

Busing advocates often say that busing will mean an easing of racial tensions between the black and white communities. Sadly, this is not so. The controversy, itself, has caused immeasurable bitterness and strife already between black and white—to say nothing of the physical violence that has occurred in such towns as Lamar, South Carolina, and Pontiac, Michigan.

Again, advocates of busing may quote statistics of how small-scale programs may be effective—but frequently those bused children were selected beforehand as those who showed the most promise of success and advancement. Forced massive busing, however, would occur in the real world, not the world of theories. It would have to deal with thousands of children of all levels of ability. What disadvantaged children really need is to learn such basics as reading, writing, how to find a job, how to go upward in the educational process. With a better educational background, minorities of all types can achieve a higher standard of living, and thereby integrate society as participating residents—not as children bused in and out of the white community for eight hours of a school day—bused away from deprivation for a fleeting, frustrating glance at affluence; and bused back again to deprivation.

Parents, black and white, do not want their children forcibly taken by bus from their neighborhood schools. They want their children under their control.

School administrators do not want the children forcibly taken by bus from the neighborhood schools. They know the cost of busing will be reflected in the school budget.

Traffic engineers do not want the children forcibly taken by bus from their neighborhood school. They take a dim view of more vehicles jamming the highways, endangering the lives of the children being bused.

Environmentalists do not want the children forcibly taken by bus from the neighborhood schools.

Taxpayers do not want the children forcibly taken by bus from the neighboring school. They want educational tax money spent on *education*, not transportation.

School children do not want to be forcibly taken by bus from their neighborhood schools. They want to go to school with the children with whom they live and play.

I believe in quality integrated education, but it can never be achieved by forced measures. I have never supported inferior education. Quality education is what is at stake in this controversy. We cannot let "anti-busing" become a disguise for racial prejudice or intolerance; but neither can we let the plans for busing endanger the rights or safety of our children.

We cannot let the concept of racial balance dominate the picture if quality education is thereby sacrificed. Busing means the end of the neighborhood school, and it is this institution which provides the best hope of achieving quality education for both black and white children. Don't use busing as a smokescreen to hide deficiencies in an inferior school where some children are left behind.

As members of Congress representing the

people of this nation, we must respect the will of our constituents, and they do not want forced busing. According to the latest Gallup poll, three out of four people in all areas of the country were opposed to forcible busing—that is, 76% of the American public are against forcible busing, and 47% of those people are black. It is unfair to say, therefore, that forced busing is opposed only by whites who want to prevent their children from attending frequently poorer, predominantly black schools.

We must turn our efforts away from developing massive busing schemes and toward developing better programs in the schools which will provide our children with the tools for creating a better society for us all. Confront that one directly and busing becomes what it should have been all along—merely a means of voluntary transportation.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN ALASKA

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, one of the recurring arguments I make regarding Alaska, and on behalf of other States, is that maximum responsibility should be vested at the most local level possible. I think that making such an argument carries the burden of showing that such responsibility is carried well.

The attached minutes and future agenda for the Alaska Rural Development Council shows, I believe, that in many areas of rural development, Alaska is making great progress. I draw this to my colleague's attention to show the sort of efforts being made:

ALASKA RURAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL

The conference was called to order at 9:00 a.m. Dr. Matthews began the meeting by reiterating the objectives of the Rural Development Council in a brief introduction.

Consideration of Implications and Development Needs Related to the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement

Cliff Black, Deputy Director of the Alaska Federation of Natives, discussed some of the implications of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. He indicated that the AFN's discontentment with the Act is largely due to vague wording. The stipulation which requires that operating expenses be provided for the 12 regional and 203 village corporations will take about 40 percent of the budget. If the Alaska Natives are not on top of their organizational difficulties within five years, they will be in financial trouble. At this time the Native groups need planning money to identify transportation needs and industrial development programs in forestry, fisheries and other natural resources. They need the Federal Government dollar to continue the social programs so that Settlement Act funds are not dissipated. Even now the Native groups are unable to obtain funding to implement enrollment. This is being conducted by the BIA. Black closed with a plea for a central system with quarterly auditing to be set up which would satisfy the needs of the 203 village and the 12 regional corporations. This would eliminate much of the overhead. A master plan projecting goals and timing is one of their first requirements.

Esther Wunnicke, Assistant Attorney General, spoke on the State's overview of the Settlement Act. The State recognizes the importance of the joint Land Use Planning Commission activities. Pertinent remarks are: 1) The State is amending their recent

land selections to give priority to Native Claims so as not to stifle the access to Native land selection 2) The State does not want Alaska to be set up as a preservation reserve. Authorization for selection of 103.4 million acres by the State is reiterated by the Settlement Act. 3) The State believes that social services are the right of all citizens and should not rely upon funding by Native groups 4) Village and Regional Corporations must be set up to own the lands.

Flore Lekanoff, BIA, Washington, D.C., discussed the impact of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. The BIA strives to maintain the rural Alaska life-style and the Settlement Act will be instrumental in preserving it. The BIA is training enrollment personnel. This is to be completed by December 18, 1973. Regulations for enrollments are being developed and the approach is to have village persons complete the data. The Department makes recommendations to Congress on the services required for the necessary rural programs. The Jones' study on health service for Native people in Alaska conducted by Senator Stevens' office should provide much of the background data for these recommendations.

REPORT OF THE RURAL HOUSING COMMITTEE

Dale Sanner, FHA, reported on rural housing. The objective is to coordinate agency housing activities and community services related to housing. They suggest that the University of Alaska fund a research project to develop a bibliography on this information. This was set up as Resolution #3 and approved by the Council.

Wally Kubley discussed insurance for rural communities. It was suggested that the State establish a revolving fund for small villages to finance engineering firms to plan sewer and water facilities. These would be refunded from housing project appropriations. Mr. Kubley discussed the proposed construction of 200-250 "turn key" homes for Southeast Alaska. There is a clearing house to coordinate the activities of the project within the State. Jerry Madden of the Governor's Office of Planning Research heads this service.

Nick Carney, Department of Economic Development, reviewed proposed legislation. Such bills as 1) development of unorganized boroughs and taxation 2) provision for sewer and water facilities 3) tax on transporting crude oil and gas 4) House Bill No. 10420, Marine Mammal Bill, would seriously impair the economy of Western Alaska. A committee of Ed Nygard, Don Perkins, Don Tomlin, George Neck and Prent Gazaway developed Resolution #1 to discourage passage of the bill in its present form.

LAND PLANNING

Jim Wiedeman chaired the discussion. The State is beginning a comprehensive plan with standards being set up for planning. There are a number of proposed studies pending in Alaska such as the BLM's PYK and the Native Alaska Land Use Study.

A discussion on the relationship between Land Use Commission established by the Claims Act and the Land Commission established by the State of Alaska was held.

Jim Wiedeman introduced Tom Davis, Office of the Governor, Division of Planning and Research, who discussed State-Federal Land Use Planning. The objective is to define the State's strategy. This is a guidance mechanism which will define the goals, objectives, and policies the State should aim to achieve. Under the present situation, decisions must be made regardless of the long range objectives. Strategy will develop alternatives and their implications may be explored. These must be put together so that the planning effort will result in progress. This would benefit both public and private activities and it would possibly survive changes of administration.

The present task is development of the work program and its objectives. For example,

there is transportation planning, population planning, community planning, etc. It is hoped to have interim accomplishments each year. Public involvement and participation is necessary. Unfortunately there has been a poor record in the past. The planning group wishes to avoid getting into immediate problems and concentrate on the broad picture; however, they would probably be drawn into regional problems because of the urgency of the matters. To implement the plan and give it authority some sort of land development code, not zoning, would be a major step.

Larry Ouellette, BLM, Chairman of the Porcupine, Yukon, Kuskokwim Land Resource Study Team, discussed the North Alaska Planning Group Study. The Study Team developed by the BLM could be the nucleus of statewide planning efforts. This can be the action group for the State-Federal Land Use Planning team, to be headed by Jack Horton, Department of the Interior and the State Coordinator. The study group will develop a library on data for natural resources. It will be available to all agencies and Native groups. This information can assist the Native groups to make land selections as authorized under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. Planning and data developed would be on major State divisions based on topographical boundaries. The planning group would make recommendations, not decisions, on utilization of natural resources. These would be summarized for all lands within the regional area.

Public involvement is necessary for the study. One of the objectives of the group is to identify areas where natural resources data is lacking. Possibly public meetings (not hearings) would provide information on where public access would be needed. One of the possible tasks of the study group would be to review the budgets of the various agencies involved in natural resource management programs. This would offer the opportunity to strengthen planning as needed and avoid duplication of effort.

STATEWIDE AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL STUDY, TED FREEMAN, SCS CHAIRMAN

The proposed outline of the study is as follows:

- (1) Objective of study.
- (2) General overview of agricultural development in the Arctic:
 - (a) Alaska agriculture.
 - (b) Circumpolar agriculture.
- (3) Presentation of primary and secondary resource information by regions.
 - (a) Primary resources:
 - (1) soils
 - (2) climate
 - (3) water
 - (b) Secondary resources:
 - (1) forest.
 - (2) range.
 - (3) crops.
 - (4) livestock.
 - (4) Existing development:
 - (a) Crop production.
 - (b) Livestock production.
 - (c) Forest production.
 - (d) Range production.
 - (5) Market locations in relation to potential agricultural land.
 - (6) Summary and consideration.
 - (7) Bibliography.

LOST RIVER MINERAL AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Ron Sheardown of the Lost River Mining Company discussed progress on mineral development on the Seward Peninsula. The metallurgical report is very favorable and it should be out in April. The original estimate is for 92% product (Fluorite) and 84% extraction. There is an additional 10% of other materials such as tungsten.

The next phase is to develop an environmental impact statement which is to be completed by the end of the year. The final feasibility statement of the operation is to be

completed by the end of the year. Additional work is to be on market studies and production schedules for getting on-stream.

On site work in 1972 will be engineering, drilling on present area for pit design and bulk sampling, hydrographic studies, water and power supply, airport roads, etc. The company is interested in assistance from the State for water and sewage facilities, and townsite development. If the facilities are in operation by 1972, production and shipment would begin in late 1975. The construction period would require the services of 1000-1500 workers during 1973 and 1974 and would drop to a 200-300 labor force after the start of production in late 1975.

BUSINESS MEETING

Resolution No. 1 on House Bill No. 10420 Sea Mammals was approved by the group. The resolution will be sent to Washington, D.C. through Senator Stevens' office. It will be routed to those considering the bill.

Resolution No. 2 was presented and passed by the Council proposing State support for the development of the community adjacent to the Lost River Mining operation on the Seward Peninsula.

Resolution No. 3 on Improving Alaskan Housing was presented and passed by the Council.

Ira Stevens was replaced by the election of Barry Reid of the Environmental Protection Agency to complete the term until September election as provided in by-laws.

The next Council meeting will be June 13-14 in Kodiak. The Council discussion will focus on waste disposal concerns of the marine and livestock industries and related community development needs.

The Alaska Rural Development Council meets quarterly each year. It was the consensus that the meeting provided both information and the opportunity to have views brought before many agencies.

Agencies not on the Alaska Rural Development Council and wishing to be regular participants should notify Dr. James W. Matthews, Director, Cooperative Extension Service, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Alaska 99801.

JAMES W. MATTHEWS,
Chairman, Alaska Rural Development Council.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING PROTECTION AND USE OF MARINE MAMMALS

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

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

In addition, this arts and crafts trade is,

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

RESOLUTION CONCERNING DEVELOPMENT OF LOST RIVER MINERAL RESOURCES

Whereas a sizeable commercial mineral deposit has been identified and explored; and Whereas the Seward Peninsula of the State of Alaska is lacking in employment opportunities; and

Whereas a mine to develop this deposit would provide 300 jobs; and

Whereas the inhabitants of the area and Western Alaska are in dire need of a chance to enter gainful employment to lift themselves above a subsistence and welfare economy and enter into an improved style of living; and

Whereas the State would derive income through normal corporation taxes; and

Whereas the Seward Peninsula would benefit from improved shipping facilities; and

Whereas the lack of an established community at the site provides an opportunity for a totally planned, modern community

Now therefore be it resolved that the Alaska Rural Development Council hereby requests the Governor of the State of Alaska to direct those commissioners and directors concerned with rural and industrial development, community and health and social services, environmental protection, State planning and legal services to lend the Lost River Mining Corporation all possible assistance in getting the development underway; and

Further that effort be expended to develop full services, public docking and community facilities to complement such a development.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING IMPROVING ALASKAN HOUSING

Whereas housing in the rural areas of Alaska is substandard; and

Whereas Alaska has a unique and severe climate in which to construct housing; and

Whereas the environment differs considerably from that of most of the other forty-nine states; and

Whereas there are many State and Federal agencies involved in the building and financing of houses in Alaska; and

Whereas there exists much research and expertise on construction in the Arctic environment; and

Whereas this information is not generally known or being used to the best advantage

Therefore be it resolved that the Rural Housing Committee of the Alaska Rural Development Council, requests the University of Alaska to provide through a graduate, or similar type project under the guidance of the Alaska Rural Development Council compilation of a pertinent bibliography of all technical information pertaining to rural housing and that this information be made available to individuals, communities and State and Federal agencies.

AGENDA—ALASKA RURAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL, JUNE 13, 14, 1972, KODIAK ELECTRIC ASSOCIATION BUILDING CONFERENCE ROOM, KODIAK, ALASKA

June 13: 9:00 a.m., Introductions and Meeting Plan.

Development Concerns in the Marine Industry:

Howard Pollock—National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

John Doyle—University of Alaska Marine Extension.

Roger DeCamp—National Cannery Association.

12:00 noon, Luncheon—Kodiak Community Leaders (tentative).

1:00 p.m., Marine Waste Management: Panel Discussion, (Perspectives), City of Kodiak, Bi-Dry, Environmental Protection Agency, and Marine Advisory Programs.

Coastal Zone—Land Use Planning: Dr. Lydia Selkregg—Sea Grant Program, University of Alaska.

June 14: 8:30 a.m., Film.

Old Harbor Development: Mr. Hoffman, Community Economic Development Corporation.

Livestock Industry: (Perspectives), Dr. Drury—Institute of Agricultural Sciences, University of Alaska, Operating Ranchers.

12:00 noon, Luncheon.

1:30 p.m., Council Organization Concerns: Ways and Means Report—Nick Carney.

Subdivision Publication Report—Jim Wiedeman.

Agricultural Potential Study Report—Ted Freeman.

Council Brochure—Chairman.

Fall Conference Focus and Nominations.

UNIFORM GUN LAWS—III

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, as a long-standing advocate of stronger, more comprehensive gun control laws, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial recently broadcast on WNBC-TV in New York on this important subject. I think the editorial's call for a nationwide effort by police organizations for more realistic laws is worthy of note and I include the text of the editorial following my remarks:

UNIFORM GUN LAWS—III

Laws that would cut down on illegal traffic in handguns and control the movement of legal weapons are stymied consistently by the powerful gun lobby. What handgun laws do pass, are usually meaningless. Take the curb on the importation of cheap "Saturday Night Specials": the guns may not be imported, but the parts to assemble them are permitted entry.

So, until there is a lobby powerful enough to counter the gun merchants, we will never get effective handgun reform.

We think there is a lobby capable of strongly influencing timid congressmen: namely, the police line organizations across the country. In almost every state, their associations are regarded as the strongest lobbyists in the Legislature. United, they can wield the same strength nationally.

They have a lot to gain. Last year, 126 policemen were killed in the nation. The majority were slain by handguns. Less than a dozen died by stabbings and beatings.

Six months ago, Edward Kiernan, President of the New York Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, attempted a national police drive against handguns. We urge him to lead the fight again. Police have the lobby power to get effective handgun legislation.

VOTING RECORDS IN CONGRESS

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, every election year the attendance of Congressmen and Senators declines.

Every election year, there is corresponding increase in criticism of legislators for extensive visits to home constituencies and for extensive campaigning.

The following article by Mr. Bob Kahn is a good analysis of the entire issue of absenteeism and representation in Congress. He raises issues all of us should keep in mind when we criticize each other.

The political system of the United States is based upon a legislative system which derives support, legitimacy and advice from the entire electorate. How can this legislative system be responsive if its members cannot afford the time to visit home?

The article follows:

VOTING RECORDS IN CONGRESS

(By Bob Kahn)

Recently there has been a spate of articles pointing out the horrible attendance records of our representatives in Congress—both in the House and Senate. On the radio talk shows one can hear the various commentators editorializing, both in word and tone of voice, about representatives who miss 20 percent or 30 percent of the roll calls.

They make comments like "Are you getting your money's worth?" and "We pay them to represent us and then they do not". After thoroughly arousing their regular followers, on come the anonymous voices taking the same position.

Certainly we elect Congressmen and Senators to represent us. But Californians have a problem that is different from the problems of Virginians and Marylanders who live cheek-by-jowl with the National Capital. We can not quit work an hour or so early and drop by our Representative's office. Nor can he drive to a meeting in his district in a matter of an hour or so—and then drive home to Washington, D.C. that evening.

If we want to have contact with our Congressmen or Senators either we have to go 3,000 miles (\$310 air coach, round trip) or he has to come out here—the same 3,000 miles (and the same \$310 air coach).

There was a day when Congress adjourned by early summer and our guys in Washington could spend the better part of six months in California. Some even left their families out here in the old days, living in an apartment or hotel while in Washington. That is no longer possible.

So the first question California voters have to ask themselves is do we want our representatives to come back and keep in touch with us in the District, be available to us here, or do we want them to spend

all the time sitting in sessions in Washington? I suspect that we want them to come out here pretty often—and not just the vacation periods that Congress takes officially.

The next question we have to ask is whether or not we want our representatives to be active on Committees—the basic structure in which legislation is actually drafted. Some of those committees are pretty important to the people in California and I suspect that none of us would want all the legislation drafted by committees that lacked representation from California.

However, two problems arise if our people are on Committees. First, there are many times that the pressure of scheduling requires Committees to meet simultaneously with sessions of the legislature. There are times, when key votes are held on the floor, that sessions adjourn while the members return to the floor—but often the vote results are pretty well known in advance and there is little to be gained by returning to the floor so that a vote can be 62-38 instead of 50-30. There are many times when Committee meetings are held in various parts of the country, even in California, so that people like you and me can appear and have our wishes known. I don't think we want to eliminate that and have hearings only in Washington.

Third, the fact that persons are not present does not mean that they have not effectively cast a vote. Often when two Congressmen or Senators have to be absent when a vote is taken, and they know that they would vote in opposite direction, they leave a message behind and one of the key party officials (leader, assistant leader, whip) will announce, and it will be included in the Congressional Record, that the two named persons have paired. The entry in the Senate might read as it did on April 20th (page 13826) "Mr. Griffin. On this vote, the Senator from Colorado (Mr. Allott) is paired with the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. Humphrey). If present and voting, the Senator from Colorado would vote 'yea' and the Senator from Minnesota would vote 'nay'." However, both are officially absent and in the tabulations so loudly and often quoted, this would be an absence for both men.

Fourth, there are other reasons for absences, usually announced before the voting is done. Continuing on the same page for Mr. Griffin, he reported "The Senator from Oregon (Mr. Hatfield) is absent because of a death in his family. The Senator from South Dakota (Mr. Mundt) is absent because of illness. The Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Scott) is absent by leave of the Senate on official business. The Senator from Arizona (Mr. Goldwater) and the Senator from Alaska (Mr. Stevens) are detained on official business." Certainly these are reasonable causes for absence and without some of the absences the Congress could not function, and the legislative branch of the government would be in crisis. Yet we all know that Senators Goldwater and Scott are present when important issues are being debated and voted upon.

Fifth, there is the question as to whether all votes are of equal importance. Some votes, for example, authorize resolutions asking the President to proclaim Father's Day or Mother's Day. Certainly Dad and Mom are important—but should Committee meetings in Fresno investigating the status of migratory workers in California be eliminated so that the members of the Committee can vote on such resolutions? I would guess we would rather have our representatives doing more constructive things.

Sixth, at this particular time of year we have a number (currently declining) of Senators who are responding to the demands of their supporters (presumably) that they run for the Presidency of the United States.

The fact that we spread our primaries out over a period of five months, and thus require an extended campaign, should not mean that the demands for attendance to vote on issues, particularly unimportant ones with sizeable support either for or against, should work to prevent Senators or members of the House from running for the Presidency. Truman was a Senator when he campaigned for Vice President. Kennedy was a Senator when he campaigned for President. Nixon was a Senator when he campaigned for Vice President. Johnson was a Senator when he ran for President—and later when he campaigned for Vice President. At least one of these men must have met with your favor.

I think the conclusion is obvious. Despite the joy of communicators with their new subject, a statistical analysis of the voters cast and not cast does not give us a great deal of information on how our Congressman or Senator represented us. A study of why he did not vote and what he was doing to prevent his voting would be more helpful. But most important, we should look carefully at how he voted—and whether he represented us.

CIVIL LIBERTARIAN—DR. CORLISS LAMONT

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times recently took note of the 70th birthday of a prominent citizen of New York's 20th Congressional District—Corliss Lamont. Author, poet, philosopher, Dr. Lamont lectured on philosophy at Columbia for 20 years. The Times article by Israel Shenker describes his varied career and his belief in humanism—

A philosophy or way of life—some people call it a religion—that rejects belief in any form of supernatural and sets up the happiness and welfare of all mankind as man's chief ethical aims, using methods of reason and science and democracy as solutions for all human problems.

The article follows:

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

STILL-ACTIVE CORLISS LAMONT, NOW 70,
RECALLS CAREER

(By Israel Shenker)

The coat of arms of the Lamont family features a detached hand, recalling the legend that Lamonts were sailing up the coast of Scotland centuries ago when they saw an attractive piece of land. One Lamont cut off his hand and exuberantly tossed it ashore to register the family's claim.

On Tuesday, Corliss Lamont, the most prominent living member of the clan, celebrated his own 70 years—most of them against the current—determined not to throw his hand in.

A birthday reception had been scheduled at the Harvard Club, 27 West 44th Street. "But there's a strike at the Harvard Club," he noted, "and a lot of those coming to the party, including myself, wouldn't want to cross a picket line. So we shifted to the Tetheran Restaurant, just down the street."

The second son of the late Thomas W. Lamont, who was chairman of the board of J. P. Morgan & Co., Corliss accepted his inheritance, but rejected the lure of commerce.

Did his wealthy family believe in free enterprise? He sailed under the banner of dem-

ocratic socialism. Did his relatives have doubts about the pacific intentions of the Soviet Union? He steered by the star of peaceful coexistence, proclaiming Russian virtues. Did his elders worship God? He turned to humanism. They set a social tone; he upset it.

"My family circle was a very democratic group of people," he said. "I agreed with them probably 50 per cent of the time."

When Corliss Lamont began to study the causes of the Depression of the thirties he began his swing to the left. In 1952 he ran for the Senate on the American Labor party ticket and won 100,000 votes. Six years later he tried again, on the Independent-Socialist line, and got 49,000.

He headed the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and still supports it. For 20 years he was a director of the American Civil Liberties Union, then left to become chairman of the more militant National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

When Senator Joseph R. McCarthy investigated him, Dr. Lamont replied vigorously. He said he was not a Communist, and intended not to answer and to enjoy his First Amendment freedoms.

Cited for contempt of Congress, he won his case and continued to champion belief in the Bill of Rights. He also won against the State Department, which had refused him a passport.

For about 20 years he lectured on philosophy at Columbia where he had gotten his Ph.D., and he defended his faith time and again in scholarly and popular publications—a book defending humanism, a second book to the glory of the Clan Lamont (in Hamlet, Laertes mentions a French Lamond), a third attacking belief in personal immortality.

For him humanism is "a philosophy or way of life—some people call it a religion—that rejects belief in any form of supernatural and sets up the happiness and welfare of all mankind as man's chief ethical aims, using methods of reason and science and democracy as solutions for all human problems."

Dr. Lamont lives on the 11th floor of an Upper West Side apartment building, and works four floors higher in an office-study.

Many pleasures remain un-tasted. He has never worn the family kilt (tartan of blue and green), and he has not finished his research on the clan, but the good work continues, thanks to the Clan Lamont Society in Glasgow, Scotland, and the annual Clan Lamont Journal.

Dr. Lamont last year published "A Humanist Wedding Service," almost 25 years ago after the funeral service he composed.

Though there are four Lamont children and five grandchildren, none is in business.

Many critics have attacked him as hopelessly naive, and his second wife, whom he married in 1962, calls him an inveterate optimist. Dr. Lamont's views reflect this.

"It was almost 10 years ago that we published an open letter to Kennedy against the Vietnam War," he says, "and its shocking to me that we've been working for 10 years and the war still goes on, but maybe Nixon will really end it before the election."

"I am constantly appalled by the Soviet Union's putting dissenters into mental institutions, but I still am hopeful that when it feels that the danger of aggressive war against it is really finished, then democratic rights will flourish. Even now you have a civil rights committee functioning in the Soviet Union."

Dr. Lamont has been writing love poems as well as his more customary pamphlets and letters to the editor. The poetry is to be published this fall, and then Dr. Lamont plans to collect his essays—with moments

out here and there for foot faults on the sands of rhyme.

"I'm still playing tennis the way I did 20 years ago, and I'm still skiing the same way, but I guess I'm doing it a little better now," he said.

"I'd like to be like Bertrand Russell, who died at 97 and up to his last day was active in international problems."

SUBS SAFEST MISSILE FORCE, IF WE ENHANCE ITS SURVIVAL

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, an excellent editorial appeared in the April 14 issue of the Denver Post concerning the latest proposal for a dramatic improvement in our increasingly important missile submarine defense system. With only nine of our existing 41-ship submarine fleet now being converted to carry the 3,000-mile-range Poseidon missile, the newly proposed undersea long-range missile system (ULMS) calls for 10 new ships carrying missiles capable of hitting targets up to 6,000 miles away. Obviously, this expanded range and the consequent increase in the maneuverable area of the submarines to some 30 million square miles of ocean—more than 10 times that of the typical Polaris submarine—would improve immensely upon the chances of the survival of this new system.

As the editorial aptly emphasizes:

In an era when our land-based armies are gradually being withdrawn from the many defense points built up in the post war era, when the effectiveness of our air power has been shown to be somewhat limited, and when the various international efforts to achieve disarmament are still to be formalized, let alone tested, it would be foolish for this country to abandon a defense system which is so flexible and basically makes so much common sense as does ULMS.

Mr. Speaker, the full text of the editorial follows and is well worth the few moments it takes to read it:

[From the Denver Post, Apr. 14, 1972]

SUBS SAFEST MISSILE FORCE, IF WE ENHANCE ITS SURVIVAL

In the nightmarish—yet real—world of nuclear deterrence, one of the best things going for us is our sea-based strategic force, the missile submarines.

Since this force is at sea, it does not draw civilian population centers into a target area around its missiles, as landbased strategic forces do.

And, so long as the submarines can be kept undetected and therefore free from attack, other nations presumably are discouraged from launching preemptive attack on the United States, since the sea force would survive to retaliate.

Thus, a sea-based strategic force is immensely valuable in the balance of deterrence—but only if its chances of survival are good and a potential aggressor knows it. Which brings us to a growing problem.

Most of the U.S. Navy's 1,600-mile-range Polaris submarines were built with technology of the 1950s in a crash program.

Nine of the 41 ship fleet now are being converted to carry the 3,000-mile-range Poseidon missile.

But because of range limitations, the subs must operate in specific areas if they are to stay "on target"—and these areas are becoming more accessible to Soviet anti-submarine warfare operations.

Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, recently told congressional committees that the Soviet Union is developing several new techniques "which could significantly improve their anti-submarine warfare capability in those waters in which our submarines are required to operate."

In order to provide the subs with more sea area in which to operate, the administration is proposing a new undersea long-range missile system (ULMS)—a \$13.5 billion project for a fleet of 10 new ships carrying missiles capable of hitting targets up to 6,000 miles away.

The area of maneuverability would be increased by a factor of 10. A typical Polaris submarine now must operate in an area ranging from 2 to 3 million square miles. The ULMS would expand this to 30 million square miles, the Navy says, obviously increasing the difficulties for enemy anti-sub forces.

The administration is asking \$977 million in its current budget for development of the ULMS. A group of legislators, led by Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis., and calling itself Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, seeks to reduce this to \$380 million, none of which would go toward building new ships.

Proxmire and his group acknowledge that the steady build-up of Soviet missile-firing submarines in recent years is a grave threat, but fear that development of ULMS will get the United States in "a new sea-based arms race."

We agree that any arms race is undesirable. But ULMS is not a plan merely to increase our submarine fleet to keep up with the Soviets. It is a plan to keep us strong in an uncertain world.

In an era when our land-based armies are gradually being withdrawn from the many defense points built up in the postwar era, when the effectiveness of our air power has been shown to be somewhat limited, and when the various international efforts to achieve disarmament are still to be formalized, let alone tested, it would be foolish for this country to abandon a defense system which is so flexible and basically makes so much common sense as does ULMS.

When carried to completion ULMS will be costly, but it is a price we must pay, and Senator Proxmire and the critics of this particular program are doing the country a grave disservice.

"A TOUGH IMAGE IS AID TO NIXON"

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take this opportunity to place in the RECORD a recent article from the Buffalo, N.Y., Courier-Express.

In light of the fact that our President has traveled to the Soviet Union for the express purpose of promoting world harmony, this article takes on special significance. I wish to congratulate the author, Peter C. Andrews, Washington correspondent for the Courier-Express, for his keen and accurate analysis of the President's unique qualifications for carrying on these critical negotiations. I

might also note that Mr. Andrews is presently in Moscow as part of the official press corps covering the President's trip to Russia.

As Mr. Andrews concludes his article—and I feel this is an absolutely correct analysis—

The United States has the right man in the right place at the right time for the job that needs to be done now.

The article follows:

A TOUGH IMAGE IS AID TO NIXON

(By Peter C. Andrews)

WASHINGTON.—President Nixon has a much better chance of negotiating successfully with the Russians than a more "liberal" president would have.

The President has a definite image to Russians, not one that they particularly like, but at least one that they think they understand. A less conservative President would present too much of a challenge to their basic ideas of order.

President Nixon's conservative image has served him well. He has been able to do things a Democratic liberal president would not have attempted without risking untold abuse. His China trip is one example. A Democrat would have been charged with selling out to the Communists, but not old Communist fighter Dick Nixon.

The devaluation of the dollar is another example. A Democrat would have been accused of fiscal irresponsibility, but not our sound-as-a-dollar Wall Street lawyer President. He was even able to turn the devaluation into a sort of monetary triumph. The international monetary agreement reached among the 10 largest economic powers in the Free World is accepted now in financial and international banking circles as a milestone of international fiscal cooperation.

The President's law and order image helps him with the Russians. They don't want any of their minority groups, of which they have plenty, getting any ideas about demonstrations and protests. Russia's population is only slightly larger than the United States' 246 million compared to about 205 million.

It is interesting that the Russians tend to pay much more attention to conservatives. Of Congressmen, for example, the Russians virtually ignore Sen. William Fulbright, D-Ark., the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, but pay attention to freshman Sen. James L. Buckley, C-N.Y.

Rep. Jack Kemp, R-N.Y., also a freshman, has achieved the unique distinction of having been directly responsible for the release of at least two Soviet Jews through his speeches and other activities on their behalf. Kemp's success is such that he even has senators and other congressmen with much seniority and more prestigious committee assignments calling him for assistance in getting relatives of their constituents out of Russia.

Sen. Jacob K. Javits, the liberal New York senior senator, virtually is ignored by the Russians, despite his prestige. Both Kemp and Javits are known as strong supporters of Israel, but one is a young conservative who has an excellent chance of staying in Congress for a long time, while the other is a liberal who will be 70 when he comes up for re-election in 1974.

President Nixon is expected to sit down at the bargaining table in Moscow with specific proposals. They know he is tough. They well remember his famous "kitchen debate" with Premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1969. He is not afraid of the Russians and they respect him for this.

The United States has the right man in the right place at the right time for the job that needs to be done now.

A TRIBUTE TO THE PEOPLE OF BIG RAPIDS, MICH., AND BIG RAPIDS HIGH SCHOOL

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, 4 years ago it was my great pleasure to have appointed four fine young men to attend the various service academies as representatives of the 10th Congressional District of Michigan. These young men competed with nearly 40 others from the district and received their appointments as a result of their demonstrated academic excellence and superior physical conditioning. I suppose that, to my colleagues, this is not a terribly unusual occurrence—young men are appointed to the academies by the various Members every year.

Mr. Speaker, these four young men all happened to be graduated from the same high school, part of a class consisting of 186 students, in a town of about 12,000 population. I believe this to be a remarkable achievement and a real testament to the quality of education at the Big Rapids High School and a tremendous witness to the character of the people of Big Rapids. In fact, I do not believe that this achievement has been duplicated in any other school in our Nation. I am, I believe quite justifiably, proud that the 10th Congressional District of Michigan has this distinction and proud of the city and school which fostered the growth of these fine young men.

But Mr. Speaker, I am even more proud, as I am sure are the people of Big Rapids and the Big Rapids High School, that on June 7, 1972, Douglas Earl Cosgrove, Philip Nelson Hurst, Gregory Lee Jones, and Bruce Lee Niemann will be graduated from their respective academies and receive their commissions in the Armed Forces of the United States.

I am certain that that occasion is also unprecedented in the history of any given secondary school. I know that the people of Big Rapids are bursting with pride in the achievements of these men. The high school which served them so faithfully and prepared them so well must be recognized for the dedication and devotion to quality education which must characterize the fine people who serve the community as educators.

Above all, we cannot overlook the character of the families which fostered the growth and reared these young men in the finest traditions of our heritage. The parents of these men surely deserve every bit of recognition we can accord them for the inspiration which they have been to these young men and for the ideals which they instilled as they contributed to their sons' development. I salute these families and the pride which they must take in their sons.

Mr. Speaker, in these troubled times it is especially gratifying to me that we have the fine example of this community and its school. We hear so much today about those things that are wrong with our great Nation. It is refreshing that we can see in these young men and the

community which has served them so well a splendid example of all that is right with America. The strength of character and sense of patriotism which was instilled in these boys during their formative years and which sustained them through the Academy experience surely characterize all that we as Americans cherish.

Certainly, Mr. Speaker, we all hope that these young men will never be forced to bear the burden of war, but I know that they and all of their colleagues who will graduate this June will serve with distinction in whatever capacity they are called upon.

Finally, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a tribute of the Michigan State Legislature which was passed at the time of the appointment of these young men in 1968, a newspaper article from the Big Rapids Pioneer concerning the coming graduation, and finally a short statement describing the school and community which contributed so much to the development of these fine men.

The article follows:

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 271

A concurrent resolution for Big Rapids High School appointees to United States military academies.

Whereas, Four senior classmates of the Big Rapids High School received appointments to United States military academies, probably an unprecedented event and certainly so in the sixteen years' tenure of their sponsor, Congressman Elford A. Cederberg, Tenth Congressional District of Michigan; and

Whereas, The United States Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs, Colorado appointed Gregory Jones and Bruce L. Niemann. The United States Military Academy at West Point, New York appointed Phillip Hurst. The United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland appointed Douglas Cosgrove; and

Whereas, Appointments by each Member of Congress may be made for each vacancy in his district on an allotment of six nominations. Civil service examinations are given each nominee in his local area, and the resulting scores of these and of college board scores, high school records and recommendations are submitted to the Academic Board of the respective academies and the boys having the highest scores are then appointed by such boards; and

Whereas, The four cadets-elect, escorted by Big Rapids High School Principal Warren McKenzie and Mr. Roger Lintemuth, were guests of The Michigan Legislature May 13, 1968 to receive congratulations upon their appointments and for the merit of each cadet-elect in that he qualified for direct appointment, without necessity for prior preparatory school study which has characterized appointments from rural schools in past years; now therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That by these presents commendation is accorded Gregory Jones and Bruce L. Niemann, cadets-elect to the United States Air Force Academy; Phillip Hurst, cadet-elect to the United States Military Academy; and Douglas Cosgrove, cadet-elect to the United States Naval Academy, and to Big Rapids High School and its mentors for academic excellence, for opportunity provided in abundance and in these youths demonstrably and gratifyingly utilized; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this tribute be presented to the persons herein cited and to Big Rapids High School and administrators and Board, in testimony of the esteem of The Michigan Legislature.

The concurrent resolution was passed by the House on May 22, 1968 and concurred in the Senate on June 4, 1968.

[From the Pioneer, Apr. 3, 1972]

FOUR BIG RAPIDS HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WILL GRADUATE FROM ACADEMIES

(By Tom Marquardt)

Four years ago four students from the same graduating class at Big Rapids High School were selected to attend three service academies in the United States. That alone was unusual for a town the size of Big Rapids, but what makes it more unusual is the fact that this June, all four will graduate.

Why that fact is unusual is demonstrated by officials from the Air Force who reported that only 70 per cent of those who enter the academy ever graduate.

Two of the unique foursome are Greg Jones and Bruce Niemann who will graduate from the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colo. Phillip Hurst will graduate from West Point while his classmate Doug Cosgrove will graduate from Annapolis.

When the four men were selected, 10th District Representative Al Cederberg, R-Bay City, said, "I am not aware of any other Congressional District in Michigan or the United States for that matter, that is . . . sending four boys from their specific high school to the U.S. service schools. This is certainly a tribute to you and your staff of teachers who have been responsible for the education of these young men during the last four years."

This is a special tribute to Big Rapids High School, as their education has appeared to play a key role in the academic success of each young man.

Out of a graduating class of 186, six students were involved in prestigious schools. Besides the above four, Theodore Matthews will graduate from Purdue this year. A sixth classmate, Greg King, turned down an Air Force Academy offer while serving in the Navy.

It seems to have been a trying four years for the four graduates of Big Rapids High School but it appears all of them will make it this June.

Hurst, who was home for Easter vacation, said that actually it was only the first year that was difficult. He added, "There was less academic stress than I imagined. What was difficult was fulfilling leadership responsibilities."

Warren McKenzie, principal at the high school, had visited with three of the four men at the academies. Speaking highly of them all, he remembered the competition that prevailed between the four students while they were still in high school.

He said, "I don't know if it was a rash or what. But there was a lot of competition between the boys. They kind of like dared each other and continued to work at it all through their junior and senior years, taking tests and all."

McKenzie said that to the best of his knowledge this is the first time that the high school has sent more than one graduate to the service academies.

Under normal circumstances, in order for a high school senior to achieve acceptance to one of the service academies, he must be nominated by his respective state congressional representative.

This alone made the competition keen for the men, but McKenzie maintains that the "game was clean."

Hurst and Cosgrove both ranked at the top of a group of six nominees from the Tenth Congressional District at graduation who desired to attend their respective academy. As a result, Hurst received the appointment to West Point hands down, as well as Cosgrove who consequently entered Annapolis as a midshipman.

Competition was a little tighter for the other two men, however. Jones stood second on the list of nominees by Cederberg and was thus eliminated as an appointment from the 10th Congressional District. However, due to his high scholastic record, he was selected by the Academy Board to fill an at-large vacancy at the Air Force Academy.

Niemann was "slightly outdistanced" according to Cederberg, but also as a result of his academic record he was selected by the Academic board to fill an at large appointment to the Air Force Academy.

This June will be a welcomed date for the four men as all are due leaves to be followed by a commission into their respective branches.

Jones, whose parents have moved to Pennsylvania since his graduation from the high school, will begin a 60 day leave in June. His sister, Elizabeth, who is still attending Big Rapids High School, said that he will be commissioned as a second lieutenant and will attend Intelligence School for at least six months and possibly a year. Following that, he will be stationed in Southeast Asia for a year.

During his academy years, Jones has been honored to be on both the Dean's and Commandant's List, a tribute that entailed a lot of studying to achieve.

Niemann, one of the two Air Force cadets, will begin helicopter school following his leave of absence. This schooling will be spread over three different military installations around the nation.

Home for Easter vacation, Niemann explained that where he goes after helicopter school will depend on how high he finishes in his class. Although those who excel will probably get their choice, Niemann explained that most will go to Southeast Asia or possibly Korea.

Cosgrove will be commissioned as an ensign and will receive special training in California for 60 days. Following that, he will be assigned to a major naval base in Japan where he will be for at least two years.

Cosgrove also plans to wed Florence Nichols of Annapolis in a chapel at the academy on June 10. His wife will accompany him to Japan.

Phil Hurst, who was also home during Easter, said that after his leave he will be commissioned as a second lieutenant and attend Ft. Benjamin Harrison, Ind. where he will receive 12 weeks of finance schooling. Following that he will be stationed in Stuttgart, Germany for about three years.

The interest in the academies has its roots early in each of the men's lives. According to McKenzie, all expressed interest in attending the academies, although some chose to enroll in an academy they formerly did not even consider.

Greg Jones, who came to Big Rapids in 1964 when his father accepted an administrative position at Ferris State College, was very active in school. In sports, he participated in two years of track, one year of basketball and was a member of both the junior and varsity football teams. He wrestled for his last three years also. In other extracurricular activities, Jones participated in the school plays and was a member of the Latin Club, Varsity Club, and National Honor Society.

His acceptance by fellow students was also evident as the school elected him as school "mayor" to represent the student constituency.

McKenzie recalls, "Jones was an extrovert—a real leader. He was always into every activity."

Jones celebrated his twenty-second birthday last month. He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Jack Jones who now live in Allentown, Pa.

Like his classmates, Bruce Niemann was active in sports, although not as much as the other three. During his prep years, he was active in both baseball and wrestling.

In an autobiography composed during his freshman year, Niemann expressed a desire to attend either the Air Force Academy or Michigan State University, hopefully the academy. Following his service in the Air Force he had hoped to be an airline pilot.

Besides belonging to the high school Chess Club, Niemann was a member of the National Honor Society. He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. L. D. Niemann of 108 Lilac Street.

Phil Hurst was the only student McKenzie thought would go on to one of the academies. The high school principal said, "He (Hurst) immutates the all-American type boy in terms of physical and mental qualities."

During his high school career, his teachers thought that he was very "reliable" and some indicated he "needed to be challenged." In an autobiography written during his freshman year in high school, Hurst said that his first main ambition was to attend the Air Force academy because he loved to fly. However, later he revised his goals to attend West Point.

Born in Peoria, Ill., Hurst moved to Big Rapids when he was four. While in high school, he played on the football team for all four years, wrestled for three years, and played freshman basketball. He received awards in both drafting and geometry.

Hurst is presently engaged to a local girl who he intends to wed in West Point's chapel. He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Hurst of 311 State Street.

Doug Cosgrove, who McKenzie said he was not that familiar with, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Gale Cosgrove who are now residing in Lansing. His father is a press aide to the state speaker of the House of Representatives. During Doug's high school career, he played football four years, basketball two years, track four years, and wrestled during his junior year. He was a member of the Varsity Club, Jet's Club (high school science club), band, forensics, and National Honor Society. He participated in both the junior and senior plays and received a national merit letter of commendation.

Early in his senior year, Cosgrove had hoped to study law through the Army or Navy ROTC. His teachers thought highly of him and recognized his ability to think and easily grasp information. Like Hurst, Cosgrove also wanted to attend the Air Force Academy originally, but later changed his mind. In an autobiography, he predicted, "I don't see how I'll make it, but I will somehow."

And like the other men, he will. Those thoughts have probably crossed their minds more than once. But now that it is all over and it appears they will graduate, the work and ambition drained from their free time makes the results worthwhile. Not many cities the size of Big Rapids, nor many schools like the high school, can boast that four men from a single graduating class will successfully graduate from three service academies in one year.

BIG RAPIDS

Big Rapids, Michigan is located on U.S. 131 midway between the Indiana border and the Straits of Mackinac. It has a population of 11,995 and covers an area of 5½ square miles. Ferris State College is on the south side of Big Rapids and enrolls 9100 students.

Located on the banks of the Muskegon River, Big Rapids derived its name from historical references made to the "big rapids" by the lumbermen of the area. It is significant that the voters chose this site as the location of their modern high school, overlooking the river and the rapids.

The Big Rapids Public Schools district is in a 99 square mile area, and services other school districts totaling 95 square miles. Total enrollment of the four elementary, one middle, and one high school is 2445. Tax rate for the school district is 26.10 mills.

Big Rapids High School, completed in 1964, has 43 teachers, two counselors, two administrators, and an enrollment of 880 students in grades 9-12. It has been accredited by North Central Association of Schools and Colleges since 1916 and the University of Michigan since 1884. It boasts of its vocational programs in Automotive, Agriculture, Cooperative Education, Secretarial Office Block, Clerical Office Block, as well as a Type A Special Education program for thirty students. Approximately 52% of the graduates go on to further education each year. There is strong support from the community for all types of educational programs.

Typical average midwest college town? Could be, except for one thing. Four years ago four boys from the graduating class of 186 students were selected to attend three service academies in the United States. That alone was unusual for a town the size of Big Rapids, but what makes it more unusual is the fact that this June, all four will graduate.

DOWN IN THE DUMPS

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, there is a story about a man who, upon falling into a giant vat of chocolate, began yelling "Fire!" Soon help arrived and he was pulled from the vat. The first thing his rescuers asked was, "Why did you yell 'fire' when you fell into the vat of chocolate?"

He replied, "You don't think I would have attracted much attention, do you, if I yelled 'Chocolate!'"

I feel much the same way as I view the ominous statistics concerning the future problems we face with our solid waste—or as some would have it: garbage. I feel that way because there are some very serious-minded people saying "Solid-waste," and "garbage" to us and they are not attracting as much attention as they should.

Perhaps, like the man in the chocolate vat, it is time to begin yelling fire.

One man who is doing an excellent job of pointing out our future solid-waste problems in a most articulate manner is the president of American Hoist & Derrick Co. of St. Paul, Mr. John E. Carroll.

But unlike some who are only problem-pointers, Mr. Carroll is also a problem-solver. Not only is he pointing an ugly picture of our future unless we act upon the growing problem of solid-waste disposal, he is offering real solutions.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the following article is an excellent example of Mr. Carroll's statement of the problems and solutions we must begin acting upon now if we are to avert a future crisis. I fear that unless we begin implementing some of Mr. Carroll's suggestions we shall find ourselves in much the same situation as the man in the vat of chocolate.

Only the substance that we will be up to our ears in will not be chocolate.

DOWN IN THE DUMPS

(By John E. Carroll)

ST. PAUL, MINN.—We are rapidly approaching the point where our cities are running out of dump space. New York, for example,

will have exhausted its dumps by 1975, it is estimated.

So, all too often, we are told we must cut the present average of five pounds of waste per person per day. But even if we could—unlikely in a nation of planned obsolescence and convenience products—it would only dent the more than a third of a billion tons of the annual garbage output. We are told recycling will help us dispose of the waste and make a profit, too. But the advanced recycling technology required is a long way off. Or not yet economically feasible.

Today's real solid-waste problem is the logistics of disposal. What to do with our garbage is the heart of the concern—particularly at this time, Earth Week, 1972.

Not so long ago no one thought much about where to put man's discards. Unlimited space seemed at hand. As dump space grew scarcer, we learned to process garbage, either by incineration to reduce volume before dumping, or by compaction at the landfill to cram in as much as possible.

Volume reduction's importance grew with the need for economical transport to areas further away from our urbanized society.

The 1970 Census reveals that three of every four of today's 203 million Americans live in one hundred urban centers. Ten of these centers are considered "super cities"—metropolitan areas with 25 per cent of the country's population.

For example, New York City's population is officially pegged at approximately eight million. But the "super city" houses more than sixteen million. The result is an unequal population distribution. Seventy per cent of us live on just 3 per cent of the land.

While America averages only 57.4 people per square mile, it's like drowning in a pool averaging a foot of water. Montanans average less than five people per square mile, while New York State averages 380.3 people.

While these facts pinpoint the reason for the waste problem, they also hint at its solution, if we discard the blinders of provincialism. Why not take garbage from where there are many people and little land and railhaul it—the least expensive transportation—to where there is much land and few people?

It's easy. Just compress the garbage to its smallest possible volume and make it not only easy to handle but unobjectionable in terms of odors, vermin, or flammability. The technology is available.

Technologically, then, the logistics problem is resolvable. But that is only the first step in solving our disposal problem. Far more difficult is the recognition that solid waste disposal is a national, not a local, problem.

New York City, again, is an example of this. Although the "super city" has the nation's largest waste disposal problem, a plan to organize a three-state disposal authority—involving New Jersey and Connecticut—was all but abandoned recently. The only thing agreed upon: no one wanted someone else's garbage.

I advocate that Congress and the Administration recognize the need for national action and implement it with a seven-point legislative program:

1. To build public awareness of the problem's national scope.
2. To offer inducements for construction and operation of nonpolluting processing plants. Local governments could receive Federal subsidies, private contractors tax credits.
3. To empower the Environmental Protection Agency to identify appropriate waste depositories nationally and to supersede restrictive state laws as are found in Delaware, Maine and Rhode Island. Despoiled lands under Federal control should be the initial such landfills, while necessary legislation concerning state and private lands is created.
4. To pay such areas under state and private control a tonnage fee, based on location and distance from the waste source.

5. To accelerate beautification of America with such landfills through tax credits and subsidies, reclaiming them for parks and recreation sites.

6. To give, by executive order through the Interstate Commerce Commission, rate relief to long-distance rail haulage of properly processed wastes.

7. To accelerate recycling research by infusion of greater funds into selected, realistic programs.

At first blush, some may object to the seemingly high cost of such a national program. But the present \$4.5-billion annual price tag to handle America's 365 million tons of waste is not cheap; we can expect to be spending \$8 billion or more by 1980.

Inevitably the Federal Government will become involved in solid waste disposal. Why not now, when vigorous leadership and actions can meet current challenges and guarantee that future waste will not create far greater national problems?

AGRICULTURAL WEATHER SERVICE FOR NORTH CAROLINA

HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, the House recently passed an important appropriations bill for the Department of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies. I was especially pleased to have the opportunity to support this bill because it included a vitally necessary item for North Carolina. This is the appropriation of \$50,000 for an improved agricultural weather service in North Carolina as part of the National Weather Service's Special Weather Services Branch.

North Carolina is third in the Nation in total value of weather-sensitive crops and ranks fourth in per acre value of these crops. A recently completed survey in North Carolina by agricultural extension agents indicates an average yearly loss of \$62,560,000 due to weather damage to agricultural commodities in the period 1966-70. According to the director of research at the Agricultural Experiment Station at North Carolina State University, J. C. Williamson, Jr., this amount could be greatly reduced if improved agricultural weather services were to be established for North Carolina. He writes:

We conducted a survey of the superintendents of our 15 outlying research stations in which we asked them to estimate from their records and experience the reduction in annual out-of-pocket expense in their operation if improved agricultural weather forecasting of the type available in certain other states were available to them. They estimated this saving would be \$60,000 per year for their 15 farms.

This improved weather service would not serve agriculture exclusively, but it would have many more benefits. The improved regionalized detailed forecasting will be of great aid in our recreational and tourist industries. Produce and shipping interests will benefit. Consumers will ultimately benefit through lowered costs of production and higher quality foods. Environmental quality will be

improved and pollution reduced because better knowledge of impending weather will reduce the number of pesticides applications and amounts applied.

I am pleased that the Appropriations Committee of which I am a member recognized the value of this service to North Carolina and included it in the budget for fiscal 1973, and I especially appreciate the opportunity to share with my colleagues the need of this vital item for North Carolina.

NEW POLICY ON DRUGS

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that the National Advisory Council has recently approved two new policy recommendations concerning narcotics control and our representation at the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

These policy changes, which appear in the official National Advisory Council memorandum at the end of this statement, involve the granting of loans, to drug-producing countries, by the international financial institutions for programs in crop substitution, road construction and the development of telecommunications systems designed to assist in the suppression of the illicit drug trade.

For the first time ever the international lending institutions, which for so long have remained an untapped resource in the field of narcotics control, will be utilized to the fullest in the war against addiction. The strength of these two policy initiatives lies in the fact that the world community will no longer be forced to rely solely on negative sanctions in its attempts to harness the illicit production, processing and smuggling of hard narcotics. We can now look to the World Bank and the Asian and Inter-American Development Banks to offer sound economic incentives for positive, agricultural projects which should complement the negative sanctions of such international agreements as the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs.

Mr. Speaker, I have every hope that the cooperation of the World Bank and related lending institutions will prove to be a most effective weapon in the worldwide offensive against the menace of narcotic addiction. The National Advisory Council follows:

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL,

May 11, 1972.

Subject: Narcotics Control and the International Financial Institutions.

Action:

The National Advisory Council endorses the policy recommendations in the Memorandum, "Narcotics Control and the International Financial Institutions," May 1972.

The Council recommends that this memorandum be made available to the Congress and to the U.S. representatives on the international financial institutions.

The foregoing is the text of an action of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Policies approved on May 11, 1972.

FREDERICK L. SPRINGBORN,

Secretary.

NARCOTICS CONTROL AND THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

INTRODUCTION

The magnitude of the drug problem in the United States, and the determination of federal, state, and local governments to deal with it as a matter of highest national priority, is well known and needs no further substantiation here. Internationally, the rising drug abuse in Western Europe and other countries has added impetus to increased international cooperation to arrest this problem as swiftly and effectively as possible. At President Nixon's directive, the United States has intensified its international efforts both bilaterally and in the United Nations and other multilateral organizations.

To further these efforts, the National Advisory Council (NAC) considered how the international financial institutions (IFIs)—The World Bank Group, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the Asian Development Bank—might help in ameliorating the drug control problem. At the outset it should be clearly stated that the responsibility is firmly on the individual countries for implementing anti-narcotics programs and for identifying and developing projects which might require and be suitable for foreign economic assistance.

The NAC noted the passage of the Rangel Amendment, and focused, among other proposals, on suggestions made by Congressman Halpern in his report, *The International Narcotic Trade*. The NAC took as principal guidelines the three priorities established by the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control, namely (in declining order of emphasis):

(1) interdiction at the United States borders;

(2) improved overseas law enforcement and intelligence; and

(3) overseas crop substitution, crop eradication, treatment, rehabilitation, education, and research.

The Rangel Amendment was part of legislation, signed by the President on March 10, which authorized the United States to increase its contributions to the IFIs. The Amendment requires that the Secretary of the Treasury instruct the United States Executive Directors of these institutions to vote against any loan or other utilization of the institutions' funds for the benefit of any country with respect to which the President has made a determination, and so advised the Secretary of the Treasury, that the Government of such country has failed to take adequate steps to prevent narcotic drugs and other controlled substances (as defined by the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970) produced or processed, in whole or in part, in such country, or transported through such country, from being sold illegally within the jurisdiction of such country to United States Government personnel or their dependents, or from entering the United States unlawfully. Such instruction shall continue in effect until the President determines, and so notifies the Secretary of the Treasury, that the Government of such country has taken adequate steps to prevent such sale or entry of narcotic drugs and other controlled substances.

RECOMMENDED POLICY ACTIONS

After full consideration of possible IFI actions in the field of drug control, and after careful examination of recommendations numbered 58, 59 and 60 in Congressman Halpern's report, the National Advisory Council recommends the following general

policies:—Where the provisions of the aforementioned amendment are not applied.

1. The Secretary of the Treasury should instruct the U.S. Executive Directors to give special attention and strong support to proposals for technical and economic assistance for country or regional projects which meet the economic criteria of the international financial institutions and which have as their objective or which contribute to the elimination of traffic, smuggling or production of illicit narcotics and other dangerous drugs.

2. If countries and/or the international financial institutions (IFIs) have not been able to identify or develop projects which might be suitable for IFI financing, the U.S. Government should consider assisting countries in developing economically sound projects and loan proposals which could lessen the illicit traffic in or production of narcogenic substances. For particularly promising projects, the U.S. Government should consider assisting countries to carry out feasibility studies and prepare necessary documents for the country to submit a loan application to an IFI. Care would be taken, of course, that the United States efforts in this regard do not duplicate those of the IFIs.

These policy recommendations seek to increase IFI involvement in financially sound projects designed to curb illicit drug production and distribution. The recommendations assume, of course, that the U. S. Executive Directors will help lay the groundwork in the IFI's for IFI lending for these projects.

The specific reasons for these recommendations can best be stated by briefly examining the proposals of Congressman Halpern.

RECOMMENDATION 58

The United States should instruct its Governor at the Asian Development Bank to propose that agricultural programs designed to eliminate poppy cultivation be given high consideration. The U. S. Governor could ask that a guideline memorandum be sent to loan officers of the Bank regarding loan preference for programs so designed, consistent with the Articles of Agreement of the Bank.

RESPONSE TO RECOMMENDATION 58

The National Advisory Council's recommendations should apply to all the IFI's, and not merely to the Asian Development Bank.

The NAC recommends that the U. S. Government consider providing technical assistance where needed to countries where narcogenic crops are grown, processed or transported, if the IFI's have been unable to do so. This technical assistance should be specifically designed to develop economically sound projects and loan proposals suitable for IFI financing that would have as an additional benefit, the direct or indirect effect of reducing or eliminating the production, processing or transportation of illicit narcogenic substances. The U. S. Government should consider assisting a country to carry out feasibility studies and prepare necessary documents for the country to submit an application to an IFI for financing.

The National Advisory Council further recommends that instructions be given to the U. S. Executive Directors to support strongly any such projects which meet the economic criteria of the Banks.

A large portion of IFI lending is for transportation, port facilities and communications projects. As a spinoff to its direct economic benefits, a project, for example, for improved telecommunications can serve as an important adjunct to the interdiction of illicit drug traffic. The U.S. Executive Directors should be alert to the effect of such projects and stimulate support for them in the staff and management as well as in the executive boards of the IFI's.

Regarding crop substitution projects, it is necessary to take into account the fact that

in many parts of the world growing opium poppies is virtually the only source of income. Alternatives for the poppy farmer to support his family ought to be made available. Unfortunately, no substitute has yet been found that earns as much for farmers on the same area of cultivation as do opium poppies when the produce is sold in both the legal and illegal markets. (See Appendix II.) Moreover, most of the illicit opium production comes from remote and inaccessible areas of the world. In these areas, where law enforcement is less than adequate, the cash value and portability of narcogenic substances clearly outmatches other crops which the farmer could reasonably grow and transport.

As to crop substitution studies, the National Advisory Council believes that the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC), FAO and other agencies now gaining experience in these matters could play a useful role. The efforts in Turkey and those of the UN in Thailand may provide an empirical data base for the feasibility and breadth of potential for crop substitution schemes upon which guidelines might be based.

Agricultural diversification, infrastructure expansion and industrial development to some extent provide economic alternatives to opium poppy cultivation and thus help to reduce narcotics production and marketing for illicit purposes. Financing these kinds of activities is a normal part of IFI operations and the U.S. Executive Directors should be alert to the effect of such projects and encourage their development in regions where such alternatives are feasible.

RECOMMENDATION 59

The United States should seek through the multilateral auspices of the World Bank a series of guidelines which would provide incentives, in the form of favorable loan arrangements to nations which are recognized for taking effective measures against the cultivators and processors of opium, hashish, or cocaine. The United States should stand ready to assist all international programs for crop substitution, retraining and resettlement.

RESPONSE TO RECOMMENDATION 59

The National Advisory Council (NAC) recommends that the U.S. Executive Directors of the World Bank and other IFIs stand ready to support loans—under arrangements as favorable as can be provided consistent with the financial integrity of the lending institutions—which will assist all economically sound programs for crop substitution, retraining, and resettlement. Further—as mentioned in response to Recommendation No. 58—the NAC considers it appropriate for the U.S. Government to consider assisting countries to carry out feasibility studies and prepare documents for IFI loan applications in support of any such programs. This would effectively provide incentives to nations to take meaningful economic measures to discourage production and marketing of narcogenic substances.

RECOMMENDATION 60

The United States should consider the establishment of special funds under the Asian Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank to provide positive incentives in the form of available funds for nations seeking technological and economic assistance to eliminate the sources of narcotic traffic.

RESPONSE TO RECOMMENDATION 60

In view of the existence of UNFDAC and other multilateral programs to which the United States is contributing, the National Advisory Council considers it inappropriate to establish special funds within the IFIs for this purpose. The IFIs can make their most effective contribution if the policy recommendations proposed above are put into effect.

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION MAKES PROGRESS IN NEW MEXICO

HON. MANUEL LUJAN, JR.

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. LUJAN. Mr. Speaker, on eight occasions within the past month we have received notice from Administrator James V. Smith of the Farmers Home Administration of new projects approved in our district under the rural community water and sewer program.

It is especially gratifying to see this progress being made in New Mexico.

Drought is a disaster that can strike any section of the country for a limited time. But for many rural localities in New Mexico, water shortage was a never-ending problem until the rural water program came into being.

This program has now resulted in 75 rural area water systems and 16 new town and village sewer systems in New Mexico. Half of these are in the 14 northern counties that comprise the First Congressional District.

One particular asset of the program is the character of its administration by the Farmers Home Administration, an agency of the Department of Agriculture widely experienced in service to rural people.

Farmers Home is especially well known as an agency that can go beyond the main highway onto the side roads. It has the knack of cooperation with people in the small, even remote community. In Spanish-speaking New Mexico, it speaks the language of the people. This is a principle of service strongly upheld by Administrator James V. Smith in his leadership of the agency, and by the excellent FHA organization in New Mexico headed by State Director Carroll D. Hunton.

State and community resources have resolved some water problems and regional planning organizations have lent their interest. But in many localities, the added support of the Farmers Home Administration has been decisive in helping to establish organizations that correspond to the needs and desires of the people, and to bring in capital needed to get the water flowing in disadvantaged or isolated communities.

Job-producing new business and a large scale improvement of housing are beginning to materialize. The rural housing program of the Farmers Home Administration has enabled 3,400 families of rural New Mexico, half of them in our district, to achieve modernized living conditions in new or improved homes. This program is rapidly increasing. The \$5.2 million of rural housing credit in fiscal year 1971 had been exceeded by \$1 million after 9 months of the current year.

These services, extended through Farmers Home Administration county offices when no other source of credit is available, brighten the future for young people of rural New Mexico who want to make their life in their home communities. They can hope for a broader range of opportunity and advanced standards

of living, as compared to what their parents and grandparents have had to endure.

Mr. Speaker, an excellent illustration of the long reach into rural areas accomplished by the Farmers Home Administration is the variety of communities served by projects announced within the past month in our district.

In Colfax County there is Farley. It is a small settlement on a secondary road in the southwestern corner of the county. But 13 families living there have found a way to replace their antiquated water system by putting in a new and reliable deep well, a storage tank, and distribution system of water lines.

Their system will operate through a community nonprofit organization, the Farley Mutual Domestic Water Consumers and Mutual Sewer Works Association, headed by Mr. Steve Fernandez, president. Financing from the Farmers Home Administration totals a \$10,000 loan, to be repaid from water service proceeds, and a \$3,000 grant.

In Mora County, one of the earliest settlements, Chacon, is finally achieving a modern water system that will serve 38 families. Chacon's proprietary association is the Agua Pura Domestic Water Consumers Association headed by Mr. Max Fort, president. Financing is a \$26,000 loan and \$10,000 grant through the Farmers Home Administration.

In Sandoval County, 45 families in the Ponderosa community will soon have deep well water coming into their homes through a new central distribution system made possible by a \$38,000 loan and \$18,000 grant from FHA. This also is the project of a community association of which Mr. Richard B. Ramsey is president.

To the north, in Rio Arriba County's Canjilon Mountain area, both water and sewer systems are in the making for the town of Canjilon, where about 50 homes will benefit, and for 20 families who make up the Cebolla community. FHA has approved a \$54,000 loan and \$28,000 grant for the project at Canjilon, and a \$14,000 loan and \$12,600 grant to build the systems at Cebolla. Presidents of the mutual water and sewer associations formed for these projects are Mr. Higinio Romero at Canjilon, and Mr. Gustavo Martinez at Cebolla.

Details of three more projects are contained in an announcement newly received from FHA Administrator James V. Smith. It is apparent in this release that his agency is performing one of the most valuable services in the field of rural development, and helping to lay the foundation for a better day in the smaller towns and rural settlements whose interests were so long neglected or overlooked.

As a further illustration of Farmers Home Administration programs in action, I include the text of the release at this point.

[News release from U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farmers Home Administration]

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION AIDS RURAL WATER-SEWER IMPROVEMENTS

WASHINGTON, May 19.—The Farmers Home Administration will provide \$408,000 in loan

and grant assistance to improve the water and sewer systems in Chama and Moriarty, New Mexico, and the water system at Penasco, New Mexico, FHA Administrator James V. Smith announced today.

A loan of \$155,000 and a grant of \$62,000 approved for the Village of Chama in Rio Arriba County will make possible an extension of water service to 46 homes and business places, and sewer service to 26 homes and businesses not served by the present village system.

Improvement of the water and sewer systems to serve a total of about 200 homes and other establishments is expected to stimulate new business development, employment and homebuilding at Chama. The village is at the junction of U.S. Highway 84 and State Highway 17 in the scenic area of northern Rio Arriba County, near the Continental Divide and the Colorado border. Tourist trade is increasing and the region is becoming popular as a locale for filming feature motion pictures.

The loan and grant for water-sewer improvements will be made to the Chama village government of which Mr. Benny A. Medina is Mayor.

A loan of \$100,000 and a grant of \$50,000 approved for the City of Moriarty in Torrance County will enable that community also to expand water and sewer systems now taxed to full capacity. Extension of both systems, which now serve 181 homes and other establishments, is necessary to maintain health standards and allow for new building in the community. Moriarty is a center of the farm and ranch country east of Albuquerque on U.S. Highway 66. Mr. Earnest Hawkins is Mayor.

Penasco, a community south of Taos in rural Taos County, will receive a \$21,000 loan and \$20,000 grant to install a new deep well as a source for its central water system. The present well has become undependable. Penasco's water system, which serves 81 homes in Penasco and vicinity, is operated by a community nonprofit organization, the Penasco Mutual Domestic Water Consumers Association, of which Mr. George Visarraga is president.

Financing of the projects has been approved under the Rural Community Facilities program administered by the Farmers Home Administration, a Department of Agriculture rural credit service. Benefits of the program are made available without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. Loans are repaid in 40 years at an interest rate of 5 percent from service proceeds of the water and sewer systems.

SAM STEIGER, OUR COURAGEOUS COLLEAGUE

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, for over 2 years our colleague, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. STEIGER) has been attempting to advise us, and through us, our constituents regarding some significant organized crime problems as they relate to pari-mutuel wagering. I have been very impressed with Mr. STEIGER's courage as I am certain he anticipated virulent attacks from those people who he named as doing business with organized crime. These attacks have now been revealed as alleged wiretapping, private investigation of Mr. STEIGER's history including his phone records, his

financial statements and a total desperate attempt to discredit him. In spite of this he continued to testify, when requested, to State racing commissions, State legislatures and finally the Antitrust Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee. It is not a common practice for Members of this body to play the activist role that Mr. STEIGER has clearly played. The organization that Mr. STEIGER has focused his attention on is the Emprise Corp. of Buffalo, N.Y. They were convicted in April of this year by a Los Angeles Federal court, after a trial lasting some 6 weeks, of conspiring to conceal the true ownership of a Las Vegas gambling casino. Four of their co-defendants, also convicted, have been identified by the U.S. Justice Department as members of organized crime families from Detroit and St. Louis.

Mr. STEIGER has demonstrated a tremendous knowledge of the details of the involvement and methods of organized crime in conversations with me. This dedication and unswerving purpose deserves the highest commendation and his activity in this area reflects the highest credit on this body. Only political jeopardy and perhaps worse, face Mr. STEIGER. He deserves our gratitude and I take this opportunity to say thank you to SAM STEIGER.

AIRLINE SAFETY

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, as a former airline pilot, I have a special and fraternal feeling for the flightcrews who are responsible for the safety of the world's airways. Today the president of the Airline Pilots Association, Capt. J. J. O'Donnell, made a significant statement before the association's annual Air Safety Forum and Exposition here in Washington.

I commend his remarks to my colleagues because the life we save on the Nation's airways and airports may be our own.

ALPA'S AIRPORT FACILITIES PROGRAM

To begin our discussion of ALPA's airport facilities program, I think we should start at the very beginning.

On December 17, 1903, Orville and Wilbur Wright took their tiny aircraft from Dayton, Ohio to the sand dunes of Kitty Hawk, North Carolina for their attempt at man's first powered flight. Why did they travel to Kitty Hawk? Because of the inadequacies of the airports and facilities available to them. In fact, airports and facilities were quite scarce throughout the world at that time.

But now, nearly 70 years later, we find that we have problems similar to those that confronted the Wright brothers. Our airports and facilities are totally inadequate for the job we have to do.

Let's put it in another way. In the early part of this century—the days of the Wrights—the development and construction of the aircraft was far ahead of the development and construction of airports and facilities. We are now rapidly approaching the last quarter of this century, and the development and construction of airports and facilities

continues to lag dangerously behind the development and construction of aircraft.

I believe the American public would be shocked if they had any idea of the varying degree of safety they are subjected to as they proceed on their journey from point A to point B.

One airport may have long runways with underrun and overrun areas; a beautiful modernistic control tower; terminal radar; instrument landing systems; VASI's; and fire and rescue equipment.

The next airport may have no control tower; no radar; approach facilities not really worth mentioning; the runway is a short strip with drop offs at both ends. A bucket of sand sits by the door of the terminal building with the word fire painted across the front and that's the extent of their fire and rescue equipment.

One of the better airports I fly into is a military airport, 12,000 feet, well lighted runway, control tower, terminal radar, VASI, ILS and the best fire and rescue equipment available standing by alongside the runway. I don't begrudge the military having all of these fine facilities. But I can never agree that my passenger who is the taxpayer paying for it all deserves any less.

Why does the American public allow those with the responsibility for providing aviation safety facilities to ignore their responsibility?

Because the public has little or no knowledge of aviation and its safety problems. The passenger is sitting back in first class concerning himself with the dryness of his martini, the quality of his steak, and admiring the legs of the mini skirted Stewardess as she goes about her duties.

He has no way of knowing that the FAA provided approach facilities at his home town airport are so minimal that the pilots use a commercial broadcast station to supplement the information provided by the FAA in order to increase the safety of the operations.

Yes, the airline passenger leads a very sheltered life as far as the safety of his flight is concerned.

We, the pilots, contribute to the passengers sheltered existence.

Perhaps it is time that we brought the passenger into the loop so to speak. Perhaps it is time for the airline passenger to become educated on what really goes on. Then perhaps he would take more interest and help us get the tools we need to substantially improve his safety.

The public is knowledgeable about the condition of the highways he travels over daily. When the highways reached such a deplorable state that the public became completely fed up, he demanded and received action in the form of highway trust fund legislation.

After this program got underway I flew over a city noting the ribbons of concrete fanning out in all directions.

I then proceeded to land at this city's ill equipped airport. The runway was a strip of crumbling asphalt, barely long enough to contain the aircraft even with maximum performance stopping techniques. I thought if only we could get one small mile of that concrete for this airport what a difference it would make. It seemed to me that the answer to our problem was obvious. An airport and facilities construction program similar to the highway construction program.

The entire industry apparently came to the same conclusion, and ALPA and the industry began working toward that end.

We were successful and it shows what a unified effort within the aviation industry can accomplish.

There was some public support for this legislation, but for the most part, it was an industry effort. With a fully informed and concerned public this legislation would have become a reality years earlier.

The problem now is to insure that every

dime collected for the trust fund goes to purchase the safety the public is entitled to.

When large sums of money accumulate, selfish interest begin to try to find ways to divert it to their own selfish causes.

For nearly 40 years, ALPA has been trying to bring attention to the problem of the airports and facilities lagging behind the development of the aircraft.

ALPA has had 4 presidents in its history—each has taken a strong stand on this subject.

In October 1947, our first president, *David L. Behncke*, took the following position in testimony prepared for presentation before the president's Special Board of Inquiry on Air Safety. He recommended (1) approach lights, runway lights and locator stations be added to complete all presently installed ILS facilities. (2) New ILS installations be made at all airports not having them. Similar recommendations were made throughout Mr. Behncke's career. How many lives could have been saved if his recommendation had been followed?

C. N. Sayen, ALPA's second president, on February 27, 1961, testified before the aviation subcommittee of the Senate as follows: Quote "in our opinion no single category of preventable accidents has caused so much loss of life, injury, delay and substandard air services, destroyed and damaged aircraft, and adversely affected the growth of aviation industry than the continued lack of known and obtainable landings aids and airport standards." (Unquote)

Similar statements were made repeatedly to FAA and Congress throughout Mr. Sayen's career. How many lives could have been saved if the FAA had listened to Mr. Sayen?

C. H. Ruby, ALPA's third president, stated before the House Committee on Foreign Commerce on April 13, 1967, the following: "The association has long standing policy recommending increasing the safety and efficiency of air traffic control by more installations and commissioning of facilities such as (a) ILS, (b) control zones, (c) control towers, (d) other approach facilities."

Mr. Ruby made similar recommendations throughout his career. How many lives could have been saved if FAA had listened to Mr. Ruby?

J. J. O'Donnell, our fourth and current president, on June 23, 1971, before the Subcommittee of the Aviation Committee on Commerce, U.S. Senate, said:

"Gentleman, today in this great Nation of ours approximately 90% of the runways of our air carrier airport system do not have instrument landing systems and other important landing aids required for precision approaches. Yet these are the runways airline pilots are required to use in good weather and bad.

"Almost as many runways do not have visual approach slope indicators.

ALPA research shows that approximately 1,772 runways used by airline pilots on a continuing basis do not have either precision instrument landing systems, visual approach slope indicators or runway end identification lights.

"Ironically, after we have reviewed the ten-year accident history data, two traffic accidents involving airlines occurred during the past ten days. Again, these accidents point up the tragic cost of these inadequacies which still have not been corrected even though the remedies and the equipment have been available for several decades."

President O'Donnell has gone a step further than any other Alpha president. After noting that airline accidents and fatalities associated with nonprecision approaches were approximately 10 times those associated with precision approaches, President O'Donnell proposed a program for the accelerated installation of airport facilities—designed as a catch up program, to bring the installation of facilities in line with the development of

the aircraft. Included in the program is a detailed analysis of the landing aids needed to insure maximum safety at each of the 492 airports now served by the airlines. These aids are listed, runway by runway, along with the estimated cost. A reasonable time frame for modernizing our approach facilities is provided. The program he proposed calls for a two part implementation. The first of which consists of the installation of the following facilities within two years at every airport served by scheduled airlines in the United States:

1. At least one instrument landing system (ILS).
2. An approach light system installed at all ILS locations.
3. A visual approach slope indicator (VASI) for every runway approved for air carrier operations.
4. Runway end identifier lights (REIL) for every runway approved for air carrier operations that does not have approach lights.
5. A control tower at every airline airport.
6. Radar service at 114 airports now without it.

Phase II of ALPA's plan calls for installation of the following within three years after the completion of phase I:

1. An instrument landing system (ILS) at the end of each runway approved for air carrier operations.
2. Approach lights at the end of each runway approved for air carrier operations.
3. Surveillance radar service at airports having air carrier operations. How many lives will be lost if the FAA ignores President O'Donnell?

We have been talking about ALPA's thinking on this subject. Now what about others in the industry?

ATA

On August 28, 1967, Mr. Stuart Tipton, president of ATA, in testimony before a House subcommittee, included in his recommendation for improving aviation safety the following:

FAA provide a control tower at every airport having scheduled airline passenger traffic.

FAA provide terminal radar service at every airport having regularly scheduled airline passenger service.

ILS and approach lights serving two basic directions of approach be installed at every airport receiving scheduled airline service.

Glide slope guidance—either electronic or visual—be installed on every runway used by airline jets.

Mr. Tipton, in his closing remarks to the committee, stated, and I quote:

"The cost of the program we are suggesting is high, but the longer the expenditure is postponed, the higher the cost will be. The Federal Government undertook the responsibility for the establishment, operation, and maintenance of the Federal airways system over 40 years ago. In doing so, it undertook to meet the requirements of civil and military aviation, whatever they may be. At the moment, these requirements are not being met. Unless the program we suggest is carried out, that failure will carry with it increasingly adverse results as traffic grows.

How many lives could have been saved if the FAA had listened to Mr. Tipton 5 years ago?

In May of this year, Mr. Clifton von Kann, ATA vice president—operations and airports, told Congress that a long overdue catch-up effort is needed. He stated: "The FAA program for establishing new terminal aids in FY 1972 and 1973 combined is still very inadequate in the light of air transportation needs and the intent of Congress when it adopted the Airport and Airway Development Act of 1970, setting up a trust fund to start a substantial facilities catch-up effort."

Again in May of this year, the ATA restated and updated its policy on landing aids.

Among their recommendations was the following—an ILS and related approach light system provided at any airport receiving scheduled airline service: All runways normally used by scheduled airlines and which do not have ILS glide slope information should be provided with visual approach slope indicators.

NTSB

In January 1972, Gov. John Reed, Chmn., NASB, stated in a Washington speech that the board had uncovered 33 accidents in the 1968-1970 period that had the potential of being prevented had vertical guidance been available to the pilots.

In April of this year, Gov. Reed told the Transportation Association of America that it is imperative that future total accident rates be significantly improved. With 250 to 400 passenger aircraft, we must face the paradoxical fact that a decrease in the number of accidents could still result in an increase in fatalities.

Of particular concern to the safety board is the problem of approach and landing accidents under instrument flying conditions. These cases account for approximately 40% of the fatalities in air carrier operations.

Among the most significant civil aviation safety needs mentioned by Gov. Reed was improved air navigation aids, facilities and services, particularly IFR approach and landing devices, and the airport environment.

The NTSB in its recent report on the November 14, 1970 Huntington accident renewed its recommendation that FAA press to install instrument landing system at locations served only by non-precision approach aids.

AOCI

Airport operators council international (AOCI) recently asked Congress to modify the airport and airway development act of 1970 to provide, among other things, 100% federal funding for the highest priority projects including landing aids.

FIGHT SAFETY FOUNDATION

On May 1st of this year, Flight Safety Foundation President Dave Thomas urged FAA to direct its efforts toward improvements of safety facilities at existing airports, installation of vertical guidance facilities for all runways used by jets, improvement of weather information dissemination and organization of airspace in a more effective manner for reduction of the midair collision hazard. Mr. Thomas predicted that in the next 5 years there will be 7,200 fatalities in general aviation, 5,500 general aviation aircraft destroyed, 1,250 fatalities in air carrier service and 35 air carrier aircraft destroyed. "This indeed is a high price to pay for the lack of safety" Mr. Thomas stated.

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

The House Committee on Government Operations in its 1971 report to Congress came to the following conclusions:

(Quote) "An airways system providing optimum safety for commercial, military and general aviation aircraft is essential to the continued growth of the nation. Basic air traffic control facilities and equipment, such as airport control towers surveillance radars, and instrument landing systems are an absolute requirement if optimum safety in operations is to be maintained at any airport that handles commercial airliners, on a significant volume of general aviation or military traffic." (Unquote)

FAA

And finally, we get to the FAA. What is their position?

Frankly, I am not sure but on February 12, 1972, a twin engine Beech aircraft crashed during a non-precision approach at Fulton County Airport—Atlanta's busiest general aviation facility—killing 3 and injuring 3. The accident occurred only 200 yds. From the spot where a light twin crashed less than a month previous killing one and injuring one.

The ATL Constitution headlined as follows: "Lack of ILS cited in plane crash." The article goes on to quote an FAA official as follows: "The accident could have been prevented if an ILS had been in operation at the airport." (Unquote)

On July 30, 1971, a catastrophic accident occurred in Japan. At the invitation of the Japanese Government a team of FAA specialists headed by Mr. William M. Flener, spent a month in Japan studying their aviation facilities.

Mr. Flener's report to the Japanese Government warned that a major system paralysis and more accidents will occur if traffic continues to grow at the present rate.

Sixty-four recommendations were made by the FAA. Included in their recommendations is the following: All Japanese airports handling airline traffic *must* be equipped with ILS and approach lighting systems.

Can we assume that the FAA also takes the position that all U. S. airports *must* be equipped with ILS and approach lighting systems?

FAA response to ALPA's proposal for modernizing the Nation's safety aids does not indicate this. As I understand the FAA's position they think it would be nice to have an ILS at United States air carrier airports but money just isn't available.

In other words, it appears that the FAA places a higher value upon the lives of the Japanese passenger than it places upon the lives of the American passenger. This is difficult for me to understand since it is the American citizen the FAA is supposed to protect and it is the American citizen who pays the taxes which supports the FAA.

I suggest that money to save lives is available—the trust funds will have produced \$1.1 billion dollars by the end of June. The problem is one of misplaced priorities—the FAA owns a fleet of aircraft comparable in size to that of many major airlines. The average annual cost per aircraft for operation and maintenance is \$397,418 per aircraft. They also lease and rent aircraft. The FAA's southern region recently bragged about reducing their cost by 50% in aircraft rentals—I suggest they could have saved twice as much by not renting any aircraft.

The FAA flight standards budget for 1973 is 104 million dollars, with a substantial increase shown for each year projected thereafter—total expenditures for the next 10 years will be well in excess of 2 billion dollars.

It seems obvious to me that Government employees can buy tickets on the airlines cheaper than they can operate their own airline. I suggest that money is available to provide the public with the degree of aviation safety they have a right to expect. It's only a matter of priorities.

The most important objective of the Air Line Pilots Association is stated in section 6(c) of our constitution and by-laws and it reads as follows: "To safeguard, with ceaseless vigilance, the safety of scheduled air transportation in recognition of the high degree of public trust, confidence and responsibility placed on the members of the association."

This ALPA commitment to the American people dictates that we continue our efforts to make substantial improvements in this Nation's airport facilities. We will keep our commitment.

CLOSING STATEMENT

In closing this panel I would like to make a comment that I made at the safety forum several years ago.

The airline pilots are not being impractical or asking for the impossible. We are not asking for new inventions or new technologies. We are only asking that the construction and development of the airports and facilities be brought up to the level of the construction

and development of the airplane. What we need today has been available for a long time.

We need airports and airport expansion. This requires land. Land dates back to the Book of Genesis when God created heaven and earth.

We need concrete for runways. Concrete dates back to the Roman Empire.

We need airport lighting. Edison invented the electric light in 1871.

We need terminal radars. The principal of radar was first demonstrated in 1886, although it did not come into prominence until World War II.

We need control towers which require radio. Radio dates back to the year 1890.

We need instrument landing systems. They have been around for over 30 years.

In other words, most of the things the pilot needs today to safely operate his aircraft were available even before the Wright brothers invented the airplane in 1903. There is no excuse for our not having them today.

I challenge the FAA Administrator to provide the leadership necessary to bring the Nation's aviation facilities up to the level recommended by ALPA and thus provide the American public with the safety they deserve—by doing so the Administrator can save many lives. The Administrator can do the country a great service. The Administrator can earn the gratitude of this industry. And, he can go down in my book as the first successful administrator in the history of FAA.

AN EXCELLENT ESSAY BY NBC'S FRANK MCGEE

HON. FLOYD SPENCE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, for years the American people have been exposed to a steady diet of subjective and distorted news reporting, courtesy of the national media. It seems that neither the networks nor the national press can resist the temptation to inject certain points of view into their presentation of day-to-day events. This is particularly unfortunate because they all generally tend to see things in the same way, and thus the man who wants to consider both sides of a controversy is given very little leeway.

Recently, for example, the West German Parliament was embroiled in debates surrounding certain treaties Chancellor Willy Brandt had proposed in connection with his "ostpolitik" policies. Many people doubted the wisdom of ratifying the treaties, including a majority of the Parliament and a significant number of informed Americans. Here is the way the Washington Post covered an impending no-confidence vote against Brandt:

If Brandt is deposed both treaties undoubtedly would be set aside, a fact that would lead to a renewal of Cold War tensions and reduce chances for improvement of Soviet-American relations. (April 25, 1972)

This is known as editorializing in a news story, and it is only one of many examples I have saved in my files.

Probably each of us has his favorite case of attempted deception by the national media. Some think of celebrated examples, such as "The Selling of the Pentagon" and other documentaries

whose deliberate distortions have been proven, and in some cases admitted. Others notice long-range endeavors by the press to create a certain impression, such as widespread disaffection with our Vietnam policies among Americans. One would never guess from the news that 74 percent of the Americans support the mining of North Vietnam's harbors.

I particularly resent attempts by the media to picture the hoodlums we are subjected to here in Washington periodically as "idealistic kids." We are asked not to notice that they carry Vietcong flags, destroy our property, and shout "Victory to the Vietcong." We are supposed to forget that this slogan means "Death to American soldiers." Portraying these people as anything but what they are is a whitewash by the press and an injustice to the huge majority of truly "idealistic kids" who have contributed immeasurably to our society.

Mr. Speaker, those of us who worry about the effect this saturation from the media has on the thinking of our countrymen, may take some comfort from an excellent essay given by Mr. Frank McGee on "The Today Show," May 17, 1972. In a flash of insight and common sense, Mr. McGee admitted to his audience that voters apparently are not thinking what the national media are telling them to think, and that the primaries are reflecting that fact. Moreover, he says the American people are getting tired of being told that they are guilty for each and every social ill, real or imagined, which besets our country.

Those who work to support their families and pay taxes are getting tired of hearing criticism from politicians courting the votes of those who do not. Mr. McGee points out, in effect, that those who scream so loud and long about our involvement in Vietnam are not the same ones who make the sacrifices therefor. The disillusioned Americans Frank McGee speaks of, the ones who make up the strength and integrity of this country, the ones who protest only through the orderly procedures set up for that purpose—they are the Americans who send their sons to fight. They talk about "honor" and "pride" and they understand its importance to their country. Maybe they do not always agree with this Government's actions, but they are loath to desert their national leadership in a time of crisis.

It is interesting to note that Mr. McGee issued an unusually thorough disclaimer before sharing his thoughts—something seldom done when other type opinions are being urged upon us by the networks. And of course, it is unheard of for them to say, "(be) fully forewarned that they are only my personal thoughts. And if you do not agree with them, you certainly do not have to."

Nevertheless, this essay is a significant step toward a hearing for the side not often represented by the networks, as well as a frank appraisal of media attempts to influence the public, from a man who should know. I congratulate both Frank McGee and NBC for this effort, Mr. Speaker, and I ask that the full transcript be printed at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

[From the Today Show, WRC-TV, Washington, D.C.]

BYLINE

FRANK MCGEE. We now have a good many of the presidential primaries behind us and not many more to go. And I would like to express some personal thoughts here, with you fully forewarned that they are only my personal thoughts. And if you don't agree with them, you certainly don't have to. And I guess the only qualifications that I have for this is that I've been in this business for quite a long while and we have covered these primaries with some thoroughness.

And it seems to me that among a great many other things that the voters in these primaries so far have done is to rather resoundingly reject a good many of the views and attitudes that have been reflected in the national media, including television. So many of the things that have been given attention in the national press, again including television, are being rejected by the voters. Changes that they have been told, either directly or indirectly, that they must make in their attitudes, the changes that they've been told, directly or indirectly, that they must effect in the American society they're not prepared to make.

It seems to me that a good many Americans feel that they have been ignored for too long and that institutions, while not responding perhaps as well as they should to the needs of minority groups in the United States, are not responding to their needs either. And they are rather weary—saddle sore is an expression we used to use in the part of the country where I grew up—with being told that so many of the social evils are attributable to them. They are the middle class. There was a time I can recall, and I'm sure you can too, when we said that the trouble with so many countries in the world was that it had no large, stable middle class; only the rich and only the poor; and that one of the redeeming graces of our society was that we did have a large and stable middle class.

It's become rather more fashionable in recent years to sneer at the middle class and to say that all of the country's ills, or many of them, are attributable to them. And yet they look at themselves and they see that we are, after all, those who work; we are, after all, those who pay the taxes. We send our children to school; we are patriotic. We may agree with you that the war is wrong, or we may not, but it is our sons, after all, who are fighting and dying there. And they don't feel that their point of view, that their sense of moral values, that their sense of the rightness and wrongness of government directions are being taken into account. And they are using the primaries to, among other things, bring this forcefully to our attention.

IN MEMORIAM—RUDY KOOP

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to learn of the passing of a dear friend, Rudy Koop, of Amityville, N.Y., on May 10, 1972.

As clerk of the village of Amityville for over 20 years, Rudy earned the respect and admiration of all who came in contact with him. He was a dedicated public servant; dedicated to the principles of

integrity, honesty, and loyalty to the people of Amityville whom he served so well. Moreover, he was just a great person; friendly, thoughtful, and always willing to make that extra effort for anyone who came through the village office door. During his tenure as village clerk, Rudy served many different administrations, and I think the mayors and trustees, both past and present, would be the first ones to admit that he was the key to keeping things running smoothly in the village on a day-to-day basis.

Mr. Speaker, Rudy Koop epitomized the ideal of courage. Despite a crippling infirmity in his youth which affected him throughout his life, he went on to become a leader in community, civic, and fraternal service organizations. As a member of the Free and Accepted Masons, he rose to the heights of Grand Masonry. At the same time, Rudy was especially active in civic organizations such as the Lions Club, and the Rotary Club, as he found yet another way to serve the village of Amityville.

The people of Amityville, as well as the residents of the entire Second Congressional District, have lost a dedicated public servant, a community leader, and most of all, a friend.

We will miss him. Good people like Rudy Koop are hard to come by.

TOCKS ISLAND DAM: ANOTHER
OPINION AGAINST

HON. PIERRE S. (PETE) du PONT

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. du PONT. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to place in the RECORD an editorial from the New York Times of May 23, 1972, opposed to construction of the Tocks Island Dam. The editorial underscores the growing opposition to this project and I commend it to the Members:

PARK YES, DAM NO

It is ten years since Congress authorized Tocks Island Dam—that elaborate project for creating a 37-mile-long reservoir in the heart of the lovely Delaware River Valley for the triple purpose of water conservation, flood control and recreation. Doubts, originally confined to a few premature environmentalists, have now penetrated deep into the Delaware River Basin Commission. As a consequence, the valley now has close to a fifty-fifty chance of surviving in its natural and tranquil form.

Those are the odds cited by Secretary of the Interior Morton, and on the basis of the record they should be even better than that. The first environmental impact statement submitted by the Army Corps of Engineers was turned back by the Council on Environmental Quality as inadequate. The second, filed last October, was comprehensive enough to raise some grave questions: Drawdowns, particularly in years of drought, could shrink the lake from 37 miles to a low of 22.7, exposing thousands of acres of mud for the edification of the area's recreation-seekers. And to prevent eutrophication of the reservoir, waste would have to be piped away from the site. The Council properly wanted

further information on the costs of the engineering involved and some assurance that the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and Delaware would meet the obligation.

The hitherto solid support of the four state governments at this point showed signs of crumbling. Governor Cahill of New Jersey for the first time expressed "reservations" about Tocks Island—anti-pollution curbs could cost \$100 million and additional highways to carry tourists to the park were estimated at \$683 million. New York's State Commissioner of Environmental Conservation promptly reported that, if New Jersey had doubts, New York, too, would make a "re-evaluation." And similar reservations were forthcoming from Senator Buckley of New York and Representative duPont of Delaware.

Environmentalists in the area strongly favor a Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area without the dam and reservoir. The Army Corps of Engineers has contended that under the law park and dam are interdependent. But Senator Case of New Jersey has now extracted from the Department of the Interior firm assurance that the park alone would be perfectly permissible.

Once the will is clearly established in all four state capitols, a Congressional appropriation of funds for additional land acquisitions will be needed. And beyond that the only requisite is political resistance to the pressures of developers whose dreams include neither park nor dam but just the money that might be had from exploiting a valley of unusual scenic beauty.

YOUTH IN CONTRAST

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, some people are prone to dismiss our American youth as being beyond hope for any good. The newspapers are filled with stories of pot parties and other illegal indulgences, as well as accounts of frequent deaths from overdoses of heroin and other drugs. Undoubtedly more stories about the antics of youth are published than reports of things young people are doing that are constructive and worthwhile.

It is most encouraging to learn about church groups of youth who are traveling about staging religious drama and folk musicals. Most churches of any size today have youth groups who are setting new and faster paces for their elders in the membership. The young are impatient to discover some purpose for their lives and many are succeeding.

I am proud of the live young people in my district. The Savannah News of May 12, 1972, carried a lead editorial entitled "Youth in Contrast," and a news story about 1,500 Savannah area young people attending the kickoff program of a 3-day youth festival which apparently was wholesome and enjoyable for all. The editorial and news story follow:

YOUTH IN CONTRAST

The statistics which fly at us day after day have gradually built up an immunity to shock among many Americans. In fact, a resistance seems to form, and one begins to suspect that the reason things today often seem worse than they ever were is because

we don't have yesterday's statistics to make a comparison.

But there is still room for shock, especially when the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse tells us the following: that 1.5 million American teen-agers admit to trying heroin, and that millions more have also tried hashish, LSD, peyote or mescaline, and cocaine or methamphetamine.

Moreover, in serving up these alarming statistics, the commission admits that of this number it has no way of knowing how many young people continue to take drugs. And the panel's chairman, Raymond F. Shafer, says the number could still be vastly underestimated.

To not be shocked by such statistics is to admit that nothing can be done to control drug use and reverse these numbers toward zero. That's when the real shock will come in: when millions of America's young people turn out, not as solid citizens, but as emotional cripples who cannot find a place in any sort of world.

Yet no blanket indictment can be made of young people. While many experiment with narcotics, many more continue to seek constructive, healthy lives. One of the best examples of the latter is going on right now, during the first Savannah Youth Festival under way through Saturday at the Civic Center.

The festival, organized by the 30-member Mayor's Youth Council, is a mixture of fun and games and constructiveness. A dance and jam session are scheduled, on exhibit are crafts showing young talent, and the agenda includes fashion shows and cooking contests, art shows and oratorical contests, weight-lifting demonstrations, a sky-diving class, and . . . well, quite a lot. The festival is designed for young people, but we think most wouldn't mind if a few folks over 21 dropped by to visit—just to get a more accurate picture of today's youth.

The festival is not only something to do, but shows what can be done by teens. That in itself is quite a rebuttal to crime and drug statistics—quite a rebuttal to those who say we may have to accept the worst in young people, because the best no longer exists. The best is in large supply, thank you.

SOME 1,500 YOUTH ATTEND OPENING OF FESTIVAL

Some 1,500 Savannah area youths attended the variety show Thursday night which kicked off the first annual three-day Savannah Youth Festival at the Civic Center.

Mayor John P. Rousakis and two Disney characters, Mickey Mouse and Pluto, cut the ribbon, officially opening the festival at 4 p.m.

Today, an art show in the Civic Center will continue and there will be a fashion show at 4 p.m. in the upper lobby.

Rousakis' aide, Al Henderson said. "The response from the young people has just been magnificent."

"It's an opportunity they never had before," he said.

Thursday night's variety show performers included the Savannah Ballet Guild's apprentice and senior companies, The Soul Explosion, acrobatic dancer Sharon Remier; singer-guitarist Robbie Harrington; The Five Shades of Black, a song and dance group; creative dancer Annette Woodward; singers Gladys Grant and Charlton Rudolph.

Also, Sing Out, Savannah; Soulful Destination; soul and gospel singers Freedom Children; baton twirler Pam Lewis; the Academy of Black Culture's African Culture Dancers; singer Thomas Bryan; singer Regina Johnson, and the Savannah Civic Ballet.

Saturday night's Jam and Dance will feature singer-composer Bobby Hebb, who recorded "Sunny."

STATEMENT BY BISHOP FLOYD L. BEGIN AND THE SOCIAL JUSTICE COMMISSION OF THE DIOCESE OF OAKLAND

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, in view of recent events which have again mandated to the people of America a need for reflection, I think this statement by Bishop Floyd L. Begin and the Social Justice Commission of the Diocese of Oakland is most appropriate.

With the realization that our Nation is presently engaged in numerous activities which foster more deaths, suffering, hatred and anguish, not only abroad but here, too, in the continental United States, we as legislators must intensify our efforts to bring peace to the hearts and minds of Americans and the peoples of the world.

The violence which has characterized the societies of the world must be replaced for the good of all men by a sense of reconciliation.

I feel this statement by Bishop Floyd L. Begin and the Social Justice Commission of the Diocese of Oakland amply portrays the feelings of people in search of peace and meaning throughout the country. For this reason I have entered this statement into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in hopes that we as part of the leadership of this Nation will heed its message.

The statement follows:

A STATEMENT BY BISHOP FLOYD L. BEGIN AND THE SOCIAL JUSTICE COMMISSION OF THE DIOCESE OF OAKLAND

We acknowledge the right of self-defense against unjust aggression, our own lack of a right to unjust aggression, and our obligation to cooperate in the family of nations to prevent unjust aggression.

We acknowledge that hatred of anyone augments the world's problems and that injustice practised by individuals, groups, classes, and nations are seeds of war and violence.

We acknowledge with St. John (1 John 4:20) that if we do not love those we see and know and yet protest that we love those whom we do not know, we are liars.

We acknowledge a distinction between heroic virtue and the right of self-defense and as Christians appreciate the perfection of the former. We must conclude from history and experience, especially modern history, that war proves nothing. No one wins; everyone loses. Peace is derived only from negotiation and reasonable discussion which should replace war and violence.

We have been reminded by Christ himself that violence never breeds peace but only new violence. "All who take the sword will perish by the sword" (Mt. 26:52).

As Bishop of the Catholic community and as Social Justice Commission we have no intention of entering power politics, national or international, but wish to affirm with our Holy Father principles of justice and charity which alone can bring peace.

As Americans we acknowledge the efforts of President Nixon to obtain a mutual cease-fire both in private negotiations and publicly. However, since these efforts have thus far been unsuccessful, we recommend that he declare a unilateral cease-fire on the part of the United States to be effective within

three days. We ask him to call upon the forces of South Vietnam, North Vietnam, and National Liberation Front to reciprocate. We ask him to refer the Vietnam situation to the United Nations Security Council, with a pledge not to use our veto power if the other major powers within it will do the same.

As Christians, we call upon Pope Paul VI to urge all members of the world community and particularly our fellow Christians to join the cry for a cease-fire and a political settlement in Vietnam. We ask that he direct his Secretary of State to communicate this plea to the leaders of all national and church governments. We ask that he proclaim a world vigil of prayer and fasting for an end to the killing and that he remind all Christians again of their obligation "to deplore every war, in its causes, its inhuman violence and its murderous and senseless destruction."

As human beings, we call upon Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary General, to use his office as mediator of the international community to bring into world focus the fact that when two or more nations of the world community are escalating the killing of each other, it is the world's business. We implore him to consult the leaders of North and South Vietnam, their warring and neutralist factions, in order to name an impartial international commission to supervise both the cease-fire and a free election to be held in South Vietnam as directed earlier by the Geneva Accords of 1954. Finally we ask that he do everything in his power to further the efforts of the newly appointed UN Disaster Relief Coordinator, Faruk Berkol, at Geneva, to bring aid to all the suffering Vietnamese people.

THE JOHN W. McCORMACK POST OFFICE AND COURTHOUSE

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on May 19, 1972, the John W. McCormack Post Office and Courthouse located at Post Office Square, Boston, Mass., was dedicated.

It honors the former Speaker of the House of Representatives who retired in 1970 after 42 years in Congress. Speaker McCormack was serving his third full term in Congress from Massachusetts when the building was originally dedicated in September 1933 as the U.S. Post Office and Courthouse.

Construction on this building was started in late 1931. The cornerstone was laid on January 15, 1932, and on September 9, 1933, Postmaster General James A. Farley dedicated this new U.S. Post Office and Courthouse, Massachusetts Gov. Joseph B. Ely and Boston Mayor James Michael Curley also participated in the ceremony.

The design of the new building was a joint undertaking by architects of the U.S. Treasury Department's Office of the Supervising Architect and the Boston architectural firm of Cram and Ferguson.

For years the 22-story building towered over the surrounding structures and dominated the Post Office Square area. Its vigorous upward thrust of vertical lines was considered quite modern at the

time and a startling departure from the usual classical mold used for Federal buildings. Its structural frame of reinforced concrete and steel is surrounded by an exterior finish of polished granite and limestone, with some limestone on the interior court. A belt of polished black Quincy granite girdles the street floor, while its soaring towers consist of Indiana limestone. The principal entrance on the Devonshire Street side is impressive with its black and gray granite exterior, while the first floor off this entrance is striking with its fluted pink Tennessee marble reaching to the ceiling, and formalized bronze fittings in silver and natural finish.

The building contains impressive courtrooms and a large law library for the judicial branches in the building. The 336-foot high building with its over 10 million cubic feet of space is principally occupied by the U.S. Postal Service, the U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts, the First U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, and the General Services Administration.

It was most fitting that this building be dedicated in honor of Speaker McCormack for his dedication to the welfare of all Government employees and his brilliant career as an attorney. In his address, this great man stated:

The greatest pleasure I get out of life is serving the people.

VA FACILITIES IN NEW YORK AREA

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, last Friday and Saturday, the Hospitals Subcommittee of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, of which I have the privilege to be a member, took a tour of certain Veterans' Administration facilities in the New York area.

I believe that the subcommittee was impressed not only by the fine work being done in the existing VA hospitals but also by the clear need for additional facilities, particularly in the Queens area. During an informal hearing on Saturday, I suggested use of two sites currently available as a means to meeting the increasing demands for VA care in Queens and Nassau Counties.

Although substantive action on my proposal may take some weeks or months yet, I am pleased that I have received support from many sectors of the community. At this point in the RECORD, I should like to include an editorial which appeared in yesterday's Long Island Press and to thank the Press for its support of this very important effort.

VA HOSPITALS AT ST. ALBANS, TOTTEN

For 23 years, Queens leaders have campaigned for a Veterans Administration hospital in the borough. At long last, there are signs of success.

The only facilities now available for Queens and Nassau veterans—estimated to number 500,000—are in Brooklyn and North-

port. This is a ridiculous situation that has persisted much too long.

The suggestion that the VA share St. Albans Naval Hospital with the Navy, and use Fort Totten as a nursing home, makes sense. These sites may not be as convenient as we would like, but they are available now—at no cost to the public.

The matter is in the hands of a congressional committee studying the need for additional VA hospitals. We're pleased the congressmen seem receptive to the pleas of Queens and Nassau leaders. We urge them to put the plan into action quickly.

MEAT IS A TREMENDOUS BARGAIN

HON. CHARLES THONE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. THONE. Mr. Speaker, meat and poultry prices offer excellent values for consumers. I have told that story before in this body. That was the thrust of my testimony before the U.S. Price Commission on April 13, 1972.

Last week, ConAgra, a firm headquartered in Nebraska, published an ad in the Wall Street Journal which told in a succinct, interesting, and informative way what great values there are in beef, pork, and poultry.

With your permission, I will insert excerpts of that advertisement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

"Today an hour's pay will buy more pounds of all three of America's favorite meats than it did ten years ago!"

"Absolutely true for beef, pork and chicken! An hour's pay buys more pounds of all three today than it did ten years ago, twenty years ago, or even last year. And if your favorite meat is chicken, even in February, 1972, the month of 'zooming prices,' the price of broilers at retail averaged just 41.6 cents a pound (compared to nearly 60¢ in 1950). And many supermarkets were offering 'specials' at 29¢ a pound!

"World's most advanced system of food production' . . . that's what Dr. Max Brunk, Professor of Marketing, Cornell University, has called the American broiler industry. The industry's technology and efficiency are the secret behind a better chicken at prices nearly a third lower. And this has been a key factor in the dramatic increase in acceptance by the consumer.

"It's hard to find any one food as rich in protein, vitamins, minerals . . . and as low in fat as today's chicken. On a cost basis, chicken is one of the best and most delightful ways to supply protein.

"The adult daily protein need is about 60 grams. A six-ounce serving of chicken (not counting bone and skin) contains 46 grams of protein—76 per cent of this average daily protein need.

"And a dollar spent for chicken buys as much protein as \$2.12 spent for perch fillets containing 88 grams of protein per pound. The protein quality in chicken is tops, too, because it contains all of the amino acids . . . the chemical units of which proteins are made.

"Chicken is low in calories, the lowest calorie count of any meat. And no meat is lower in fat content than chicken. Sixty-four percent of that is unsaturated fatty acids.

"What about beef and pork?"

"America loves beef in all its forms. Last year each American consumed about 113 pounds. That's double 20 years ago and the

increase in beef eating has been 29 per cent in just the past ten years.

"Pork producers have been giving the housewife a vastly improved product . . . juicier, more flavorful, with significantly less fat. As a result, consumer acceptance of pork also has increased, with per capita consumption in 1971 of 72.8 pounds. That's an increase of 17% over ten years ago. In 1971, the average retail price of pork was about 70 cents a pound . . . a decrease of 9.8 per cent from 1970. In 1971 pork producers lost money, and it took the price increases early in 1972 to return prices to a profitable level for producers.

"It is important to realize that meat prices are cyclical and respond quickly to supply and demand. Meat prices go up and they go down. They are down some, even now, from the peaks reached in February, 1972.

"The hunger for beef has been the major push behind the price increase in beef. Beef production has been increasing, but not at a rate to keep pace with demand. Many in the industry regard the beef price rise as a long overdue increase. For beef prices have not kept pace with either the cost of production or inflation. In the past 20 years the price of beef has risen 31 per cent. In the same period, the cost of living is up 56 per cent.

"Even though red meat prices recently have been the highest in memory, the fraction of disposable income being spent for food in the U.S. is still declining. As beef and pork prices moved to new peaks in February, the average wage earner's purchasing power outstripped the increase in meat prices.

"The average hourly wage for U.S. manufacturing workers in 1960 would buy 2.57 pounds of beef; today the figure is 3.06 pph (pounds per hour). And the average U.S. production worker could buy even more pounds of pork and chicken with one hour's pay than in 1960."

WOMEN WORKER MYTHS

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, studies now being released are countering many of the myths surrounding the woman worker. Frankly, these myths holding that women have higher absentee rates than male workers, that married women workers are taking needed jobs away from unemployed males, and that women workers basically work to afford luxuries, simply fail to hold water. This is most appropriately pointed out in an article written by Sylvia Porter, which appeared in the Evening Star of May 22, 1972:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: WOMEN WORKER MYTHS

(By Sylvia Porter)

Not long ago, a young acquaintance who works in a private employment service and who is compensated according to the number of jobs he is actually able to fill, received from an employer a request for the following:

Mechanical engineer specializing in fluid control devices—e.g., heat exchangers, centrifugal pumps, valves, fluid mixers and separators; substantial salary for the qualified person.

But there was a catch. The employe had

to be a woman. Although sure that a search would be fruitless, the young man nevertheless called his firm's Chicago office. Within minutes, this office produced the names of six eligible lady candidates and one was promptly hired for this job.

You're in the majority if you never would have considered an engineering specialty in "fluid control devices" a woman's job. You are also in the majority if you continue to indulge in unfair, illegal "job labeling" which arbitrarily insists that one occupation is for men only and another for women only.

Aptitude tests, though, have repeatedly shown that women can perform just about any job as well as men can. Women are now represented in virtually every one of the 400-plus occupations listed in the 1970 census. Yet, in defiance of all equal opportunity laws, job labeling persists—and it continues to bar women from the higher level, higher paying jobs.

Here, in addition to the "women's jobs" myth, are other myths which mock this era of equal job rights.

Myth: Women are absent from their jobs because of illness more than men are, thus cost the employer more money.

Reality: The absenteeism rate due to illness or injury currently averages 5.2 days a year for women, 5.1 days for men. Moreover, these figures ignore the fact that relatively few women work in high managerial positions which always have been associated with lower absenteeism rates, and thus they may be distorted.

Single women, on average, are absent from their jobs 3.9 days a year against 4.3 days for men. And women aged 60 and over, according to a Civil Service Commission study, also have lower absenteeism rates than men in this age bracket.

Myth: Women switch jobs much more frequently than men do.

Reality: Labor Department studies show that women's job changing rates are just slightly higher than rates for men. And men are more likely to change occupations than women.

Myth: In this high unemployment period, women are taking jobs away from men, the traditional breadwinners.

Reality: In 1971, an average of 18.5 million married women were in the labor force against an average of 3 million unemployed men. Thus, if all these married women quit and if all the unemployed men moved into their empty jobs, there would remain 15.5 million unfilled jobs—causing one of the most horrendous economic disasters imaginable. What's more, few of today's unemployed men have the education, skills or other qualifications to fill jobs held by women as secretaries, nurses, school teachers.

Myth: Women work only for "pin money."

Reality: Of the 33 million women now in the labor force, nearly half are working because they are single, widowed, divorced, separated or have very low-income husbands.

Myth: Training women is a waste of money since they quit when they marry or have children.

Reality: The separations are only temporary. Even taking into account her child-rearing, non-working years, the average woman worker has a worklife expectancy of 25 years. For a single woman, the average is 45 years vs. an overall average of 43 years for men, married or single.

Myth: Men don't like to work for women.

Reality: Notes the Labor Department Women's Bureau: "Most men who complain about women supervisors have never worked for a woman." And a study reported a few years back in the Harvard Business Review disclosed that a clear majority of 59 percent of the men canvassed did not downgrade women managers or supervisors.

Myth: Women fall apart in a crisis.

Reality: In the words of Charles D. Orth, a career development specialist, in a recent

Harvard Business Review: "If men are present during a crisis, they expect the women involved to become emotional and fall apart—and women often do oblige. But somehow, if men are absent, women usually cope quite well."

THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION'S MERCHANT MARINE AND OUR FUEL AND ENERGY CRISIS

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the future of our Nation's merchant marine has long been a serious concern of mine. Likewise, the coming crisis in our fuel and energy supplies has been of special interest to me, as a concerned Congressman and citizen.

Both of these subjects were discussed by my friend and colleague from Tennessee, Mr. WILLIAM ANDERSON, in a speech he delivered at the Washington Propeller Club on May 22. His proposal for an American fleet of liquid natural gas carriers is one that will receive a great deal more attention in the months and years ahead, and I strongly commend it to the attention of my colleagues and the country.

The proposal follows:

REMARKS OF REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM R. ANDERSON

President Nottingham, distinguished members of the Propeller Club, my colleagues in Congress, and distinguished guests: I am honored to join you in observing National Maritime Day 1972 and in saluting this year's winner of the National Maritime Poster Contest, Miss Marilyn Gage.

I am extremely pleased also that the Southern Region Poster Contest winner happens to be a constituent of mine, Kem Hinton of Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

As we gather today to honor the U.S. Merchant Marine, this audience will have no difficulty on agreeing that for a nation such as ours to be secure it must have a merchant fleet of the first quality.

An overview of the history of our merchant marine shows that we have not always been wise or used very much imagination in our maritime programs. In the Spanish American War it was necessary to purchase foreign merchant shipping. When World War I broke out, ships of the warring nations were suddenly withdrawn from our services and we were left with goods piled up at the docks.

Today, our maritime situation is even more tenuous.

The hope and promise of the 1970 Merchant Marine Act is still just that—hope and promise. Few new ships are under construction under its subsidy provisions. The American fleet continues to be old, small and slow, unattractive to those who have cargo to move, carrying only five or six percent of the nation's foreign trade. An air of pessimism pervades the U.S. shipbuilding industry and U.S. flag operators as well. But on the opposite side of the coin there is much to provide optimism. Brighter and stronger programs and policies may lie ahead.

On both sides of the Hill we have committees whose leadership and membership thoroughly understand the problem and are avidly devoted to its solution. Downtown we have a Maritime Administration and a Maritime Commission fully equal to the challenge which confronts us. The Coast Guard has fully demonstrated its interest and abil-

ity to proceed, as have the trade unions which would build the ships and the operating unions which would operate them.

Quite frankly, I will reserve judgment on our fourth arm of government, the Office of Management and Budget, because I have seen little to indicate very much interest on its part in a revitalized U.S. Merchant Marine.

Sometimes a solution to a very difficult problem can be found by interfacing that problem with another of large magnitude and difficulty.

This may be the case with the U.S. Merchant Marine. I speak, of course, of the immediate potential for revitalizing our shipbuilding industry through the construction of a large fleet of tankers to carry liquefied natural gas.

Though there appears to be overwhelming agreement that the United States should move immediately and aggressively in this field, we have become so timid in shipbuilding and maritime matters that we are permitting other nations to take the lead.

As you know, a moderate amount of LNG is being transported at sea at the present time but none—absolutely none—in ships produced by the United States. This is impossible to justify when one considers our experience in mass production shipbuilding and the technology, materials and trained personnel that we are blessed with in the relatively new field of cryogenics, derived in part from our space program. And, as pointed out by Dr. Ralph Lapp in his recent testimony before the House Interior Committee, natural gas, the cleanest of all fossil fuels, "forms the most critical element in the U.S. energy supply picture."

It is very much in the national interest that the U.S. emerge world leader in LNG facilities and transport.

Paraphrasing the oil industry should not feel threatened by LNG. We are talking about importing but a minute percentage of our total energy needs at a time when oil imports must increase many fold.

There are many estimates as to the number of LNG vessels which will be required by 1985. Some authorities indicate that the figure could be as high as 120 to 150 vessels. The President's Commission on American Shipbuilding, in its March 14, 1972 interim report, estimated that 100 LNG tankers of 120,000 cubic meter capacity each would be needed within ten years to service the United States, European and Japanese LNG markets. When one considers the multiplying effect accompanying any essentially new industry, we are talking about a minimum of 100,000 new jobs, if a large percentage of these ships are indeed built in the United States and fly the American flag.

If the United States does not participate in this major market, the balance of payments consequences on the LNG transportation side alone are bound to be severe and could amount to around seven or eight billion dollars of outflow by the year 1985. As LNG imports increase, gas production dependency will shift from domestic to foreign sources. To balance this, our LNG transportation dependency must shift from foreign sources to domestic sources. The same is, of course, true of oil.

LNG is an important source of energy for the future. The nation which controls the ships to transport this energy will control the energy itself. LNG ships are the ocean pipelines without which the system cannot function.

Energy is central to the internal and external security of the United States and its economy. With our present dependency on foreign bottoms we are pursuing a dangerous policy of energy and economic brinkmanship.

Having examined the LNG subject over a period of time, and having discussed it with a large number of individuals, including some from abroad, I cannot help but reach the conclusion that the United States is in grave

danger of permitting one or more other nations to pre-empt this highly important and lucrative field.

I have not discussed the matter with Jimmy the Greek, but if we don't get going immediately, the odds are about two to one that this is precisely what is going to happen.

It is vital to the national interest that we proceed at once with an aggressive LNG carrier program. Such a program will not be without financial, physical and political risk. Therefore, it is incumbent upon our Federal Government to establish such a program as a matter of high national priority and to shoulder whatever portion of the risk necessary in order to provide the necessary confidence for the shipbuilders and the energy industry to proceed, and proceed at once.

This means but one thing. As in the case of the Mariner Program, the government itself should contract to build the ships and then lease or sell to private interests in a manner compellingly attractive to those interests.

This is a program which I believe should, and hopefully will, gain the enthusiastic support of most of the environmental organizations. As I understand it, accidental LNG spillage does not leave a residue of contamination and, as we all know, natural gas is an almost perfectly clean burning fuel.

During this day and every day, in Venezuela and in other locations of the world, an impossible-to-estimate number of cubic feet of natural gas flowing from various oil well-heads is being flared to the atmosphere—a disgraceful waste of a priceless asset.

Perhaps the key to our Merchant Marine crisis and to our energy crisis is something a bit more pronounced than interfacing the two problems. Perhaps it will finally evolve that we become civilized and moral enough to look past the immediate future and concern ourselves with the situation that subsequent residents of the Planet Earth will inherit, five, six, or even ten generations down the line. If during the past three decades we had been capable of looking even one generation ahead, we would not face the acute pollution and ecological problems that now almost overwhelm us.

We should set our sights now to make us a leader in the world with a modern Merchant Marine, because we have to be first. Our geography, our standard of living, our political posture and our future demand it.

Let us so dedicate ourselves on this Maritime Day 1972.

NAVY PLANNER DISCUSSES FOLLY OF BILLION-DOLLAR AIRCRAFT CARRIER

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a letter from the former assistant director of the long-range objectives group for the Chief of Naval Operations. Mr. Stuart Barber, who retired from this high Pentagon position in 1970, points out that it is just plain silly to commit \$1 billion to a single ship.

Of course, an operating aircraft carrier consists not only of the ship itself, but of escort ships and a complement of aircraft. It costs us between \$2 and \$3 billion to procure an operating aircraft carrier force, depending on the number of escorts which receive nuclear power and the cost overruns on the F-14 air-

craft now attempting fabrication at the Grumman factory.

The functioning of this multibillion-dollar force depends entirely on the ability to launch and recover large high-performance jet aircraft. This ability can be destroyed by an antiship missile launched from an inexpensive patrol boat or hydrofoil against the carrier's unarmored superstructure.

The Navy likes to claim that after major fires off Vietnam, two aircraft carriers were back in operation within 2 hours. This is deceptive. It is true that the Navy was able to prove its point by drawing a light aircraft over to a catapult and launching it. But resumption of combat operations required several months of repair and in a full combat situation, the total projected war will probably terminate before the repairs.

Mr. Speaker, there are more effective ways to spend our defense money.

I insert in the RECORD Mr. Barber's letter followed by a letter he recently published in the Washington Post:

ARLINGTON, VA.,

May 19, 1972.

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I write to urge your strong opposition to the "billion dollar CVAN". The basic arguments against it are in the attached letter to the Washington Post. The story behind these arguments is:

Beginning in 1968-69, CNO's long range objectives group was urging on the CNO a greater investment in anti-submarine warfare (ASW), especially ship-based air ASW, at the expense of attack carrier and amphibious forces, as a necessity to assure our control of the seas under prevailing budget restrictions, with an aging fleet.

In 1969, the Nixon Doctrine reinforced our case by in effect reducing the Asian priority which called for strike and amphibious forces, while holding firm the NATO priority which calls on the Navy primarily for sea control, threatened principally by Soviet submarines.

Two recent Navy studies, the ASW Force Level Study (1968-69) and the NARAC-G Study (1971) have strongly confirmed the appalling inadequacy of NATO ASW forces. The latter study indirectly supports the adequacy of 10-11 attack carriers to accomplish essential NATO tasks, provided they can be protected from submarines.

The critical shortage is thus not in attack carriers, but in anti-submarine carriers, and ASW helicopters operating from other ships.

Despite this the Navy is planning to phase out ASW carriers, while spending \$915M to build a gold-plated 12th modern attack carrier.

The desirable alternative is to spend the \$951M to keep several old WWII carriers going for a while longer as ASW carriers, while building new, 35000-ton, non-nuclear sea control carriers, at about \$300-\$350M each, to replace them. At the same time, ASW aircraft forces should be built up at the expense of reducing carrier-based attack aircraft no longer needed for Asia. I proposed several alternative programs along these lines during recent consulting work for the CNO's staff.

For the record, I was civilian assistant director of CNO's long range objectives group from 1956 until my retirement in 1970. While in that position I twice received the Navy's highest civilian award.

I would be glad to discuss this subject in more detail with you or your staff at your convenience.

Yours sincerely,

STUART B. BARBER.

AIRCRAFT CARRIER

Your correspondent Rear Admiral La-Rocque is entirely correct in suggesting that the value of our bombing in Southeast Asia should be carefully scrutinized by Congress before it approves the proposed fourth nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, budgeted at \$951 million. But in fact he fails to state the full case against this ship.

As one who for 30 years has strongly supported naval carrier forces, I consider the Navy's request for this carrier an unconscionable, parochial imposition on the nation, in defiance of national priorities, interests and needs.

In the first place, it is absurd to suggest that a single ship, without its aircraft and escorts, is worth nearly a billion dollars. Only a mind wholly out of touch with the realities of today could believe that it is.

More damning is the fact that the Navy's own studies—as Secretary Laird well knows—indicate that the Navy has grave deficiencies in anti-submarine warfare. The billion dollars could buy a lot of other things far more valuable against submarines—and available sooner—than this CVAN.

There will be much Navy palaver about flying anti-submarine planes from this CVAN. Sure, and you could drop depth bombs from the fantail of a battleship, but that wouldn't justify buying battleships for anti-submarine warfare. For a billion dollars you could build three genuine anti-submarine aircraft carriers. No, the only honest justification for this CVAN is carrying air war against land areas.

What is most disturbing is the disregard, by the Navy and Mr. Laird, of factors one would think basic. For one thing, there has developed a vast national opposition to banging the boondocks of Asia. There is also the problem of the defense budget. These two factors call for a fresh look at our priorities. I believe it generally accepted that our first non-nuclear priority—well ahead of Asia—is NATO. Our anti-submarine deficiencies go to the very heart of the NATO defense. It is news to many people that NATO needs more U.S. attack carriers than the 11 modern ones already funded, when U.S. and other NATO naval forces combined couldn't get our military shipping safely across the Atlantic (let alone bring in essential oil) against submarine opposition.

It would be very healthy if the Congress would stop this mindless perpetuation of our no longer tenable addiction to imposing our will on Asians, and re-focus Pentagon attention on our high priority problems of sea control.

STUART B. BARBER,

Former Assistant Director of the Navy's
long range objectives group.
ARLINGTON.

IMPORT PROBLEMS

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, over the past years I have frequently criticized the unfair trade practices employed by foreign manufacturers in competition with domestic industries for a share of the American trade market. I have constantly emphasized that because I seek to correct these inequities does not mean I advocate building a wall around the United States to prevent any foreign made product from reaching our shores. I have said, and I say again, I believe America can compete with anyone where the competition is fair as well as free.

Recently, there have been two instances where it appears the U.S. Treasury Department and the U.S. Tariff Commission also feel that foreign producers are not playing fair in competing for their share of our trade market.

In April, the Tariff Commission issued a notice that Westinghouse Electric Corp. was being injured because imports of large power transformers were sold here at less than fair value. The Commission's findings made the imports subject to special "dumping" duties and applied to transformers made in France, Italy, Japan, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

Now, the Treasury Department has announced it is investigating complaints filed by two major domestic electronic product manufacturers that Japan is NOT playing fair in the electronic market competition. According to the domestic manufacturers, the Japanese Government, in one way or another, is subsidizing the Japanese electronic industry's exports.

This government-industrial partnership gives the Japanese manufacturer an unfair edge in fair competition because it permits him to sell his product cheaper than the American model. He does not worry about a loss because the government will back him.

If the Treasury Department finds the allegations are true, it will mean additional duties will be imposed on the Japanese products to compensate for the subsidies granted them by the Japanese Government.

This could very well mean the American consumer will pay a little more for a Japanese made television set, radio, tape recorder or what have you. But what is the alternative? What will happen if Japan is permitted to continue this practice without objection by the United States.

Based on past experiences, this is what could happen. Slowly, but steadily, the Japanese will increase their share of the American electronic market by underselling domestic producers. Eventually, the domestic industry will collapse under the pressure and when that happens Japan will control the market and the price. The sky can be the limit as far as the price is concerned. It could easily exceed the former price charged by the domestic producer and who is to object? It has happened this way before. It could happen again.

Mr. Speaker, I am inserting into the Record for the benefit of my colleagues copies of two news articles which deal with the actions of the Tariff Commission and the Treasury Department. The former item appeared in The Pittsburgh Press on April 21, 1972; the latter in The Daily News of McKeesport, Pa., on May 19, 1972. The articles follow:

U.S. PROBE OF JAPANESE SUBSIDIES ON ELECTRONICS COULD BOOST DUTY

WASHINGTON.—The Treasury Department has served notice that the prices Americans pay for millions of Japanese electronic goods may be boosted because Tokyo subsidizes the industry.

If a Treasury investigation now under way goes against the Japanese, American consumers could find themselves paying more for Japanese television sets, radios, tape recorders and record players.

In terms of dollar volume, it is the big-

gest case of alleged unfair trade ever taken up by the United States and the first time that the U.S. government has examined the system of subsidies granted Japanese exporters.

Japanese electronics imports into the United States exceeded \$831 million last year.

Magnavox and Zenith, two giant American competitors, prompted the investigation by filing an official complaint with the Treasury.

"We've analyzed the complaints and feel we have to investigate," said Eugene T. Rossides, the Treasury's assistant secretary for enforcement. "But I want to emphasize that this is only the opening of an investigation."

Now the government must determine if Zenith and Magnavox are right in alleging that the Japanese government provides all kinds of tax-related and hidden subsidies to electronics exporters.

If so, an additional duty will be imposed on each item to compensate for the subsidies.

The investigation is expected to take several months. But the fact that the Treasury is investigating the general area of government subsidies to foreign businesses selling in the United States indicates a new toughness in trade matters.

Zenith and Magnavox alleged that such subsidies as special depreciation allowances, a shipping differential, tariff rebates, export insurance, development assistance and other incentives are illegal and discriminatory.

The stepup in enforcement against subsidized exports was evident last week when the Treasury announced it was probing whether to charge extra import duties to Michelin Tire Ltd. of Canada for its imported steel-belted tires.

The Treasury said the Canadian government subsidized construction of two Michelin factories. The company is French-owned.

WESTINGHOUSE HAS IMPORT WIN

WASHINGTON.—The U.S. Tariff Commission issued a notice today that Westinghouse Electric Corp. is being injured by imports of large power transformers sold in the U.S. at less than fair value.

The finding makes the products subject to special "dumping" duties. It applies to transformers made in France, Italy, Japan, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

The commission held a hearing on the matter in March, after an investigation by the Treasury Department which supported Westinghouse's complaint.

The Tariff Commission also announced that it will investigate the importation of Belgian welded-wire mesh for concrete reinforcements, to determine whether it is being dumped in the U.S.

DEMOCRACY ALIVE AND WELL IN ROME

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, contrary to recent press speculation that the Italian people, including many of my own relatives in the old country, would opt for simplistic, rightist solutions to solve some of modern Italy's problems, this did not occur in the elections held this month.

The Christian Democratic party long holding a plurality in the country reasserted its position under the leadership of Premier Giulio Andreotti. The Communists backslid, the Fascists picked up a few percent, but the opportunities were basically reemphasized for a new center or center left coalition to forge new hous-

ing, health, and poverty programs for the Italian people.

I say the May 1972 Italian elections marked a great month for people and democracy in Western Europe.

Recent articles analyzing the result by Paul Hofmann in the New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor follow including a chart of the results:

[From the New York Times, May 14, 1972]

ITALY: THE CENTER IS STILL HOLDING

(By Paul Hofmann)

ROME.—It took a full 24 hours after last Tuesday's election to get a clear picture of how Italy had voted in one of its most decisive electoral tests since the fall of Fascism. The computerized polling tally had proved far from successful.

But if the computer had failed its test, democracy had not. The nation, long denounced as ungovernable, had shown that it wanted strong—but not authoritarian—leadership. And in doing so it gave a new strength to the Christian Democratic Government of Premier Giulio Andreotti.

One telling sign was the 93.1 percent voter turnout. In Ravenna, the city of Byzantine mosaics, Dante's tomb, Byronic memories and huge oil refineries, a record 98 percent of the electorate went to the polls. What's more, there was no graver electoral incident up and down the country than a young woman in an Adriatic resort who wanted to cast her ballot clad only in a bikini and was barred by a stratilaced carabinieri.

Aside from sticking by the rules, Italy has also reconfirmed the substance of democracy. More than 61 percent of all votes went to parties that reject totalitarian models. About 29 percent of all voters backed the Communist party—still the strongest in the West—and its far-left fellow travelers or rivals, and 8.7 percent rallied behind resurgent neo-Fascism, which had allied itself with the remnants of the monarchist movement.

Had elections been held two months earlier, the outcome might have been more ominous. A plot psychosis, urban guerrillas, violence by wildcat strikers and chaos in the schools, all on top of a crime wave, were then frightening the nation. While the Communist apparatus was on the defensive, anxious to hold positions threatened by ultraleftist groups, Italy seemed headed for a sharp swing to the right. The neo-Fascists were all set to profit from the anger of the Italian "silent majority."

However, the Christian Democratic Government of Premier Andreotti, uninspiring thought it looked, stressed its concern for law and order. The police in nationwide sweeps rounded up gangsters and thieves, and investigating magistrates tore into the conspiratorial political underground. At the same time, the many Christian Democratic factions, usually feuding among themselves, buried the hatchet and campaigned hard on two fronts—against Communism and neo-Fascism.

Thus the much-maligned Christian Democratic party became the real star of the elections. After 27 years in government it was still going strong, leading substance to Mr. Andreotti's old quip: "Power wears out only those who don't have it."

The neo-Fascists, with 24 seats in the old 630-seat Chamber of Deputies, had hoped that the new image of respectability built by their soft-spoken leader, Giorgio Almirante, would increase their strength to 80 or 100 seats. They won 56. The Christian Democratic party says it can live with them but will never accept the rightists as allies. The Christian Democrats also reiterated their anathema against Communism during their campaign and this won back many anti-Communist voters who had been flirting with the rightists.

Inspired by the Roman Catholic church, the Christian Democratic party professes

its determination to bring about long overdue reforms—better schools, hospitals and old-age care, more low-cost housing, improved commuter transportation, a more equitable tax structure and a better deal for stagnant southern Italy.

The divorce statute, enacted after a long fight 17 months ago, clearly isn't a desirable reform for the Christian Democrats and may now be thoroughly amended, if not repealed.

The chances are better than in a long time that strong party leadership may assert control at the forthcoming Christian Democratic convention in the fall. If this happens, the Christian Democrats could successfully exercise one of their two options—to rebuild the center-left coalition with the Socialists that has governed Italy for most of the last 10 years, or to build a new center coalition with the moderately conservative Liberal party. In either case, a united and strengthened Christian Democratic party could negotiate terms with its allied and—at last—launch the needed reforms. Until then, Italy will be run by what is rather affectionately known as a "beach government," a Cabinet that pays the civil servants, operates the railroads, collects taxes, guards motorways and leaves Italians to their own devices during the hot months.

BEFORE AND AFTER THE VOTE

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES (TOTAL 630 MEMBERS)

	Post-election	Pre-election
Right:		
Italian Social Movement (neo-Fascist).....	51	24
Monarchist Party.....	5	6
Center:		
Liberal Party.....	21	31
Christian Democratic Party.....	267	266
South Tyrol People's Party.....	3	3
Republican Party.....	14	9
Social Democrats.....	29	29
Left:		
Socialist Party.....	61	62
Proletarian Socialist Party.....	0	23
Communist Party.....	179	177

SENATE (TOTAL 322 MEMBERS)

	Post-election	Pre-election
Right:		
Italian Social Movement (neo-Fascist).....	22	11
Monarchist Party.....	4	2
Center:		
Liberal Party.....	8	16
Christian Democratic Party.....	138	138
South Tyrol People's Party.....	2	2
Republican Party.....	5	2
Social Democrats.....	12	12
Left:		
Socialist Party.....	34	36
Proletarian Socialist Party.....	11	12
Communist Party.....	83	89

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 11, 1972]

A SHIFT AWAY FROM EXTREMES

There is a fundamental common sense among the Italian people which proves its strength when it comes to the test. That common sense was reaffirmed in last Sunday's general elections, whose results on the whole are reassuring both to Italy itself and to Western Europe of which Italy is such an important part.

It had been feared that the elections would result in a big swing to the far right. In fact, the neofascist Italian Social Movement, in alliance with the small Monarchist Party, did make considerable gains, upping its representation in the Senate from 13 to 26 seats and in the chamber from 30 to 56. But in the overall context the neofascists did not score the big victory they had hoped for.

Far more significant was the strength manifested at the center of the political spectrum by the Christian Democratic Party, which has been the dominant party in Italian politics for the past 26 years. The Christian Democrats conducted a clearcut campaign, reasserting the principles laid down by their distinguished postwar Prime Minister, Alcide

de Gasperi, and telling the Italian voters unequivocally that they would eschew any cooperation with the extreme right or extreme left.

The result was that they recouped the 5 percent loss suffered in last year's regional elections, retaining all of their 135 seats in the Senate and increasing their representation in the chamber by one seat—from 266 to 267.

While on paper the Communist Party, second biggest party in Italy, improved its showing in both houses, its ally, the Proletarian Socialist Party (PSIUP), lost all 23 of the seats it held in the lower house and the 13 seats it held in the Senate. The independent leftists also are no longer represented in either house. On the whole, therefore, the extreme left lost ground, while there was little change in the position of Socialists and Social Democrats.

Where does this leave Italy? The Christian Democrats have emerged from the elections with their reputation enhanced, but still not strong enough to govern on their own, unless they take the risk of ruling as a minority government, as in fact they have been doing since the collapse of the last Center-Left cabinet in January.

There are two coalition possibilities: a revival of the Center-Left formula or a coalition of the Center parties. Whether or not a new Center-Left government can be formed will depend to a great extent on the Nenni Socialists and their off-and-on flirtation with the Communists. Presumably the Christian Democrats will now insist that they end this flirtation if they come into the government.

The task of cabinetmaking is not going to be easy. Possibly a caretaker administration will be formed to tide the country over until after the party conventions of the Christian Democrats and the Socialists in the fall.

This would mean fresh delay in initiating the reforms to which the Center-Left parties are committed. It could open the door to more military on the political fringes. But the bulk of Italian voters have clearly drawn away from the extremes of right and left, and, on the whole, there is reasonable cause to be heartened by the election results.

VIEWS AND NEWS—THE TRANS-ALASKA PIPELINE

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, the Seattle Times, one of the fine newspapers in the Pacific Northwest, responded to the announcement regarding favorable action on the trans-Alaska pipeline permit application with an editorial supporting that decision. In the same issue, the Times carried a news story regarding the continuing work of the oil industry regarding containment of oil spills.

I believe we should continue to demand the best effort possible from the industry and Government to insure the safe movement of this oil. The cost of such safety is a secondary factor, in my own view, and the project must take advantage of every safeguard possible. This is the sort of work, reported in the attached article, which must continue:

[From the Seattle Times, May 12, 1972]

THE TIMES' OPINION AND COMMENT: THE RIGHT PIPELINE DECISION

Interior Secretary Morton's decision to authorize construction of the trans-Alaska oil

pipeline is a logical and welcome step in both the national and the Alaska-Pacific Northwest interest.

The decision, coming at this time in advance of the November elections, required a certain amount of political courage in view of the noisy opposition to the Alaska pipeline from some environmentalist groups and Midwest congressmen.

The national interest in the expeditious development of Alaska's development of Alaska's vast Prudhoe Bay deposits has come into ever-sharper focus during the many months the Interior Department has been studying the issue.

Only yesterday President Nixon authorized increases of foreign-oil imports by approximately 15 per cent due to the inability of domestic oil production to keep pace with rising domestic demands.

And there was disclosure of new efforts by European oil consortiums to shut out American companies from oil sources in the Middle East, further complicating the serious energy-supply outlook in this country.

Unsettling events overseas repeatedly drive home the point that there can be no substitute, from either a national-security or an economic standpoint, for developing domestic sources of energy whose availability is altogether independent of foreign control.

The stipulations attached to the construction and operation of the 800-mile Alaska pipeline are generally conceded to be the most stringent ever imposed on a project of that kind. The project will remain from beginning to end under tight governmental control and will be subject to instant suspension.

A pipeline through Canada, as advocated by some environmentalists and Midwestern congressmen, does not represent a satisfactory alternative from standpoints of either environmental protection, economic necessity or the logical distribution of oil and natural-gas resources.

The project promises to provide an economic boost far eclipsing the gold rush in magnitude for Alaska and the Puget Sound region.

It offers a means of breaking Alaska's pattern of persistent poverty and dependence upon seasonal industries and federal handouts.

A final go-ahead for the pipeline awaits the disposition of legal challenges. Every effort should be made to expedite the court processes so that this project of such import to the nation and its 49th state will not be subject to further undue delay.

[From the Seattle Times, May 12, 1972]

OIL COMPANIES MOVE TO CONTAIN BIG SPILLS

(By Hill Williams)

Private industry is moving faster than the government in providing defenses against something that everyone hopes won't happen—a major, open-water oil spill in Puget Sound.

The Coast Guard hopes to have new systems operational in 12 to 18 months that would increase oil-pickup capability and begin ship-traffic controls to help prevent spills.

But a one-year-old cooperative of 10 oil companies operating in the Puget Sound area already has on hand about \$120,000 worth of oil-spill-cleanup equipment and is acquiring more.

In fact, the Canadian Ministry of Transport, caught short when the freighter Vanlene wrecked on the west coast of Vancouver Island on March 15, borrowed oil-containment booms from the cooperative.

"We had no real procedures worked out to lend our equipment to Canada," said John C. Doolittle, manager of the Washington State Oil Spill Cooperative. "But I loaned it to them anyway."

Doolittle felt that the need was one that

the cooperative was intended to meet, "to make sure that there is an organization that will have the resources to handle large spills."

Just a few weeks younger than the cooperative is an oil-pickup business operated by three Seattle firms. Known as MOPS (for Marine Oil Pickup Service), it has been limited to small, dockside spills until recently.

Barry Paulsen, project coordinator for MOPS, admits to spending "many nights worried that someone was going to call with some type of spill we couldn't handle . . . If it had been in the open water, there would have been nothing we could do."

But, Paulsen added, the situation is better now.

"We're just getting to the point where we can handle open-water spills," he said.

MOPS' equipment includes about a mile of various sizes of oil-containment booms and the firm has an open order with the manufacturer for more.

MOPS also has converted a landing craft into a self-propelled oil-pickup vessel. With its bow ramp lowered below the water surface and small boats leading two lines of boom from the ramp ahead of the vessel to form a 100-foot-wide V, the vessel—known as the Sag River—can chug along collecting, concentrating and finally pumping the oil into onboard tanks.

The Sag River is mainly what has made MOPS capable of picking up oil in open water.

MOPS is a joint venture of the Puget Sound Tug & Barge Co., the Marine Power & Equipment Co., a Lake Union shipyard and Pac-Mar Services, a tank-cleaning firm.

The Washington State Oil Spill Cooperative was formed by Atlantic Richfield, Mobil Oil, Phillips, Shell, Standard Oil of California, Union Oil, Sound Refining, U.S. Oil & Refining, Texaco and Time Oil.

Its equipment is mostly in Bellingham, near the Sound's biggest refineries.

Doolittle said the cooperative has 1,000 feet of boom that will contain oil in waves up to six feet high and currents up to 2 knots. And it has a Husky offshore skimmer that is towed along at the point of a V to suck up surface water and oil at the rate of 1,800 gallons a minute.

The oil-water mixture is pumped to setting tanks in an accompanying barge.

Doolittle said the cooperative is continuing to look for equipment to increase its ability to handle spills. The co-ops aim is to be able to handle spills up to 20,000 barrels, bigger than any that have ever happened on Puget Sound.

But the cooperative and MOPS both face a problem hindering the growth of oil-spill-cleanup defenses across the country: Good dependable equipment just isn't available.

Paulsen said MOPS would like to buy a skimmer that would be more efficient than the Sag River. But manufacturers are having development problems, he said, and "unfortunately the equipment that looks good is not available yet for purchase."

MOPS is doing some developmental work on cleanup devices itself, while waiting for others to become commercially available.

Doolittle said that the cooperative, too, is waiting for the development of new devices.

The cooperative would like to have some commercial firm, such as MOPS, become operating agent for its equipment. Plans toward that end are under discussion, Doolittle said.

"An organization like MOPS can't afford to go out and spend \$1 million for equipment," he said. "Cleaning up oil is just not that much of a commercial venture. But the co-op is going to have to do that."

"Our equipment is available. I'm not sure of the details but my position is that if there's a problem this equipment is available and we'll work out the details later."

WHY HAVE WE MISJUDGED SO BADLY?

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues are well aware of my position on the ongoing war in Indochina. In the past few weeks I have spoken out strongly against what seems to be a re-escalation of American involvement and risk in the war.

I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article by columnist William F. Buckley, Jr., on the current prosecution of the war. I think that Mr. Buckley has raised some very relevant questions about the decisionmaking process relative to the conduct of the war.

The column follows:

WHY HAVE WE MISJUDGED SO BADLY?

(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

What I want to know is: why have we known so little? Why have we misjudged so gravely? I ask the questions, at this point, clinically, without prejudice to any future right to give way to anger.

One week ago the President of the United States told the entire country and the entire world that the invasion of South Vietnam would be repulsed, that that was the solid military judgment of Gen. Abrams.

Today the South Vietnamese are almost everywhere in tatters, the millions of pounds of bombs we continue to dump over North Vietnam and much of South Vietnam appear to be about as related to stopping the North Vietnamese offensive as underground atomic explosions in Amchitka. One province is gone, another teeters at the brink, the refugees swarm out of the cities in such numbers as the Chinese did during the thirties fleeing the Japanese, the South Vietnamese army falls apart, whole regiments and divisions become nothing more than journalistic abstractions. Why didn't we know? Anticipate it? Warn against it?

There are many cases to be made against President Nixon, but let us confine ourselves to the one that says simply: with all his experience, with his knowledge of the dozen times his predecessor ventilated on optimism which proved to be inopportune to the point of being macabre, what did he do to overhaul the means by which he got his information?

Is it the fault of Gen. Abrams, who was there before President Nixon was elected? What is the nature of Abram's miscalculation: was it on the morale of the South Vietnamese that he guessed wrong? If so, why did he guess it wrong? Did he make enough allowances, in his estimates, for the morale factor? If not why not? Did the Defense Department probe the matter, or simply accept the estimates of the commander in the field? Did the CIA contribute to the estimate? When, early in Mr. Nixon's term, the CIA advised that Vietnamization would not work, were its arguments confuted, and if so by whom, using what arguments, what analysis?

Or was it the military strength of North Vietnam that we miscalculated? The President told us that it was last October that we discovered that the enemy was preparing for a great offensive. Indeed: did we know on what scale the enemy was preparing? Did our intelligence services perform usefully? Did we weigh the amount of equipment being off-loaded from the Soviet freighters? Did we know the nature of the material? Did we

infer the uses to which it would be put? Did we organize our defenses, given the assumptions, competently?

There are many things to be focused upon in the next weeks, having to do with the consequences of what is happening in Vietnam, but one of them surely is the dumbfounding incompetence of our calculations.

How many other mistakes, and miscalculations, have we made, are we relying on? As we have sat in Helsinki playing poker, have we proceeded on the basis of information put together by the same people who put together the information on which we have relied in Vietnam? Gen. Thieu has gotten around to firing a couple of generals. Will we? Do we ever fire generals? Sen. McGovern points out that although we have only one-fifth as many men under arms these days as we had during the height of the Second World War, nevertheless we have as many high grade officers now as then. How come? Lincoln occasionally found it necessary to change his generals, why is it we haven't?

Do we need to completely revamp our intelligence system? What about the State Department? And of course the army.

There are a lot of people who, after assimilating the loss of South Vietnam and the victimization of those South Vietnamese who fought because we told them on network teevee that we would never let them go down, are going to ask the hard technical questions, and they are not going to spare the army, indeed they may very well not spare the commander-in-chief, and I'm not so sure they should.

AUTO SAFETY AND THE AIR BAG

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, in this morning's issue of the Washington Post, Allstate Insurance had a full page statement urging immediate adoption of the airbag concept as a means of reducing the tragic death toll on the Nation's highways. The efforts of this company and others who are pushing for traffic safety are commendable.

Unfortunately, there appears on another page of the same issue of the Washington Post, a picture and article describing the failure of an airbag test at Wayne State University's auto safety laboratory. This test, along with previous troublesome demonstrations indicates that the airbag concept, even in the artificial environment of the experimental laboratory, has not yet achieved a degree of reliability that qualifies it as the sole lifesaving device to be installed on millions of mass-produced automobiles.

On April 18, the Department of Transportation test-crashed a multimillion dollar experimental vehicle to test, among other things, the airbag concept, to the consternation of those involved and to the disappointment of the public generally, the airbag system did not function properly due to human error and, as a result, three dummies were killed.

The further report this morning that another test involving an airbag installed in a late model sedan had also failed to function—again under the artificial and highly controlled environment of a testing facility—causes increased concern.

Some progress is being made in the evolution of this concept as is reflected in the Allstate Insurance message. A human "guinea pig" was used in a production automobile, I believe for the first time, and the system operated effectively—however, at low speeds which motorists would encounter primarily in city or residential driving. The effectiveness of the system at impact speeds that would realistically be encountered on the Nation's highways is still to be proved.

These events demonstrate the need for continued development and testing of the airbag concept. As reflected in a House Government Operations Committee report of December 16, 1971, this concept offers great potential as a lifesaving device, however, a great deal of testing in a real world environmental lies ahead before practical application of airbag technology can, on a realistic basis, increase the level of safety on the Nation's highways.

As indicated in our committee report, efforts to downgrade and discard the use of seatbelts and shoulder harnesses under policies emanating from the Department of Transportation must stop. Seatbelts and airbags are not alternatives, but, in the most meaningful sense, can be used to complement each other in an overall, coordinated system to increase the safety of the Nation's automobiles.

It is of interest to note that in the successful Allstate test a seatbelt was used despite the philosophy of the Department of Transportation that the airbag can totally replace this more rudimentary and time-tested lifesaving device.

Those who would push airbag concepts too fast, or overstate the system's potential application, do the public a grave disservice and, in the long run, may hinder rather than help in the implementation of an effective lifesaving system. As an advocate of further development of the airbag concept used in conjunction with seat and shoulder harness systems, I must express some concern over statements made by responsible sources as to the proven reliability of airbags. When airbags fail to function in test vehicles with scores of experts hovering about, what can we expect of a system installed in a family automobile operating in adverse environmental conditions throughout the country with little if any maintenance for months or years following the production of the installation of the airbag system?

As reflected in our December 1971 report, we need real world testing of this concept with production models operating under normal conditions. The Nation's automobile manufacturers are responding to this need. I believe that Federal officials in charge of the Government's highway safety program should show the same high level of responsibility in their approach to the auto safety problem as they logically expect from the automobile manufacturers.

At this point in the RECORD, I would like to submit four articles—one from the Washington Post of April 19, 1972; one from the Evening Star of April 21, 1971; one from the Washington Post of April 29, 1971; and, finally, one from the Washington Post of May 24, 1972—which describe crash-testing of vehicles equipped with airbags.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington Post, April 19, 1972]

CAR SURVIVES, "OCCUPANTS" DIE

(By Jack Eisen)

PHOENIX, April 18.—With a muted "clunk," a federally financed experimental safety automobile was smashed into a steel wall at a speed of 49 mph near here today, with mixed results.

The car survived, looking barely dented by the impact, but its occupants—three man-sized dummies—did not.

Air bags, which were supposed to inflate instantly on impact to restrain the dummies, failed to work. As a result, the heads of both dummies in the front seat were thrown against the windshield, the torso of one was torn in two, and the dummy in the back seat was propelled against the front seat head rest.

Douglas Toms, administrator of the U.S. Department of Transportation's National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, said it was obvious human occupants would have been killed.

Although officials refused to speculate on the air bag failure, some automotive experts suggested among themselves that electric wiring that would have set off the air bag controls may have been detached during a brief halt in the countdown 12 minutes before the crash.

Despite the malfunction, Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe and several aides, including Toms, hailed the tests as a substantial success.

"I'm not disturbed at all that this is a setback, because we're testing," Volpe said, asserting that the tests provided evidence that a structurally safe car can be engineered.

Carl Roberts, deputy program director for Fairchild Industries, Inc., which produced the car on Long Island, said he was disappointed but not disheartened. He cited the same reason as Volpe.

The demonstration was the first public viewing of one of the test cars being put through its paces. About 300 persons, mainly representing governmental bodies and foreign and domestic makers of automobiles and components, watched at a 157-acre test site on the desert.

At a secret test March 31, a similar car made by AMF, Inc., was smashed into the barrier at the same speed. A film shown today showed that it, too, survived structurally but its air bags worked, restraining the dummy passengers.

A current model standard car also was propelled into the wall. Its front end crumpled into an accordion-like tangle of steel. Clearly, no passenger could have survived.

John Edwards, associate administrator for research of the Highway Safety Administration, said data from a series of tests on both cars and the dummies will be evaluated.

Then either Fairchild or AMF will be chosen to build 12 more prototypes for further tests. The four experimental cars built to date cost more than \$4 million.

Under federal specifications, each of the safety cars must provide protection to occupants in a head-on crash at 50 mph, a roll-over at 70 mph, or a side impact at 30 mph.

Today's test was surprisingly unspectacular. The car, loaded with instruments feeding data into computers through 94 channels by microwave and an attached cable, was pulled along a 1,200-foot guideway by a cable attached to its underframe. The car engine was not running.

The car hit the barrier with a "clunk" sound barely audible to spectators on bleachers 50 yards distant, and bounced back a little more than five feet, its back end rearing slightly upward.

The front bumper, which extends 30 inches forward of the car body and is cushioned by twin hydraulic cylinders, was crumpled. The hood was so undamaged that a test technician raised it effortlessly. The radiator

sprung a leak, but the car's fuel system was intact.

When spectators were permitted a close view of the car they saw the dummies in the front seat sitting upright. But marks on their heads matched large bubbles in the windshield, made of a special soft, resilient glass. The dummy in the back seat was slumped.

The test program is intended to find ways that production-model automobiles can be more safely engineered. Volpe said there are no plans to produce that test model cars for public sale, but he expressed hope that safety features can be added in regular cars within six or seven years at a cost no more than \$300.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Apr. 21, 1972]

EXPERIMENTAL CRASH—AIR BAG FAILURES PROBED

(By Charles Yarbrough)

"We're going to have to find out very soon why the air bags failed. I'll assure you it will be the subject of some serious investigation."

That was among initial post-mortem observations on the fate of three man-sized dummies in an experimental safety car which was crashed into a barrier at 50 miles an hour at Phoenix on Tuesday. It came from Sol Davis, chief of systems engineering for Fairchild-Hiller, developers of the automobile.

"It is a puzzle," said a spokesman for the Department of Transportation.

Transportation Secretary John H. Volpe, perhaps, put it all into proper focus. He was quoted as saying he wasn't "disturbed that this is a setback, because we're testing."

At least two of the dummies would have suffered injuries, up to and including fatal.

They were supposed to have been restrained by the passive, air bag system which the government is demanding (or something better) for all 1976 automobiles.

The bags did not deploy.

Critics of the air bag concept will be quick to emphasize that the dummies did not wear seat or shoulder belts. The same critics, and they are legion, will point out that the tests proved nothing of the air bag effectiveness in secondary collisions or roll-overs after initial impact. The Phoenix crash was a head-on.

Presumably, such testing will come later.

Thus far, the score is a 50-50 tie. In late March, the same type vehicle was crashed. The air bag system operated properly.

It certainly is premature to think in such grim percentages, but one of the arguments the industry has made is the possibility of even a small percentage of air bag failure unless proper research and development—and practical use—is permitted.

There was even great hue and cry when the government permitted an extension of the mandatory date for passive restraint systems.

Admittedly it is too soon for either critics and proponents to make any points.

It seems the stand-out triumph here is the seat belt and shoulder harness, no matter how irritating the new warning buzzers may be. There is the assumption that eventually the passive system would replace the harness entirely.

Over all this is the specter of a car occupant—without harness—being out of position in the automobile when the impact comes.

There was general jubilation over the structural strength of the experimental car, particularly when compared with the accordion effect made upon a conventional automobile crashed against the same barrier at the same speed at Phoenix. No one doubted that the dummy occupants would have died.

The bumper of the Fairchild experimental car, which automatically extends one foot in front of the car at speeds over 30 miles an hour, showed some damage, but the rear two-thirds was hardly marred.

Secretary Volpe's optimism stemmed from the ideas that apparently were proved by the experimental car crash.

"When we determine what ideas are good and feasible, we will issue federal standards that must be met, leaving enough time for manufacturers to meet them."

The test car, with a V-8 engine, weighed about 5,400 pounds. By comparison, a Cadillac Fleetwood Seventy-Five limousine weighs 5,784 pounds.

[From the Washington Post, April 29, 1972]

HUMAN ERROR CITED IN AIR BAG FAILURE

An error in electric wiring caused the failure of air cushions to inflate in the crash test of an experimental safety automobile last week in Arizona, Secretary of Transportation John Volpe said yesterday.

The car, manufactured under a federal contract by Fairchild Industries, Inc., was crashed into a steel wall at 49 miles per hour April 18 near Phoenix. The vehicle withstood the impact with limited damage, but three passengers—represented by dummies—apparently would have been killed.

Volpe said an investigation showed that two wires connecting pressure-controlled switches in the front bumper with the air cushion control box had been reversed during assembly.

After the wiring error was found and corrected, Volpe said, the test was rerun April 20. The air cushions inflated, protecting the passengers against the impact.

"I am encouraged to learn that the problem was one of human error, not with any failure of the system itself," Volpe said. "We must not permit this one human error . . . to distract us from recognizing the very real accomplishments that have been demonstrated in vehicle structure performance."

The cushions also deployed properly in a March 31 test of another experiment car manufactured by AMF, Inc.

After other tests are run with the Fairchild and AMF cars, the Transportation Department will analyze the results. It plans to award a contract to one of the firms for the construction of 12 more cars.

Volpe stressed that the air cushion systems in the experimental cars are required to operate much faster than the systems now being developed for scheduled installation in cars to be sold in 1975.

[From the Washington Post, May 24, 1972]

AIR BAG TEST FIZZLES; DUMMY HITS WINDSHIELD

(By David C. Smith)

DETROIT, May 23.—Just shortly after Allstate Insurance Co. said here today that a human volunteer had come through an auto air bag barrier crash test in Arizona unscathed, an air bag test involving a dummy at Wayne State University's auto safety center in Detroit failed.

Allstate's revelation and the Wayne State test were part of a program put on by the Department of Transportation's National Motor Vehicle Safety Advisory Council. M. Judson Branch, Allstate chairman is also chairman of the advisory group. He is perhaps the leading proponent of the air bag "passive" restraint system.

As part of the advisory group's conference here, Allstate showed a film in which a human volunteer was unharmed in a barrier crash at 17½ miles per hour—a force equal to hitting a parked car in the rear-end at 35 miles per hour.

The test, conducted by an independent automotive testing facility in Phoenix, is believed to be the first in which a human volunteer was used in a regular production car (1972 Mercury Monterey) without wearing any special padding, helmet or other protection.

He sat on the front seat passenger's side of the car and in the crash was protected by an air bag which performed "perfectly". He also was wearing a lap safety belt.

Allstate, of course, underscored that the test demonstrated "the reliability of production-built, air-bag equipped cars."

In the Wayne State test, conducted "live" for newsmen, a 1969 Chevrolet Imapala sedan equipped with an air bag installed within the steering wheel housing was crashed at 30 miles per hour into a barrier at the university's auto safety laboratory.

The air bag failed to inflate sending the dummy's head first into the steering column and then crashing into the windshield.

Dr. Lawrence Patrick, Wayne State safety expert and a member of the DOT advisory council, could only say "this is most embarrassing." He speculated that a short circuit caused by pinching of wires connecting the battery's power to the device activating the bag had caused the misfiring.

"It was a case of human error, and I take full responsibility," said Dr. Patrick. "We had such good success with our tests in the past that I didn't feel it was necessary to go through all the usual preliminary testing procedures."

The air bag failure ended the advisory council's program acclaiming the advantages air bags.

Air bags or other passive restraint systems will be required on all new cars starting with 1976 models. Detroit's auto makers generally are not enthusiastic about air bags, pointing out that they have many drawbacks including reliability at this stage of development.

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, there are ample reasons to oppose the conference report on the Education Amendments Act of 1972. However, yesterday in remarks which appear on pages 18551-18554, I indicated that the conference report, on page 219, categorically stated that the antibusing amendments did not amend the General Education Provision Act in the manner which we accomplished in a vote on my amendment last November.

The report stated:

The conference agreement does not amend the General Education Act but contains the language of the House amendment, which exception.

Evidently those who drafted this report did not correctly state the case or indicate what actually happened in conference. It is true that they changed the applicability of my amendment but in checking the printed RECORD which appeared on page 18493 of the May 23, 1972 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, it does appear that they accomplished the goal I had in title VIII by adding section 802(c) which says:

Sec. 802(c) An applicable program means a program to which the General Education Provisions Act applies.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, this does accomplish the same purpose intended by my amendment last November. The basic amendments themselves were changed in a manner I find unacceptable but my statement yesterday, based on page 219 of the conference report, was not accurate and I want the record corrected accordingly. At a proper time, this should be made a matter of legislative record

during the debate to assure all Members that the conferees did, in this instance, adhere to the House position.

TAX ON SULFUR POLLUTION

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, Congressmen VANIK, CORMAN, and myself introduced legislation which would levy a charge of 20 cents per pound on the sulfur content of fuel, and on emissions of sulfur oxide where the fuel itself is not covered. This tax would be phased in at a rate of 5 cents per year until 1975.

President Nixon gave such a tax strong rhetorical endorsement in his January 1971 state of the Union message, but, as has so often been the case since this administration took office, the President's performance has not matched his rhetoric. Instead of coming forward with a plan which would make pollution abatement economically desirable to private industry and get complementarily with the regulatory scheme already adopted pursuant to the Clean Air Act, the President has proposed a low tax that would provide no economic incentive for polluters to abate, encourage companies to move their pollution into regions where the air is clean, and discriminate against companies which use appropriate abatement equipment but which are located in areas of low ambient air quality. The result of such an approach would be a nonrevenue raising tax which fails to perform any useful purpose. Sulfur pollution would continue to run rampant, and no money would be raised.

Yet, we should not permit this pollution to continue. Sulfur oxides are the worst air pollutants from stationary sources. According to the Council on Environmental Quality, almost 29 million tons were emitted nationally in 1971. That is half the total of all air pollutants, and it has been estimated that this tonnage could increase fourfold by the year 2000. Indeed, only pollution from transportation sources exceed sulfur in quantity.

And these emissions have profoundly damaging effects on health, property, and vegetation. Sulfur oxide irritates the respiratory system, causing both temporary and permanent harm. In addition, coughing, shortness of breath, bronchitis, asthma, heart disease, pneumonia, chest colds, and emphysema may all be linked to sulfur pollution.

In dollars and cents, the total health costs from this pollution are in excess of \$3.3 billion. The national costs of damage to property and vegetation is estimated at \$5 billion annually. Thus, upward of \$8.3 billion worth of harm is done by sulfur pollution. That amounts to 25 cents worth of harm for every pound of sulfur emitted into the air.

These tremendous costs make it imperative that we act immediately to cut sulfur emissions. But we must seek new methods by which to do this, because, clearly, the present regulatory scheme is not working. It is not working because,

simply put, it is much cheaper for a polluter to delay compliance with air quality standards and to fight the Government in court than it is for him to develop and implement abatement technology.

And the President's plan will not work either because it is too intertwined with the ineffective regulatory scheme and because the tax it imposes—15 cents per pound in the worst areas and 10 cents in clean air regions—is not severe enough to make failure to abate economically unattractive.

Only the approach offered in H.R. 15140 and its forerunners will make a significant impact. First, the 20 cents per pound tax should encourage polluters to abate because that cost is higher than the estimated 19 cents per pound it would cost for "desulfurization," the most expensive of abatement methods. This charge would be applied uniformly throughout the entire Nation, and there would be no variation—such as exists in the administration's plan—for high air quality regions. Thus, there would be no incentives for a polluter to take its pollution to areas where the air is relatively clean. Finally, the revenues raised by this tax would not be earmarked; therefore, no program would be dependent on continued air pollution for its funding.

I urge all my colleagues to give full consideration to this approach to pollution control. The air and water should not be free dumping grounds. We must bring pollution under control, and do it quickly. In my opinion, this taxing approach offers the best chance of achieving that goal.

**CONGRESSMAN WYDLER PRAISES
ROCKAWAY HEALTH COUNCIL
ON SENIOR CITIZEN DAY**

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, on May 5, the committee on aging of the Rockaway Health Council sponsored Rockaway Health Council Senior Citizen Day at St. Joseph's Hospital, Far Rockaway, N.Y. More than 200 officers and members representing all the senior citizen organizations and clubs within the Rockaways and the Five Towns of Nassau attended. This was a local response to the 1971 White House Conference on Aging.

During the morning program, senior citizens and professionals assembled and discussed some of the resolutions of the White House Conference on Aging and sought application to the Rockaways and the Five Towns, communities with rapidly expanding senior citizen populations. The following topics were discussed and are presented in order to seek solutions to the special problems affecting 20 million Americans past the age of 65.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS

I. HEALTH

We the delegates to Workshop on Health recommend the following:

Recognizing that one of the major problems affecting the elderly is maintenance in their own homes, we seek to avoid institutionalization and urge that the following services be provided:

(a) homemaker-housekeeper programs in the Rockaways and Five Towns;

(b) home health aide program.

We also recognize as a problem proper nutrition. Two solutions are suggested:

(a) the sponsorship of a community meals on wheels program in the Rockaways and Five Towns, including the sponsorship of such programs by local senior citizen organizations for members unable to feed themselves;

(b) a community food distribution program.

We also suggest that the aged receive special and adequate medical supervision in their own homes. We would recommend and urge that our local hospitals intensify their community medical-health outreach programs.

II. INCOME MAINTENANCE

We the delegates to the Workshop on Income Maintenance recommend the following:

That as income is related to the fact that citizens need an adequate income if they are to be free, we urge a minimum annual income for recipients of Social Security of \$1930 and an overall increase of 25%. This would assist in bringing all elderly Americans above the federally established level of poverty and assist in conferring freedom to millions of Americans.

III. TRANSPORTATION

We the delegates to the Workshop on Transportation recommend the following:

Recognizing that our local senior citizens are often prohibited from utilizing public transportation either from limited incomes or inaccessibility, we urge that

(a) our local seniors be permitted to utilize discount cards on all forms of public transportation within our communities;

(b) the elimination of the discriminatory double fare within the Rockaways and the extension of the time limits to all hours;

(c) the extension of the discount rates to the handicapped of limited means;

(d) the reduction of rates on the Long Island Rail Road for seniors.

IV. HOUSING

We the delegates to the Workshop on Housing recommend the following:

Recognizing that the present structure of private and public housing within the Rockaways and the Five Towns does not meet the needs of our senior citizens due both to the high rents and to the limited numbers of apartments for seniors, we urge the

(a) creation of a Senior Advisory Board on Housing in the Rockaways and the Five Towns to work with planners, builders and public officials in matters of housing

(b) the involvement of all public and private agencies in the special problems of aging;

(c) Housing Department sponsorship of local meals on wheels programs to feed our starving elderly;

(d) 25% of all public housing be for senior citizens;

(e) governmental rent subsidies for the aged and needy

(f) federal low cost housing programs should not discriminate against the elderly but foster and reflect meaningful cross sections of the community

(g) the installation of telephones on all floors of public housing developments;

(h) the assignment of security officers to help make units safe for the elderly;

(i) the installation of ramps with rails for the blind and handicapped aged; and

(j) the assignment of trained nurses in housing units.

V. SAFETY

We the delegates to the Workshop on Safety recommend the following:

Recognizing that senior citizens are particularly prone to attacks by muggers, we urge that

(a) our seniors not walk alone but rather in groups;

(b) our seniors carry a small flashlight when approaching dark areas;

(c) our seniors carry hand alarms to alert police and passersby;

(d) our seniors not travel alone in elevators;

(e) our seniors learn the names of our local police officers.

VI. RETIREMENT ROLES

We the delegates to the Workshop on Retirement Roles recommend the following:

Recognizing the need for our senior citizens to lead active and productive lives in their golden years, we urge that

(a) Social Security retirement plans give senior citizens the economic basis for development of programs;

(b) family responsibility for older persons should be added to government responsibility . . . in particular moral and economic responsibility;

(c) the improvement of medical services so that seniors are able to enjoy recreation and other roles;

(d) that part-time employment positions for seniors be created;

(e) that voluntary programs be expanded for seniors and that seniors take advantage of all existing programs.

We recognize that senior citizens have retired from earning a living but have not retired from life. We also urge

(a) the speedy adoption of the resolutions of the White House Conference on Aging;

(b) the speedy establishment of multi-service senior centers;

(c) the speedy governmental subsidy of medical programs for the aged;

(d) the speedy establishment of pre-retirement and counseling program to start not later than at age 60 and

(e) the establishment of volunteer and part-time salaried activities for senior citizens both for the well being of those whom they serve as well as for their own well being.

The full program of the day follows:
ROCKAWAY HEALTH COUNCIL SENIOR CITIZEN DAY—NEW DIMENSIONS FOR THE SEVENTIES

THE MORNING PROGRAM

9:30-10:15 a.m.—Registration.
10:30-11:30 a.m.—Workshop Discussions—applying the resolutions of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging to our local communities.

1. Health.
2. Income Maintenance.
3. Transportation.
4. Housing.
5. Safety.
6. Retirement Roles.

THE AFTERNOON PROGRAM

12:00-1:00 p.m.—Buffet Luncheon.
1:00-3:00 p.m.—

Welcome: Mrs. Esther Keehn, New York City, Department of Social Service, Hammel Senior Center, Co-Chairman, Rockaway Health Council Committee on Aging.

Fred Springer, President, Rockaway Health Council.

Keynote: Hon. John W. Wydler, Member of Congress, Member select Sub-committee on Special Problems of Aging.

Address: Hon. Frank Brasco, Member of Congress.

Hon. Francis Purcell, Presiding Supervisor, Town of Hempstead.

Hon. Robert T. Groh, Deputy Borough President of Queens.

Community dialog

3:00 p.m.—Closing Remarks: Kevin M. McCarthy, St. Joseph's Hospital, Co-Chairman, Rockaway Health Council Committee on Aging.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Today's program has been a special effort of the Rockaway Health Council and its Committee on Aging.

The grateful thanks of the Council is extended to all those participating, and to those who spent many hours to make this Senior Citizen Day a success. Special thanks of the Council is extended to St. Joseph's Hospital for contributing the luncheon and to Peninsula Hospital Center for its many supporting efforts.

It is our hope that the resolutions discussed today might find relevance in our community and that the White House Conference on Aging might truly lead to New Dimensions for the 70's and make this world a little better for America's twenty million citizens past the age of 65.

FRED SPRINGER,

President, Rockaway Health Council.

In his remarks to the delegates at the White House Conference on Aging, Mr. Nixon reminded the Nation that America's senior citizens "are among the most valuable resources this Nation possesses". It is the quest of the Rockaway Health Council that America realize that these citizens who have done so much for our Nation not be forgotten in their golden years.

TRIBUTE TO RALPH H. COLSON

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of my colleagues to a testimonial dinner to be given next week in Randolph, Mass., to honor a great leader among men, Ralph H. Colson, who has devoted over 39 years of his life helping the lives of others as a teacher, coach, and administrator. Ralph will be 70 years old on June 12. For the past 18 years, he has served as senior supervisor of health, physical education, and safety in the State department of education. Just recently, Ralph was the recipient of the coveted presidential citation of service at the 87th Convention of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation in Houston, Tex. I know that my colleagues join me in extending to Ralph on the occasion of this fitting tribute to a great man our best wishes for a past well done and for the future yet to come.

I insert the following article:

COLSON AWARDED PRESIDENTIAL CITATION

BOSTON.—Ralph H. Colson, Senior Supervisor of Physical Education, Health and Safety with the Massachusetts State Department of Education, was recently awarded a Presidential Citation of Service at the 87th convention of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation in Houston, Texas.

The award, presented by Louis E. Alley, president of the AAHPER, honors Mr. Colson for his "many contributions to youth through health, physical education, and recreation."

He has for 40 years been a wholehearted,

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enthusiastic supporter of amateur athletics and physical fitness, cautioning time and again, "We are a soft nation. . . . Nobody walks anywhere any more."

Mr. Colson, who will retire from the Department of Education in June, has earned wide recognition during his career as an athlete, track coach, teacher, and member of the Olympic Development Committee.

He has been honored many times for his outstanding professional leadership. Earlier in month, the AAHPER presented him a plaque recognizing that he has "dedicated his life to the promotion of school and amateur athletics" in the state, the nation, and the world.

THE DIRTY LITTLE SECRET THAT EVERYONE KNOWS—THE VAST INFLUENCE OF MONEY IN POLITICS

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to discuss this afternoon an issue which may well be one of the two or three most important before the Congress. The problem is what John Gardner recently referred to as "The Dirty Little Secret That Everyone Knows—The Vast Influence of Money in Politics." The recent hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee on the ITT-Hartford case, the conviction of one of our colleagues of taking a \$25,000 bribe, the cases of Bobby Baker and Martin Sweig, high-ranking aides to our highest leaders in Congress—all of these examples point to the possibility that the influence of big money contributions may be as dangerous to the American system of government as is our ancient grievance of racial discrimination. The problem before us is that of reforming the political campaign contribution and lobbying laws so that all of us are free from the undue influence which inevitably must stem from excessively large contributions to our incomes from special interests of immense wealth.

The influence of money in political decisionmaking has been with us since the inception of electoral self-government. In recent years, however, the threat of concentrated wealth, working secretly to influence governmental decisionmaking, has reached crisis proportions. This has been true under both Democratic and Republican administrations; the issue is not a partisan one. Within the past year, a Democratic Congressman has been convicted of taking a \$25,000 bribe; a former Republican Congressman convicted of income tax evasion. The peril to our system of government is immense.

Our Nation operates by the consent of the governed. Our people must consent to file honest tax returns, consent to give honest judgment in jury cases, consent to serve in the armed services in time of conflict. That consent is and can only be based on faith that the Government itself is honest.

A recent poll taken by the Center for

Political Studies at the University of Michigan reflects specifically the trend which I believe all of us have instinctively sensed in recent years. Since 1958, the faith and trust of Americans in their own Government has been diminishing rapidly. During the past 7 years, the number of Americans trusting the Government dropped from over 60 percent in 1964 to less than 40 percent of 1970.

During the same time frame, the question was asked:

Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

The percentage of Americans believing the Government was run for the benefit of all the people dropped until by 1970, less than half of our people felt they could trust the Government.

There was ample reason for that belief in 1970. There is even clearer reason today. An increasing concentration of wealth working secretly to support political candidates and to influence Government decisions is not only welcomed but encouraged by politicians, both in the administration and in Congress. Let me more precisely define the three evils which so endanger the Nation.

First: Is the new concentration of wealth, primarily in big business, but also in big labor; second, the new importance of wealth in electoral politics; third, the encouragement of secrecy in the application of that wealth to influence political campaigns and governmental decision-making.

With respect to the first point, new concentration of wealth, there can be no question. Attorney General Mitchell recognized the problem nearly 3 years ago. By June 1969, 200 large corporations controlled approximately 60 percent of the manufacturing assets of the Nation. Corporate mergers had more than doubled in the previous year. The Attorney General said in a speech in June 1969:

The danger that this super concentration represents to our . . . political . . . structure cannot be overestimated.

Despite the Attorney General's expression of concern, his office was to drop the antitrust action against ITT 2 years later, and by the beginning of 1972, it was estimated that the percentage of manufacturing assets controlled by the "Big 200" had increased from 60 to 70 percent.

Today less than 2 percent of our people own 80 percent of the corporate stock of America; less than 3 percent earn over \$25,000 per year.

A Brookings Institution report reflects that the top 20 percent of our people earn 45 percent of the gross national income; the bottom 20 percent earn only 3.2 percent.

There is indeed a concentration of wealth. It is increasing, often by the same type of merger as between ITT and the Hartford Fire Insurance Co. which Assistant Attorney General McLaren once started to challenge but ultimately agreed to.

What did the Attorney General mean when he said, back in 1969, that the concentration of economic power meant "danger to our political system?"

The whole thrust of our constitutional form of government at its inception was to restrain the accumulation of power, to separate and diffuse powers among three branches of Government, to create the equivalent of a fourth branch, the press, with freedom to criticize and print the truth about government itself.

As our forefathers recognized that concentration of political power could mean tyranny, so also have we understood that concentration of economic power did likewise. When only 5 percent of the people can afford a \$1,000 campaign contribution, it behooves us to concede that political power as well as economic power has been concentrated precisely as the Attorney General described. Why then have both Democratic and Republican administrations failed to provide leadership to terminate this increasing concentration of wealth and power?

The answer to these questions lies in the second evil, the influence of big money on the political process. Administrations are the principal beneficiaries of the economic power of big business as the goal of our economy—on the theory that those profits will ultimately "trickle down" to the public at large.

This administration resurrected the SST after it had been abandoned by the Johnson administration, supported the bail-out of the Penn Central Railroad and urged the granting of a Federal loan guarantee to Lockheed under conditions no small business in America could have hoped to obtain.

In 1968, the Republican Party was able to raise twice as much money from businessmen as was the Democratic Party from all sources. As the administration in power, the Republican leadership is in a beautiful position to cash in on its enthusiasm for big business.

President Nixon's chief fundraiser in 1968, Maurice Stans, was named as Secretary of Commerce for 4 years and then resigned to raise money 4 years later from the very businesses he had been regulating. Attorney General Mitchell, the Nation's chief law enforcement officer, in charge of all antitrust and price-fixing prosecutions, is in an excellent position, as campaign director to apply gentle persuasion to wealthy businessmen to make large contributions.

If ITT and Hartford stockholders will lose \$1.2 billion from a successful antitrust action, it is understandable that their corporate officers might think \$400,000 a paltry sum to contribute to those who might help them.

Who besides big businessmen can afford to attend \$500 per plate dinners? The \$5 million raised from a single Republican dinner last year was raised almost entirely from big businessmen. In Houston, Tex., nearly all of the 400 people in attendance—raising \$200,000 for the President's reelection—were reported to be oil men. What does this bode for the hope of ending the oil import quota system as recommended by the President's task force over 2 years ago?

The administration, like its predecessor, has not hesitated to respond swiftly and helpfully to those who make large campaign contributions. Consider the great milk boondoggle of last spring, fi-

nally disclosed in the newspapers last September.

The Government has long had the power to guarantee the price of manufactured milk. Last spring that guarantee was \$4.66 per hundredweight. The dairy farmer leaders came to Washington to seek an increase. On March 12, 1972, Secretary of Agriculture Hardin denied the increase, finding no evidence to support it.

The dairy farmers, then, 10 days later, on March 22, secretly paid \$10,000 to four Republican campaign committees. The next day, March 23, the dairy farmer leaders were granted an audience with the President himself at the White House. The following day, March 24, the dairy farmers secretly paid \$25,000 to 10 Republican committees for the reelection of the President. Lo and behold, the following day, March 25, Secretary Hardin announced that he would grant a price increase of 27 cents per hundredweight on the basis that "continuing research" had turned up new information on rising costs.

Ten days later, on April 5, \$45,000 was given to nine additional committees, and by August 20, a total of \$170,000 had been given to at least 68 committees, most if not all of them based in Washington, D.C., where a loophole in the law permitted them to go unrecorded as to the source and amount.

The same type of decision accompanied the same type of dollar contributions, had not been uncommon in the prior Democratic administration. In his just-published book, "The Political Payoff," Washington lobbyist, Robert Winterberger details similar payoffs to influence Members of Congress in both parties.

The importance of money to politics can easily be recognized when we look at the 1970 Senate races in seven large States. Eleven of the candidates were millionaires, and all seven of the winners were millionaires. No candidate for public office today has even the remotest chance of winning unless he has either immense personal wealth or wealthy backers. This is a tragedy for the democratic process.

Let me describe one additional example of power of wealth and the power of generous campaign contributions. This example came to light last November in testimony before my own House Subcommittee on Conservation and Natural Resources.

Armco Steel was the 69th largest corporation in the United States in 1970. Its corporate officers were reported by the Washington Star to have given \$14,000 to the Nixon campaign. Armco Steel has also been one of the worst polluters of the Houston ship channel. Its Houston plant for years had been putting nearly a half ton of cyanide per day into the ship channel. Cyanide is one of the most toxic substances known to man.

On December 9, 1970, the Environmental Protection Agency filed an action to force a termination of the cyanide discharge after all negotiations with the company had failed. On September 17, 1971, the Federal district judge issued an order requiring that the discharge of

cyanide cease forthwith. On September 28, the president of Armco, Mr. C. William Verity, wrote a letter to President Nixon at the White House, asking him to look into the court's decision. On September 30, Mr. Verity was reported to have commented that Secretary of the Treasury Connally had been contacted and that through his influence, high level consultations were going on at that moment between the Justice Department and the EPA concerning the decision.

On October 4, the Houston Business Journal quoted Verity as saying:

I pray every night for John Connally . . . If I could only have another son, his name would be John Connally Verity. At least there is reality in Washington and it changes the entire outlook for the steel industry and most gratefully Armco.

As a result of Verity's letter the White House specialist in business affairs, Mr. Peter Flanigan, called in the EPA and Justice Department lawyers. A few days later on November 4, 1971, the Government's lawyers stipulated to a modification of the court's judgment of September 17, permitting Armco to continue the discharge of cyanide until July 1, 1972.

The seriousness of this set of circumstances lies in the fact that after a lawsuit was in progress, after a judgment was obtained, the posture of the prosecution was relaxed not by the arguments of counsel of Armco, communicated to the Government attorneys and the court, but by the direct intervention by the steel company president with the President of the United States. Any ordinary litigant who sought to stop, personally, a lawsuit by the Justice Department would be condemned or prosecuted.

Since the inception of this country, attempts to interfere with the prosecution of the litigation by the parties themselves have been considered a violation of law and reprehensible. President Nixon is a lawyer. Nevertheless, his personal assistant Peter Flanigan admittedly contacted EPA and the Justice Department after the President received Mr. Verity's letter.

When our Government Operations Subcommittee asked Mr. Flanigan to come before the Congress and explain this situation, he declined, claiming, "executive privilege."

Mr. Flanigan is no stranger to governmental decisions which mean millions to big businessmen. He was also a fundraiser for Mr. Nixon's 1968 campaign, and at one time was the president of the Barracuda Tanker Corp., owner of the Liberian flag tanker *Sansinena*. Under U.S. law, the tanker was ineligible for U.S. coastal shipping unless a waiver could be granted by the Treasury Department. Being ineligible for such trade, the *Sansinena* was worth an estimated \$4.5 million; if the waiver could be granted, its value was estimated at over \$11 million.

For several years, Mr. Fred Hartley, president of the Union Oil Co., had reportedly been trying to obtain a waiver for the *Sansinena*. The waiver could not be granted, however, so long as U.S. tankers were available for the coastal trade. On February 25, 1970, Flanigan's 200

shares of stock in Barracuda were sold to others in the Barracuda venture. On March 2, the Treasury granted an unusually broad waiver for the ship, on the ground that the national security required it.

Senator Joseph Tydings disclosed these facts in a speech to the Senate on March 9, stating that by a stroke of the pen, the Government had made \$6.5 million for Barracuda. The House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries prepared to hold a congressional inquiry on the subject, whereupon the White House called Treasury officials to the White House on the evening of March 9. The next day, Secretary of the Treasury, David Kennedy, announced that the waiver would be canceled. The national security apparently no longer required the *Sansinena* for the coastal shipping of oil.

These examples merely illustrate the power of wealth applied to the governmental decisionmaking process.

The importance of secrecy to the large business donor is best illustrated by a letter written to a friend recently by Thomas P. Pike, a wealthy drilling machinery manufacturer who gave \$10,000 to the 1968 Nixon campaign and once served as an Assistant Secretary of Defense.

In asking for major gifts, Pike wrote:

I can't emphasize too strongly that the protection of your stake and my stake is precisely what is at stake here.

We have a deadline of April 7th to meet for this important gift phase of the drive phase of the drive, because that is the effective date of the new Federal campaign law which will require reporting and public disclosure of all subsequent campaign contributions in excess of \$100 which we all naturally want to avoid.

Why would an honest campaign contributor want to keep his gift secret?

With secrecy terminated on April 7, there still remains the problem of the undue influence of the extremely large gift. When we in the Congress suggested a \$5,000 limit per contributor, the President said he would veto the bill.

So long as politicians depend on big money, it will be hard to enact legislation which attacks the growing disparity between rich and poor.

Recent Government reports have indicated that this disparity is increasing. Under the present tax laws, individuals earning \$100,000 per year through various tax breaks in the law can take advantage of various legitimate deductions to reduce their tax rate to perhaps 7 percent.

This is about half the rate paid by the average individual earning between \$10,000 and \$15,000 per year. The problem for the lower income earner is that he misses out on basic amenities of life by reason of the proportionate tax payments he is making.

With increasing property taxes levied by local government, it is becoming less and less possible for the young, the elderly, the poor or the disabled to ever hope to own their own home. Existing tax laws are thus structured to actually prevent one of our traditional national goals—that everyone have the opportunity to own his own home.

In fact, tax reform may be the number one issue of our time. Not just tax reform, but a shift from all of the taxes which fall on the lower middle-income strata—the real property tax, the sales tax, the social security tax, the proposed value added tax, et cetera—to the higher levels of Federal income tax. Yet, how do we achieve tax reform until we have campaign contribution reform? What Congressmen will vote to put a higher tax burden on the very people upon whom he depends for reelection?

I think it is now time we recognized the need to limit Federal campaign contributions to a maximum figure of \$5,000 per donor, with enforceable penalties against the evasive, deceptive or indirect gift.

I think, also, that we should consider public financing of Federal election campaigns. Once the primaries are over, major party candidates might be given from the U.S. Treasury a specified and equal sum of money, proportionate to the number of voters in their district or State.

Assuming a cost of \$200,000 per congressional district, or \$87 million to the taxpayers every 2 years, the cost would be far less than that we pay in the loss of public faith occasioned by the ITT, Armco, San Diego, and dairy farmer cases and the periodic disclosure that a Senator or Congressman is the beneficiary of singularly large campaign contributions from special interests. Tax reform laws which might be passed by a new Congress, free of worry about its campaign funds, would only shift the burden to the same wealthy people who are now contributing those funds anyway. The only difference would lie in the loss of the political influence which campaign donors now exert over the politicians who depend on them for reelection. If this does nothing more than restore the faith of Americans that their political leaders are beyond the reach of the wealthy special interests, it will represent a great contribution to our national security and domestic tranquility.

For these reasons, I have introduced today the Federal Campaign Contribution Limitation Act, which will limit an individual's total contribution to a candidate and all of his committees to \$5,000 in a given calendar year.

RESOLUTION TO MAINTAIN STRONG TIES WITH GREECE

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to learn that the National Republican Heritage Groups in their recent general assembly in Chicago voted in favor of maintaining strong ties of trade and friendship between the United States and Greece and for a continuation of military aid to Greece.

This is a position I have followed consistently and urged strongly upon my colleagues in this body.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

Recognizing that Greece is in a strategic position in the Mediterranean and that Greece is a faithful and staunch friend of the United States and a loyal member of NATO, we urge the United States Congress to reverse its unjustified decision in curtailing military aid to Greece. We also ask the President of the United States to do everything in his power to restore military aid to Greece.

NUCLEAR REACTOR SAFETY

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I am presently engaged in a fight to stop the construction of a nuclear powerplant 11 miles from my district in the city of Philadelphia.

This facility, on an island in the Delaware River, is only 13 miles upstream from the Torresdale filtration plant which processes more than half the city's water.

The staff of the Atomic Energy Commission has recommended approval of this site even though it clearly violates the Commission's recommendation that a reactor of this size, 6,600 megawatts thermal (MWT) be at least 48 miles from a population center of 25,000 or more persons.

I am opposing the construction of this plant, not because I am against the safe use of atomic energy, but, because I believe this installation would be a definite hazard to the millions of people who live in the critical area around it.

The Atomic Energy Commission's record in this area is deplorable. It reflects a policy of irresponsibility in the critical area of safety and concern for the people.

The Commission is supposed to be the voice of the people in matters of atomic energy. Its record shows that instead it has been representing the nuclear power industry and that it has had the industry's interests as its first priority.

To this date no definitive work has been completed on all aspects of operational safety. Until now there has been no incontrovertible evidence that the safety and emergency equipment is adequate. In fact, there are a growing number of responsible people who feel the equipment is not capable of meeting the demands that will be placed upon it.

The fact is, the AEC has not done its job in perhaps its most vital area of responsibility, safety.

At this time I enter into the RECORD an article from the May 5, 1972 issue of Science, which gives a clear picture of this situation:

NUCLEAR REACTOR SAFETY: AT THE AEC THE WAY OF THE DISSENTER IS HARD

A number of disquieting indications have turned up in the past 2 years to suggest that a vital safety feature of nuclear power reactors may be far less capable of preventing a catastrophic accident than has long been assumed. As this disturbing information trickled into the Atomic Energy Commission from the nuclear industry, and from the AEC's own national laboratories, it carried with it the gravest of implications for public

safety. For the feature in question—the emergency core cooling system (ECCS)—is a last-resort device meant to guard against what is thought to be the “maximum credible accident” that a reactor can possibly sustain, a major loss of cooling water through a broken pipe or valve.

Now, after pondering this unseemly problem for 2 years, the AEC is engaged in a showdown public hearing on it with environmentalists, utilities, and reactor manufacturers. From the testimony so far, it has begun to look as if the AEC's own administrative safeguards are in as questionable shape as the reactors it licenses. For a large amount of evidence has accumulated suggesting that AEC policy-makers have been studiously ignoring, rejecting, and even discouraging dissenting views from within the agency in the matter of emergency core cooling.

The argument over ECCS is neither academic nor trivial. Should a reactor's searingly hot core run dry, the ECCS is supposed to re-flood it with water within seconds after the leak occurs. Should the ECCS fail—or even hesitate for long—the core could melt and ensuing steam explosions could scatter its radioactive contents over a wide area. The indications are that existing designs of backup cooling systems might not adequately re-flood a reactor after a major leak.

For more than a year, the AEC kept its growing apprehensions largely to itself, sharing them with the four companies that manufacture reactors but telling the public essentially nothing. Late in 1970, to its credit, the AEC appointed a “task force” of four senior members of the regulatory staff to take a look at the problem and suggest some answers.

In an offhand sort of way, the task force acknowledged that the AEC indeed had a serious problem when, on 19 June 1971, it issued a set of special instructions for operating and evaluating reactors. These “interim criteria,” the task force said, would compensate for any unforeseen shortcomings in backup cooling systems. Happily for the multibillion dollar nuclear industry, the “interim criteria” imposed no serious hardships on utilities that were then operating some 20 power reactors. Nonetheless, an AEC press release said, these special regulations were “clearly conservative.”

That, however, may not be quite the case. And issuance of the “interim criteria” turns out to have merely been the beginning, not the end, of the ECCS affair.

Last January the new AEC chairman, James R. Schlesinger, ordered a hearing in the matter of ECCS to allow the public to comment on the “interim criteria.” This is not an unusual procedure in itself, but what it has produced certainly is.

The hearing, which may continue through the summer, has already uncovered an extraordinary welter of dissent inside the AEC over the way that the agency handled the problem of emergency core cooling. In recent weeks, half-a-dozen foremost specialties in nuclear reactor safety from two national laboratories and from within the AEC's regulatory structure have testified that the interim criteria are—in many respects—anything but conservative. More than 20 others within the AEC appear to share these misgivings. And at least two technical experts—the very ones who recognized the problem in the first place—have said that question still surrounding the adequacy of this safeguard device are so serious, and are so far from being resolved, that they warrant an immediate and indefinite moratorium on reactor design changes and on increases in reactor power levels, pending further research.

But more than this, compelling evidence has come to light of several instances in which AEC officials apparently have tried to prevent more conservative, dissenting opin-

ions from percolating up from the AEC's national laboratories and out into public view.

Utilities and reactor manufacturers are yet to be heard from, and they are expected to testify that the ECCS regulations are in some ways too conservative. Though the balance of testimony may yet shift, it seems at this point inescapable that the AEC has badly bungled one of the most serious safety issues ever to arise—and did so for reasons that are not at all clear—by ignoring or rejecting the more conservative judgments of a large portion of the expertise at its disposal.

The hearing that has alread all this dirty laundry is taking place on the first floor of a rented office building in suburban Bethesda, Maryland, near one of the AEC's three headquarters buildings in the Washington area. Technically, it is known as a “rule-making” hearing, one meant to gather information to assist the five AEC commissioners in deciding whether to change a proposed or existing regulation.

The hearing is being held now partly because the AEC considered its ECCS regulations so urgent last year that it put them into force without providing the usual 30- to 60-day comment period. What's more, environmental groups had learned of the AEC's concerns, and since last summer have been intersecting the core cooling issue into more and more reactor licensing hearings. In an apparent effort to settle the issue once and for all, Schlesinger ordered the hearing.

Although it has now raised broad questions about freedom of dissent and about relations between the national laboratories and the commission, the specific issue at hand is the adequacy of the interim criteria worked out by the senior task force, under the direction of Stephen H. Hanauer, the chief technical adviser to the AEC's regulatory staff.

Essentially, the Hanauer group did two things: It laid down some new operating rules for power reactors which are aimed at reducing the already small chance of a major “loss-of-coolant accident,” or LOCA. (One such rule set a maximum operating temperature of 2300 degrees C.) Second, the task force issued special instructions for evaluating the performance of ECCS in the event of a major leak. These instructions applied to all 20 or so reactors then operating, as well as to more than 100 being designed or built, and they called for using one of several computer models of LOCA phenomena previously developed by the AEC and industry.

The Hanauer group recognized that computer models of ECCS performance have never been adequately verified by experimental work, nor, indeed, has a backup cooling system ever been tested under realistic operating conditions in a working reactor (*Science*, 9 July 1971). Nevertheless, the task force felt confident that a lengthy set of “suitably conservative” assumptions and conditions it prescribed for plugging into the models would fully buttress the model's weaknesses. These evaluations-by-computer would then be used as a basis for licensing reactors until those initial “disturbing questions” about core cooling could be cleared up. (It might be noted at this point that the question first arose when inconsistencies between computer models of reactor accidents suggested that engineering design assumptions once thought to be conservative really were not.)

The hearing on these instructions has been under way for 15 weeks and has produced, so far, more than 8,000 pages of oral testimony and thousands of pages more of written documents. The thrust of testimony to this point has been to substantially discredit the asserted conservatism in the Hanauer group's handiwork. And one report, in the trade newsletter, *Nucleonics Week*, indicates that chairman Schlesinger has been “upset” to find so many doubts raised about safety

measures that he had been led to believe were thoroughly defensible.

Had the hearing been confined to utilities, reactor “vendors,” and the AEC, it might have been a far swifter and less mortifying affair. What made the difference was the participation of some 60 environmental groups in a coalition calling itself the National Intervenor. (The Intervenor are receiving some technical support from half-a-dozen members of the Union of Concerned Scientists, the Boston affiliate of the Federation of American Scientists.) At the hearing, the Intervenor are represented by Daniel Ford, a 23-year-old Harvard economics graduate and a member of the union who has devoted himself for the past year in reactor technology, and by Myron M. Cherry, an aggressive Chicago attorney who has become something of a *bête noire* to midwestern utilities through his involvement in several reactor licensing hearings.

Cherry is the hearing's most striking personality. Lean, wiry-haired, exceedingly intense, he evinces a Naderesque energy and ardor. A sometimes flamboyant courtroom tactician, he pops up frequently with discursive objections, and he's not above delivering a verbal shin kick to a hostile witness on occasion. (He once accused Stephen Hanauer of sleeping during the hearing.) “From a parliamentary standpoint,” Cherry said in a recent interview, “this isn't a judicial proceeding, it's a circus. So I don't necessarily feel like being judicial.”

On the other hand, his cross-examinations have revealed a facet of the ECCS affair that otherwise might never have seen the light of day.

The environmentalists scored their first points early in February, when members of the AEC regulatory staff presented the agency's technical justification for the interim criteria. It soon evolved that the Hanauer group had intended to write a detailed “white paper” on its findings, but never got around to doing so. Hanauer conceded that, to his knowledge, the five commissioners never were furnished with technical documents supporting the criteria—and thus, by implication, had accepted them on faith.

In time, the regulatory staff did write a post facto justification and this became the AEC's official hearing testimony. Cherry then inquired as to whether any of the staff who were present, and who had prepared the testimony, disagreed with it. Seemingly, with great reluctance, one nuclear engineer, G. Norman Lauben, raised his hand. He conceded, “There were certain portions of the testimony that I would have to consider personally as not being sufficient.” He went on to explain that, if an assumed value involving a heat transfer coefficient—as specified by the criteria—were inaccurate by the relatively small amount of 20 percent, then emergency core cooling systems in a number of reactors might not be able to prevent melting of the core in the event of a major water leak.

Lauben had raised what was to become a central question in the hearing: AEC doctrine holds that unknowns in reactor behavior can be offset by conservative engineering assumptions. But can one always be sure what “conservative” means?

Cyril G. Lawson, an authority in core cooling problems from Oak Ridge National Laboratory, elaborated the point:

The assertion is that conservative assumptions are made where possible, and this is true. But there are some areas where, in my opinion, we don't know whether the assumption we are making is conservative or not because we don't know what is occurring physically.

As to whether backup cooling systems would or would not perform as they were supposed to, Lawson said that both possibilities were equally speculative. No one, he

said, had ever tabulated the "conservatism" and "unconservatism" presumed to exist in ECSS design, "so the net conservatism is unknown."

On 9 March, Philip L. Rittenhouse, another safety researcher from Oak Ridge, pointed to what he felt were serious technical deficiencies in the interim criteria. Then he startled the hearing by asserting that a great many of his colleagues in the national laboratories and the AEC headquarters staff shared his reservations about the reliability of backup cooling equipment. Cherry asked who these colleagues were. Rittenhouse read into the record the names of 28 persons, including Lauben, Lawson, William B. Cottrell, the director of nuclear safety programs at Oak Ridge, his assistant David O. Hobson, and ten top officials of the Aerojet Nuclear Corporation, which manages the safety research program at the National Reactor Testing Station in Idaho. Significantly, Aerojet Nuclear is responsible for running most of the AEC's emergency core cooling research, much of which has yet to be completed.

"These people have too many reservations . . . shared too generally, for me to pass off," Rittenhouse said. "These reservations [concern] portions of the LOCA. Maybe they're just not sure what's going on."

Some of the most damaging criticism of the way the AEC handled the core cooling question has found its way into the hearing record in the form of internal AEC correspondence and memoranda. The commission itself released a large number of such documents after Cherry threatened to sue for them under the Freedom of Information Act. Other revealing letters, reports, and memos have arrived in unmarked envelopes in Cherry's morning mail. "The AEC leaks like a sieve," he says.

One document which the AEC released during this period was a "Dear Jim" letter, which Alvin M. Weinberg, the director of Oak Ridge National Laboratory, wrote to AEC chairman James Schlesinger on 9 February. In it, Weinberg expresses a "basic distrust" of the sort of computer calculations that the Hanauer group advocated for evaluating ECSS performance, "especially where the calculations have not been checked by full-scale experiments . . . and the consequences of failure are serious."

Weinberg makes a second point worth quoting at length, for it hints at one major cause of the AEC's present embarrassment:

I have one other point, I believe ORNL and the other National Laboratories should have been as intimately involved in the preparation of the interim criteria as we have since been in the preparation of AEC testimony for the hearings. That we were not so involved reflects a deficiency in the relation between Laboratory and Commission that troubles me. I continue to believe that the rather independent expertise of the national laboratories—an expertise which can only be maintained through complete access to information—must be called upon fully by the Commission even when this may uncover differences of opinion between the laboratories and the staff of the commission.

So far, dissent has been concentrated in the laboratories, but it is by no means limited to them. The most severe and detailed criticism of the AEC's handling of the ECSS affair has come from two members of the commission's own regulatory staff, Morris Rosen and Robert J. Colmar. Until the staff was reorganized earlier this year, Rosen headed the systems performance branch of the Division of Reactor Standards and Colmar was his deputy. Together they were directly responsible for day-to-day evaluation of backup cooling systems.

The hearing record shows that last 1 June, Rosen and Colmar fired off a strongly worded memo to the Hanauer task force urgently protesting that the criteria it was about to

issue were not conservative enough and would not prove "technically defensible" as a basis for reactor licensing. They contended that the computer models that figured so prominently in the criteria were crude and arbitrary, and rested on only a thin foundation of experimental verification of questionable relevance to the huge power reactors currently being built.

They argued that uncertainties of ECSS performance appeared so great, and the sophistication of present computer models so poor, that a more prudent course of action would be to institute a moratorium on reactor design changes and power-level increases. At the same time, they urged a rapid acceleration of core cooling research.

Hanauer has acknowledged that the task force received and discussed the memo. But its advice is not reflected in the regulations the taskforce issued 18 days later.

It appeared at one point that the AEC would not allow Rosen and Colmar to testify at the hearing. A lower-level decision to this effect is said to have been reversed by L. Manning Muntzing, the new director of regulation.

The two engineers testified on 12 and 13 April, and from all appearances the passage of 10 months had only heightened their qualms. Rosen presented an 80-page critique of the interim criteria in which he charged that "undeniably serious gaps" exist in knowledge of ECSS reliability. He said that he found it "disturbing and discouraging" to see the dissenting views of what he believed to be a large majority of experts available to the regulatory staff "still being basically ignored."

"Margins of safety once thought to exist do not," Rosen warned, "and yet reactor power levels continue to increase, resulting in an even more tenuous situation."

(In an interview, Rosen and Colmar attached an important caveat to this statement. They said that, in their opinions, the probability of an individual reactor suffering an uncontrollable accident is low enough—and the present number of reactors is small enough—so as not to pose an undue risk to public safety. "We're not saying reactors working today are going to blow up," Colmar emphasized. "What concerns us is the future situation, when 100 reactors are running in the mid-1970's and a thousand by the end of the century.")

For his part, Colmar traced the history of the AEC's apprehensions and the genesis of his own dissent. On the strength of his story, he and Rosen would seem to rank in the major league of government whistle-blowers.

Colmar testified that in February 1970 he was assigned to evaluate a new and relatively sophisticated computer model of a loss-of-coolant accident which Westinghouse had developed for its reactors. Colmar said Westinghouse was highly enthusiastic about the model, which it called SATAN, partly because the company thought it demonstrated more-than-adequate capacity in backup cooling systems and perhaps even enough to permit a simpler, less costly design.

Colmar soon came to precisely the opposite conclusion. Westinghouse was reading its own model incorrectly, and far from showing excess cooling capacity it strongly suggested that design assumptions once thought to be conservative were in fact overly generous.

Rosen began working with Colmar on SATAN and together they communicated their dismaying findings up the chain of command. By May, worried memos were circulating through the regulatory staff. One, from Edison G. Case, head of the reactor standards division, spoke of "serious implications" for Westinghouse and the other manufacturers. A memo dated 2 June 1970 from Richard C. DeYoung, one of Colmar's supervisors, to Peter A. Morris, head of reactor licensing, reported that "Westinghouse has

admitted in private conversations that they erred in their initial claims. . . . [and] The general consensus of those who have reviewed the situation is that a serious problem has been uncovered for all PWR [pressurized water reactor] plants. . . ."

As the summer wore on, doubts about backup cooling broadened to include reactors made by Babcock & Wilcox. At the same time, reports filtering in from the National Reactor Testing Station described experimental evidence, raising a "serious question regarding safety margins in ECC systems"—evidence that was substantiated late in 1970 by some dramatic failures of a small mock-up of an ECSS at Idaho (*Science*, 28 May 1971).

LICENSING CONTINUED

Yet in the face of all this information, the AEC refrained from holding up any reactor licensing activities until early 1971, nearly a year after the problem first came to light. Indeed, over the protest of Rosen and Colmar, the AEC certified one B & W reactor plant as safe in August 1970. (The name of the plant was not divulged.)

Toward the end of 1970, the commission appointed its senior task force, a commendable gesture at least. Glenn Seaborg, then chairman, said the Hanauer group would "provide overall management review of important safety issues," which was about as close as the AEC ever came to openly admitting that it had a problem on its hands.

Up to now, the AEC had reacted laudably, if slowly, to a difficult situation. But pressures apparently came to bear on the task force to produce an answer that was both technically sound and expedient. As time passed, the task force is said to have turned a deaf ear to the worried experts as its disposal and put aside its ambition to write a definitive "white paper." At one point, the task force commissioned a state-of-the-art report on ECSS from Aerojet Nuclear. The draft that Aerojet delivered in the first week of April 1971 was replete with pessimistic talk of experimental work yet undone, the crudeness of computer models, and the difficulties of "patching" them up with conservative assumptions that no one could be sure were conservative. The Aerojet report received only cursory attention, and the task force finally did what so many advised against: It issued its interim criteria based on essentially the same computer models that had triggered the whole affair, and it buttressed them with what it hoped was a solid dose of conservatism. The final product was, in Colmar's phrase, "a triumph of hope over reason."

Early this January, Morris Rosen was removed from his job and Colmar requested a transfer. An AEC spokesman said Rosen had been promoted to a higher position—as technical adviser to the director of regulation—with added responsibility. While that may be true, he also has less to do with emergency core cooling. "It's the sort of thing," he says philosophically, "that, if it happened very often in an organization, you'd have to wonder."

Other, related events may also give one pause to wonder whether the expression of dissent is not a difficult and sometimes risky practice in the AEC. For example, there is the letter that William Cottrell and several other at Oak Ridge wrote to AEC headquarters on 6 December 1971, criticizing the interim criteria and speaking of "wide gaps in our knowledge." A week later, one of Cottrell's superiors, Donald Trauger, got wind of the letter and took the unusual step of calling L. Manning Muntzing about it. He told the director of regulation that the letter was only a draft, that it didn't represent Oak Ridge's views, and would he please send it back? Muntzing complied. Testimony at the hearing later established that the letter was not a draft and that it certainly reflected the views of a number of qualified people at Oak Ridge.

A month or so later, Schlesinger found it

necessary to call Weinberg and ask him to assure Cottrell, Trauger, and other that anyone called to testify should feel free to express his views even if they conflicted with official policy.

Then there's the matter of the Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards, the semi-autonomous, 15-man "watchdog" of reactor safety. Participants in the hearing are allowed to submit written questions to the safeguard group but the AEC will not allow individual members of the committee to testify, as they are said to be very busy and their appearance would serve no useful purpose. Actually it might, but not the AEC's. Several members of the ACRS are thought to be sympathetic to Rosen and Colmar's proposed moratorium.

REPORTS BLUE-PENCILLED

Finally, at one point in the hearing, it was brought out that AEC headquarters regularly blue-pencils reports on reactor safety research emanating from Aerojet Nuclear to remove what authorities in Washington consider to be "speculative" material. J. C. Haire, an Aerojet official, testified that he thought this practice was "rather an inhibition of free and open discussion," and he surmised that it was done by the Division of Reactor Development and Technology, under Milton Shaw, "to avoid the problem, or burden if you will, of having to spend a lot of time answering public inquiries [on safety matters] that are addressed to Congress and referred to them."

The whole sorry story of emergency core cooling generates a natural compulsion to seek out guilty parties and assign some measure of blame. Rosen and Colmar, who are perhaps in the best position to do that sort of thing, are unwilling. They tend to ascribe the affair to human nature, to call it a product of groupthink and the bureaucrat's instinct to keep programs running no matter what the cost. "It's the sort of thing that can happen in any regulatory agency," Rosen says.

That's probably part of the problem. Certainly there have also been barriers in communication between the nuclear safety program and the AEC's regulatory arm; perhaps safety programs belong under the aegis of regulatory authority, not the development side of the AEC.

In any event, given that emergency cooling is only a small part of nuclear safety technology, it would seem worth the while of Congress to take a penetrating look at the health of reactor safety research and the use of expert opinion by the AEC.

WILLOWS DAILY JOURNAL OPPOSES ESCALATION IN VIETNAM

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I have long hoped that the Vietnam war would not be an issue in the 1972 election. Despite its political advantages for the opposition party, there is no such thing as a "good war." There are only bad wars and very bad wars; the endless involvement in Indochina is one of the worst. I would have preferred to have fought the election on the issues of the economy, credibility, national priorities, and so forth.

But President Nixon's unfortunate escalation of the war has brought it back to center stage. He has given up the pretense that the war is fading away, and

has begun the heaviest bombing in his history—a bombing which he must continue indefinitely if the Saigon regime is to have hope of surviving.

So far the Soviets have reacted with restraint, and I hope they will continue to do so—which means we had better not push our luck.

Now is the time for testing the will and determination of the South Vietnamese people—the artificial American buttressing must be phased down if the will of the Vietnamese people is to surface.

These issues are perceptively discussed in a recent editorial in the Willows Daily Journal of Willows, a rural newspaper in north central California. I insert this editorial at this point in the RECORD:

AN ABSURD WAR

(By Lyon Evans)

About a week or so ago I decided I was going to stop using the Journal editorial page as a sounding board for my frustrations over the war in Viet Nam. It seemed to me that there was simply nothing more that could be said about this squalid adventure that hadn't already been said before—and many times over. Those with the predisposition to grasp my point of view would long since have done so, I thought; those who hadn't were simply beyond the reach of whatever I could tell them.

Yet as I sit fumbling at the typewriter in the aftermath of Nixon's latest Viet Nam bombshell, my shame, rage, sadness and fear have been so thoroughly aroused that I feel compelled to take up the cudgels still another time.

In a word, by ordering the mining of Haiphong harbor and the interdiction of supply lines from China, Mr. Nixon has sent the United States down a road from which there will be no return. It is a road full of unknown pitfalls and dangers; it is a road down which no one man had a right to send us.

Make no mistake about it—this is major escalation of the Viet Nam war. Like the Laotian and Cambodian invasions before it, it is an act of extreme recklessness, one that had been considered and rejected five years ago by that extreme Hawk, Lyndon Johnson.

Also like Cambodia and Laos, it is an act which will probably have comparable results—that is to say, worthless as a deterrent to the North Vietnamese, but instrumental as a source of deeper, more destructive and probably irreversible American involvement.

The prospect of American jets and bombers blasting hell out of the North Vietnamese landscape is not new, of course; but the prospect of American battleships dropping mines into Haiphong harbor and challenging Russian ships to a game of "chicken," in the fashion of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, is.

It is not a prospect which can hold out any comfort to a sane man—but then, in this instance, it would appear that Mr. Nixon has taken leave of his sanity. Consider the possible consequences, as they present themselves to a mind admittedly benumbed at this hour by the magnitude of the situation:

1. The Moscow summit almost surely will be cancelled. This, along with its attendant prospects of improved international relations, including possible nuclear arms limitations agreement. Mr. Nixon's desire not to lose a war that cannot be won in an irrelevant part of the world apparently takes precedence over all that.

2. The Russians almost surely will be pushed into greater belligerence, perhaps in such places as Berlin and the Middle East as well as Viet Nam. For the Russians have been gratuitously, shamelessly bullied, and blamed for a war that they have only marginally been involved in. And for them to act like a

"pitiful, helpless giant" (if you'll pardon the expression) in this instance, however otherwise statesmanlike it might be, is surely more than anyone has a right to expect.

3. The Chinese may well intervene. For those who scoff at the prospect, consider what happened in Korea 22 years ago. And consider what General MacArthur said about getting involved in a land war in Asia.

4. America is apparently now committed not to "ending the war," as Nixon pledged four years ago, but continuing and expanding it—indeinitely.

Measured against all this, what positive results does the United States stand to gain from the latest round of escalation? Namely, as Mr. Nixon put it, staving off a South Vietnamese defeat—at least, prior to the November elections. And that's about all. For to entertain the notion that the latest saber-rattling, after 25 years of war, will induce the North Vietnamese, to stop fighting and beat their swords into plowshares, is even more fantastic than the other premises on which this fantastic escalation is based.

Finally, to cap it all, we have the prospect of the President of the United States—a man with a conspiratorial view of history and a tendency for lurid over-dramatization of events (in the "Checkers Speech," "last press conference," "Six Crises" etc.)—single-handedly ignoring the Congress, the American public, many of his advisors, his own past rhetoric and promises and the dictates of what should pass for common sense, in embarking on a course of action the consequences of which even he cannot fully foresee.

All of which is enough to make me, personally, depressed as hell. But worse: It disgusts me; it so thoroughly sickens me and darkens my already tenuous faith in this country and all that it stands for, that I feel reduced to some sort of impotent marsh-mallow, floundering around in search of something that can't be co-opted by the galloping absurdity.

What to do in such a situation? Demonstrate? Write letters to my congressman? Throw bombs and bricks? Refuse to pay my taxes? It all sounds futile, and a bore.

I suppose there is really nothing to do but sit tight and pray—or possibly begin packing one's bags for Lapland or New Guinea—some-where, anywhere there aren't any newspapers or television sets or other grubby reminders of this latest nightmare concocted by our political wise-men.

Yet the sad truth is that there is no place on earth that one can escape to at this hour to forget the shame and folly America has brought upon herself in continuing and now escalating the Viet Nam War. We have simply exceeded all the bounds of decency and morality and common sense, and whatever terrible things happen to us as a result, will probably be just what we deserve. This is not a prospect I find easy to live with; the question is, how the Hell can Mr. Nixon?

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

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

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

How long?

WEALTH, NOT HEALTH, MOTIVATES INSURANCE INDUSTRY

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the private health insurance industry has traditionally shown far greater interest in wealth than health. As a result, it must bear a large portion of the responsibility for the skyrocketing medical costs we are experiencing today.

It has shown itself either unwilling or unable to do much, if anything, about keeping prices down. Its emphasis on treatment in hospitals rather than in less expensive outpatient facilities has helped send costs up.

If we are to have meaningful reform in the financing and delivery of health care in this Nation—and that is something sorely needed—we must begin with the abolition of the private health insurance industry.

This point is clearly made in a column by Judith Randal printed in the Washington Star, May 18, 1972. I include that column for all to see:

OF HEALTH INSURANCE AND PROFITS

(By Judith Randal)

If you are beguiled by those ads that portray insurance agents as friendly fellows whose pleasure it is to help you out of jams, you may find the following instructive reading. It is from a booklet called "Introduce Yourself to Health Insurance" that was prepared for the training of agents for the Aetna Life and Casualty Co.—the largest commercial writer of health policies which last year collected over \$1 billion worth of premiums.

"Ever buy a used car?" it begins. "It's a risky business. The Super Whizbang gleaming in the sun on Honest Abe's lot may look OK, but it could end up costing you a bundle . . . If you're as dopey as we are about cars, you'll take it to a good 'underwriter'—a good mechanic . . . You see what we're getting at. An insurance company is something like a used car buyer. Before accepting a risk, the company underwriters it by using sources that can provide useful information about the risk . . . Otherwise, it's bound to wind up with a file full of clunkers."

When you are in business to make a profit, as all commercial insurance companies are, the aim is to minimize the risk in order to maximize profits. But what the booklet doesn't say is that the risk of an individual's not being able to get health insurance is far greater than any chances the industry takes.

One reason for this is that if you are among the estimated 60 million Americans who do not derive their health insurance protection from a group policy embracing at least 25 members of the same organization, big brother is watching you. What this means is that should you or someone in your family file a claim—or even make application for coverage—everything the insurance company can find out about you and them will be filed in a computer bank to which the 760 life insurance firms that sell health policies subscribe.

The bank is called the Medical Information Bureau and has its headquarters in Greenwich, Conn., although the records are processed by a division of the Sperry-Rand Corp. in Boston. Among the classifications, in addition to almost every "health impairment" known to medicine are "sexual deviation," "unhealthy appearance" and a history of "lues"—a euphemism for syphilis.

Nor need you even have been sick or

abnormal for your records to find their way into this vast computerized memory. Perhaps you have been guilty of "reckless driving" or have a "poor retail credit rating." Or it may be that two members of your family developed cancer before age 60 or had the same hereditary disease. Or perhaps you have only one eye or have gained or lost 10 pounds or more in the past year. Drawing as it does on everything from physical examinations and hospital records to Veteran Administration files, the computer doesn't miss a trick.

And what if the report of another person's disability ends up by mistake in your computerized pigeon hole? There is nothing you can do about it since the MIB never checks with you and regards its data as "confidential."

This stricture, however, does not deter members of the MIB from exchanging files among themselves. According to information supplied to the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly subcommittee—the source, too, of the other details in this column—there is nothing to prevent the sharing of print-outs of the 12.5 million profiles now in the data bank. In fact, a notation on the MIB "health impairment" classification list says that "details" can be obtained by payment of one dollar.

To be sure, the names of the doctors and hospitals involved are often omitted from the print-outs to protect their confidentiality. But your right to privacy is not the MIB's concern. Thus, you may find that you cannot buy health insurance, have to pay more for it than other people, or can buy it only if coverage for what ails you is specifically excluded. (The same is true if you purchase health insurance from a casualty insurance, rather than a life insurance, company. These firms have a similar information network called the Casualty Index Bureau, whose mailing address is in Morristown, N.J.)

If the government were to discriminate against you as an individual because of information in its files, you could justly claim to be the victim of a bill of attainder and seek relief in the courts. But there is no court whose writ runs to the computerized memories of the MIB and CIB, and consequently no apparent way to get redress.

All of which suggests, to state the obvious, that: (1) companies that sell about 60 percent of the health policies in this country are more interested in profits than they are in public service and (2) to expect a national health insurance plan based on private enterprise to be productive of a fair shake for all Americans—as the Nixon administration and others have proposed—is excessively naive.

WILTON ROBERTS

HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on May 1, 1972, Mr. Wilton Roberts was honored with an open house at the Greenfield High School, Greenfield, Tenn. He is retiring after a long and distinguished career in the field of education.

Mr. Roberts taught both Mrs. Jones and me in high school and we remember him as a fine teacher, dedicated to his work, and interested in his students. His devotion to his work and students made him an outstanding educator.

A recent issue of the Tri-City Observer included a story announcing Mr.

Roberts' retirement and recounting some of the highlights of his career:

CITY TO HONOR WILTON ROBERTS

Greenfield residents will honor one of their all-time top educators Monday when they observe "Wilton Roberts Day."

Highlight of the day will be a special Open House Monday evening, May 1, from 7 to 8 o'clock at Greenfield High School. The Open House will feature a short program at 7:30 honoring Mr. Roberts, who is retiring at the end of this school year.

Mr. Roberts has devoted 46 years of service as teacher and administrator in the field of education. The past seventeen years of this period have been devoted to education in Greenfield, during which he has served as principal of both the high school and elementary school.

Mayor Johnny Tharp Tuesday made the day an official celebration when he issued a proclamation proclaiming May 1 as "Wilton Roberts Day."

Mr. Roberts was born in Henderson County. He attended public schools in Henderson and Chester counties. He began his college education at Freed-Hardeman College, the University of Tennessee, and Union University.

He received his B.A. degree and did graduate work at UT and George Peabody College.

Mr. Roberts began his career in education 46 years ago. He served as principal at Ruthersford and Centerville and was superintendent of the Trimble Special School District for 13 years.

He then came to Greenfield and served for fifteen years as principal at Greenfield High School. The past two years he has been elementary school principal.

Mr. Roberts has been elected president of the Madison, Dyer and Weakley County Educational associations. He recently completed a term of office as president of the West Tennessee Education Association.

He is a 40-year member of the Tennessee Education Association and is a member of Phi Delta Kappa honorary educational fraternity.

PEACE DEMONSTRATIONS

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, our Nation's Capital has once again undergone a weekend of protest.

Yesterday, an editorial appeared in the Washington Daily News which I believe reflects the current thinking of a great many Americans on the question of these so-called peace demonstrations.

With the thought that many of my colleagues would appreciate reading the contents of this outstanding editorial, I believe it should be recorded in the RECORD:

MAIN PURPOSE IS TROUBLE

It should be reasonably clear by now that the main purpose of the organized "peace" demonstrations is not peace at all, but trouble.

The avowed aim of the leaders of these groups is to end the war in Vietnam. But the real motive is obscure. Insurrection seems to be at least a part of it.

After the latest "protest" weekend here, the leaders issued a statement in the joint name of the "National Peace Action Coalition" and the "People's Coalition for Peace and Justice." The statement, as usual, accused the police of acting "in a deliberately

provocative way to interfere with our right of free assembly."

The police have been generously tolerant of these demonstrators. They have permitted them to assemble on public property (in this case the Capitol steps), to parade thru congested streets, to interfere with the thousands of tourists who visit Washington, to litter parks and streets, to disrupt traffic, to carry the Viet Cong flag, to insult public officials, even to burn effigies.

But the "right of free assembly," as practiced in the national capital over the weekend, included an attempt forcibly to block entrances to the Pentagon, a barrage of rocks, bottles and bricks thrown at police, broken windows in government buildings, setting taxpayer-owned information booths on fire.

This weekend was tame compared to many in the past. Only a year ago, a monster demonstration turned into a riot. Thousands were arrested.

In the end, only a relative few actually were prosecuted. But the police made their point. This time the crowds were far smaller. The disorder was reduced to skirmish proportions. The damage was negligible by comparison.

The taxpayers again will get the bill—for damages to public property and for extra police protection. But it may be the message is getting across: This country will tolerate dissent, freely but not when it is exercised with violence, destruction and mayhem.

INFLATED RETAIL PRICES

HON. ARTHUR A. LINK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. LINK. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of the House to an article in the May 9 New York Times by Lacey Fosburgh which alleges a link between organized crime and the inflated retail price of meat in the New York-New Jersey area.

With all of the furor over high meat prices, this information should be of concern to consumers and producers alike.

And, Mr. Speaker, I feel that we should take special note of the part played in this by our colleague from Montana (Mr. MELCHER) a member of the House Livestock and Grains Subcommittee who first called attention to the sharply escalating price of retail meat cuts as the beef moved from the producing areas of the midwest and west into eastern metropolitan centers.

That subcommittee also has heard testimony from Mr. Scopetta, a special assistant U.S. attorney for the southern district of New York, and a Manhattan grand jury still is looking into the overall picture.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, May 9, 1972]

HIGH MEAT PRICES LAID TO RACKETEERS

(By Lacey Fosburgh)

The infiltration of organized crime into key positions in the New York City meat industry has artificially inflated the retail prices for fresh meat in supermarkets by 15 per cent, according to information developed by the Manhattan District Attorney's Office and other law enforcement agencies here and in Washington.

Consumers buying meat in the New York-New Jersey area, they say, are putting at least

a million dollars a week directly into the coffers of organized crime.

YEARS OF COLLUSION ALLEGED

Racketeers—both in the industry and in the unions that service it—have reportedly been in collusion for at least two years "systematically" extorting "week by week, month by month," as one source put it, "vast sums of money" from the supermarket chains and the wholesale suppliers.

"This is the price they pay to stay in business," another source said, "the price of labor peace."

This picture of extortion, bribery and the ultimate victimization of the consumer emerged from a series of interviews in the last few weeks with Federal and state law enforcement officials, members of a Congressional subcommittee investigating the meat industry and experts on organized crime in general.

Possible collusion between key figures in the industry and the unions—principally Local 174 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen's Union—has been the focus of an investigation by the Manhattan District Attorney's office for more than a year.

Several weeks ago a grand jury was convened to hear evidence on such crimes as extortion, coercion, grand larceny, bribe receiving by labor officials and commercial bribery.

Through the years racketeers have gained control periodically of various branches of the food industry, such as trucking operations, and have been implicated in crimes involving processed and kosher meats. The sources generally agreed, however, that the system operating in New York now was far more pervasive.

Sources have disclosed that the daily operation is rather straightforward. Representatives of both the retail and wholesale outfits are approached by racketeers, who make it clear that unless they inflate their prices and hand over the extra money, their companies will no longer be able to stay in business because of severe labor troubles.

THEY'RE BUYING PROTECTION

"It's really very scary," said one Federal source. "They're threatened, and they pay off. They have to, I suppose. They're buying protection."

Representative John Melcher, Democrat of Montana, whose House Subcommittee on Livestock and Grain has been looking into the meat industry for more than a year, said:

"The activity of organized crime in meat sales in New York is much broader than anything uncovered before. We're talking about quarters and sides of meat, vast volumes of beef sold every day of the week. We're talking about a drain from the consumers that runs into over a million a week."

Alfred J. Scotti, the Chief Assistant District Attorney for New York County, and Assistant District Attorney Franklyn Snitow are in charge of the investigation, here, but they have refused to comment on the case.

The key question disturbing most officials aware of the dimensions of the problem is precisely how much the consumer is being affected. Virtually all sources questioned said. New York prices were inflated approximately 15 per cent.

They said they had arrived at the 15 per cent average in two ways. In the first place, they said, the evidence uncovered by the Manhattan prosecutors and various Federal agencies—with the use of electronic surveillance, informants and cooperative witnesses—indicates that the racketeers' take ranges from 2 to 3 cents a pound on some items to as much as 30 or 35 on others.

Secondly, they point to the consistent discrepancy in meat prices here and in Chicago where, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, during the last year virtually all meat sold was 30 to 60 cents a pound cheaper than here.

As Representative Melcher put it: "It's out of whack." A study of both cities, he said,

shows that they have comparable costs for transportation and distribution and that wages are lower here than in Chicago.

"There's no logical reason for such a discrepancy," he said. "Somebody is getting a big bite of it somewhere."

The year-long investigation by the Manhattan District Attorney's office came to light about a month ago, when Mr. Snitow appeared in State Supreme Court to ask that Herbert Newman, president of Transworld Fabricators, a meat brokerage concern at 40 Gansevoort Street, be ordered to testify before the grand jury.

Several principals in the company had close contact in the past with organized-crime figures, and individuals indirectly associated with the concern are among the targets of the District Attorney's inquiry.

LINKS TO ORGANIZED CRIME

One of the leading credit-clearing houses for the food industry, Market Services, Inc., lists Sol Steinman as its vice president. A source there described him as the brother of Moe Steinman, who is the director of labor relations for Daitch-Shopwell.

Moe Steinman was a key witness at the State Commission of Investigation's 1969 hearings into the infiltration of organized crime into legitimate business. He admitted during the hearings that he had a close social relationship with John Dioguardi, who is known as Johnny Dio and is described by law-enforcement officials as a captain in the crime-syndicate family operated by the late Thomas Luchese.

In addition Mr. Newman, who has been given immunity to testify before the grand jury, and Mr. Steinman were formerly the owners of another meat-brokerage concern, Kaylo Associates of 408 West 14th Street.

In 1969, however, according to sources in the meat industry, ownership of Kaylo was transferred, for unknown reasons, to Charles Anselmo, a man described by officials as a major loan shark with strong organized-crime connections. In 1966 he was convicted here on a number of charges involving conspiracy, extortion and bribery in the meat industry and was sentenced to 18 months in prison.

RARICK REPORTS TO HIS PEOPLE ON THE BACKGROUND OF VIETNAM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the President's recent decision to mine the North Vietnamese harbors and resume bombing to knock out supply routes to the North Vietnamese Army invading South Vietnam has resulted in renewed demonstrations in our country.

Strangely, the protesters who profess to be against war and aggression never mobilized into action to oppose the invasion by Communist troops nor to protest against the Soviet Union which supplied 85 percent of the war materiel—the tanks, the surface-to-air missiles, the Mig aircraft, and the trucks which enabled the resumption of the war.

It was not until several weeks later when the President took action for the safety of our men and to aid our South Vietnamese ally that—almost like someone pushed a button—the protest demonstrations were renewed and continue until this day.

Admittedly, the protestors vary from those who sincerely oppose war and violence to the extreme friends of Hanoi and dupes who are being used to help continue the war unless the United States surrenders or completely withdraws from Southeast Asia.

For those who may be misled into believing that our country's actions are always wrong and those of the Soviet Union are always right, an examination of the situation from a political standpoint, which is well understood by the Soviets and all Communists, in the United States as well as worldwide may prove enlightening.

The President was selected on a promise that he had a solution to ending the war which he called Vietnamization and which would get Americans out of Vietnam. The President has been making periodic withdrawals from Vietnam and in fact had reduced our troop strength from over 500,000 to roughly 60,000 and has announced that despite the invasion, he expects to withdraw another 20,000 in the near future. If the Soviets and the North Vietnamese Communists truly wanted peace or wanted the United States out of the Far East, they are aware that by election day November of 1972, only 8 months from now, President Nixon would have had all U.S. troops out of Vietnam except perhaps cadre and technical advisers. The Soviet Russians and North Vietnamese Communists also understand that if they had waited until after the withdrawal of all American troops the President in resuming bombing could not have claimed his action was justified to protect the lives of American fighting men. Thus, one can only reasonably conclude that the Soviets who have long used Vietnamization in North Vietnam—that is furnishing arms and training to other people to fight their wars—do not want peace in Vietnam unless it comes as victory over the United States or surrender with our loss of face. And until they achieve their goal, they want war.

Both the Soviets and the Communist dupes of North Vietnam are aware that their most successful weapon in achieving victory over the non-Communist forces of the United States and our allies comes from blind demonstrations and protests in our country. The war will be won or lost in the United States, not in Vietnam. The tactic follows the same successful operation as that used by the Communists to condition the French to leave Southeast Asia—that is massive demonstrations, strikes, and threatened violence in Paris and other French cities.

While much is publicized about the war these days and Communist-aiding demonstrations are played up as newsworthy, little is reported to our people in the way of background on the history of Southeast Asia, why the country of Vietnam was divided into two nations, separated, not by a wall like Berlin, but by a demilitarized zone called the DMZ—a strip of land approximately 6 miles wide—which was negotiated to separate the Communist north from the non-Communist south until such time as United Nations-supervised elections could be held. Few Americans are aware that we

became involved in Vietnam in the interests of peace by substituting our men, money, national prestige, and materiel for the inadequacies of the United Nations.

So, I thought today you might be interested in looking back on the history of the Vietnam conflict for a better understanding of who is for peace and who merely talks peace to fool the American people.

The war in Vietnam began back in 1946—26 years ago—immediately following the end of World War II. At that time Indochina as it was known included the countries of Laos, Cambodia, and all of Vietnam. They were French colonies that had been occupied by the Japanese during World War II and the native resistance against the Japanese was supported both by the United States and Communists. After World War II, the French returned. Ho Chi Minh led the rebellion in a supposed war to gain independence from the French. Unfortunately the independence struggle became entangled with the ambitions of the Communists to expand their control and the postwar determination of the free world to halt all forms of Communist aggression.

The long years of violence and struggle coincided with the military action of the United States in Korea to stop Communist aggression in that country. By 1954, the Geneva Conference on Korea and Indochina was held in the interest of negotiating peace in Korea and a solution to the French desire to end the conflict in Indochina. The Geneva Conference was participated in by the United States, the Soviet Union, Red China, Great Britain, and France. No agreement was reached on Korea and so-called peace talks over Korea continue at Panmunjon to this day, 18 years later. But compromise agreements were reached on Indochina providing for a French withdrawal, sounding similar to present U.S. withdrawal and providing for subsequent unification of Vietnam on the basis of general elections in 1956. The Geneva Accord left Laos and Cambodia as independent states.

However, Vietnam was partitioned or cut in half so that approximately half of the country remained in non-Communist hands and the other half under Communist control. Shrewd negotiations by the Communists induced the French to agree to the DMZ line separating the two countries to be at the 17th instead of the 18th parallel and preserving the right to reunification if by peaceful means. An effective international supervision was called for by the agreement.

As per usual, in negotiating with Communists, the cease-fire accords make it clear that the British and French under political pressures from home, far from Indochina, and whose citizens were not fully apprised of the situation made over concessions to the Communists so that the international commission had no power and the Communists who were near home and immune from political reaction could block every move toward peace which did not meet with their complete approval and was not in their best interest.

The United States, while participating in the Geneva Conference, disassociated

itself from the agreements. Under Secretary of State for the United States Walter Bedell Smith, declared following the final declaration:

In the case of nations now divided against their will, we shall continue to seek unity through free elections supervised by the United Nations to insure that they are conducted fairly.

The Geneva agreements, including the partition of the country can best be described as a series of compromises in the interest of peace, with no real safeguards to the pledges of the nations, the people, or the political factions involved.

The French thereafter withdrew and for a period of 5 years there was relative stability in the south under the Diem government and complete efficient dictatorship in the north under Ho Chi Minh. The United States, which had participated in the Geneva Conference had pledged that it would not use force to disturb the settlement but that any renewal of Communist aggression would be viewed as a matter of grave concern.

Elections for reunification in North and South Vietnam have never been held because of South Vietnam's position that free elections were impossible under the Communist regime to the north.

By 1959, Communist forces from the north had sufficiently infiltrated men and agitated discontent into the south so that guerrilla warfare began to intensify markedly. Then came the South Vietnamese coup which overthrew the Diem regime and the assassination of the President, who because he was of a minority and non-Communist, was characterized by some of our press as a tyrant and dictator.

A new constitution was written, elections held, and the new President, Nguyen Van Thieu was installed in 1967. Thereafter U.S. involvement followed with the Tonkin Gulf incident provoking massive military involvement programmed not to seek a military victory or the annihilation of the enemy, but rather as a police action to assist the free nations of the area to defend their freedom from Communist aggression. To this day there are elections in South Vietnam. But elections are unheard of in North Vietnam, even in the Communist party following Chairman Ho's death. The average South Vietnamese citizen who has been at war for 26 years is constantly harassed by guerrilla terrorism and violence, while no such guerrilla action has ever been extended by the South Vietnamese to harass or threaten the North Vietnamese citizen or as an attempt to overthrow that Communist government. The battleground has been in South Vietnam.

Much of the bombing in Vietnam has been south of the demilitarized zone against forces invading from the north. Therefore the South Vietnamese have suffered as much or more destruction from the bombing as have the Communists in the north. This has been a weird undecipherable warfare.

Earlier in the war North Vietnamese troops had bolstered the strength of guerrillas called Vietcong. Their effectiveness was as terrorists. Our U.S. Vietnamization process was training the South Vietnamese to combat guerrilla

activity while the recent military offensive was by 13 divisions of a mobilized army equipped with over 500 Russian tanks and many sophisticated weapons. In the early years of the fighting, the North Vietnamese, except for infiltration bypassed the demilitarized zone and used sanctuaries in Cambodia and Laos from which to attack the South. During the more recent invasion the North Vietnamese ignored all understandings and attacked in strength crossing directly over the DMZ.

I hope that this brief résumé of the past history of the Vietnam war may offer some better understanding and insight into the present conditions in Vietnam—why we are there and why the President was compelled to take the action that he did. Amazingly, the President is trying to get us out of Indochina but the Communists would not let him. The Communists would not let the President withdraw—they do not even want an American Dunkirk—they want victory. It is strange for Americans today to protest the President's action and in so doing allow themselves to be used as tools—not for peace—but to continue the war and to prevent peace. These are exactly the opposite reasons and goals they give for demonstrating.

Seemingly we now have a new breed of peace protesters—they should be called peace hawks—if they do not get their solution for what they think is peace, they are ready to start a war.

SMALL BUSINESS TAX SIMPLIFICATION AND REFORM ACT OF 1972

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. RAILSBACK, Mr. Speaker, the need for financial help for small business has existed for many years, but it has grown particularly acute in the last few years. In 1970, business failures were 17 percent above the previous year, and indications are that the number of such failures this year will be almost this high. Moreover, small businesses continue to experience extreme difficulty in retaining adequate earnings for their business needs. External sources of funds are not always available to small business; and when they are, the sources of funds are either costly or unsatisfactory in terms.

Since small business plays a crucial role in our society, I am convinced we should do everything in our power to sustain a vigorous and healthful environment for small business. Therefore, I am today introducing a small business tax simplification and reform measure which has already been sponsored by Congressman JOE EVINS, chairman of the House Select Committee on Small Business, and Senator ALAN BIBLE, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Small Business.

This legislation evolved over a number of years after intensive consultation with small business or organizations and many

tax and economic experts within and outside of the government. It is a bipartisan, comprehensive bill which provides relief to small businesses not only at one point of their development, but during their entire economic life cycle.

In order to facilitate the early financing of small business concerns, investors are assured liberal tax treatment of any losses that are incurred on the stock. Further encouragement to the original investors is provided by granting small business corporations a Federal income tax exemption on taxable income up to \$1 million during each of the first 5 years of operation.

The 5-year exemption will assist the newly created small businesses to compete more successfully against established firms. This will help them meet stiff competition from larger establishments which have been able, over the years, to build up adequate reserves to finance their business needs.

The legislation recognizes that even when a small business becomes established, its financial troubles are far from over. A serious problem in operating a small business is the inability to obtain external funds, particularly through borrowing. As the Small Business Administration stated in its 1971 annual Economic Review:

Historically, small businesses are among those that find credit availability severely restricted and obtainable only at comparatively high costs and under other terms that are not the most desirable.

In a recent survey of interest rates on small business loans, the Federal Reserve Board found that for February of this year the average rate on small—\$10,000 to \$25,000—short-term noninstallment loans to business was 7.19 percent. This represents a substantial cost to business.

In addition to the tax-exemption feature contained in the bill, it also has provisions designed to aid small business in retaining additional funds which will be available for growth. One such provision is the proposed corporate tax rate reduction for corporations with small and modest levels of taxable income. Under this provision, the current rate structure which consists of a 22-percent rate on the first \$25,000 taxable income and a sharply increased rate of 48 percent on income in excess of \$25,000 would be replaced by a graduated rate schedule ranging from 20 percent to 50 percent.

Besides providing necessary tax relief to small business and other provisions designed to assure the preservation of small business, the legislation I am today introducing is also written to simplify the tax laws pertaining to small business.

Small business is excessively burdened by the complexity of the tax laws and the forms it must fill out to comply with these laws and other legal requirements of operating a business. Even though a business manager is highly competent in operating his business, he is beset with so much red tape that it diverts a considerable part of his valuable time away from company work. This is usually costly to him, and, in some instances, leads to the destruction of the business.

The small businessman cannot afford to hire an expert accountant or other professional individual to fulfill all his commitments to the Federal, State, and local governments. He must fill out numerous forms relating to withholding of Federal and State income and employment taxes from his employees, excise taxes collected from consumers, licensing, census studies, and an endless list of other government forms.

The deep concern over the ever-increasing amount of paperwork required by the Federal, State, and local governments prompted the Senate Select Committee on Small Business to conduct a study on government reports and statistics. On October 8, 1968, the findings were published. The report acknowledged that the small business community is justly concerned about the proliferation of reports and paperwork they are required to furnish. Most of the complaints involved tax returns, census reports, and wage and earnings reports. The cost of Federal paperwork alone accounted for over \$8 billion in 1967.

However, as a conference of small businessmen held during May of last year explained the general problem still exists. They pointed out, for example, that large corporations can hire clerical help and install computers to handle their paperwork. However, many small businesses find it nearly impossible to understand and work with the maze of government forms and reports.

My good friend, Jim Rosborough, president of the Moline Tool Co., has explained to me the burden of filling out all the required forms. I insert the text of his letter at this point in the Record:

MOLINE TOOL CO.,
Moline, Ill., May 12, 1972.

HON. THOMAS F. RAILSBACK,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR TOM: I recently had a pleasant conversation with Pat Wichser of your office, regarding the possibility that something may be done in the way of simplifying tax forms, and in decreasing the astounding number of Government forms that we and others are required to fill out. The burden of filling out forms is a great one, and we question that the benefits are in proportion to the amount of paper work required.

I will comment below on individual and corporate taxes and, also, on other reports that are required.

INDIVIDUAL TAXES

It is evident that the U.S. tax forms for individuals are far too complex, by the fact that a new and non-productive industry has been created to help people compute their Federal Income Taxes. I work on my own Income Tax, which is relatively simple since most of my income is in salary from our company. However, between the Federal and State forms, I find much language that is complex, confusing, frustrating and apparently so designed. The percentages, deductions, credits and allowances are a remarkable tangle. I have trouble in believing that this mass of confusion could have been created, except with intent to do so.

CORPORATION TAXES

The Federal Government, which is the largest partner of the Moline Tool Company, takes a basic 48% of any profit we are able to produce. The regulations and rules for computing corporate Income Taxes are extremely complex. We feel it is necessary to hire a public accounting firm to do this work

for us, because it would be impossible for us to do this ourselves with any certainty that we could do it correctly. Also, we believe that our Income Tax reporting would immediately become suspect, if we did our own work and did not hire an outside certified public accountant. The fact that it is felt necessary to hire CPA's to compute taxes and fill out tax forms, is further evidence that the regulations and forms pertaining to Income Tax reporting are much too complicated and confused. Taxes should be relatively easy to pay.

OTHER REPORTS

When you were in our office recently, we mentioned that from January 1 through April 30, 1972—that is, for a period of 17 weeks or 85 working days—Moline Tool Company has had to fill out and return to various Governmental agencies, a total of 49 forms. This averages out to be one form every 1.8 days. Of course, this reporting is in addition to the regular work we must do to stay in business such as paying our people and our bills, ordering and keeping records on materials, invoicing our customers, and following up on collections; seeking orders, doing our engineering, maintenance and negotiating—and many more things to keep a business in operation.

The burden of red tape imposed on small corporations by all Government bodies is tremendous and growing. I am sure you remember Willis Kuschmann who retired from Moline Tool Company a couple of years ago. He did our bookkeeping and accounting work for many years. Shortly before he retired in 1970, Mr. Kuschmann made a survey of the changing requirements of tax reporting over the period that he did this work for us. In 1933, there were a total of (8) tax returns bills, ordering and keeping records on materials, invoicing our customers, and following our engineering, maintenance and negotiating—and many more things to keep business.

We are attaching hereto, a list of the 23 Federal Forms and 26 State Forms (total 49 Government forms) that we have filled out in the first 85 working days of 1972.

We certainly would appreciate some relief from this fast-growing burden of Governmental red tape. Much of it, we feel, is unnecessary, burdensome and of no benefit to anyone except those who prepare the forms and compile endless statistics therefrom.

Thanks for being interested in some of these problems of small business.

Sincerely,

JAMES B. ROSBOROUGH, *President.*

LIST OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND FORMS FILED BY MOLINE TOOL CO. FROM JANUARY 1 THROUGH APRIL 30, 1972

23 Federal forms

- Federal Unemployment 4th Qtr. 1971.
- F.I.C.A. Wages Paid 4th Qtr. 1971.
- Withholding Taxes 12-31-71.
- Withholding Taxes 1-15-72.
- Withholding Taxes 1-31-72.
- Withholding Taxes 2-15-72.
- Bureau of Commerce Annual Report Form MA100.
- O.S.H.A. Report.
- W-2's for 1971.
- 1099's for Dividend.
- 1096—Summary of 1099's.
- Federal Income Tax Extension.
- Federal Trade Commission Form MG-3 (P&L).
- F.I.C.A. 2-29.
- Federal Trade Commission Quarterly Report.
- F.I.C.A. 3-15.
- F.I.C.A. 3-31.
- 1st Quarter F.I.C.A.
- 1st Quarter Federal Unemployment.
- MQ35-W Survey of Business on Hand & Shipments.
- MQ35-W Supplement.
- F.I.C.A. 4-15.
- F.I.C.A. 4-30.

- 26 State of Illinois forms
- State Unemployment 4th Qtr. 1971.
- State Unemployment Report Form DL 1219.
- State Income Taxes Withheld 1-15-72.
- State W-3 Report of Wages.
- State Income Taxes Withheld 2-15-72.
- State Income Tax Extension.
- Illinois Sales Tax Report 1-31-72.
- Illinois Sales Tax Report 2-28-72.
- Illinois Local Unemployment Office Report—Expected Emp.
- Illinois Form DL 1219—State Unemployment.
- State—Statement of products BLS 790 III. Dep't. of Labor.
- State of Illinois Annual Report.
- Illinois Local Unemployment Office Report—Expected Emp.
- State DL 1219 Job Openings and Labor Turnover.
- Illinois Unemployment Investigation.
- State Income Taxes Withheld 3-15-72.
- State DL 1219.
- State Annual Sales Tax Report.
- State Annual Income Tax Payment.
- Illinois 1st Quarter State Unemployment.
- 4/21 Illinois Form DL 1219.
- 4/28 Illinois Sales Tax.
- 3/31 Illinois Sales Tax.
- 4/28 Illinois ISES-871—Dep't of Labor.
- DL 1219 May.
- 4/15 State Income Taxes Withheld.
- Total—49 Reports and Forms.

Mr. Speaker, the Small Business Tax Simplification and Reform Act of 1972 will help simplify the tax laws pertaining to small business, and, hopefully, relieve small business of some of their problems.

The current provisions of the Internal Revenue Code that pertain to small business are scattered throughout the Code. The bill requires that these sections be consolidated into one chapter or other appropriate subdivision. This would greatly simplify the identification of these provisions which apply to new and small businesses.

An Office of Small Business Tax Analysis would be established in the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, with the objective to make a continuing study of the effect of Federal, State, and local taxes on small business, and the problems caused to small business in complying with the reports and procedural requirements of the various governments.

In addition, a Committee on Tax Simplification for Small Business would be established. The committee, which would consist of officers from the Treasury Department, Office of Management and Budget, Small Business Administration, and the Internal Revenue Service would conduct a continuing study and review of the Internal Revenue Code toward simplifying the Code as it pertains to small business.

I am convinced the bill I am today introducing demands immediate attention. Small business deserves tax relief and simplification now.

CRITICS PRAISE JACKSONVILLE SYMPHONY

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the Jacksonville Symphony Orchestra, from

Jacksonville, Fla., which I represent in the Congress, has been playing an important part in the city's 150th susquecentennial anniversary celebration. To mark the 150th anniversary of the city's founding, the orchestra commissioned two original works. One, by Duke Ellington called "Celebration," recalls Ellington's performances in Jacksonville several years ago. The other work is by Carlisle Floyd in the form of a monodrama entitled "Flower and Hawk." The symphony performed the new works along with "Dies Natalis" by Howard Hanson and Weber's Konzertstueck for Piano and Orchestra in Jacksonville on May 17. Then the symphony headed north for premier performances in Washington and New York.

On May 18, the symphony performed at the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington. The following night, they delighted New York audiences at Carnegie Hall. The Washington and New York reviews clearly indicate the excellence of the Jacksonville Symphony performances.

Washington Evening Star staff writer Irving Lowens said:

True, Jacksonville did go through one season without symphony concerts and things did look pretty black at one time. But the orchestra reorganized, struggled through a season without a regular conductor, and finally, with Willis Page as musical director, managed to return to what seems to be vigorous health.

Washington Post music critic Paul Hume wrote of the symphony:

Two years ago The New York Times ran a long obituary on the Jacksonville Symphony Orchestra, complete with details on the cause of death.

Last night, the Jacksonville Symphony, playing on the stage of the Kennedy Center Concert Hall, gave resounding evidence of its unquestioned resurrection.

Willis Page proved himself during the evening equally adept in supporting a pianist and a singer, as much as in his ability to build a renewed orchestra well and in a highly promising manner.

Raymond Ericson of the New York Times wrote:

In these unfamiliar works, the orchestra performed very well. It was excellently disciplined, a tribute to Mr. Page, who handled the varying stylistic challenges of the program with assurance and understanding. Mary Lou Wesley Krosnick was the pianist in the Weber work, playing with accurate, fleet fingers and much spirit.

Finally, Harriet Johnson of the New York Post also praised the symphony:

"The orchestra's string choir is warm and well integrated and in the opening "Dies Natalis" by Howard Hanson, the most distinguished piece on the program, the strings picked up the air by their quality and unified working together."

BICYCLE BOOM

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago I sponsored a bike ride around the Capitol because I wanted to demon-

strate that the bicycle is a viable means of transportation which does not pollute the environment and is a healthful way to exercise.

Many of my colleagues joined me on this "great bike ride" and many more voiced support for new bike facilities throughout the country.

The reason for our interest in providing additional bicycle facilities is that more and more people are riding bikes to work and using them for pleasurable trips in and around the city.

Recently, efforts have been made to build bike highways in urban areas and several large cities across the country have already installed bike racks so that people can park their bikes downtown and shop. My own city of New York has installed bike racks in various parts of Manhattan so those who wish to come into town can do so quickly and easily.

While it is not unusual to see automobiles toting bicycles on the roof or in the trunk, it is unusual that people are now carrying bikes on long trips. As the summer months approach, more and more people are taking lightweight bicycles with them to Europe, and airlines are now permitting passengers to carry bikes as luggage.

One of the reasons that cycling has once again become part of Americana is that people are aware of the great benefits of riding a bicycle as well as the emergency of new technology which led to the development of the 10-speed bike.

While most cyclists do not use the 10-speed bike the truly avid rider has long been aware of these "new fangled" machines.

Yesterday's Christian Science Monitor published a fascinating article, written by Jim Hughes, which describes in some detail, the wonderful world of bikes. I think my colleagues in the House would find it most interesting, and therefore, for their information I would like to include Mr. Hughes article in today's RECORD:

U.S. BICYCLE BOOM—WATCH THE 10-SPEEDS WHIZZING BY

(By Jim Hughes)

The United States is putting on the 10-speed bicycle. If you know more than three of the following names from Europe you are probably wearing 10-speeds yourself: Motobecane, Chiorla, Ross, Rudge Ginet, Schauf, Riviere, Mercier, Atala, Italvega, G. LaPierre, Raleigh, Peugeot. . . . That's a partial list of 10-speed bicycle makers.

You've seen them—the bikes that are thin all over. The handlebars are on upside down and wrapped in tape. The drive chain appears to be too long, and there's a thing that juts down from the back wheel to take up the slack.

Overall a 10-speed looks like a machine used to elevate the human posterior higher than the human head. It is an absurd position, without dignity.

But men who know bikes, although they admit that one would not lounge in such a position, insist that having the hands lower than the knees and the rear higher than the head is the best way to pedal.

FANCY NAMES TO SPORT

The thing that juts down from the back wheel turns out to be the heart of the system. It is called a derailleur, which is fancy for derailer. (One of the nicer things about 10-speeds is the foreign names you can throw around, which puts you definitely in.) The derailleur is not a French terrorist who re-

moves trains from their tracks; instead it jumps the drive chain off onto the many sprockets of the bike.

One of man's best friends is that old party, mechanical advantage. Mechanical advantage is our constant companion—not much company, but we couldn't even get out of a chair without it.

The derailleur brings mechanical advantage to the aid of the cyclist. One of the ways to get it is the lever. So the bicycle turns out to be a distant relative of the crow-bar.

A LEVER FOR UPHILL

On a 10-speed, mechanical advantage disports itself in an array of five sprockets on the rear hub and two on the pedal crank. When pedaling uphill the rider pulls a little lever that is inconvenient to reach. (To the new rider everything on a 10-speed is inconvenient.) This "derails" the drive chain onto the next sprocket. This makes the feet go more and the wheels less.

It is the derailleur's only trick. It gets the same work out of you in the end, but it keeps you from throwing your hands up and quitting. If after pulling the levers all the way you still can't get up the hill, you are tired and should go home and rest.

A visit to a bicycle shop will show you the size of the bike boom. People are crowding in to look and buy. The sweep of the boom is more than the African violet thing of past years, and less than the hula hoop, without the hoops' faddish overtones.

SHORTAGE LAST YEAR

In 1971 10-speed bikes were hard to get. Even so sales doubled. Ben Olken of the Bicycle Exchange in Cambridge, Mass., expects another 50 percent rise this year. Mr. Olken thinks bicycle sales have a lot of factors driving them upward. Ecology and people wanting to get some exercises—a lot of them got tired of jogging."

But he smiled at the idea of boom. "I was reading a 1940 Esquire the other day. There was an article about the bicycle boom. It is a cyclical thing that comes every 20 or 30 years."

Mr. Olken has been selling 10-speeds since 1947. They aren't new to him.

There is a big spread in prices. Bikes that look about the same range from \$70 to \$400. What you get for more money is better quality and lighter weight. If you already have everything, you can wade in there with the other conspicuous consumers and pay \$800 for a dainty handmade bike.

ONE-UP FOR GRANDMA

One ride on a conventional three-speed or balloon-tire bike weighing 40 pounds in the company of a person on a 10-speed weighing 23 pounds is convincing. Even if the other rider is your grandmother you will be humiliated. She will be loafing along waiting for you all day. You will rush out and get your own 10-speed so you can defeat her in a rematch.

When you get to the bike shop you will be confused by having to choose among all those makes. Here are a few more to mull over: Phillips, Schwinn, Iverson, Triumph, Gazelle, Lejeune, Masl, J. R. Jackson, Bianchi, Gtane, Viking Hetchin's, Rene Herse, Pogliaghi, Merclan, Allefro, Cinelli, Falcon, Huff, Rollfast, Columbia, Murray, Royce Union.

OLDER AMERICANS GUARANTEED INCOME ACT OF 1972

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1972

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation which would

guarantee to all persons 65 years and older a minimum income of \$100 a month.

Presently, persons not covered by social security may receive a small government pension after they reach age 72. The monthly benefit is \$48 per individual and \$62 per couple, less income from other government pensions. However, this aid is limited to persons who turned 72 prior to 1968 or were covered by social security after 1966. Individuals receiving public assistance may be totally excluded. For those on social security, the minimum monthly benefit is \$70.40. H.R. 1, which the House passed last year, would increase that minimum 5 percent.

My Older Americans Guaranteed Income Act of 1972 is designed to help assure an end to poverty and despair for our senior citizens. It would amend the social security laws to increase and expand benefits for all Americans whether covered by social security or not. Specifically, my bill would eliminate the 1968 or prior social security coverage restrictions for persons not insured under social security. Also, it would lower the eligible age to 65 and would increase benefits to \$100 per person and \$150 per couple. As under present law, that amount would be reduced according to other government pensions. However, persons receiving public assistance would also be permitted to receive a supplemental allotment to bring their monthly payments up to the \$100 floor. For those covered by social security, my measure would increase the minimum payment to \$120 per month for an individual and \$180 a month for a couple, as well as increase benefits 20 percent.

Mr. Speaker, the Federal Government must recognize its responsibility to the elderly. Until we provide every American 65 years and older with a guaranteed income of at least \$100 a month, the ideal behind our social security laws rings hollow. The Older Americans Guaranteed Income Act should now become a rallying point for all older Americans—an expression of the need and a beacon for the direction which the American society must take in caring for the elderly. We must end the squalor and poverty for our elderly once and for all—by guaranteeing them the right to income and security.

Further, Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my thanks to my friend, Mr. Gerard Farley, president of the New York City Civil Service Retired Employees Association for pointing out to me the inequitable treatment that local and State retired employees receive under the existing law. Many, if not most of their ranks receive no benefit from the existing law and live on very low pension income. These former government employees who dedicated their lives to the public in local and State service deserve to be treated with gratitude and rewarded with security during their golden years. I would like to add that Mr. Farley is to be commended for the fine and dedicated work he has done on behalf of these dedicated and well-deserving retired government employees.