

tion, educational assistance, and special training allowances paid to eligible veterans and persons; to provide for advance educational assistance payments to certain veterans; to make improvements in the educational assistance programs; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. THONE (for himself, Mr. CABELL, Mr. CRANE, Mr. DICKINSON, Mr. DOWNING, Mr. HARVEY, Mr. HOGAN, Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. MCCLORY, Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia, Mr. VANDER JAGT, and Mr. WRIGHT):

H.R. 12829. A bill to amend the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 to require the Secretary of Labor to recognize the difference in hazards to employees between the heavy construction industry and the light residential construction industry; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. VANDER JAGT:

H.R. 12830. A bill to amend title IX of the Public Health Service Act to include diabetes among the diseases specifically required to be covered by regional medical programs thereunder; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. VEYSEY (for himself, Mrs. ABZUG, Mr. CASEY of Texas, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. COLLIER, Mr. DERWINSKI, Mr. FISHER, Mr. FORSYTHE, Mr. FRASER, Mr. GRIFFIN, Mr. LANDGREBE, Mr. MCFALL, Mr. ROE, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. RYAN, Mr. TIERNAN, Mr. VANDER JAGT, and Mr. WARE):

H.R. 12831. A bill to establish a Federal program to encourage the voluntary donation of pure and safe blood, to require licensing and inspection of all blood banks, and to establish a national registry of blood donors; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ZION:

H.R. 12832. A bill to provide for a study of the feasibility and desirability of establishing a proposed Ohio River National Parkway in the State of Indiana, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ASPIN (for himself, Mr. ABOUREZK, Mrs. ABZUG, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. BEGICH, Mr. BRINKLEY, Mr. BURTON, Mr. BYRON, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. CULVER, Mr. DANIEL of Virginia, Mr. DANIELSON, Mr. DENT, Mr. DERWINSKI, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. DOWNING, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. ESCH, Mr. FORSYTHE, Mr. FRENZEL, Mr. GAYDOS, and Mrs. GRASSO):

H.J. Res. 1040. Joint resolution to create a select joint committee to conduct an investigation and study into methods of signifi-

cantly simplifying Federal income tax return forms; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. ASPIN (for himself, Mr. GUBSER, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. HARRINGTON, Mr. HATHAWAY, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts, Mr. HOGAN, Mr. HOSMER, Mr. ICHORD, Mr. KEMP, Mr. LINK, Mr. LUJAN, Mr. MANN, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. McCLOURE, Mr. MCCORMACK, Mr. McDADDE, Mr. MIKVA, Mr. MITCHELL, Mr. MORSE, and Mr. MOSHER):

H.J. Res. 1041. Joint resolution to create a select joint committee to conduct an investigation and study into methods of significantly simplifying Federal income tax return forms; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. ASPIN (for himself, Mr. MOSS, Mr. PRICE of Illinois, Mr. RAILSBACK, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. SCHWENGEL, Mr. SEIBERLING, Mr. SLACK, Mr. STEELE, Mr. STOKES, Mr. SYMINGTON, Mr. THONE, Mr. TIERNAN, Mr. VEYSEY, Mr. WARE, Mr. WILLIAMS, and Mr. YATES):

H.J. Res. 1042. Joint resolution to create a select joint committee to conduct an investigation and study into methods of significantly simplifying Federal income tax return forms; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HALL:

H.J. Res. 1043. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to give to local school authorities the right to determine the extent to which students are provided transportation to their schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. HANSEN of Washington:

H.J. Res. 1044. Joint resolution to suspend for 80 days the continuation of any strike or lockout arising out of the labor dispute between the Pacific Maritime Association and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania:

H.J. Res. 1045. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the period April 19 through April 22, 1972, as "School Bus Safety Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RUNNELS:

H.J. Res. 1046. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States limiting deficit spending by the Federal Government; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RUPPE:

H.J. Res. 1047. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the period April 19 through April 22, 1972, as "School Bus Safety Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NIX:

H. Con. Res. 514. Concurrent resolution to relieve the suppression of Soviet Jewry; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey:

H. Con. Res. 515. Concurrent resolution urging review of the United Nations Charter; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MILLER of California:

H. Res. 793. Resolution to provide funds for the expenses of the investigations and studies authorized by House Resolution 243; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H. Res. 794. Resolution calling upon the Voice of America to broadcast in the Yiddish language to Soviet Jewry; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. BROOMFIELD:

H.R. 12833. A bill for the relief of James R. Jones; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURKE of Florida:

H.R. 12834. A bill for the relief of Marion Davis and Maxine Davis, husband and wife; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FOLEY:

H.R. 12835. A bill for relief of Arnold J. Follett and his wife, Elsie M. Follett; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. HANSEN of Washington:

H.R. 12836. A bill for the relief of Harold Gilbertson, Raymond Nelson, Lawrence Powell, Marvin Holland, Erling Ellison, Haakon Pederson, Marvel Blix, all of Cathlamet, Wash., and Charles F. Gann, of Westport, Oreg.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 12837. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Mario Petrone; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

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

183. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Interstate Oil Compact Commission, Oklahoma City, Okla., relative to maintenance of a strong domestic oil and gas industry; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

184. Also petition of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor, Santurce, P. R., relative to the centennial of the birth of Santiago Iglesias Pantin, founder of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

SENATOR FRANK E. MOSS DETAILS THE POSITIVE ACTIONS BEING TAKEN AGAINST DRUG USE AND ABUSE

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, on Monday I attended a ceremony marking the 25th anniversary of Listen magazine, a youth-oriented publication devoted to better living. Featured speaker at the luncheon was Senator FRANK E. MOSS,

who gave an excellent presentation of the positive actions being taken against drug use and abuse.

The able legislator from Utah said:

The need for assistance is great for young people. Far too often they turn toward drugs, cigarettes, or alcohol to provide that something extra in their lives. Listen has shown them the other side of the story.

Listen magazine contains articles on drug usage, told in language that young people can understand and appreciate. But it is not merely a recitation of drug experiences; the authors also produce first-person narratives on why they choose to avoid drugs.

It is this positive approach that is often overlooked by writers. Along with the warnings and preachments, we must tell our young people that there are safer, healthier and much better ways to find self-fulfillment, and show them by example.

The monthly publication, with its emphasis on wholesome living, presents up-to-date facts on drug problems, alcoholism, smoking and health. It has the largest circulation of any magazine of its type, 180,000 copies each issue, according to editor Francis A. Soper. It is the only one of its type officially approved by the commissioner of education

in most States for use in public school curricula.

Senator Moss, long a leader in the battle against drug abuse, has given a scholarly presentation of the dangers and dimensions of the problem. His review of the legislative actions taken in response to growing national concern is a valuable reference and should be of extreme interest to all of us.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address by Senator Moss be placed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

#### DRUG USE—AND ABUSE

It's a great pleasure to be here today to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Listen magazine. I am particularly close to Listen not just because they had my picture on the cover a few months ago, although I must admit I enjoyed that story a little more than most, but because Listen and I have some interests in common. Actually, the vast majority of the American people share this interest.

One of the greatest problems facing our nation today, particularly our youth, is drugs. Now that's not limited to the deadly heroin and the dangerous amphetamines. There are, to my mind, three large classes of drugs. These are what we traditionally label as narcotics, drugs and alcohol and tobacco. Now it is completely conceivable that each of these drugs could be relatively safe for most people when used in small quantities.

There are medicinal reasons for using amphetamines or barbituates. The trouble comes when they are misused.

There are medicinal reasons for using alcohol. The trouble comes when the use is excessive, or someone uses alcohol who cannot tolerate it and who becomes an alcoholic.

And it is possible that tobacco can be used in such a way that it is only minimally harmful (not inhaled, for example) and this may actually calm the nerves or be comforting to certain people.

By and large, however, the vast majority of these drugs are abused. They are not used safely—they are not used for medicinal purposes—they are used to deaden the senses and in that way diminish from the meaning of life.

As a citizen I know the dangers which these drugs can lead to. The addictive qualities which virtually destroy life. As a parent, I am familiar with the terrible pressures upon young people to experiment. And as a legislator, I am faced with the awesome burden of legislating out of existence the very dangers which the drugs produce.

We have learned that banning common products does not work. In the area of cigarettes, many have said, in frustration over the snail's pace decline of smoking, that we should legislate absolute prohibition of the use of tobacco—make the product contraband. But human and governmental experience prove such action repugnant and costly beyond results and fortified with other drawbacks and evils to our society—not the least of which is loss of personal freedom of choice.

Free men should choose not to smoke, to drink to excess, or take harmful drugs because of the terrible penalty to themselves personally and the burdens of care and loss thrown upon society. Education and persuasion are alternatives to the most harmful aspects of these addictions, and these are the courses we must pursue.

I have reviewed the legislative commitments made in the area of drugs, alcohol and smoking over the past few years and find our progress quite remarkable, particularly when the congress is often called the world's

most deliberative body. We deliberated. Yes, we could have done more and maybe we could have done it earlier. But the exciting fact is that we have done it.

Now with a commitment from the executive branch of the government, with a commitment from the judicial branch, and with the participation of every citizen concerned about these problems, we must succeed.

I would like to give you a rundown of the Federal effort to date.

#### DRUGS

Drug abuse is not just a problem anymore. It is the number one crisis in America today. It has gripped millions of responsible parents with an unshakable fear that this terrible thing might capture and destroy their sons and daughters. And family after family is left numbly aware of how suddenly and painfully it strikes. Because this disease once belonged to a side of life that most people never experienced, it was largely ignored. But not anymore. Along with its infecting elements, it has invaded the whole American scene, ripping families apart and leaving them helpless and grief stricken in its wake.

One of the most frightening things about drug abuse is that, because it supports such a lucrative business, it sustains itself and constantly expands. It lures into the system an ever increasing number of unscrupulous but clever operators, who use the pathetic craving of an addict to drain him and his society of colossal sums of money. We all share an annual bill which has soared into the billions for the crime, welfare, treatment and lost productivity which are associated with the existence of this plague in our society.

Heaped upon the crisis in our own nation is the prospect of from 5 to 15% of our servicemen returning home from Vietnam as heroin addicts unless they are successfully treated prior to discharge. I think we can well imagine the ominous implications of this, not only for the men but for our society.

The alarm that the country has expressed is reflected in the national legislative activity of the past two years. In this time, the Congress has enacted an impressive amount of legislation relating to all aspects of drug abuse control. Foremost among the achievements of the 91st Congress was the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970. This is a landmark piece of drug legislation, because it overhauls virtually all existing laws related to drug abuse control, and supplements the Federal efforts in the areas of treatment and education.

Title I of this act provides increased funding authority for state and community treatment programs, and also authorizes some innovative treatment and education programs. In addition, it expands the scope of rehabilitation programs to include persons with drug dependency problems involving non-narcotic as well as narcotic drugs.

Title II, which is also known as the Controlled Substances Act, replaces with a single statute all previous narcotic and dangerous drug control laws, except for those dealing with import and export. One striking feature of this act is that it revises the previous penalty structure, including provisions making any first-time simple possession offense a misdemeanor and dropping all mandatory minimum sentences except for persons engaged in a continuing criminal enterprise—thus distinguishing between the user and the pusher. The bill also classifies all drugs subject to control in five schedules according to their abuse potential, accept medical value, and physical and psychological effects.

Title III of the new law has replaced previous narcotic and dangerous drug statutes relating to importation and exportation, aiming particularly for stricter supervision of the traffic in depressant and stimulant drugs.

Another piece of legislation which emerged during the 91st Congress is the Drug Abuse

Education Act. Senator Randolph, who is with us today, was a cosponsor and, active supporter of this bill, as he has been for other measures in these fields. This law enables the Federal Government to provide support to states and communities in the development of educational programs and curricula to be used in elementary and secondary schools. It also provides for community education programs designed to promote knowledge and leadership for community action programs in areas where such activities are sorely needed.

The work of the 91st Congress made very real advances in the battle against drug abuse, and it also laid much of the groundwork for the more than 200 proposals which were advanced during the first session of the 92nd Congress. The most significant of these is the Administration Bill which creates a special action office for drug abuse prevention in the executive office of the president. This office would coordinate all major Federal treatment and prevention programs. The Senate bill provides appropriations authorizing in excess of one and one half billion dollars to beef up Federal, state and local efforts.

To me, this bill signifies the urgency felt by the entire nation, and it provides much more effective coordination and greatly increased funding power to the overall effort. The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has held extensive hearings on this proposal and as a result introduced a new bill on December 7. By unanimous vote, the Senate has already passed its own version of this proposal, and although the House and Senate versions differ in some respects, they are similar in intent and most major provisions. Final action is anticipated early in the upcoming session.

Another bill which has been passed by the House and is now being considered by the Senate is one which would provide for the development of narcotic treatment programs in correctional institutions for both those incarcerated and those on parole. Because the drug problem feeds the crime problem so generously, there is a special need for correctional systems to develop more and better treatment programs. This bill takes a major step in that direction.

Efforts to curb the international flow of illicit drugs strike at a main root of the drug abuse problem. Among the many proposals which have emerged in this area is a provision of the amendments to foreign assistance act which would suspend foreign assistance to countries not cooperating in attempts to control illegal drug traffic to the United States. It also contains a provision for assistance to those countries participating in international drug control.

The past three years have seen laws enacted which have doubled and redoubled Federal, state, local and individual efforts in drug abuse control. But even with the progress that has been made, no one can be oblivious to the formidable agenda which remains before us. It is evident that legislative efforts must not be relaxed until this menace, which has already raged way too far out of control, is caught and obliterated or significantly reduced.

#### ALCOHOL

Now what about alcohol. Some people like to pass this one off as a minor problem, but no one who has ever had much experience with alcoholics could call it minor.

For many years Federal efforts in the field of alcoholism were very sketchy. There was no coordinated program. One of the first things I did when I came to the Senate was to introduce a bill which would give the states and communities the tools to meet the tragic problem of the alcoholic.

I had been a judge in Salt Lake City, and within my jurisdiction was the police court, that is the court before which anyone



charged with drunkenness is brought for sentencing.

The same people came before me again and again for sentencing, and I realized that drunkenness is an illness, and that we had to have some sort of machinery to provide treatment for it.

For several years I stood almost alone in the Senate in my fight against alcoholism. Finally, I was joined by Senator Javits of New York, and then by Senator Hughes, who is a recovered alcoholic. Senator Hughes became chairman of a special subcommittee on alcoholism and drugs, and out of that subcommittee of which Senator Randolph is a member, last year came the Hughes-Moss-Javits bill on alcoholism—the most comprehensive alcoholism bill ever considered. It was enacted on December 19, 1970.

The legislation established the administrative structure for an unprecedented, broadly-based, community oriented Federal attack upon the problem of alcoholism. To do this it:

1. Established a National Institute for the Prevention and Control of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism within the Public Health Service of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

2. Established an Independent National Advisory Council to insure outside evaluation of Federal efforts in this area.

3. Established programs of prevention and the recognition and encouragement of treatment and rehabilitation of Federal Government employees who are alcoholics.

4. Authorized project grants to state and local organizations, agencies, institutions, and individuals to develop and carry out a comprehensive range of activities in the alcohol abuse and alcoholism prevention, treatment and rehabilitation area.

Even though this bill was passed and signed before the budget requests were sent to Congress by President Nixon, the president did not ask for any money to implement its provisions. So a number of us went before the Senate and House Appropriations Committee to plead for funds to start the various programs. We got \$50 million written into the budget, and this money is now being used for grants to fight alcoholism.

#### CIGARETTES

And now, let's turn to cigarettes. This problem is more pervasive than the others, but because it brings on chronic conditions rather than immediate disabilities, some have been loathe to recognize its significance. I don't think it necessary to explain to you that this is the only drug which has its lobby in the Congress. There is no lobby for heroin, there is no lobby for alcohol, but there is a lobby for cigarettes, and the pernicious habits of this lobby have to be continually fought off just to make a minimum impact.

Additionally, the constant public relations campaigns of the industry make our task even more difficult. Anyone who spoke for heroin or alcohol would be laughed off the face of the earth. But in our topsy turvy world, people who speak up for tobacco seem to get re-elected.

Our nation today is faced with soaring hospital costs, our medical care facilities are coming to the point where they will not be able to care for the growing number of chronically ill people; there are not enough funds to provide intensive care units for emphysema and heart disease patients; millions are being paid from social security funds to aid relatively young and still productive people who are unable to use their skills because they are disabled by chronic respiratory disease and heart conditions.

The best medicine for these diseases is preventative medicine. Prevention cuts down on costs, it cuts down on agony, and it cuts down on disability. Certain diseases are prevented with vaccinations such as german measles, smallpox, and polio and certain dis-

eases have been prevented with environmental treatment, such as malaria, typhus, and yellow fever. Where prevention is not available, early detection and treatment are the best methods of therapy. But treatment is never as sure as prevention.

One of the most significant and demonstrable forms of prevention for lung cancer, oral cancer, heart disease and emphysema is abstinence from smoking. Just think of the hundreds of thousands of lives extended and years of productivity if people did not smoke.

I have long been a foe of cigarettes and the tobacco interests. Over the past ten years I have introduced legislation of various kinds with the hope that I might aid in reducing the toll of death and destruction we know is associated with smoking. Regrettably those early efforts bore little fruit, though they may have paved the way for our later successes. But I am proud to have played a part in shaping the latest legislation—the Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act, which the president signed into law a little over a year ago.

And why he chose to sign this bill in the evening, after newspaper and television news deadlines had passed, we will never know. It was tragic that he did not hold the traditional signing ceremonies. Certainly a bill of this magnitude should have warranted such attention. Clearly it is a piece of landmark legislation.

In this bill the Congress has taken a giant step forward in making it possible for the Federal Government to exert its sovereign power to protect the health and welfare of its citizens. I might even go so far as to call this legislation a triumph over greed and power. We have cut the purse strings on a multi-million dollar expense account, and what is more important, put an end to one of the most subtle and insidious influences we have ever had on the minds of our young people.

I don't think anyone can question the fact that television commercials have played a very large part in creating the social acceptability of cigarette smoking. For years these commercials have dominated the airways, day and night, especially during the "prime" hours in the evening, these messages have infiltrated our homes.

Children of all ages, adults of all persuasions, smokers and non-smokers alike have been exposed to the impression that cigarette smoking and the good and glamorous life go together. In fact, cigarette smoking is the sine quo non of the glamorous living. Youngsters, even before they could read, could readily sing the cigarette jingles and readily learn to equate smoking with an image of sophistication. The advertising copy writers even had the audacity to suggest that delicate, interpersonal problems can be solved merely by sharing a cigarette, though they never indicated who gets the more dangerous half of the smoke, the husband or the wife.

Each advertising message, taken singly, may not have left much of an impression, but multiply that impression by the thousands that were beamed out every month and you will see that this was a force to be reckoned with. Indeed, I believe it has been estimated that 13.3 billion messages were being broadcast throughout the nation every month. No other industry used television to this extent.

Let's also examine the effect of the ban on broadcast cigarette advertising. Children are no longer exposed to the allure of handsome men and elegant women filling their lungs with death-dealing smoke. Adults who are desperately trying to quit no longer have their resolve shaken by the sight of a manly figure on horseback indulging in self-pollution. All that is left to remind us of smoking are some anti-smoking messages that warn any who continue in this folly.

In payment for decades of broadcast advertising, I believe that broadcasters have

a moral and legal obligation to air anti-cigarette commercials until the residual harmful effects of more than a billion dollars of commercial advertising has been dissipated.

Where do we go from here? I firmly believe that the Federal Trade Commission should treat increased non-broadcast cigarette advertising as a violation of the Federal Trade Commission Act. The commission has already announced intentions of pursuing a health warning statement on all cigarette advertisements to remedy these unfair and deceptive ads.

The Food and Drug Administration has never entered into the regulation of cigarettes, swearing off the subject saying that the legislative history did not give them the authority to apply their regulatory powers to cigarettes. But, I find this an uncomfortable assertion of executive privilege. The FDA will come before my consumer subcommittee in February and I will challenge that notion. And if necessary, I foresee a case developing forcing the FDA to apply the regulatory provisions of the Hazardous Substances Act to cigarettes.

I certainly would be willing to be the plaintiff in a well-drawn plea for this kind of legal action.

And I further will push for legislation which I have introduced to require the Federal Trade Commission to establish maximum levels of tar and nicotine in all cigarettes, domestic or foreign, sold in the United States. Those who insist on smoking cigarettes will, at least, have a less lethal product to inflict upon their bodies.

So, on this twenty-fifth anniversary, marking the establishment of Listen, a Journal of Better Living, we all have something to be thankful for. Those of us in the Congress have tried to complement your efforts with legislative efforts. But no matter how many laws we pass, no matter how many people we incarcerate for violating those laws, addictions will remain a problem without "a vigorous, positive, educational approach to the problems arising out of the use of tobacco, alcohol and narcotics." Thanks to Listen, we will see progress in providing that educational approach.

#### RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS OF DAN STOLLDOFF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, we hear a great deal today about God being dead, and why worship something that does not exist. A few young people who are constantly espousing the meanest and ugliest things are given great publicity by most of the news media.

I have always said that the majority of young people are the finest this country has ever known.

I was pleased to read an article in the Alexandria, Va., Gazette a few days ago about a young man by the name of Dan Stoll Dorf. Dan is one of the outstanding high school basketball players in the Nation, and without doubt has a great future as a college basketball player.

In spite of his greatness as an athlete what inspired me most about Dan Stoll Dorf was his interest in theology. He refers in the article to Young Life, a Christian organization working within the high school.

He said:

Young Life is responsible to a certain school. We have 200 to 300 at our meetings at Annandale on Monday night. We do a lot of folk singing and the last 15 minutes is devoted to our club leader who talks about Christ.

Church today doesn't normally relate to high school kids. I mean a lot of kids want to turn off Christ without even looking into it. But our group, it's a lot more real to me, than say church, it's much more interesting to us.

Mr. Speaker, I continue to be amazed with the religious convictions of most young people I come in contact with. My own high school daughter is a member of the Young Life group at T. C. Williams High School in Alexandria. This group has frequently met in my home. It is heartwarming to see close to a hundred young people gathered in a home discussing religion.

Also, I often visit the main campus of the University of Tennessee which is located in my hometown of Knoxville. The athletes at the university were among the forerunners in establishing a chapter of the Fellowship of Christian Athletes. This organization is now internationally known. Many of the athletes frequently fill pulpits in area churches. They always seem eager to express their belief in God.

Ray Mears, the head basketball coach, and Bill Battle, the head football coach, are both known for their Christian faith. They are constantly urging their athletes to participate in religious functions.

The Fellowship of Christian Athletes and Young Life are well known and respected in Knoxville. These two groups have certainly benefited Knoxville, Tenn., and our Nation.

Thus, I was impressed with Dan Stollendorf's comments on Young Life and the church today. At this point I would like to share the Alexandria Gazette article with my colleagues by placing it in the RECORD.

The article follows:

THE VIEW FROM HERE: ANNANDALE'S DAN STOLLENDORF—A UNIQUE PERSONALITY

(By Clay Kemp)

"He who wears his morality but as his best garment were better naked." From the Prophet by Kahlil Gibran.

Dan Stollendorf of Annandale High School is a unique personality.

He exemplifies what many of us had written off as a thing of the past, a lost segment, something that lived in the earlier pages of the American dream, before hate and prejudice forced its ugly head into the forefront and started to depict the worse in our society. And it's ironic that Stollendorf, although spawned from the seeds of that environment, may someday be one of the men who will have a great deal to do with reversing the present trend.

As I said, Dan is unique, he is an athlete, a scholar, and above all, his morality does not go unshorn, he wears it with dignity. He speaks of his family, and of basketball, which he loves. He talks of school and of his classmates, but he always returns to God, a subject close to his heart.

This column came about originally because Stollendorf is the second leading scorer in the Metropolitan area, at 26.1, which, after talking to him, has become a mere statistic. The inner man has a much higher average.

After doing the usual fencing that a reporter has to go through to find out what

type of person he is interviewing, and getting answers to the usual questions of what college are you interested in, like, "William & Mary, maybe Virginia and Penn State has talked to me, but I have to check their credits," one gets the idea, that this young man has both feet on the ground.

Still probing, what are you going to major in? "Well on the application, I chose pre-law," the man who was born in Abe Lincoln country and moved to Annandale at the age of six, replied:

Law? Having done some leg work, I understood that Stollendorf was interested in theology. "Yes I do like theology. Have you ever heard of Young Life?" Well no, what is that? "It's a Christian organization working within the high schools. This past summer they sent me to Australia. They had four basketball camps there, but that was mostly a drawing card to get the kids to come, to get us to relay our ideas of Christ to others. We played a lot of different teams over there, they weren't really very good, I mean, we are more advanced than they are. You played football, which do you like best?"

"Basketball. I lettered as a sophomore in football and when I played as a freshman, I met Jim Phillips," Stollendorf said of Annandale's leading scorer of last year. "As a freshman, I thought I was better than Jim, I mean one-on one, but I played football and I never did catch up to Jim as a sophomore, so I decided that it would be worth my while to spend my time in the gym," said the man who is the first one over to pat Phillips on the back, even in practice.

So the 6-foot-6, 220-pound senior who played at 6-5, 195 last year, dropped football. Stollendorf and Phillips spent two weeks last summer at Red Jenkins' camp at Woodson, where the affable Stollendorf developed a good friendship with the Woodson players he is trying so hard to defeat for the Northern District title. And he learned something there. He talked about the best part of his game.

"I only get two or three assists a game, I have to play inside and I have to put the ball up when I get it. The big thing this season is my rebounding. Last year I had some games with 18 rebounds, but there were some games I had only seven or eight, I wasn't making it as a rebounder," Stollendorf said.

"I had 20 rebounds against Woodson, and that really surprised me. I mean to do that well against a good club, but the additional weight has helped me, and now I always think that I can come down with the ball," Dan added.

"As a sophomore I was not outstanding, last year it was better, now I'm not afraid to take the dumb 15 or 20 feet shot, and when I go inside I have to play position. I'm not that good at jumping but I have learned to use my weight to my advantage. I do my share of pushing, and I'm a little better at holding people on my back to get off the shoot," Stollendorf said, as if to vindicate himself of any wrong doing in a game that is no longer a no contact sport.

Stollendorf isn't thinking about a pro career, "It's not that I lack confidence, I have developed that in high school, but the pros have a heck of a schedule, its hard work and all that travel keeps you away from home so much," which brought to mind two other area greats, Ed and John Hummer, who attended Princeton.

They had the same philosophy about pro ball, and both being outstanding students, it naturally brought forth the question, had Stollendorf ever considered the Ivy League?

"I haven't given it much thought, they only give financial help to the ones who need it," replied the man who is always trying to lessen the burden of someone else, in this case, his parents.

Well then, do you advocate sports as a way of life? Stollendorf doesn't have a closed mind on that.

"It's a good thing if the colleges are able to prepare them for their careers, but these guys still have to pass certain courses, but they really need the big time colleges to get them ready for the pros."

Well Dan, what about playing in the Atlantic Coast Conference?

"I thought about whether I wanted to play in the ACC, there's so much emphasis on basketball at schools like Maryland, you're sort of a machine. At Ohio State, you're a football machine, they help you to make your grades, you have to eat, sleep and drink basketball or football. Right now I have no interest in playing as a pro. I'm not looking to become a machine," Stollendorf offered.

And after speaking of sports, does Stollendorf play the biggest game of all? Does he have a girl? Suddenly, Dan reverts back to the wisdom which has earned him 1,450 on his college boards.

"I date two girls," Dan, who is used to being double-teamed said, "I'm not ready to get serious. I get a kick out of the kids at school, they talk about marriage and two months later, they're in love with someone else. I'm afraid to get that serious about a girl, that's something that is several years ahead of me," Stollendorf added.

And then Stollendorf added an insight that many people should analyze, and become a part of the world which is of what Dan Stollendorf, speaks of. What the intelligent youth is doing about the changing times.

"Young Life is responsible to a certain school. We have 200 to 300 at our meetings at Annandale on Monday night. We do a lot of folk singing and the last 15 minutes is devoted to our club leader who talks about Christ," Stollendorf said of something that he values above all else.

"Church today doesn't normally relate to high school kids, I mean a lot of kids want to turn off Christ without even looking into it. But our group, it's a lot more real to me, than say church, it's much more interesting to us."

I think you get the point which Dan Stollendorf is trying to tell us.

And I don't think that America, nor Stollendorf's parents, have been short-changed when they turn out young men like Dan Stollendorf, for when he gets that law degree, our future won't be decided on basketball courts, or even in courts of law, they will be decided on the garments of morality.

For Stollendorf, who may have never read Gibran, won't dispute, "For in revery you cannot rise above your achievements nor fall lower than your failures." Dan Stollendorf has both feet on the ground.

DANIEL W. HANNAN HONORED AS  
LABOR MAN OF THE YEAR

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, Daniel W. Hannan, president of the 4,000-member Local 1557 of the United Steelworkers of America in Clairton, Pa., recently was honored as "Labor Man of the Year" by the Pittsburgh Jaycees.

Dan Hannan is one of American labor's foremost spokesmen in the field of occupational safety. He was instrumental in the drafting of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, and testified before a House Labor Subcommittee to support legislation to protect the health and welfare of all industrial workers. In addition, he worked tirelessly for similar



legislation on the state level in Pennsylvania.

When the Senate Labor Subcommittee visited the Clairton works in April 1970, it was Dan Hannan who advised us of the ill effects of coke oven gases on both the workers and the environment. In receiving the Jaycee award, he was cited for contributing significantly "to the welfare of the community through his interest in pollution control and in the quality of life."

I ask unanimous consent that the article describing this important award, and Dan Hannan's many achievements, which appeared in the January 7, 1972, edition of the McKeesport, Pa., Daily News, be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### JAYCEE AWARD SLATED FOR DANIEL HANNAN

A local union official will be honored for his service to the community by the Pittsburgh Jaycees.

Daniel W. Hannan, president of Local 1557 of the United Steelworkers of America, has been selected as the "Man of the Year—Labor." Mr. Hannan will be among 16 persons in various fields, who will receive special plaques from the Jaycees at the organization's 32nd annual "Man of the Year dinner" at the William Penn Hotel, Jan. 23. The festivities are scheduled to begin at 5:30 p.m.

Mr. Hannan, a resident of 703 East Drive, has been a leader in the fight against pollution in recent years. He was praised for his efforts by Alan Shalette, director of the Pittsburgh Jaycees.

"He has contributed significantly to the welfare of the community through his interest in pollution control and in the quality of life," explained Mr. Shalette. "We feel that the award is a true indication of the feelings of the community towards Mr. Hannan."

Mr. Shalette explained that the awards are given yearly after the candidates are recommended by former award winners and by leaders of the community. He said that the awards have been presented for 32 consecutive years.

Among the other award winners to be honored at the banquet are Robert Peirce, county clerk of courts and a former Jaycee, for government and Louis Mason, Pittsburgh City Councilman, for human relations.

Mr. Hannan has been a resident of Clairton since 1942. He is married to the former Lucille Naylor from Belle Vernon and is the father of three children: Mrs. Dana Krien, 24; Bonnie 19, and James 16.

A veteran of World War II, he began as a laborer at the Clairton Works in 1940. He completed instrument repair apprenticeship in 1955 and is presently a journeyman at that trade.

Mr. Hannan has been president of Local 1557 since 1967 and is now serving his second term. He was a member of the USW Contract Negotiating Committee with US Steel in 1968 and 1971. He is a past commander of Post 803 Veterans of Foreign Wars, and is presently the director of the Clairton Works Federal Credit Union and a member of the Board of Directors of the Group Against Smog and Pollution.

The Pittsburgh Jaycees is a non-profit organization of men between the ages of 21 and 35. The organization is engaged in various forms of community service and is dedicated to developing leadership qualities in its members. According to Mr. Shalette there are approximately 180 members in the Pittsburgh chapter.

#### INCREASED EXCELLENCE TO OUR NATION'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

### HON. WILLIAM J. KEATING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill that will go a long way toward bringing increased excellence to our Nation's educational system.

Nonpublic education in elementary and secondary schools is a natural and necessary complement to our public education system. Today, however, nonpublic education in grades 1 through 12 is facing a financial crisis which could force the disappearance of these private schools from the educational scene.

In 1965 there were approximately 6,300,000 students attending nonpublic schools in grades 1 through 12. Five years later that number had dropped to 5,500,000. In the same time the cost per pupil of education has continued to rise. Today it is estimated that the cost is over \$850 per pupil to provide the educational needs to our Nation's students on the elementary and secondary levels.

With greatly increased costs, the remaining nonpublic schools have been decreasing. If this trend is allowed to continue in the near future there will be a monopoly in the education field. Whenever there is a monopoly there is usually a lack of creativity, a lack of innovation, and a lack of excellence. We cannot allow this to happen in an area that is so important to the future of our Nation.

Today most school systems are in serious difficulty due to financial problems and overcrowded conditions. If the number of nonpublic school students, who are forced to enter public schools continues to increase we will only experience greater difficulties in our public schools. What we need to do is to reverse the trend and provide diversity and choice in education.

My bill will provide a \$100 tax credit per pupil for elementary and secondary school education. This will provide a family a \$100 tax credit for each child who attends a nonpublic school where the tuition costs are at least \$100 per pupil.

The nonpublic school attended must be accredited by the State, offering education at any grade from 1 through 12 and the school must not discriminate in the admission of students, in the hiring of personnel, or in any other activity, on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Those who desire an early demise of the nonpublic school system will not view favorably this legislation. They see any assistance to the other systems as a major threat to the public school system. This view greatly limits the role that nonpublic education should have in our society.

However, I am convinced that a \$100 per pupil credit will not challenge or destroy the significance of public education. The economic benefit to nonpublic schools far overshadows any potential harm to public school.

At a time when new methods of financing our schools are being sought this legislation is quite necessary and appropriate.

I hope this legislation receives early attention by the Congress.

#### FOREIGN TRADE

### HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I have made the point several times, as have other Members of the House, that a restriction of our foreign trade would damage—not help—our domestic employment picture. Further data have recently emerged to add weight to this argument. The United States-Japan Trade Council has recently published figures of the State-by-State export to Japan and the number of jobs in each State that are directly created by that export activity. The national total is 305,037. My home State leads the Nation with 29,879 jobs related to exports to Japan. I am providing for the RECORD the list of States and their respective job dependence on trade with Japan:

#### LIST OF STATES

[Rank, State, and jobs]

1. California, 29,879.
2. Washington, 24,747.
3. Illinois, 22,517.
4. New York, 17,767.
5. Ohio, 15,932.
6. Oregon, 15,205.
7. Pennsylvania, 14,905.
8. Texas, 13,790.
9. West Virginia, 12,427.
10. Iowa, 11,894.
11. Indiana, 10,294.
12. Kansas, 7,718.
13. Alaska, 7,352.
14. New Jersey, 7,105.
15. Missouri, 7,025.
16. Virginia, 6,938.
17. Michigan, 6,781.
18. North Carolina, 5,440.
19. Nebraska, 4,310.
20. Massachusetts, 4,303.
21. Colorado, 3,960.
22. Minnesota, 3,600.
23. Kentucky, 3,432.
24. Connecticut, 3,425.
25. Wisconsin, 3,266.
26. Montana, 3,028.
27. Alabama, 3,015.
28. Tennessee, 3,012.
29. Arizona, 3,005.
30. Louisiana, 2,968.
31. Arkansas, 2,731.
32. Florida, 2,473.
33. Maryland, 2,193.
34. South Carolina, 2,189.
35. North Dakota, 1,909.
36. Mississippi, 1,864.
37. Idaho, 1,761.
38. Georgia, 1,546.
39. New Mexico, 1,508.
40. Oklahoma, 1,475.
41. Rhode Island, 1,225.
42. Utah, 1,213.
43. South Dakota, 936.
44. New Hampshire, 653.
45. Hawaii, 584.
46. Delaware, 528.
47. Nevada, 519.
48. Maine, 293.
49. Vermont, 290.

50. Wyoming, 75.  
51. District of Columbia, 32.  
Total: 305,037.

### HE DOES MORE THAN DELIVER PAPERS

#### HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, more than once young Ronnie Boydston of Austin, Tex., has made the news which he delivers to Austin citizens early each morning.

Recently, his alertness and sense of duty averted what may well have been a disastrous gas explosion. His quick action may well have saved the lives of several south Austin residents.

Mr. Speaker, this young man's actions are worthy of our attention, and Ronnie Boydston deserves our hearty praise. Ronnie is 15 and a student in junior high, yet he has shown courage and initiative and a concern for his community which are exemplary to all of us.

Betty MacNabb, staff writer for the Austin American-Statesman, tells the story of this young man, and I would like to share that story with the Congress at this time:

CARRIER GIVES ALARM ON GAS—  
ALERTS FAMILY

(By Betty MacNabb)

Daylight was gradually pushing the dark from the foggy, dreary morning when Ronnie Boydston first caught the unpleasant smell on a South Austin street. He moved slowly towards the source, and finally stopped in front of 902 Bluebonnet.

Here the smell was awful, and he could hear a hissing sound. When he peered closely at the grassy area near the curb, he could see that the ground was puffed up and trembling.

Still clutching his shoulder bag half full of copies of The Austin American, Ronnie sprinted to the front door of the house. B. M. Baxter, the homeowner, was already awake and answered his knock.

"The gas, Mr. Baxter—it's leaking bad!"

The householder telephoned for help, and later his wife telephoned Ronnie's mother, Mrs. Porter G. Boydston, 905 Garner.

"She said Ronnie saved their lives, and maybe even the whole neighborhood," the carrier's proud mother reported. "It took the gas company four and a half hours to repair the break. It was a major gas main."

To Ronnie 15, and a student at Porter Junior High, it was "old hat"—another adventure in his early morning rounds as a carrier for The Austin American.

In December, he was throwing papers down Lund Hill on his South Austin route, and heard a burglar alarm sounding. He raced six blocks back to his own home and called police. Sure enough the burglars were caught in the act.

Ronnie started carrying the news—and on the side, making it—when he was just eight years old. His two older brothers, Darrell and Howard, had newspaper routes and Ronnie couldn't wait to get into the act—he went along to "help" Darrell.

"He was still so small that we had to pin his carrier sack up on his shoulders with safety pins," his mother said.

Two years ago, Ronnie got his own "little route"—50 papers, and when Darrell retired

from the news business to get married, Ronnie took over. Ronnie and Howard now have the entire area from Barton Springs to Lamar, Kinney Avenue to Ashby and Robert E. Lee Rd.

And to keep it in the family, kid sister Laurie, now 8, recently started going along to "help" in the summer months.

### NIXON'S BID FOR PEACE

#### HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I read a most interesting statement in the Knoxville, Tenn., Journal of January 27 concerning the President's efforts for peace in Southeast Asia. I insert it in the Record at this time:

#### NIXON'S Bid For Peace

Surely no reasonable person could expect a president to do more than Richard Nixon has in his quest for an honorable settlement of the Vietnam War.

His Tuesday night announcement that secret negotiations have been in progress since August of 1969, along with disclosure of the proposals made by the United States, should serve to wipe out all doubt among all sincere individuals about the Vietnam war in a manner fair to all parties.

There also should be no doubt in the minds of those who prefer a military victory that President Nixon is also determined to continue support of South Vietnam if the enemy fails to agree to a settlement. The President clearly now is in a position to continue development of the Vietnamization program at the same time efforts are being made to reach a negotiated settlement. If all attempts at negotiation prove fruitless, Vietnamization will remain as an option, an honorable option.

The overall thrust of Nixon's settlement efforts could be symbolized by the national emblem itself—a powerful eagle which clutches weapons of war in one claw and olive branches of peace in the other.

As was suggested by the President, disclosure of the long series of secret meetings and secret peace offers represents an effort to tell the world and the American public just how far the White House already has gone. It was an attempt to bring unity among this country's leaders so that Hanoi would no longer entertain the hope that a new and weaker American president might be on hand for negotiations after January of 1973.

Just as antiwar demonstrations of the past have served to bolster Hanoi's devious, delaying tactics in the belief that American resolve was crumbling, the current presidential campaign also had the promise of giving the enemy cause to avoid serious negotiations at least until after the November elections.

It is the clear duty of all fair-minded Americans to get behind the President in a unified show of support of his efforts to settle the Vietnam conflict honorably. Politics should be put aside and personal ambitions channeled into other directions. (Democratic presidential contenders will find ample grounds on which to campaign, even if they completely drop their constant harping on the war issue.)

As we see it, the chances for settlement will be very dim as long as Hanoi can cling to the notion that sooner or later Americans will give up and knock the props from under the South Vietnamese government.

Although the prospect of an impartially

supervised free election in South Vietnam is no doubt totally alien to Hanoi's philosophy, this specific proposal should find no disagreement by any American who truly believes in the democratic process. President Thieu's agreement to resign one month prior to such an election and thereby surrender his control over the Saigon government further enhances the atmosphere of free choice.

Other elements of the eight-point allied peace plan also contain reasonable and attractive provisions.

It is difficult to see how the President could go much deeper into a compromise solution, apart from his acknowledged flexibility on certain mechanical aspects of the general plan. Thus it appears that this offer, in substance, represents a final offer. Both the United States and South Vietnam seem to have gone the last mile.

From this time on the monkey is on Hanoi's back. The Vietnam war can end at any moment if the enemy will merely agree in principle to this latest compromise offer.

### THE MUNDIALIZATION OR WORLD CITIZENSHIP MOVEMENT

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a new movement known as mundialization or world citizenship in which a city proclaims its world citizenship and declares itself to be a "world city" has begun to take place in the United States. Minneapolis, Minn.; Richland, Ohio; San Anselmo, Calif.; and Kansas City, Mo., have declared their world citizenship. Such acts smack of secession from the Union. Citizenship entails duties and responsibilities as well as rights. How can any citizen in good conscience pledge allegiance to two sovereigns or to one country and an international organization at the same time? Dual citizenship is a legal as well as moral impossibility.

There can be no United Nations and at the same time, a United States. One cannot give dual allegiance to the U.N. and to the United States of America. For the U.N. to advance or grow in effectiveness, the sovereign United States with our constitutional liberties and our traditional living standards and culture must be diminished or destroyed.

In an address to the Fifth Ward Republican Club in Kansas City, Mo., on November 11, 1971, Mrs. Don H. "Stella" Sollars discussed mundialization as well as several other aspects of the United Nations. She pointed to UNESCO as the source of attacks on the concept of the Christian family and the system of American justice. Drawing upon discussions of the Sixth Conference of the United Nations held in Belgrade, she also showed how the United Nations plans to exploit the ecology issue to decentralize industry and population throughout the world and to control population.

Because I deem it important that our colleagues know about this international secessionist movement, I insert in the Record at this point the text of Mrs. Sollars' address:



ADDRESS BY MRS. DON H. (STELLA) SOLLARS

Let me quote to you from a warning that Sir Winston Churchill made to us on the future of the United Nations. And I think we should pay particular heed to his words, because after all, he was the only conservative participant, in the ideological sense, in a world leadership group that included Franklin Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin, de Gaulle, and the now silent nationalist Chiang Kai-shek. I quote, "Let me declare, however, that the progress and freedom of all the peoples in the world, under a reign of law enforced by a world organization, will not come to pass . . . nor will the age of plenty begin, without the persistent, faithful, and above all, *fearless* exertions of the British and American *systems of society*".

Now, I need hardly remind anyone here tonight . . . that that system of society to which Sir Winston referred, as being British and American, has undergone radical change, a change so radical in fact, that one wonders really if the term "free enterprise society" really applies. Now is the time, if ever, while we still do have some of the vestiges of a free society, and one in which private enterprise can still survive, while we still have our freedom of speech . . . now is the time, even in these latter days . . . to examine what the forces are that have endeavored to change our American way of life, that we love so much . . . and what has been the *strategy they have used*.

Since the end of the war . . . the American system has been under a vigorous onslaught. Our very way of life has been attacked. Our very institutions that we believed were invulnerable have come under fire. The Christian family unit is endangered by proponents of commune families, single parent concepts, even homosexual families! And the proponents are not, as once they would have been, considered to be outcasts of our society . . . instead many of them are the so-called intellectuals . . . professors in our state funded universities . . . The University of Missouri in Kansas City, has a "Family Study" Department that is anything but what its name implies. Check into it some time.

Now, the men and women who suggest these perverted alternatives to a Christian way of life go unchallenged in our schools. Partly because of apathy on the part of parents . . . but partly because of complacency on our part about the permanency of our Christian way of life. But I would caution you tonight against such complacency.

One aspect in our rush toward forced social change is most evident to me. It is this. Never, in my scrutiny of all the popular media do I hear of an editorial position of criticism being taken. You will hear these strange new ideas propounded in colleges, in governmental agencies, all the way to the President's White House Conference of Youth. Never do you hear anyone in the national media take the position that such philosophies run contrary to the word of God, and are a corruption of the laws of this land that our legislators are bound to uphold. Instead, in a spirit of so-called objectivity, and under the banner of American free speech and fair play . . . profanity and immorality are publicized and pollute the air that our children must breathe.

Now I suppose that you are glancing at your programs, and saying "what has all this got to do with the United Nations?" and to this I will reply that if you follow the trail, the clearly marked trail, that leads to those that would attack the very concept of the Christian family, the very system of American justice and its civil freedoms . . . you will find yourself looking straight at those who form the *strategic goals* of international education under the front name of UNESCO . . . a communist dominated organization.

In 1911, Pope Pius XI, anticipating our survival-crisis, warned us to pray for the survival of the "family", and of the American

family. Here are some words on this subject . . . "The Christian family is the backbone of every country. When the forces of Satan successfully attack it, that country becomes another Slave State, and thenceforth the Fourth commandment ceases to be."

So now I am ready to quote to you out of one of UNESCO's own guide books. The source is the notorious "Toward World Understanding" series published in Paris. It caused such an uproar that UNESCO quickly recalled the copies. However, the philosophy contained therein is implemented in American text books and guides to teachers. Now listen to this . . . "UNESCO proposed that social scientists should take the lead in promoting new attitudes. UNESCO believes that such social scientists should study even such fundamental things as the way we bring up our children." *Interesting, isn't this, in the light of the Child Advocacy Bill S. 2007?* Another quote—

"There are alternative solutions to social problems: Polygamy is one alternative to monogamy, and polyandry (communes) is another. UNESCO states that any one of the three can be a way of life which provides a stable home." Under a chapter entitled Social Obstacles to Education there is a statement that the aim of the seminar is to formulate an educational program leading to world-mindedness . . . and judging by the views of many students in college today it has been accomplished. Elsewhere there is the quote that 'children are infected with nationalism in the home' and it is the responsibility of the teacher to undo such harm."

And now I will add that our research shows that American educators have abdicated their responsibility of the moral and patriotic leadership of our young people, and have relinquished the idea of teaching of the superiority of the American system, in favor of these teachings so stated in UNESCO Guidelines.

Further, in our national commitment to the United Nations Treaty Law . . . which is fast becoming the law of this land today because it replaces the law of our American Constitution in many instances . . . our legislators in Washington have themselves forsaken their Christian obligations—in favor of a way of life propounded by an organization dominated by Communist atheist philosophies. So now do you understand the shift of opinion in America today? Many of our young journalists today do not even understand the word "national loyalty" as we know it. And it is because they have been subjected to a national education brainwash program!

Our research into the subversion of American education led us to John Dewey, "Father" of American education. John Dewey fell in love with things Russian while he was there early in this century. He embraced their current program of permissive non-graded education. But let me note, too, that the Russians themselves, when they saw the disastrous effects of this type of education on their youth, returned to a strict and traditional form of education. Not so with John Dewey. When he and a group of American educationalists returned home to America, they proceeded to restructure American education. History and geography became Social Studies, and into these textbooks were written the moral concepts of a strange religion . . . Secular Humanism. For John Dewey, like many of our leading intellectuals was a Secular Humanist. For a Secular Humanist there is no standard of right or wrong. He contends if society were not structured with a place for right or wrong, that man could do no wrong. (One reason for our very liberal rulings of the Supreme Court, because some of them have been Secular Humanists.) Secular Humanists refuse to believe in the existence of God. This is the real reason why prayer was taken out of school.

In 1933, John Dewey was one of many who signed the Secular Humanist Manifesto, which stated, among other things—

Fourteenth Amendment: The humanists are firmly convinced that existing acquisitive and profit-motivated society has shown itself to be inadequate and that a radical change in methods, controls and motives must be instituted. A socialized and cooperative economic order must be established to the end that equitable distribution of the means of life be possible. Humanists demand a shared life in a shared world."

Along with Mr. John Dewey's signature you will find the signature of Dr. Raymond Bragg, of All Souls Unitarian Church? Right here in Kansas City. And what is Dr. Bragg doing today? Well he is still busy as a beaver furthering cause of humanism . . . and believe it or not, he is working like a beaver supporting a United Nations totalitarian rule applied to this country . . . of which an important detail seems to be getting city and state governments and student bodies mundialized!

So here at last is that strange new word. "Mundialized". Note how it rhymes with "Naturalized". . . Perhaps this is what took me to the Department of Immigration, which,—note this! is under the Department of Justice. Bearing in mind the fact that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts . . . and remembering that when Hawaii became the 49th State . . . that something of the sovereignty of Hawaii was absorbed into the sovereignty of the United States, I thought it pertinent to ask if the sovereignty of the United States would undergo a change, say, if the whole of America, by state and city, became mundialized, or a part of a greater world government. And this ladies and gentlemen, is what would indeed happen. For there is a distinct possibility that the process of one world citizenship will in fact finally rob you and me of the ultimate protection of our American citizenship, and will in the result, make our American Constitution subject in its infallibility to the Revised Charter of the United Nations. If this is allowed to go unchecked, then the decision of our very citizenship will be decided by the body of the Supreme Court of the World, and not the U.S. Supreme Court. Think about it.

This is not a matter for publication but an official in the Department of Immigration said that "probably I had discovered a sinister conspiracy."

Now those people who choose to believe that the United Nations is merely a polite debating society, where nations go for cooperative advice, should take a second look at the United Nations as an autonomous body, guaranteeing diplomatic and national immunity to its employees, and with laws that supersede the laws of the United States.

And if, as the United Federalists, and the One-Worlders, such as Dr. Raymond Bragg . . . Dr. Leslie Koltal of Kansas City's Junior Colleges, and Dr. Normal Royall of UMKC want, will have an international police force capable of enforcing such laws. Here is a copy of the student position stating such aims. And here is a map, drawn up by agents of the UN, of United Nations forces scheduled to be garrisoned in America . . . and note, there are Mongolians, Africans . . . but few Americans!

Having looked at the successful strategy employed by some educators on the philosophy of our youth today, I would like to question at this point, whether the timing of the 18-year vote is coincidental, or if it has come at a time when the balance of opinion could be crucial?

Let me quote from a few documents that are circulated wherever there is a movement toward mundIALIZATION, just to illustrate my point. From All Saints Unitarian Church mundIALIZATION ceremony comes this statement,

"whereas we wish to make manifest that

we are citizens of the world, as we are citizens of the United States.

here are some excerpts from a paper on the student position at UMKC which by some coincidence is identical with the position of the World Federalists.

"we postulate that the nations of the world must yield a portion of their sovereignty to form an effective world government in order to become federated." And if you wonder about the brave new world they plan for you to live in . . . here is a description—

1. Consideration of a single monetary system.

2. Equalization of standards of living in the world.

3. Elimination of tariffs.

4. Agreement on universal control of the costs of natural resources. As well as universal price, wage, and production cost controls. Subsidization of nations with negative balance of trade and negative balance of payments (Just watch what President Nixon brings back from Red China by way of solutions!)

Well, friends, for all this, our starry eyed college students propose there should be world law, world court, and a world police force to enforce the above!

Now, if you think that the ambition of the one-worlders stops at these modest goals, you are wrong . . . for there is more to come.

This "so-called debating society", or hall of peaceful arbitration, in June laid claim to 70% of the world's seabed, and surrounding atmosphere. Don't you think that even Napoleon would have been impressed at such a cool acquisition?

And this brings us to another issue that we are being inundated with. The so-called "problems" of ecology. If time permitted I could document for you here, how all the seeds of social unrest in our country today were sown in the United Nations Organization. Women's Lib, the Black Civil Rightist movements, "bussing" . . . and I am sure all of you present tonight know the real origin of the wars in Korea and Vietnam.

But how many of you know that it will be through ecology, from the "humane" seizure of world resources, of the air we breathe, of the seas we sail in, that the United Nations will make its true nature felt?

One of the necessities, as Americans saw it, in first setting up the United Nations was to put off the possibility of a nuclear war. Well, this sort of nuclear blackmail practiced on a global scale worked for the Communists. Now we have another form of blackmail or coercion. It is in the form of a giant ecological scare that has been whipped up in this country by liberal reporters, liberal professors, and liberal politicians. It enjoys wide publicity in the media, and has fooled even the most intelligent thinking Americans.

The statistics that are being used to postulate population can have no basis in fact because they cannot take into account such unknowns as fertility rates and death rates. But in fact, what we do have on Earth today is 3,000,000,000 people. Most of us get alarmed when we are given a picture of planet Earth careening into space with all these people, ever multiplying on it. But let me give you a concrete idea of what these population figures mean. Dr. Rice, of Notre Dame Law School, proves this out. Now listen carefully . . . if all these 3,000,000,000 people were to stand together, each one in the middle of 6 square feet of space, they still would not fill Suffolk County, a small part of New York State's Long Island. Now is there anyone here, tonight, who believes that this is cause for alarm?

Yet wild forms of Ogden Nash nonsense rhetoric were recorded in the recent Sixth Conference of the United Nations in Belgrade. Listen to this from U Thant: "the preservation of our planet has become of increasing concern to the United Nations" and—

"Mother Earth is a tiny space ship, orbiting the sun, but with no celestial neighbor near at hand. Given the earth as a closed system, the following theorems are inescapable.

1. Pollution above tolerable level

2. Population above tolerable level

3. Diminishing to zero resources."

Ladies and gentlemen, problems of pollution are open to lengthy discussions and all have definite solutions within the technological framework of American industry today . . . let alone tomorrow. But the significant point I want to bring out here tonight is that the United Nations proposes to solve these problems for us . . . backed by World Law, enforced by a World Police Force!

They tell us in the records of the same Sixth Conference, that they intend to bring the world population under control, and to undertake to define a "quality of life." By this they mean who has a fit life to live, and who is fit to live. Besides birth control measures the elitist philosophy runs the gamut from abortion to euthanasia. Further on, we are interested to learn, that the United Nations has some definite ideas on how high population density in urban areas has harmful impact on people and on the environment . . . and how international environmental planning should include reasonable measures to decentralize industry and population. I would remind you that only those people who have witnessed a Communist takeover, as I did in China, can grasp the total significance of this last statement!

I would say that we have just witnessed the greatest pronouncement of imperialism in world history . . . because listen to this. . . "The United Nations Environment Role: Because more than 70% of the Earth's surface and atmosphere lie outside the limits of national jurisdiction, the United Nations Organization should give special attention and protection to this area." So perhaps we should call this other 70% of this Earth the United Nation's Protectorate."

And ladies and gentlemen, you may rest assured that our children have been well prepared in the discipline of acceptance of such philosophies, because, referring back to education, they have been studying "ecology", in schools across the nation, out of this "Environmental Handbook" written expressly under the auspices of UNESCO.

For those people who still believe that the United Nations Organization is a debating society, I would say . . . it's some debating society!

Here's an interesting fact in the realm of ecology . . . does it now surprise anyone here, after what I have just said, that Earth Day . . . May 1 . . . celebrated by ecological movements, and, I believe, endorsed by President Nixon . . . just happens to be Lenin's Birthday? I understand from reliable sources that Russian newspapers carried pictures of American students celebrating Earth Day . . . and assailing "industry" or capitalism! Another interesting fact mentioned to me by Ray James, whom you probably know as our legislator in Jefferson City, is that the Russian word for Peace is the same as their word for one world. So now which way do you read the Peace Symbol?

Back to the students' proposal for the Penn Valley mundialization process . . . "let us give the United Nations a police force to enforce these rules."

Now, ladies and gentlemen . . . this is what the World Federalists say they want . . . this is what mundialization is all about . . . and by some strange coincidence it is also what the Communists want. This above all! Now is the time for us to ask ourselves, Do we want it?

On September 25, 1971 the Mayor's United Nations Day Committee voted without dissent to recommend that the City Council of Kansas City, Missouri adopt a declaration of the world citizenship of Kansas City and

that institutions be encouraged to declare themselves mundialized. We will give these good people the benefit of the doubt . . . we will say, "Forgive them, they know not what they did."

But I'll wager that somebody at City Hall knew very well what they were doing . . . because on calling City Hall to find out the stage of the declaration I learned that it was in the hands of the Municipal Court Committee. Remember . . . the Department of Naturalization comes under the Department of Justice? So don't let anyone tell you that mundialization of Kansas City is going to be a simple flag-waving, brotherly-love token. And if you dig hard enough you will also learn that our City Fathers in adopting such a declaration will also pledge an offering of 1/100 of 1% of Kansas City's total revenue!

Friends, the pen is mightier than the sword . . . yes, we can preserve our liberties, save our Constitution . . . keep this a God-fearing country by getting busy with our pens . . . and telling our congressmen, our councilmen, our schoolboard members, our ministers, our newspapers, yes our President, that they cannot use our tax money to destroy our American system of government or to steal our children away from us.

Now, I think to many Americans the most horrifying part about the last war was the evidence that Hitler made no bones about his plans . . . he published them in Mein Kampf with the arrogance that is typical of totalitarianism . . . and an entire nation was swept into a false dream. There too, the key was an elitist philosophy, with genocide, and euthanasia as prominent symptoms. Well, then, Americans reflect, lest it happen here . . . because the United Nations with the same arrogance of totalitarianism has written the similar blueprint for those who will read it with their eyes open.

#### CREATIVE CALENDAR

#### HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, the Sierra Club has traditionally performed a vital and welcome service to all Americans who cherish what is left of the American wilderness.

Exemplary of the Sierra Club's high regard and deep respect for the natural beauty found throughout the Nation is the club's magnificent calendar which is treasured by those fortunate enough to have one in their possession. The 1972 wilderness calendar contains many beautiful photographs, including Canyonlands National Park, blooming cactus in Utah, Saint Mark's National Wildlife Refuge in Florida, fall foliage, and Olmsted Trailway on Staten Island.

It is of particular pride to all of us from Connecticut that the Sierra Club chose to represent the month of January with a lovely photograph of the Connecticut River estuary. Photographer Dennis Stock has captured the splendid simplicity and tranquility of the Connecticut shoreline, an artistic work which will appear in his forthcoming volume of photographs entitled "The Edge of Life."

The Sierra Club should be congratulated for its creative calendar, which include "Connecticut River estuary" among its photographic display.



## HIGH MARKS FOR BNDD IN NATION'S DRUG FIGHT

### HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, the most serious aspect of the Nation's struggle against drug addiction is supply. Education, treatment, and rehabilitation will avail us nothing unless we can effectively cut off the heroin reaching us from foreign countries.

Unfortunately, key efforts in this area are being overlooked. The problems of surveillance and seizure are immense when you consider the numerous ports of entry into the United States and the variety of ways to smuggle heroin.

Nevertheless, significant inroads are being made in reducing the illicit flow of drugs into the Nation through the efforts of a seldom heralded, hardworking bureau.

The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, headed by John E. Ingersoll, has done a superb job in reducing the illicit supply of narcotics and dangerous drugs. Organized in 1968 BNDD's budget has increased from \$14.1 million a year to \$65.1 million, and its force of special agents strengthened from 600 to 1,323.

How well BNDD is doing its job is indicated by a preliminary report on its activities for 1971. Among other things, it reveals that heroin seized last year amounted to a 138-percent increase over the previous. The increased seizures had a street value sale of \$740 million over the \$311 million reported for 1970.

Mr. Ingersoll would be the first to admit that, while these figures represent a record confiscation of heroin, the job is far from finished. However, we feel the report offers gratifying evidence that the fight against drug smuggling is being pressed to the fullest extent of its resources, and Mr. Ingersoll and his BNDD staff deserve the highest marks. Mr. Ingersoll's report follows:

#### MR. INGERSOLL'S REPORT

Preliminary 1971 reports show that special agents of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (BNDD) removed an unprecedented \$920 million worth of narcotics and dangerous drugs from the worldwide illicit market, John E. Ingersoll, BNDD Director, announced today.

A record equivalent of 3,784 pounds of heroin was seized in BNDD domestic and foreign investigations. This figure reflects an increase of 138 per cent over the 1970 figure of 1,593 pounds.

(This total figure includes heroin, morphine base and opium. A pound of morphine base will yield one pound of heroin. Ten pounds of opium will yield one pound of heroin.)

The street value in the United States of the 3,784 pounds of heroin is \$740 million, compared with \$311 million for the 1970 figure.

"These figures of our last year's work are visible proof that BNDD has developed a solid foundation that is bringing positive results," Mr. Ingersoll said.

All other drug categories in the combined domestic and foreign BNDD seizure tally for 1971 showed marked advances.

Arrests by BNDD special agents, both domestically and in conjunction with foreign

authorities, rose significantly both in quantity and quality.

A case which involves an alleged international heroin conspiracy resulted in the arrest by BNDD of a major suspect in New York who is accused of importing 1,500 pounds of pure heroin into the United States during the past 17 months. A number of his associates, both here and in France, have also been arrested.

In another case centered in New York, BNDD special agents arrested a major suspect who was identified in 1968 by a Senate Subcommittee as the head of an organized crime group. A number of other major suspects were arrested in the case.

Domestic BNDD arrests totaled 3,512, a 98 per cent jump over 1970. Cooperative BNDD/state/local arrests were up 71 per cent to 2,612. Cooperative BNDD/foreign arrests rose from 188 to 394, an increase of 110 per cent.

A major heroin trafficking organization was broken up in France in early October when 43 suspects were arrested by French police and two other suspects were arrested by Spanish police. These arrests came after a lengthy and detailed investigation by BNDD special agents in Europe and the United States.

In 1971, BNDD also put strong emphasis on expanding its overseas operation to gain strong alliances with key countries in interdicting drugs at their sources.

"We have set milestones in our cooperative effort with foreign governments and the record seizures last year of heroin and morphine base in Europe is indicative of this fact," Mr. Ingersoll said.

A cryptic cablegram from Mexico saying, "Son is ill," caused two Frenchmen to offload a U.S. bound 1971 Citroen at Cadiz, Spain, and head back to France. On June 4 at Valencia, Spain, the car was seized and a then record 249 pounds of heroin was found in traps in the car.

BNDD special agents in France and Spain, cooperating with police of those countries, had the car under continual surveillance.

On September 19, in New York, BNDD and Customs agents seized a 1971 Jaguar which had 200 pounds of heroin secreted in it. Five people were arrested. Again, the traffickers didn't know that BNDD special agents in Europe, cooperating with police of several countries, kept a close eye on the car throughout its long journey.

A record heroin seizure for France of 233 pounds of heroin was effected on October 18 in a case developed and executed jointly by BNDD agents in Paris and the French police.

Mr. Ingersoll said that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has actively participated in the cooperative effort and is joining in many operations.

Another focal point of BNDD expansion, Mr. Ingersoll said, has been the opening of offices in Germany.

Joint BNDD and German police operations have resulted in large seizures of illicit drugs, particularly hashish and morphine base.

For example, on June 17, BNDD special agents in Frankfurt and Paris developed a case which resulted in the seizure of 198 pounds of morphine base in Frankfurt. Two persons were arrested.

"These seizures and arrests point out our concerted effort to not only neutralize trafficking organizations, but to cut off the source of supplies to the clandestine heroin laboratories whose prime market is the United States," Mr. Ingersoll said.

Mr. Ingersoll said that the Mexican-American cooperative effort is gaining momentum and producing striking results.

The Mexican-American agreement, which began in 1969, has already resulted in the destruction of more than 10,350 illicit opium poppy fields and thousands of acres of marihuana.

The joint enforcement effort with Mexico

was highlighted on December 10, when BNDD special agents, working with Baja California State Police, dismantled a major illicit amphetamine laboratory in Tijuana, Mexico. A record of 810 pounds of amphetamine powder was seized. Eight persons were arrested.

Mr. Ingersoll said that BNDD's domestic campaign against the drug traffic, particularly the top echelon, gained added momentum with the growth of the special agent force and several major operations.

—On February 24, BNDD closed out "Operation Flanker." This lengthy investigation brought about the largest Federal crack-down ever on narcotics distribution by the higher elements of organized crime in Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Detroit, Chicago and New Orleans. In addition to drugs seized, a total of 179 persons were charged in the investigation.

—On June 28, BNDD closed out "Operation Stitch," which was aimed at mid-level traffickers in New York and Chicago. In addition to large quantities of drugs seized, 159 persons were charged in the investigation.

—On June 29, BNDD closed out "Operation Beacon," aimed at the clandestine manufacture of synthetic drugs. During this 10-month nationwide campaign, BNDD immobilized 18 clandestine laboratories and arrested 312 persons. Large quantities of drugs were also seized in this investigation.

BNDD is also increasing its operations and capability of assisting the enforcement units of many other countries, including those in South America and the Far East.

The total estimated street value of all drugs removed from the worldwide market by BNDD special agents amounted to \$920,163,250—almost a three-fold increase over the \$382,709,993 for 1970.

"I think it is clearly evident that we are making strong inroads into interrupting the illicit heroin traffic. This 3,784 pounds represents almost two tons of heroin that did not reach addicts in the United States and it also represents about half of the seizures made worldwide," Mr. Ingersoll said.

The highest percentage of increases by BNDD during the year was reflected in dangerous drug and hashish categories, with marihuana and cocaine following in that order.

Seizures of dangerous drugs soared 2,164 per cent from 9.1 million dosage units to 207 million dosage units.

Hashish seizures jumped 344 per cent, from 3,445 pounds in 1970 to 15,288 pounds.

Marihuana seizures registered a 200 per cent increase, from 35,513 pounds to 108,490 pounds.

Cocaine seizures were up 82 per cent, from 429 pounds to 782 pounds.

An additional 1,109 pounds of heroin seized at the ports and borders was reported to BNDD by U.S. Customs. About one third of these cases were joint BNDD/Customs investigations. The 1,109 pounds of heroin has an illicit street value of \$217 million.

An arm of the U.S. Department of Justice, BNDD is the agency charged with enforcing the Federal narcotics and dangerous drugs statutes both domestically and abroad.

Mr. Ingersoll credited the 1971 performance to the strong backing given the Federal drug enforcement program by President Nixon and the Congress.

"President Nixon has consistently asked for additional money for personnel, training and equipment and the Congress has responded positively," Mr. Ingersoll said.

From its creation in 1968, BNDD's budget has grown from \$14.4 million to \$65.1 million, and its special agent force has increased from 600 to 1,323.

BNDD, which has offices throughout the United States and the world is doubling its overseas special agent force to 123 and is increasing its foreign offices from 15 to 49.

Although BNDD has no arrest jurisdiction within the foreign countries where it has

offices, it actively initiates and pursues investigations in cooperation with the host police units of each country.

## TOTAL WORLDWIDE SEIZURES BY BNDD

	January- December 1970	January- December 1971	Increase (per- cent)
Heroin equivalent of opium (pounds) <sup>1</sup> .....	136	144	6
Morphine base (pounds) <sup>2</sup> .....	811	2,271	180
Heroin (pounds).....	646	1,369	112
Cocaine (pounds).....	429	782	82
Marihuana (pounds).....	35,514	106,490	200
Hashish (pounds).....	3,445	15,288	344
Dangerous drugs (d.u.).....	9,141,744	206,973,116	2,164
BNDD domestic arrests.....	1,771	3,512	98
BNDD State/local co- operative arrests.....	1,531	2,612	71
BNDD foreign cooperative arrests.....	188	394	110

<sup>1</sup> To get total opium seizures multiply 136 pounds for 1970 and 144 pounds for 1971 by 10, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Morphine base converts into heroin one-to-one.

## STREET VALUES

	1970	1971
Heroin and heroin equivalent.....	\$311,358,222	\$739,597,936
Cocaine.....	46,800,039	85,309,162
Marihuana.....	9,517,752	28,539,320
Hashish.....	15,033,980	66,716,832
Total.....	382,709,993	920,163,250

The street value of heroin and/or its equivalent removed by BNDD in 1970 was \$311,358,222. In 1971 the street value was \$739,597,936, an increase of 138%.

The total street value of the heroin or its equivalent, cocaine, marihuana, and hashish removed in 1970 was \$382,709,993. In 1971 the street value was \$920,163,250, an increase of 140%.

## DRUGS REMOVED BY BNDD

## DOMESTIC TRAFFIC

	1970	1971	Percent change
Heroin (lbs.).....	345	432	+25
Cocaine (lbs.).....	354	436	+23
Marihuana (lbs.).....	9,092	21,380	+135
Hashish (lbs.).....	234	882	+277
Dangerous drugs (d.u.).....	9,141,744	205,186,991	+2,145

## STREET VALUE

	1970	1971
Heroin.....	\$67,431,630	\$84,436,128
Cocaine.....	38,618,214	47,563,676
Marihuana.....	2,436,656	5,279,840
Hashish.....	1,021,176	3,849,048
Total.....	109,507,676	141,128,692

<sup>1</sup> An increase of 29 percent.

## FEBRUARY 1, 1972, SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

## Significant statistics for January 1972:

As you know, there have been several significant heroin seizures since the first of the year. Counting only major seizures, they total 518 pounds, more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  ton. These figures represent BNDD domestic seizures only and do not include routine smaller seizures which have not yet been tabulated for January. Thirty-seven pounds of the above total was seized by Customs Agents based on information provided by BNDD overseas. These seizures far exceed total calendar year seizures for 1968 (382 pounds), 1969 (217 pounds), 1970 (345 pounds) and 1971 (432 pounds).

This success is encouraging, however, a more significant sign that we are having an effect on the heroin situation is the heroin

death rate figures for New York. Preliminary figures for 1971 show a total of 1,259 drug related deaths which is only 4% above the total of 1,205 for 1970. The rate of increase from 1969 to 1970 was 19% when deaths increased from 1,013 to 1,205. The 1971 figure represents a significant reduction in the rate of increase for this important measure of the heroin problem.

If the preliminary 1971 figure is accurate, it shows a leveling off of the death rate for the first time in several years.

PERIOD OF CONGRESSIONAL  
ADJOURNMENT

## HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, the period of congressional adjournment means different things to each of us. For me it is a treat to be shared with my constituents in the Sixth District of Connecticut—an opportunity to trade ideas, hear concerns, and help solve problems when we can.

In late December and early January, I visited with many of the people in the Sixth District. The account of my travels, which appeared as a column in several Connecticut newspapers, is included for the interest of my colleagues:

## ACCOUNT OF MRS. GRASSO'S TRAVELS

At the end of the road the auto gauge registered a plus of 1200 miles. The road was ice and snow, fog and sunshine—all the jumble of Connecticut winter. Yet, at the end of every path were the wonderful faces of the beautiful people—substance and sinew of the Sixth District.

As a new session of Congress begins, my colleagues regale me with anecdotes of exciting excursions to far away places. However, they are not deceived by my casual comment that "I never left home," because they have come to know that for me "home" is 47 towns and cities, and the family is over 500,000 strong. There are times when I am reminded by them that there are a few other districts than mine, comment I accept philosophically.

What did I learn from my travels? First, that concern for the plight of the economy runs deep—with businessmen and management, with workers who have long exhausted their claims. At so many stops there were the engineers, displaced workers of the aerospace industry, finding their search for jobs frustrating and saddening.

Second, I found to my satisfaction that the Emergency Employment Act had helped the situation by adding some 300 jobs and by assisting beleaguered local governments in extending and expanding their operations. With true Yankee ingenuity, 12 small towns in the Litchfield Planning area pooled their resources into a consortium in order to take maximum advantage of grant money and by-pass the tedious task of red-tape entanglement. Believe me they were envied by not so lucky first selectmen who had the unenviable task of moving mountains of papers for very few dollars. I share the concern of those towns where funding just was not adequate to launch a feasible plan, and sincerely hope that their situations can be remedied.

Third, I was so pleased to learn that the Ella-Phone (1-800-382-0590) has been bringing speedy action on personal problems with various agencies. The bouquets for our hard working staff in New Britain and Washington will bring them a new enthusiasm in

tackling the job we like best—helping our constituents in their business with the government.

In spite of the vagaries of weather and the persistence of the flu, it was most heartening to visit at every stop with groups of concerned citizens who discussed as well as their views on the war, the expansion of the highway trust fund for mass transit, education grants to local communities, the financial woes of older citizens, the problems of young widows, mail delivery difficulties, and other dialogue that will help me immeasurably in my Congressional duties and in drafting new legislation.

As the long winter descends and the workload in Washington increases, I will cherish many warm memories of my visits with the people, such as the gallant ladies of New Hartford who shared coffee and concern for the extension of Route 44 one icy morning; the sturdy wife of a retired East Hartland Selectman who ventured through the snow to say hello; the exquisite beauty of Winsted-Colebrook-Norfolk-Canaan-North Canaan-Salisbury in the gleam of sun and snow; the lively radio show in Torrington; a visit with Goshen kindergartners; a trade colloquy with Washington League of Women Voters; the warm greeting beyond the fog that enveloped Roxbury; the questions of an alert eighth grade class in Bridgewater; the report to the people at Sherman; listening in on a Senior Citizen meeting on tax relief for the elderly in New Fairfield; an all too brief telephone visit with the flu-stricken First Selectman at New Milford; lunch with Mayor Pac of New Britain; an earnest colloquy with Bristol Jaycees; Suffield visits at the shops; a foray to Simsbury which now boasts a lady member of the Board of Selectmen; well-attended morning receptions in Cornwall, Avon and Sharon; coffee and donuts served by the charming ladies of Warren; a long conversation with a brand new young voter in Litchfield; ladies wrapping Christmas packages for the needy in Thomaston Town Hall; the spontaneous question-answer session in Harwinton; the efficient work of the Plymouth police department in assisting an elderly woman on Main Street; discussions with town officials about administering the Emergency Employment Act in Morris, Bethlehem, Middlebury, Woodbury, Southbury, Farmington, Canton, Burlington, Barkhamsted and Kent; and, of course, Windsor Locks, where office hours are always 24 long.

There are so many more good memories—all part of the joy of serving a most superior District. See you soon.

PACKARD, SUCCESSFUL PENTAGON  
MANAGER

## HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, David Packard, who recently retired as Deputy Secretary of Defense, left a permanent mark—for good—on the Pentagon. I am sure that our military procurement procedures will be vastly improved in the future and somewhat more bearable to the American taxpayer because of continuing policies that David Packard instituted.

Mr. Packard was recently the subject of the weekly syndicated column of the noted defense commentator, Ira C. Eaker, I am placing the column in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point because I think all Members should have an op-



portunity to read it and should be aware of the great personal sacrifice that his service in the Pentagon represented for Mr. Packard:

PACKARD, SUCCESSFUL PENTAGON MANAGER  
(By Ira C. Eaker)

Since David Packard resigned as Deputy Secretary of Defense last December 13th, there has been speculation as to the reason for his departure and comment on his accomplishments as No. 2 man in the Pentagon for 35 months.

Mr. Packard accepted the post with the understanding that he would serve but two years. He remained an additional year at the urgent request of the President and the Secretary of Defense and because some of his principal projects had not been completed.

He undertook the task at a personal sacrifice. It cost him \$18 million. Since he had been head of a company doing business with the government, he put his stock—\$300 million worth of the Hewlett-Packard Company—in trust, with any profits accruing during his defense tenure to go to charity. It was announced recently that those profits have been about \$18 million. Incidentally that was 2% per annum, the average profit of all defense-related industries for the past three years.

The Laird-Packard team has provided the best leadership in the Pentagon since World War II. One of the reasons for their outstanding accomplishment was the organization they devised and followed.

As Defense Secretary, Laird undertook to represent defense at the White House, Congressional, international and public relations levels, while his deputy managed the vast defense establishment. Each was uniquely qualified for his job. While Laird served in the President's Cabinet, on the National Security Council, testified before Congressional committees, conducted defense matters with NATO and our other allies, and visited our troops world-wide, Packard stayed home and minded the store.

The defense store was in bad shape when Packard arrived. Morale in the Pentagon and in the armed services was at a low level. For eight years a defense secretary had ruled with highly centralized control, whose principal advisers were young whiz kids, long on theory but devoid of practical experience. Packard, as a successful business executive, understood how to delegate authority without losing control.

The Pentagon was under heavy flak from Congress for vast overruns on many weapons systems. Packard understood the reasons for excessive weapons costs because he had been doing business with the Pentagon for many years. Contractors had been permitted to "buy-in"—submit low prices to win contracts—hoping to recoup on additional orders and spare parts. The armed services habitually made many subsequent design changes, delaying deliveries and increasing costs. The government insisted that contractors bid on fixed prices for weapons never before developed and which could not be delivered for five years, wholly unrealistic, especially in view of rampant inflation.

Packard threw out the whiz kids, welcomed the counsel of armed service leaders, but was not over-awed by the military, and instituted a new realistic procurement policy, the "fly before buy" concept.

The most remarkable thing about Packard's years at the Pentagon is that he raised morale without deploying a single new strategic weapon and while cutting military strength by more than a million men.

He has regained the confidence of defense industries while cutting their work force by more than half a million. He told industry the facts. Defense funds will continue to be inadequate because of anti-war sentiment

and the amazing apathy of our people about the threat to our security. The Pentagon must provide more defense for less money.

While he did not order any new strategic weapons, he supported the TRIAD security concept (bombers, ICBM's and seapower) and approved research and development programs to insure that each could be modernized if SALT fails.

Secretary Laird may not have been far off the mark when he said of his departing deputy, "In my judgment, he was the best thing that had happened to the Defense Department since it was established."

## MICHIGAN UNEMPLOYMENT AT 9-YEAR HIGH

### HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, despite glowing accounts and optimistic predictions from the administration, there is no way to gloss over the fact that the employment picture in our Nation is very bleak indeed.

In my home State of Michigan, unemployment in 1971 reached a 9-year high of 293,000 persons, or 8.1 percent of the total labor force. Unemployment compensation payments exceeded \$350 million, the highest in 13 years.

An article in the Dearborn Heights Leader, published January 20, in my congressional district, gives an excellent analysis of the Michigan unemployment situation, and I insert it in the RECORD at this point for the benefit of my colleagues:

#### MICHIGAN UNEMPLOYMENT AT 9-YEAR HIGH

Despite the recent pick-up in economic activity, unemployment in Michigan moved to a nine-year high in 1971.

The state's unemployment level for the year, at 293,000 or 8.1 percent of the labor force, was substantially above the year-ago figures of 253,000 or 7.0 percent. The number of unemployed reached a monthly peak in July with 374,000 out of work, which was the highest total for a single month since March 1961.

Because of the high level of joblessness and the extended benefits program, the Michigan Employment Security Commission distributed over \$350 million in unemployment insurance benefits over the year. The total amount paid out was the largest since 1958, and the average payment of about \$60 for a full week of unemployment was a record high.

During periods of high unemployment, unemployed workers who have exhausted their regular benefits and met the eligibility requirements, can receive additional benefits under the joint federal-state extended benefit program.

Although there were good auto production months in the early part of the year as the industry tried to build up inventories after the strike, Michigan's economy remained fairly sluggish. The President's announcement of his New Economic Policies in August signaled the start of a period of renewed economic activity in Michigan.

The good news in the auto industry appeared to carry over to other segments of the economy, with retail sales moving toward substantial gains and construction continuing its recovery cycle.

Usually, Michigan expects to see its employment jump when auto production

climbs. But for several reasons this was not the case this year, as total employment fell by over 15,000 to 3,328,900 for 1971. First, much of the domestic sales gains were in sub-compact models, which are all produced outside of Michigan.

Secondly, de-emphasis of styling changes this year caused many independent auto-related firms in the area to severely cut back employment over the past year and a half. Third, the cutbacks in white collar staffs that the auto companies made to improve their profit situation particularly affected the Detroit area.

Finally, because of the short and early changeover period this year, the industry began full scale production earlier and consequently had more cars in inventory when sales began to climb.

These same factors contributed to an upward unemployment trend in the Detroit metropolitan area. Detroit tri-county unemployment jumped to an average of 143,100 or 8.1 percent in 1971 compared to 116,800 or 6.6 percent in 1970. The Detroit area unemployment level for 1971 was the highest since 1961 when the annual average unemployment rate equaled 11.0 percent or 157,300.

The State's employment loss was concentrated in the Detroit area, where the number of workers fell from 1,632,400 in 1970 to below 1,615,000 in 1971. When the Detroit area employment decline is subtracted from the State total, the rest of the State's unemployment level is virtually unchanged from last year. Detroit was more sharply affected because of the heavier concentration of auto-related industries and manufacturing white collar personnel in the area.

For the first time since 1962 Michigan and Detroit did not have any increase in the size of their labor force. Generally it is expected that the labor force growth will keep pace with the change in the population size of those 16 and over.

Normally this amounts to about a two percent gain in the number of people in the State's work force. The decline in the number of persons entering Michigan's labor force this year indicates that as economic activity accelerates a disproportionate number of persons will be seeking jobs. Because of the current unemployment situation, many have probably gone back to school or just abandoned their job search until the opportunities increase.

Because of this potential backlog of workers, coupled with those currently looking for work, it will take a substantial amount of growth for Michigan to significantly lower its unemployment rate.

## DOMESTIC ACTION PROJECTS OF NATIONAL GUARD

### Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, as I hope all my colleagues know, there is more to being a citizen-soldier or airman in the National Guard than training and combat readiness. I would like to share with the other Members of Congress an article that appeared in the December 1971, issue of the National Guardsman reporting on the domestic action program of the Guard. While it does not report on all the hundreds of community action programs carried on by the Guard, it is a pretty good sampling of the type of actions through which the Guard helps bring a little more light, a bit more job,

to the less fortunate and works for a better tomorrow.

The article follows:

#### AN INVESTMENT IN TOMORROW

From Alaska to Puerto Rico, from Maine to Hawaii, Army and Air National Guardsmen are helping to make actuality out of the saying: "Today's youths are tomorrow's leaders."

During the 12 months ended in mid-September, more than 1,337,000 youths had been on the receiving end of some form of assistance from more than 40,000 Guardsmen. Combining volunteer and duty time, these Guardsmen contributed more than 120,000 man-days in support of youth programs.

A sampling of some of these programs illustrates their variety and the degree of Guard involvement.

#### FLEDGLING ORGANIZATION

Fond recollection of his own days in a New York Guard-sponsored youth group spurred a 21-year-old Regular Army soldier to enlist the aid of the Alaska National Guard to form a similar organization. The Alaska Cadet Corps, organized last Spring as the National Army Cadets, turned a dream into reality for SP4 William F. Lay of Ft. Richardson, Alaska. In his high school days in New York City he had belonged to the Washington Greys Cadet Corps, a semi-military group sponsored by the Guard's 258th Field Arty. It gave military training and adult supervision which many boys lacked in their home life.

When presented to the Guard, his idea was "bought" by Adj. Gen. William S. Elmore, who also got U.S. Army Alaska to "lend" Specialist Lay to get the project started and gave him space in the Anchorage Armory. Boasting more than 70 boys between the ages of 13 and 18, the organization's parent "Arctic Patrol" Battalion recently had 14 volunteers for a sightseers' trail improvement project.

The boys spent a week in Chugach Mountains, cleaning and smoothing a half-mile section of trail from an Army glacier training camp toward the face of Eklutna Glacier. They cleared rubble, filled potholes and straightened many turns in the trail, but left the last 100 yards for later. Sponsor of the Corps, the 3d Bn (Mech), 297th Inf, was trying to find the best way to haul in heavy timbers needed for two short bridges in that last stretch of trail.

When they are not involved in special projects, the Cadets meet twice a week in the Anchorage Armory, where they have organized a dance band. Plans included a drama group and training programs in automotive and aircraft mechanics, communications and other subjects that would appeal to a number of boys.

#### SCOUT SUPPORT WIDESPREAD

Scouting organizations—from Cub Scouts to Explorers—receive a lion's share of the Guard's support.

In the 49th State, Eskimo Scouts of the 1st and 2d Bns, 297th Inf, joined forces with Arctic Rangers of U.S. Army Alaska's Co O, 75th Inf, to provide a 10-day camping experience for 150 Boy Scouts. The Rangers put up two tent frames and a reconstructed quonset hut at the rugged camp, about 50 miles North of Nome, just before the boys arrived. During two encampments for 70 and 80 boys, respectively, Guardsmen and Regulars taught the boys skills in canoeing and swimming. After several abbreviated swimming lessons in the 41° water of Salmon Lake, the training was moved to a small pond nearby where the water was warmer—almost 55°. Camping out with "real soldier stuff" was a big attraction for the boys and they supplemented their camp rations by fishing in nearby streams.

Guardsmen in several States built, rebuilt, or otherwise refurbished camp sites for Boy and Girl Scouts Connecticut's 100-man Co

D, 242d Engr Bn, spent a productive two weeks in Annual Training status converting a wilderness into a camping area for the Connecticut Valley Girl Scouts. Armed with pay-loaders, road graders, bulldozers, trucks and hand tools, the Guardsmen cut a six-mile road through the woods to the camp site, near Sandisfield, Mass. The Guardsmen also constructed a 200-foot riding ring, corral and tack equipment shack and installed safety railings on elevated sleeping quarters at the camp site.

A Michigan Boy Scout camp has a new trailer parking lot, access road, beach areas and footbridge, thanks to members of Co D, 107th Engr Bn, CPT Lloyd M. Pryor, Co Comdr, said the camp work provided "excellent training" for his 134-man unit and "assists the Scouts as well." Guardsmen used dump trucks, bulldozers, a front end loader, a grader, smaller tools and 134 pairs of "willing hands" on the lakeside camp site project, which used-up the majority of their Annual Training. The, 1,100-acre site is used by some 8,000 Scouts each year.

To meet the need of High School youths for more relevant information on careers and for contact with adults who are skilled and successful in chosen careers, are the goals of a pioneering Explorer Scout Post sponsored by the Oregon Air National Guard. Military Specialty Explorer Scout Post 747, at Portland International Airport, is the first of its kind in the Boy Scouts of America Explorer Post career program, according to LTC William H. Harlow, ANG executive staff support officer. In addition to visits to Ft. Lewis and McChord AFB, the Explorers have toured such ANG facilities as the flight simulator, radar, communications, and jet engine shops, and the Naval Reserve's training submarine. Objective of tours is to learn more about military careers.

Guard support of Scout programs takes many forms. Nashville area Explorer Scouts were guests of the Tennessee Air Guard's 118th Tac Aft Group for an orientation ride in one of the unit's aircraft. The 31 Explorers were accompanied by four post advisors who also are Tennessee Army Guardsmen.

In Texas, the Army Guard's 71st Airborne Bde and 371st Spt Bn treat Cub and Boy Scouts, and other Austin area youths, to parachute jumps from a 14-foot junior tower and harness ride down a 150-foot cable. More than 800 boys and girls have been awarded "Junior Jumper" certificates after their performance with the 71st.

The D.C. Air Guard's 113th Tac Ftr Wing and Group played host to a mixed group of Cub, Boy and Explorer Scouts from the National Capital's inner city. Accompanied by several adult leaders, the 30 youths visited shops, hangars, flight line, offices and the Tac Hospital and joined the Guardsmen for lunch in the unit dining hall.

Minnesota's Camp Ripley was invaded by more than 500 Royal Rangers—not a military organization but a group of boys who belong to a church-sponsored organization that closely parallels the Scouts. The Guard supplied camp sites, wood and drinking water during the Rangers' three-day encampment.

#### OTHER SCOUT SUPPORT

Guardsmen of North Carolina's Hq & Co A, 105th Med Bn, provided medical support for 1,200 Boy Scouts during a three-day camporee at Camp Durant, near Raleigh. . . . In Iowa, Adj. Gen. Joseph May presented an Iowa State flag to a Boy Scout Jamboree Troop bound for the World Jamboree of Scouting in Kyoto, Japan. The Iowa Scouts were to present the flag to the Scout troop of Iowa's sister State in Yamanashi. . . . Mississippi's 186th Tac Recon Group entered the Explorer program with the organization of Explorer Post No. 186 at Key Field.

#### AID HANDICAPPED YOUTHS

Not all the Guard's support to youth was channeled through Scouting activities.

One of the largest single community relations efforts conducted on a recurring basis by any organization in the Armed Forces was performed by the New York ANG. More than 350 Guardsmen from a half-dozen units devoted a full day to escorting and assisting approximately 4,100 mentally and physically handicapped children at Coney Island's Astroland amusement park. Sponsored by a service organization called the Community Mayors of New York State, the outing was the fourth such annual event.

With almost 1,000 more children participating than ever before, the Guardsmen welcomed reinforcements in the form of New York City Policemen and the bus drivers who had driven the children to the park. Guardsmen provided the bulk of the manpower, and the sponsoring organization provided the rides and refreshments. The medical and administrative staff of the 105th Tac Air Spt Group manned aid stations, but had little more to cope with than a minor dizzy spell or twisted ankle. The day and the outing were considered perfect, by both youngsters and Guardsmen.

The North Carolina Chapter of the NCO Academy Graduates Assn, sponsored a tour of the 145th Mil Aft Group's facilities at Charlotte for 35 children from the N.C. Orthopedic Hospital. The physically handicapped youngsters were treated to hot dogs, hamburgers, sodas and ice cream, and an afternoon of recreation.

In Ohio, 16 youths who suffered from lowered hearing or sight capacity were able to touch, feel, sit in, handle and experience many things Guardsmen encounter every day on their jobs. Visiting the 179th Tac Ftr Group, the youths felt a jet engine running, experienced the heat and rush of the jet exhaust (well downstream of the engine and at the outer edge of the safe region) and rode in an ejection seat trainer. A demonstration of a cutaway .50-cal. machinegun loading and ejecting bullets, and sitting in the cockpit of an F-84F, climaxed the tour. During lunch, the video tape of their activities was played back for the visitors. In addition to the visit of handicapped youths, the 179th played host to more than 1,400 other children who toured the Mansfield Lahm facility.

D.C. Army and Air Guardsmen helped maintain a communications link for a boat ride on the Potomac River for 1,500 handicapped children. The event was sponsored by the Downton Jaycees. . . . Massachusetts Army Guardsmen took 70 retarded children to a picnic and swimming area. . . . North Dakota Army Guardsmen loaned two general purpose tents and 60 cots to a camp for retarded children. . . . Thirteen members of Ohio's Trp E, 2d Sqdn, 107th Armed Cav, volunteered a full day to clean, paint, repair, landscape, and assemble cribs and beds for a home for retarded children. . . . Army Guard Engineer units in Connecticut constructed a ski and sliding slope for handicapped children at the Connecticut Regional Center. They used two bulldozers, two loaders and 12 dump trucks.

#### A POTPOURRI OF AID

Three bus loads of children rolled into the Oklahoma Army Guard's Summer Camp site for something many never had experienced: their first physical check-up. The 145th Med Co of Tulsa converted an Army barracks into an examination station while the five- and six-year-old children turned the area into a makeshift playground and picnic area. The 120 children were some of more than 700 youths participating in the Muskogee County Summer Headstart Program. Tugging at Guardsmen's pants legs to "borrow" a fatigue cap or ask what those "things" were on Guardsmen's sleeves, seemed to be their primary objectives, except for the picnic lunch catered by the Guardsmen.

Besides the group checked at the encampment, Guardsmen flew six- to seven-man medical teams to two other Eastern Okla-



homa cities where they provided check-ups for an additional 400 children.

A seven-man task force from Connecticut's 118th Med Bn and 141st and 142d Med Cos set up shop in Hartford's Revitalization Headquarters and gave physical exams to 60 camp-bound 4-H boys and girls. . . . Ohio's 684th Med Co gave physicals to 200 Scouts, later examined 175 boys who were prospective members of a Pee Wee Football League.

Demonstrating the practical side of telephonic communications, Maine Army Guardsmen have been host to hundreds of elementary school children who inspected field telephones and switchboards at the Guard Armory. Climax of the tour is a direct link-up with pupils' own schools through the Guard switchboard.

Michigan Army Guardsmen shared their Camp Grayling "tent city" with 88 High School ROTC Cadets from Detroit. Representing 16 high schools, the Cadets were the first ever to visit Camp Grayling to observe the Guard in training. The boys, age 14-16, saw Infantry, Artillery and Armor outfits in training and received smallarms marksmanship orientation. They also fired the 7.62mm rifle, M-60 machine gun and 3.5mm rocket launcher.

Also at Camp Grayling, other Michigan Guardsmen were host to two National Guard Boys' Camp contingents of approximately 100 youths each. From the inner city areas of Detroit, Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids, the boys greeted the welcoming speech with applause and cheering when told that swimming was the first order of business after getting ten assignments. Four officers and 15 men served as tent leaders, counsellors and recreation directors for the fourth annual one-week encampments. In contrast to the Junior ROTC session, the Boys' Camp was non-military, with emphasis on camping and recreational activities.

New Jersey Army and Air Guardsmen assisted in the operation of the Governor's Youth Program at Sea Girt. Running for four weeks, the program accommodated approximately 500 underprivileged boys from every County in the State. Activities included sports, arts and crafts, movies and excursions.

Five Summer weekends, 35 dump trucks, two front-end loaders, a heavy bulldozer and miscellaneous support equipment from two Rhode Island Army Guard Armories were combined to make a lasting impression on Smithfield youngsters. The 135 Guardsmen from the 1118th and 861st Engr Cos were preparing the site for the Smithfield Boys' Club to build a new facility. They moved and graded more than 4,000 cubic yards of fill, making more than 1,000 dump truck runs. The operation was to continue through November, when actual building was to begin.

Across the Country in Oregon, members of the 3670th Heavy Eqp't Maint Co provided man and machine power to reconstruct two baseball diamonds for Little Leagues in the Clackamas area. . . . MSG Doyle McKinney of Arkansas ANG's 223d Mob Comm Sq presented a check for \$250 on behalf of unit members to aid the Hot Springs Boys' Club's baseball leagues. . . . The Texas ANG's 149th Tac Ttr Group sponsored a Patriots' Picnic, proceeds from which aided youth sports activities as well as POW/MIA funds. . . .

The D.C. National Guard expended more than 500 man-days to plan and operate a 10-day Youth Leaders Camp for 148 youths at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md. Field trips included visits to Washington "Redskins" football training camp and to a major league baseball game at the District's RFK Stadium. . . . Utah National Guard operated its Freedom Academy for 51 high school student body Presidents, a five-day educational and recreational program. Since 1957, Utah also has sponsored a Bantam Basketball program, with more than 2,000 youthful participants during 1971. . . . Ohio's 178th Tac Ftr Group

provided a field trip to its home base for more than 640 Headstart youngsters. The unit also was host to 188 CAP Cadets and 24 adult leaders during one-week camp with the 178th at Alpena, Mich. . . .

Alaska ANG supports a youth hockey program involving some 1,500 boys. It also collects and distributes clothes, toys and food for remote village youth through its "Operation Santa Claus". . . . Delaware ANG's "Operation Patriotism", originated and coordinated by SMS Joseph J. Pfister, features lectures at school assemblies, bus tours of Washington, D.C., citations for student achievement and airplane flights for top graduates. . . . Kentucky Army Guard sponsored a combined Bean Soup Feast and Armed Forces Day Open House at all 37 Kentucky Armories, proceeds from which covered expense of 180 boys at the KyNG's Boys Summer Camp. Sports dominated the three one-week camps, each manned by 15 volunteer Guardsmen.

A Kentucky Engr Co constructed two athletic fields, access road, beach and other facilities for a 4-H Center. . . . South Dakota ARNG Engineer units graveled miles of roads into Boy Scout and 4-H camps and recreation areas. Others built bridges, playgrounds, ball fields and other facilities. . . . Wyoming Army Guardsmen provided transportation and personnel support for a three-day youth rodeo sponsored by a church organization.

Through its extensive and diversified support to many types of youth activities, the National Guard continues to show its involvement in community life. It is this voluntary investment in the leaders of tomorrow that supports the theme that The Guard Belongs.

#### NEWS BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

#### HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting into the Record the weekly news bulletin of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, compiled and written by its communications committee staff:

#### AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION, NEWS BULLETIN,

January 31, 1972.

President Nixon, state of the Union address, January 20, 1972:

"Four years from now, America will celebrate the 200th anniversary of its founding as a Nation. There are some who say that the old spirit of '76 is dead—that we no longer have the strength of character, the idealism, the faith in our founding purposes, that that spirit represents.

"Those who say this do not know America." On Tuesday, January 25, H.R. 7987, co-sponsored by Cong. Widnall, Patman and Sullivan, ARBC legislation authorizing bicentennial medals to be struck by the U.S. Mint, was reported out favorably by the Full House Banking Committee. Fast action is anticipated in the Senate. Also on Tuesday, S. 1857 (sponsored by ARBC member, Senator Ed Brooke), the ARBC authorization was reported out favorably by the Full House Judiciary Committee. Action on the House floor is expected by mid-February.

At the ARBC executive committee meeting on January 27, it was decided to schedule consideration of the sickle cell anemia disease project at the next full commission meeting

following discussions with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Also, at the executive committee meeting Federal Maritime Commission Chairman Helen Bentley outlined her commission's proposal for a floating maritime display utilizing mobile maritime pavilions for the bicentennial. Chairman Bentley will make a formal presentation at the full commission meeting next month.

ARBC Director Jack I. Levant announced at the executive committee meeting that plans are well underway for the involvement of 6¼ million Boy Scouts in bicentennial participation. Director Levant stated that a bicentennial committee is being formed by the Boy Scouts of America and that a comparable committee will be set up by the ARBC to work with the Boy Scouts.

Joseph B. Danzansky, former metropolitan Washington, D.C. board of trade chairman and president of Giant Food, Inc., said in Washington last week that a rallying point for an upsurge in community spirit ought to be the national bicentennial celebration. He said the mayor's economic development committee, together with the council of governments, business and the White House could make 1976 a turning point in the city's economic and social history. "If we start now and develop a plan for the bicentennial, it could be a blueprint for our salvation as a city," he concluded.

Virginia Delegate George N. McMath (Accomack) has introduced a bill to make the colors of Virginia license plates red, white and blue "to add a bit of patriotism" for the national bicentennial celebration. The legislation would change the plate colors for 1973.

The Des Moines Register recently reported that the Iowa legislature will probably have to appropriate \$6 million over the next four years as the State's share for the proposed world food expo for the bicentennial. Kenneth Fulk, secretary of the Iowa ARBC briefed lawmakers on the proposed estimate. Mr. Fulk said the projected total expenditure for the project is \$98.7 million.

The ARBC of Michigan City, Indiana issued its first official report this month by its chairman, Dr. James E. Landing. Its policy recommendations embrace possible community projects ranging from civil city creation of mini-parks at selected historical sites, issuance of special historical publications and materials, to the preparation of special programs with bicentennial themes by local societies, institutions and groups.

W. Anthony Park, the attorney general of Idaho, has invited the Idaho State Commission on Arts and Humanities to sit in an advisory capacity to the Idaho Bicentennial Commission. The official representatives of this group include Arthur L. Troutner, chairman, and Suzanne D. Taylor, executive director.

Community involvement is a key part of the Charlottesville, Va., observance of the national bicentennial, says Michael Gleason, executive director of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Bicentennial Commission. "This is everyone's celebration," said Gleason in a recent interview for the Richmond News Leader, "and I want to establish subcommittees representative of various groups—youth, churches, minority groups, business people, civic groups and other—to make recommendations as to how we should celebrate." At 26, Gleason is believed to be one of the youngest local directors of the bicentennial in the country.

In Virginia Governor Linwood Holton's budget for the year is a recommended \$427,660 appropriation for the Virginia Independence Bicentennial Commission, as well as additional appropriations for the preservation of the State's history.

Congressman Fred Schwegel (Iowa), president of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society, with Congressman Henry S. Reuss (Wisc.), has proposed a sound and light show at the

capitol building to enchant tourists like similar shows in some of Europe's exciting cities. Cong. Schwengel said in a recent interview that he believed a production could be prepared for the bicentennial.

On Friday, January 21, ARBC Director Jack I. Levant attended a formal meeting of the Florida Bicentennial Commission in Miami. On the first occasion that the State Bicentennial Commission, the Miami Third Century USA, Inc. and the Interama authorities met together, Director Levant briefed those in attendance on the national bicentennial plans and toured with the group the interama site which is a beautiful area in North Miami Beach and a potential center for bicentennial activities.

The Granite State Vacationer, a New Hampshire recreation newspaper serving six recreational regions year-round, has announced a "first" in relation to the bicentennial commemoration. A regular column feature by writer Fred Jay will be carried by the Vacationer publicizing plans, events and activities in all 50 States, in coordination with the ARBC.

Arrangements have been made with the National Catholic News Service to provide bicentennial stories to its various Catholic media. ARBC's office of communication will provide news releases, personality stories and feature articles directly related to American Catholics and their involvement in the bicentennial.

#### NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL CENTER ACT OF 1972

**HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, no one today need be reminded of the growing crisis in our environment. Around this Nation and the world there is increased concern for the conservation of our natural resources. Man can no longer continue to use and abuse his environment simultaneously. In the end he can only lose such a race, and scientists tell us that finish line may not be as far away as we thought.

I am sure every Member of this Chamber is aware and concerned over the situation. During the last decade, Congress has enacted a number of important environmental measures designated to control and abate air and water pollution. Although much remains to be done, an important and meaningful beginning has been made.

It has become increasingly apparent, nevertheless, that in the long term, an intelligent relationship between man and his natural environment can only be achieved through a systematic approach. The global ecosystem is precisely that: a system. In this enormously complex network, each subsystem, however subtly, is interconnected with all others. Any action that impacts on one element of the environment can have a discernible effect on seemingly unrelated elements of the same fundamental system. It is not enough to treat air and water pollution as if they were discrete and separate problems. For instance, it has been estimated that as much as 40 percent of the surface pollution of the oceans is derived not from the discharge of pollutants di-

rectly into the aquatic environment but from the precipitation of air pollutants.

A number of Federal agencies are presently engaged in important research that relates, in varying degrees, to these environmental considerations. But virtually all efforts of this type are necessarily directed to a limited aspect of the environmental problem. This is to be expected of a mission-oriented or regulatory agency.

During the course of many hearings and investigations here and around the country on environmental matters over the past years notice has been repeatedly taken of the absence of any single public or private unit with the mandate and resources to conduct systematic, interdisciplinary research on matters relating to the entire global environment. In recognition of this critical gap in our environmental technology, I introduced last week a bill which would create a new Federal agency called the National Environmental Center. This new center is not intended to supplant in any way the necessary activities of existing public and private agencies. Rather, it is to complement these agencies and provide a process whereby the entire range of environmental research and analysis can be brought together for assessment in a coherent, systematic fashion.

Policy for the NEC would be established by a seven-man Board of Trustees. The Board would then be empowered to name a General Manager of the NEC and such other personnel as may be necessary to carry out the functions of the Center. The Board would be further authorized to establish as many as six independent National Environmental Laboratories—NEL's—each headed by a Director appointed by the Board. In establishing or designating the location of these National Environmental Laboratories the Board may and, hopefully will choose to establish one or more of the NEL's at a site where a public or private facility is already located and in operation. The Board has, under the provisions of this bill, complete flexibility in this regard, subject only to site approval by the appropriate congressional committee.

Numerous examples can be found of the dual benefits which might be achieved by locating these laboratories at sites where related facilities already exist.

In Florida such a facility could be located near Kennedy Space Center to utilize some of the facilities vacated by NASA and the engineers, scientists, and technicians who have been displaced due to cutbacks in the space program. Already existing in the Cape area is Project Retro which is retaining their displaced professionals to work in other areas of emerging priority such as the environment. Such Federal coordination would not only help further the conservation of our natural environment, but also the conservation of our human resources.

The relationship between the NEC-NEL structure and the other environmental entities should not be characterized by competition but by a sort of symbiotic cooperation and cross-fertilization.

It is expected that there will be a substantial and continual interchange of information and personnel among the various institutions carrying out research in the environmental field. However, it is also important to note the significant degree of independence which this bill seeks to provide for the NEC and the NEL's. This measure intends no unfavorable or critical reflection on the competence and dedication of existing agencies or personnel, but it is my feeling and that of many others that by virtue of their very nature, existing mission-oriented agencies cannot and should not be expected to perform the functions envisioned for the NEC-NEL's. In order to achieve its intended potential, the NEC-NEL structure, while responsive to the executive and legislative branches, must have a meaningful measure of independence so that long term, comprehensive needs will not be compromised by the exigencies of the moment.

This measure, has already passed the Senate. I am sure the House will act with equal speed and determination to see that this bill is enacted into law.

As the committee report from the Senate stated:

Man-made degradation of the natural environment is not ordinarily malicious; it is the unwanted by-product of the full range of man's search for a richer and fuller life. There is every evidence that economic progress and a quality environment can be made compatible. But precisely because the full range of man's economic and social activities is involved, and precisely because the global ecosystem is a system and not a random collection of separate parts, no quest for harmony between man and his environment is likely to be successful unless it proceeds on a systematic and integrated basis.

#### PORTUGAL'S WAR FOR PEACE

**HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, when I visited the Portuguese overseas provinces of Angola and Mozambique in Africa during the summer recess of Congress last year, and was in Luanda, largest city of Angola, I encountered a young publisher, Thomas J. Haas, who was engaged in extensive study and on-the-spot observation of the real situation in these provinces, so often maligned and distorted in our press. We attended a dinner together and it soon became evident that Mr. Haas had already acquired, on his own, a deeper, more thorough, and more objective understanding of conditions in this part of the world than many of our State Department officials whose assigned duty this is—including some of those actually on the scene. Therefore I would like to recommend to your particular attention Mr. Haas' report and conclusions entitled "Portugal's War for Peace," a talk delivered at New York City on December 4, 1971.

The report follows:

PORTUGAL'S WAR FOR PEACE  
(By Thomas J. Haas)

Today, the Republic of Portugal is engaged in war in three of her African provinces, Por-



tuguese Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique, against Communist guerrillas. The stakes are the integrity of Portugal, the lives of her citizens in these provinces, the security of southern Africa, and the control of the South Atlantic. In order to gain a better knowledge of the war and of conditions in Portuguese Africa, I visited Angola and Mozambique this past August. To keep this a firsthand report, I shall discuss only these two provinces, but I am assured that conditions in Portuguese Guinea are similar.

In discussing Angola and Mozambique, two points should be made clear from the outset: the political status of the two areas and the social status of the people living in them. First, Angola and Mozambique are overseas provinces of Portugal. They are *not* colonies; rather they are integral parts of the Republic of Portugal. They have the same relation to Lisbon that Hawaii and Alaska have to Washington. Second, the population of the provinces is white, colored, and black, with a considerable Chinese and Pako-Hindustani representation in Mozambique. All are citizens of Portugal, and all can vote if they meet the requirements applicable both in the provinces and in Metropolitan Portugal, that is literacy, property ownership, or income. There is no racial discrimination in either the positive or the negative sense; that is, there is no forced separation, but neither is there the type of discrimination in reverse that is practiced by our federal government. No differences whatsoever based on color are recognized, and anyone who visits either province for even the shortest time will see that Portugal is truly a multi-racial as well as a multi-continental nation. Racial discrimination simply does not exist.

This situation is clearly evidenced by the fact that about half the men under arms in Angola and Mozambique are blacks. These blacks are not auxiliary troops; they are Portuguese citizens, fighting in the army of their country—fighting in defense of their Motherland, Portugal.

Concerning the vital statistics of the two provinces: Angola has an area of 481,352 square miles, almost twice that of the state of Texas, and a population of 5.4 million, or about half that of Texas. Mozambique has an area of 303,073 square miles and a population of 7.2 million.

On March 15, 1961, an outbreak of terrorism swept northern Angola with a sadistic ferocity which has probably never been surpassed. The terrorists slaughtered anyone they could get their hands on, sparing neither women nor children, white or black. The uprising was organized by Holden Roberto and his UPA (Union of the Peoples of Angola). Most of the terrorists were recruited in the former Belgian Congo from the Bacongo people, a tribe which inhabits the area south of Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) and northern Angola. The recruits were promised lives of idle luxury after independence was won; the leaders were actually promised posts in the United Nations. Before starting his rebellion, Roberto visited the United States, where he received the encouragement and support of the Leftwing Establishment, which he still enjoys, despite the fact that he has admitted and tried to justify his supporters' sawing in half of men, women, and children in the village of Luvo.

Prior to the March 15 uprising, Roberto sent his followers into northern Angola to prepare for the massacre. His men worked mainly with their fellow Bacongo tribesmen, making the most outlandish promises to them to gain support. The terrorists found two allies: first, the witchdoctors, who feared that increasing Portuguese influence and culture would destroy their hold on the villagers; and second, the leftwing missionaries, who apparently believed that the message of the social gospel could best be carried out through the murder of little children. The witchdoctors used various drugs to work

the Bacongos into a murderous frenzy, and then rubbed their bodies with palm oil, saying it was a magic lotion to ward off bullets. The missionaries used such techniques as telling one tribe, the Quilocos: "Christ was a Quiloco, and the Portuguese crucified Him." Shockingly, all the terrorist leaders captured in the north proved to have been missionary-trained. I am by no means criticizing the majority of missionaries, who have done and are still doing magnificent work. The missionaries involved in the uprising were men, whether Catholic or Protestant, who had deserted Christ for Marx.

The terrorists thought that the assault of March 15 would cause the white settlers to flee, that it would gain them the voluntary or forced support of the blacks throughout the province, and that it would break the will to resist of the government in Lisbon. They were wrong on all three counts.

Unlike the Belgians in the Congo, many of the white settlers had been born in the province, and all considered it their only home. With the outbreak of terrorism, instead of running away, they stayed on their land and fought for what was theirs. The courageous tenacity of these men—and women—is a major reason why Angola is still Portuguese. I talked to a number of these settlers, and they all exuded the same pioneer spirit that built America—and which we are so rapidly losing. These men will never leave the provinces, and if necessary they will die to maintain their Portuguese heritage.

The initial assault of March 15 fractured Portuguese authority, and it was several months before sufficient troops could get to the north to restore order. In the meanwhile, ancient tribal hatreds and petty village squabbles erupted into a rampage of murder and arson. In the end, 15,000 people—13,000 blacks and 2,000 whites—were dead, and virtually every bush village was burned to the ground. The reasons for this mass insanity included almost everything except political motivations. With the arrival of the Portuguese Army and the gradual restoration of order, the blacks came to realize that the military was not going to massacre them—as the terrorists had claimed—and that their only hope for peace and a decent life was under Portuguese authority.

Today, the vast majority of the blacks in the north staunchly support the government. One group of people who had joined UPA in 1961 told me: "The terrorists came here and they lied to us and they cheated us. But we are good now." When I asked what they would do if a terrorist came into their village, one man said: "I'd tie him up and take him to the authorities." Another one offered: "I'd kill him." Such is the attitude of the people of the north. In south and central Angola, there has never been any terrorism at all.

The same situation prevails in Mozambique. The terrorists were able to trick the Makonde tribe into a certain amount of collaboration in the early days of the uprising in Mozambique, which began in 1964. But the Makondes soon learned that their real friends were the Portuguese and their real enemies, the terrorists. They now strongly support the government. Mao Tse-tung, the great hero of terrorists everywhere, has said: "Guerrillas are to the population as a fish to water." Since the terrorists lack any popular support, they are just as doomed as fish out of water.

When the war broke out, the government in Lisbon announced a policy exactly the opposite of the policies pursued by England, France, and Belgium. Lisbon announced that the overseas provinces were integral parts of the Portuguese Republic and that the government would never desert them.

The war in Africa and our war in Vietnam have lasted about the same length of time, ten years. The number of men under arms in proportion to the total population is about the same for Portugal as for the United

States, and the fighting conditions—terrain, area, points of infiltration, etc.—are roughly equivalent. In economic resources and technology, Portugal cannot even be compared with the United States. Yet Portugal is winning her war and we are losing ours. The will to win and an anti-Communist government make the difference.

The terrorists in Angola belong to one of three distinct groups. UPA, or as it now calls itself the GRAE (the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile), is not admittedly Communist and is backed by such groups as the Ford Foundation, the American Committee on Africa, the African-American Institute, and, there is reason to believe, the CIA. The MPLA (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) is Communist and receives aid from Soviet Russia. UNITA (the Union for the Total Independence of Angola) is closely tied to Red China and relies heavily on "Mao thought."

MPLA claims to control one-third of Angola, and UNITA claims to control one-third. UPA claims to control more territory than the other two groups combined. Thus, over four-thirds of Angola has been "liberated," which makes us wonder where the Portuguese are! But in fact, as we shall see, the terrorists do not control one single village.

The terrorist organization in Mozambique is FRELIMO (the Mozambique Liberation Front), founded by University of Michigan graduate Eduardo Mondlane. A few years back this leader had an unpleasant experience with a parcel containing a bomb, which left his apartment decorated in late Mondlane. FRELIMO is under Red Chinese domination to the point of reading Mao thought at its assemblies.

In Angola there are three areas of fighting: Cabinda, northern Angola, and eastern Angola. In Cabinda the Army, using a large number of ex-terrorists, has been successful in keeping the MPLA based in the Congo Brazzaville in check, and has prevented any serious infiltration. In northern Angola there are three terrorist zones: a small zone near the town of Fronteira, into which UPA terrorists based in the Congo Kinshasa (the former Belgian Congo) make raids across the river; a pocket about fifty miles south of the Congo Kinshasa border, which UPA infiltrators use as a staging area; and south of this pocket and east of the village of Quixote, the fairly large Dembos zone.

These zones are located in areas which are underpopulated and geographically very favorable to the terrorists. The Dembos zone consists of high, broken, jungle-covered mountains. The long northern border with the Congo Kinshasa lacks any natural barriers, and it is fairly easy for small groups of terrorists to slip across the border and sneak south to the mountains.

In the east of Angola, terrorists based in UPA camps in the Congo and MPLA and UNITA camps in Zambia stage raids north and south of the city of Luso. A zone west of Luso has been eliminated. This whole area consists of unpopulated desert; it is quite easy for the terrorists to move about in bands of ten or less because of Portugal's lack of enough helicopters, which makes it difficult to get to areas where terrorists have been sighted in time to catch them. Even so, while I was in Angola, the Minister of the Overseas Provinces visited this whole area by car in complete safety. The total terrorist strength in all of Angola is only about 2,000.

In Mozambique the terrorist zones are located in the northeast section of the district of Cabo Delgado, in a strip along Lake Malawi, and in the north of the district of Tete. In the first two areas, FRELIMO terrorists infiltrate across the border from camps in Communist Tanzania; in the third area, they cross over from Zambia. All three areas are unpopulated or sparsely populated desert. The terrorist strength in Mozambique varies, according to season, from 1000 to 4000.

The reader will have noticed that the terrorist zones are located in areas that are either contiguous to foreign countries, or easily supplied from Portugal's unfriendly neighbors. This fact alone should be conclusive proof that the war is not an internal rebellion but a fight against foreign aggression. In flagrant violation of all concepts of international law, the governments of the two Congos, Tanzania, and Zambia (and also of Guinea and Senegal) have permitted the terrorists to establish base camps inside the territory of those countries, from which they recruit followers and organize attacks against the sovereign nation of Portugal. These countries permit supplies—munitions from the Communist bloc, and from the United States medicines and other items to make life pleasant for the terrorists—to be shipped to the base camps, later to be carried across the border for use in the war against Portugal.

These countries have given sanctuary in their territory to the terrorists. The terrorists cross the frontier into Portuguese territory for their raids, and run back for shelter. The pursuing Portuguese soldiers have to halt at the frontier, lest they be accused of violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent African nations. This one-sided concern for sovereignty, and indeed for human life, is just one aspect of the inversion of values and perversion of morality which are characteristics of modern international relations in general, and of the United Nations in particular.

A word of explanation about the terrorist zones is in order. These zones do not represent areas of terrorist control; they simply indicate areas in which there is some terrorist activity. In areas sufficiently distant from the border, and outside of the terrorist zones, one is 100 per cent safe. (I walked about the streets of the various cities I visited in both provinces, even in the slum sections, after midnight, without the slightest fear or danger—something impossible to do today in any big American city.) Inside the terrorist zones there is some danger and it is advisable to take some precautions. But from personal experience I can testify that it is possible to visit the zones without harm. In Mozambique I was taken on a visit to the village of Chai, roughly in the center of the Cabo Delgado zone. We left Porto Amelia in a private plane and flew the entire distance at an altitude low enough to be within rifle range of the ground; we had no weapons aboard. On the return flight, we flew over the same route at an even lower altitude and at a slower speed. If the terrorists maintained even minimal control, our plane would have been shot down.

In Angola I spent a day in the Dembos terrorist zone. On this trip we were armed, but this was the only occasion on which we had guns in the car, though I spent about a week and a half altogether in areas our press assigns to the terrorists. Accompanied by the two people from the Center of Information in Carmona, Sr. Arnaldo Lopes and Sra. Lourdes Freire; by the Administrator of Quitexe, Sr. O. A. de Pimental Teixeira, and his sons Alvaro Manuel and Octavio Augusto, and by Dr. Manuel Assoreira, I visited a combination plantation and military camp, Santa Isabel, situated within the zone. I was received at Santa Isabel by the officer in command of the garrison, Captain Waldemar Neves, and Lieutenant Hermano Vicente. As was the case throughout Angola and Mozambique, my various questions were given immediate and direct answers. We left Santa Isabel after dark, and were given a precautionary escort part of the way, but we drove the rest of the way back to Quitexe alone.

Earlier in the day we had visited the plantation of Dr. Assoreira, who, like many other farmers in the area, had lived on his coffee farm throughout the terrorist trouble. It is still somewhat dangerous for these

settlers to drive through the countryside after midnight, but probably no more so than driving through Harlem at one in the morning. Life for these people is not quite normal, but they still live a more civilized and cultured life than most people in far more tranquil areas. Life for the terrorists, on the other hand, is not only un-normal, it is hell.

At present the Army has the war contained in the areas previously described, and terrorist activity has been reduced to banditry, mine laying and occasional ambushes, and even these attacks have been declining. The military strategy, in addition to what can loosely be called search-and-destroy missions within the zones, consists in keeping the terrorism contained and cutting off the routes of infiltration by bisecting them with hard-surface roads and establishing resettlement villages along the roads, which are protected by military units and/or local militia. Resettlement villages also have been or are being established within the zones, thus greatly limiting the activities of the terrorists.

The Army would probably have ended the war already except for two factors: (1) the countries which permit and aid the terrorists' camps on their territory have the sanction of the so-called community of nations, not excluding the United States; and (2) there is an embargo against selling Portugal any arms and war materiel that can or will be used in Africa. The United States has supported this embargo. Portugal is not a wealthy country, and the war consumes forty per cent of her budget. But she is not allowed to buy even those arms she can afford. She obtains some good equipment from South Africa, and for the rest, she must pay top dollar (or *escudo*, which is much harder than the dollar) for outdated surplus equipment, buy parts of nonmilitary equipment and fit the parts together into war materiel, or manufacture the arms herself, which is a great handicap, since Portugal is not an industrial nation.

As a result, the terrorists, who obtain weapons from Czechoslovakia, Russia, and Red China, have much better and more modern materiel. For example, the terrorist rifle weighs only one-third as much as the Portuguese rifle. The terrorists also have a greater stockpile: PRELIMO has armaments for seven times as many men as it has to use them. With napalm and helicopters, the Portuguese could probably end the war in Angola in short order, but they are unable to obtain either. For the United States to prohibit the sale of arms to our NATO ally for use in defense of her own territory would be the height of insanity if it were insanity. It is not. In the past, the United States has given a total of 674 million dollars to the six countries involved in supporting the terrorists, and we have been generous in giving free military assistance to a great variety of nonfriendly nations—even to the extent of helping to train the Yugoslavian air force. Yet we will not sell materiel to our ally, Portugal. This betrayal of our friend and ally has reached such extremes of pettiness as trying to block the sale of two '74's to Portugal because they could be used in transporting troops from Lisbon to Portuguese Africa.

Although the situation in Portuguese Africa is much better than we have been led to believe, I do not wish to minimize the danger that the terrorists pose for Portugal and the rest of southern Africa. South of the equator, Red China has two firmly controlled satellites, the Congo Brazzaville and Tanzania. With the completion of the Tanzanian railroad, now being built by Red Chinese technicians, from Dar es Salaam to Lusaka, Mao will also have complete control of Zambia, and a supply line into the heart of southern Africa. When the railroad is operational, we can anticipate a renewed attack against Angola, Mozambique, and

Rhodesia. The next step is likely to be an attack against Congo Kinshasa, which is at least anti-Red Chinese, through Rwanda and Burundi, and a drive into Botswana. If because of a lack of armaments Portugal could not hold back the assault, we would see a drive into Angola with a sweep down into Southwest Africa and a grab for northern Mozambique. The final step would be the destruction of Rhodesia and South Africa.

Not only would the Communists then control the vast resources of southern Africa; they would also have vitally important harbors of the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic.

This battle plan is admittedly supposition, but it is based on information given to me by Portuguese intelligence. Portugal has the manpower, organization, and courage to resist such attack, but she cannot do so without armaments. Our State Department is certainly aware of the situation, and the only reasonable explanation of our policy toward Portugal is that the *Insiders* in our government want a Portuguese defeat. Such a policy is not only a betrayal of a friend, it is a betrayal of our own national interests.

Despite the tremendous drain the war has imposed on her manpower and finances, Portugal has been making great strides in bringing the tribesmen into the Twentieth Century and Western Civilization. The overwhelming majority of the indigenous people of Angola and Mozambique are Bantus, whose ancestors arrived in these provinces at roughly the same point in history as the Portuguese. The aboriginal inhabitants of the area were the proud and mysterious Bushmen. The descendants of the few Bushmen who escaped being killed and eaten by the invading Bantus now live in little groups in the southern Angola desert.

Until relatively recently, most Bantus could not count beyond three and had little or no ability to think in abstractions. I myself met tribesmen who had no idea whatever of time or distance. But what the Portuguese have been able to do, especially in the last ten years, to civilize these people is truly amazing. The basic policy is to draw the blacks into Western Civilization step by small step, giving them a sound and solid basis on which to continue upward progress. "Teach a man to fish, don't give him a fish," is an exact expression of the Portuguese philosophy.

I saw this program in action in the village of Chai in the far north of Mozambique. I was accompanied by Dr. Fernando Bastos, who is in charge of Civil Administration for the area. Chai is typical of the resettlement villages the Portuguese have built and are still establishing throughout both provinces. It has a covered well to provide the people with safe water, to save the women the long journey to whatever water source there may be in the area, and to encourage closer contact between the villagers through meeting at the well. Chai has a school, a town hall (to help establish the idea of local government), and a sanitation post, which provides health and medical services, with emphasis on maternity cases. The blacks have a distrust of modern medicine, but through seeing what proper care can do for expectant mothers, they begin to gain more confidence in the doctor.

In order to build up the concept of the family, the Portuguese have encouraged the people to replace the cloth drapery that covers the entrance to the typical village houses with wooden doors. These bush houses have only sleeping rooms, cooking always being done outside. Dr. Bastos has developed a house that combines the bush style with the western style. Basically this house is arranged so there is an extra room that can only be used as a living room. It can be built for \$100. The Portuguese will give assistance in the building of the house, but the owner



must do the actual construction: "Teach him to fish, don't give him the fish." This may seem a small step indeed, but it is an advance from the stone age to basic civilization.

Because Chai is in the terrorist zone, there is an Army company of white and black soldiers stationed there. The boys in the village love to play in the camp, ride in the jeeps, etc.—in fact they like it much more than going to school. To counter this attraction, Captain Carlos de Campos Andrada, the officer in charge of the garrison, has announced that only boys who attend school may come into the camp. These boys have three or more shirts apiece, but they will wear one shirt until it falls off; so, as another small step toward civilizing them, the captain periodically announces that only boys with clean shirts may enter the camp the next day—and needless to say, on the morrow all the boys appear in clean shirts.

Unfortunately, these people have a great fondness for wine, which they call "the water of Lisbon"—apparently believing that the people of Lisbon cook in wine, wash in wine, and, I suppose, swim in wine. The villagers occasionally ask the captain for various items, such as shoes or shirts, and he will give them these things, but not if they have wasted their money on wine.

As can be seen, the Portuguese do not try to force the blacks into white tie and tails, but rather in innumerable small ways they are slowly drawing them into a civilized state.

I doubt if any country in the world is more education-conscious than Portugal, and she has spread this concern through her overseas provinces. In the course of my travels I came upon a third-grade workbook done by a little girl, Celestina Benedito, aged about eight years, in a small bush village, Quilongua, outside of Carmona in northern Angola. I very much doubt that it would be possible to find a third-grade workbook in any public school in this country today that could even be compared with this book.

A few comments on the workbook and the school where I found it are in order. In the first place, I selected it at random, though it was not necessarily the best one offered. Next, all the exercises are written in Portuguese, and the small number of corrections indicates that little Miss Benedito has a better grasp of that language than many American third-graders have of English. The arithmetic exercises show that Celestina has learned multiplication and long division well. The writing and dictation exercises stress religious concepts and the history of Motherland Portugal. In other words, this is obviously the result of the old, "outdated" McGuffey reader system.

The schoolhouse in which the workbook was produced lacked a swimming pool and all the other "necessary" adjuncts of modern education. In fact, it was a plain, old-fashioned, one-room schoolhouse, furnished with plain, old-fashioned, wooden desks. The only "teaching tools" other than basic schoolbooks were several maps and a hygiene chart.

Because the Portuguese lack the manpower to supply all schools with what we might term regular teachers, they have established the monitor system. The schoolmaster at Quilongua is a monitor. To be accepted for training as a monitor an individual must have had at least four years of schooling, be over eighteen years old, and must pass a basic entrance examination. I had the pleasure of attending a class for the training of monitors. The method used is quite simple: the teacher teaches the monitors exactly what they are to teach, and they learn by going through every step that their pupils will have to go through.

I realize that this sounds rather slipshod and that the very idea of such an approach to education would scandalize the NEA, but the results prove that the system works.

I think the story of Portugal offers great

encouragement to Americans fighting to preserve the integrity of their nation. Forty-five years ago Portugal was a wreck; she was in far worse shape than we are in today. A small group of men—centered on Dr. Salazar—reversed her downhill course. Basically this was done through education and self-discipline, for Salazar was always more a teacher than a politician. Today Portugal has one of the world's hardest currencies, and this nation has been able to stand up successfully against the world and say, "We are right, here is where we stand, we shall not yield." Surely America can do as much.

#### HONORABLE WILLIAM McCULLOCH TO RETIRE

#### HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, BILL McCULLOCH, whose district adjoins mine, recently reaffirmed his intention to retire at the conclusion of this Congress.

BILL's presence will be greatly missed by his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. His absence will leave a particular void in our Ohio delegation. Unfortunately, new Members from our State will enter the House without the benefit of his wise counsel and his deep insight into the operations of Congress. However, the greatest loss will be the qualities which he exemplified—integrity, dedication, and fairness.

Last week, the Dayton Journal Herald and the Dayton Daily News editorialized on the contributions which BILL McCULLOCH has made to his district and to the Nation. I insert these articles at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Journal Herald, Jan. 20, 1972]  
McCULLOCH'S MARK—CIVIL RIGHTS CHAMPION  
RETIRES FROM CONGRESS

The retirement of U.S. Rep. William M. McCulloch comes as no surprise. While he appears to have recovered from the disability that kept him from his duties much of his last term, the 70-year-old statesman is deserving of the rest he now finds so appealing.

He will be missed—by Ohio's Fourth Congressional District and by all Americans, the larger constituency that Rep. McCulloch served in his 26 years in the U.S. House of Representatives.

He will be remembered and honored primarily for his uncompromising advocacy of strong civil rights legislation, most notably the Voting Rights Act of 1965, in which he took special and justifiable pride. And it is characteristic of Rep. McCulloch's career that his achievements on behalf of civil rights were crusades of conscience, not a political reaction to his largely rural, white, conservative constituency.

But as we noted last June, Rep. McCulloch has another quality that confounds the cynics—integrity.

[From the Dayton Daily News, Jan. 22, 1972]  
GREAT LEGISLATOR

It is both good news and bad that Rep. William McCulloch (R-Piqua) has decided, after tossing and turning on the matter, not to seek a 14th term in Congress.

Good news because Rep. McCulloch has chosen wisely. He has not been well lately. Another campaign and term would be a severe strain for him. The congressman's

many friends and admirers will be relieved that he has decided to spare himself the risky exertion.

But it is bad news, of course, that Rep. McCulloch's retirement is necessary. He has been a fine congressman. No, scratch that. He has been a great one.

Rep. McCulloch has been an honorable, hard-working, thoughtful and perceptive legislator. A conservative as largely befits his district, the representative never has been the kind of narrow, even mean person whose posturings too often are miscast as conservatism.

Certainly the tallest monument of his long career was the enactment of the civil rights laws in the mid-1960s. As the ranking Republican on the key House Judiciary committee, Rep. McCulloch led many of his fellow conservatives, some of them against their prejudices, to the difficult job of helping secure racial justice. No man in Washington is more responsible for that milestone legislation, and none acted with less chance of political gain.

Rep. McCulloch's career has been marked by a deep but never flamboyant appreciation of this country, by devotion to preserving the essence of its heritage viably rather than in fossil form and by hard work to deliver, generously, on the promises of the Declaration and the Constitution.

#### TWENTY-FOUR RECRUITS GRADUATE FROM LOUISVILLE POLICE DEPARTMENT'S TRAINING PROGRAM

#### HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. Mike Quirk, recently completed the 27-week training program for police recruits which is conducted by the Louisville Police Department.

As an indication of the effectiveness of this program in preparing the recruit for his assignment to police duty, I should like to have printed at this point in the RECORD Mr. Quirk's speech at the recent graduation ceremonies.

The speech follows:

#### SPEECH OF MIKE QUIRK

Chief Paul, Mr. Dahl, Rev. Stradder, distinguished commanding officers, guests, friends and family members and fellow officers.

Twenty-seven weeks ago, 24 eager young men took their first steps into the Louisville Police Department's recruit training division. Today, 21 of these men stand before all here present, ready to assume the full time responsibility of being a police officer.

Before I continue any further, I want to take this opportunity to thank Sgt. William Johnson, Lt. Philip Matthews, Det. Bernie Burden and the many, many other instructors that we had, both on the street and in the classroom for making this day a reality.

During the past 27 weeks, many hours have been spent talking to police officers, so today, I would like to address these remarks to the guests gathered here to witness this graduation.

In this age and time when violence and disregard for the law is an everyday occurrence, police must be better trained in their investigative skills and in the use of tools available to them.

Through our extensive 27 week training program, we have learned that one of the

best tools available to us as police officers is the general public. The average citizen witnesses more illegal acts than one would care to imagine, and the alert policeman knows this. By treating people with respect and understanding, the policeman of today gets his cases solved and leaves a mark of respect with his fellow citizens.

We as policemen in today's generation should treat all human beings, regardless of sex, race, or religion as people and try to provide the necessary compassion in understanding the plights and predicaments of the people we serve.

We as policemen, are employed by you, the citizens of this community, to be your public servants in protecting your families, your property, and your rights but only through your cooperation and trust can we be truly effective in controlling and combating crime.

We are the policemen of today. Gone forever is the stereotyped image of the "Cop on the street corner". As today's policemen, we are back alley public relations men, we are marriage counselors, we are an understanding stranger in times of hardship and trouble. We provide first aid to the sick and injured, we deliver babies and if necessary make the split second decision to handle a felon in the proper manner. We are many things, ladies and gentlemen, but most of all we are human. We have weaknesses as every other human does; but we try to overcome these weaknesses and be the strong dependable public servants this fine community deserves.

We are professionals, and as professionals we are expected to act accordingly. We know our job and do it willingly and without reservation. We know our superiors and listen to their wisdoms for they mold our future, and we know ourselves and pledge, if necessary and God willing, our lives, in making this community a better and safer place in which to live.

#### NATIONAL PRAYER BREAKFAST DAY

**HON. RICHARD T. HANNA**  
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, today, as we all know, is National Prayer Breakfast Day—a day when public officials of all rank and jurisdiction acknowledge the Christian heritage of our country. I want to bring to the attention of my colleagues an address by my good friend Lorin Grisct, mayor of Santa Ana, Calif. Mayor Grisct exemplifies the force of Christian faith in public office:

THE IMPORTANCE OF FAITH IN CHRIST TO AN  
ELECTED OFFICIAL

Looking at your agenda, it appears that the cities of Oregon are not escaping the problems that plague us in California. Money, law enforcement, unemployment, growth, housing, taxes, etc., seem to be universal problems. The city of Santa Ana is the county seat of Orange County. Our county is the second largest in California with a population of 1,500,000 people. There are 25 cities in the county and four of them are over 100,000 population. Santa Ana has 170,000 people and is 10th in size for the entire State.

There seems to be a decline of problems in our cities which can be solved exclusively within our own jurisdiction. While working out solutions to problems we must consider neighboring cities, the county, the region, as well as the state and federal governments. We are extremely interdependent in our society. At the same time there is a growing need

for a strong sense of responsibility in local government to identify problems and apply the remedies that are available with all the expertise and dedication possible. No other level of government can do it for the cities as well as the city itself. Anytime we can get the responsibility and the "buck" to begin and stop at the same place then we're making progress. The best chance and maybe the only chance for this to happen is with local government. That is why I believe that strong—nonpartisan local government is the best hope America has for maintaining the high ideals on which this country was founded. It is the level of government where the greatest number of people can become involved and active. Of, by and for the people doesn't need to be an outdated, forgotten theory of government. If local government meets the challenge we must continually work to encourage qualified men to be candidates for public office and then see that they are elected.

When I was first elected Mayor the Los Angeles Times asked me to name the most pressing problem in the city of Santa Ana. I was tempted to say "money". We desperately needed about \$50,000,000.00 for capital improvements and still do. I restrained myself and said the problem of "human relations" was the most pressing. When anyone mentions human relations we immediately think of the racial minorities. Let me say that human relations problems are not limited to the racial minorities. They extend equally, in one form or another, to all segments of the community regardless of color or economic background. Think of marital problems, teenage problems, crossing guard problems, welfare problems, employment problems, taxing problems, zoning and density problems, housing problems, school problems. Nearly everything city government does has a direct or indirect effect on human relations. In our complex society, lack of communication and misunderstanding are the most natural things in the world and their product is fear and disorder. Many times problems are reduced just by having community functions where people can get acquainted. Knowing each other has a way of developing mutual respect and tolerance. Many of our problems are reduced by involving concerned citizens in the decision making process. The result is a better understanding of government and consequently more confidence in government.

Nearly all of our efforts in the area of human relations deal with symptoms rather than root causes. We can see that the unemployed get jobs, that mothers with needy children receive help, that the elderly with low fixed incomes get help with housing and medical care. This kind of help is an absolute necessity if our nation and its cities are to prosper. But let's understand that all of these expressions of social concern do not eliminate the real problem of human relations which is human selfishness along with its partners greed, hate, intolerance, self pity and lack of gratitude.

How do you attack these real problems with real solutions for lasting results? To begin with, government is not equipped to deal with the basic human problem because it must be solved on an individual basis between a man and God—BUT Government is certainly affected by a man's failure to find God's solution for his problem. If the world is to have peace and the American society to know freedom from turmoil and unrest something has to happen to transform human nature. Someone may say all you have to do is live by the "Golden Rule". This sounds real good and it may be what a man, theoretically, would like to do—BUT really who is able to "pamper" the other fellow the same way he wants to be "pampered". If we did this, there wouldn't be any bad marriages—all of society's problems would be solved over night. Mankind's ability to live by the

"Golden Rule" is utter failure! There is absolutely no evidence that man's character is improving or that the great strides in education and technological development has changed the basic human need.

As I have seen the failure in the lives of citizens around me in the areas of community concern, I have also been forced to admit that I have these same limitations and failure in my own life. Kidding myself or not admitting to this basic self centeredness and lack of real concern for anyone but those who can be of help to me, does not solve the problem. My need is one that only God can solve and His remedy can't come until I am ready to be honest and face reality. Ladies and Gentlemen, if I'm part of the problem, I'm not going to be very much help with the solution. Speaking platitudes and decrying evil is not going to do the job. This world needs to see men who are convinced and willing to "put their life where their mouth is." The word I want to emphasize is "willing." I didn't say "able." None of us are "able" to "put our life where our mouth is." We need help from God to do that. Someone may say, I'm not a hypocrite, I'm willing to admit that my life doesn't measure up—but I'm doing the best I can—just as good or better than the next guy. Those of us who have to take the public "flack" get the feeling that these years are bound to result in "brownie points" that will help get us into heaven.

The greatest discovery I made out of the Bible was that I found out God doesn't forgive sin that way. I always thought that I was going to have to be good before God would forgive my sin and reserve me a place in Heaven. I learned from the Bible that it was impossible for me to be good. As a matter of fact, the Bible said I was hopelessly bad along with all other members of the human race. I didn't really believe this. My mother and a limited number of others didn't seem to fit in this category but what I didn't realize was that God measured people against Himself while I was measuring people by other people and mainly by their attitude toward me. Furthermore, I learned from the Bible that God doesn't expect me to be good because He knew that was impossible, and He doesn't expect any man to do the impossible. Only God can do what is impossible for man to do.

If God doesn't expect us to be good and we're hopelessly bad in terms of God's standard, what is the solution to this malignancy in man's character? The amazing message of the Bible from beginning to end is that God loves each of us more than we love ourselves. Even though we are selfish and rebellious He still loves us. This love He has for men caused Him to develop a perfect solution to the problem of man's sin and alienation.

One of my problems is that I underestimated God and overestimated myself and something called chance. Do you have that problem? Most of the time I reasoned that God made me the way I am so it's His responsibility to handle all the imponderables of life—I'll just take my chances. What I failed to understand was that God did not leave the solution of my problem to chance. He communicated to me as He does to the entire human race the perfect solution to the human problem. Because He communicates, each of us must respond. There is no neutrality where God is concerned. God communicates in at least five ways—by the Holy Spirit in the spiritual dimension—in history by Jesus Christ—by the written Bible which we have in our hands—by men who believe God's Word and by the physical universe all around us. God's communication system is perfect.

I had a concept that God was a super, unknowable power who existed somewhere in a far away place and that He delighted in punishing me and making my life miserable. That kind of attitude is deadly because it makes God the opposite of what He is—it prevents God from doing what He wants to



do for us. God's love is different than human love because He loves His enemies, even a sinner like me. His love is unconditional—my love is always conditional.

At first I figured God would solve all the differences between me and Him by "sweeping them under the rug". The Bible says God doesn't solve problems that way. He provided a perfect solution to the problem of sin based on the incarnation of His only Son, Jesus Christ.

To me the death of Jesus Christ was one of the great tragedies of history until I read in the Bible that the death of Jesus Christ was God's way of unlocking the door which my sin had shut between me and Him. God said that since there were no sinless men to unlock the door, He would send a unique God-man to unlock the door for us. How does the death of Jesus Christ do the job? Jesus Christ took the judgment or the penalty that belonged to me and the entire human race. I deserved Hell, but Jesus Christ went to Hell for me. He made a perfect sacrifice which no other man in history was capable of making. When I understood this dimension of God's love and what He had done for me it was a brand new ball game. I didn't have to play "Russian Roulette" with my life. I didn't have to kid myself about how "good" I was. For the first time the big problem of sin was solved in a responsible way. God didn't expect me to do or be something I couldn't do or be. All He wanted from me was willingness to admit my need and accept His gift of forgiveness and reconciliation by simple faith in His Word.

Faith is the key to God's salvation. All of us are natural doubters, and I think I rank at the top of that class. This doesn't surprise God. He knows this, as a matter of fact, it is because we are natural doubters that He has provided all the evidence of His reality and love so that our doubt can be overcome. My tendency is to reject faith in God, and in His plan for reconciling men, as unscientific and unreasonable. I have a tendency to say, unless I can see it I won't believe it. My pride as a man sees faith in a Savior as an admission of weakness which goes against my role as the head of my home and a leader in my community. Faith in myself is what I need, not faith in God. I can't afford to admit I'm so weak. Then I look around and see that I have to operate on the principle of faith in others just to get along in the normal course of life. Faith in others is the key to all good human relationships—like a good marriage—a friendship—a good client, customer relationship. Even the whole credit system of our country is based on faith. I had to conclude that faith in others, which is an implicit admission of weakness and limitation, was absolutely essential for mere human existence. It wasn't difficult then to see why God's only requirement and the only possible way for me to have a good relationship with Him was to believe—just believe. It is perfectly reasonable and rational. The Bible puts it this way, "But without faith it is impossible to please God for he that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him." (Heb. 11:6)

The Bible makes it clear that there is only one way to get in God's "ball game" and that is for each of us, individually, to agree with Him that we are lost and that we willingly accept His offer of complete forgiveness by faith in the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. The only condition is faith—just believe.

God has no other plan for a man's spiritual birth into His family forever than by believing in Jesus Christ. Faith is the only key that unlocks the door into His presence forever. If the key were money, some would be shut out. If it were education, or position, or membership in a certain church, many more would be eliminated.

God says in the Bible—I want to make you a new man with a brand new "insides"—a new nature—which has my Spirit as the power source. I'm offering this to you for the taking through my Son, Jesus Christ.

Some men are quick to say I believe in God, I believe the Bible is the Word of God, but I sure don't know where I stand. I hope that God will give me His approval, but to be honest, I'm not sure about it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is the place where faith is necessary. We have to be willing to believe the Word of God. In a sense it is like believing your bank statement. It doesn't occur to you that the bank would fail to honor your check if you have satisfactory balance. When God says I have put all of Jesus Christ's righteousness on deposit to your personal account if you will just believe and accept it, He means it! God doesn't lie. But there is no way for you to have it if you won't take God at His word. It is like—how can you have a marriage without faith and love? It is a contradiction. Don't worry about God doing His part. He'll surprise you with an unmistakable confirmation of His complete forgiveness when you turn over the "Board Chairmanship and Presidency" of your life to Jesus Christ, and tell him that you're going to make the best Vice President He's ever had. You will be surprised how He makes you at peace and confident of the final outcome. He gives a man a sense of fulfillment and satisfaction and purpose and meaning like he's never had before. A man knows beyond anything he has ever experienced that he has sold out to the God of the universe and that the transaction was completed just by his simple commitment of faith alone. He didn't have any assets to pay God, but God was willing to take his liabilities. What a deal that was! What a God of love and mercy and grace! All of a man's liabilities in exchange for all of God's assets. All God wants is to be God. Is that too much for Him to ask? The Bible has our complete job description—all the specifications and guidelines backed up by God's authority. Shouldn't all of us close the gap with God? Doesn't it make sense for us to turn our back on our failure of the past and the inevitable failure of the future and accept God's perfect plan for our lives? God says, "As many as receive Christ, to those men I will give the power to become children in my family just because they believe in Jesus Christ."

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is the starting place with God. Now is the time! If we act then we're a real part of the solution to the problems of individuals and society around us.

Thank you.

#### CLEVELAND'S PATRICK LYNCH DIES IN IRELAND AT 75

#### HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, in a variety of ways Patrick Lynch rendered great service to the people of his community and so he will be missed not only by those of us who were numbered among his friends, but by the many people who benefited through his selfless work in the public interest. Irish-Americans in Cleveland owe him a special debt of gratitude for the long hours he labored in our behalf. In all his endeavors, including his years of service as president of

the West Side Irish-American Club, his almost continuous activity in raising funds for charitable organizations, and his career in public office as a Cuyahoga County Deputy Sheriff and a sidewalk inspector, Patrick Lynch displayed rare dedication and energy. His life was a rich and fulfilling one, one which can serve as an example to all.

I would now like to insert into the RECORD the following article, which describes his many accomplishments:

#### CLEVELAND'S RENOWNED PATRICK LYNCH DIES IN IRELAND AT 75

(By Raymond J. Reilly)

Patrick Thomas Lynch, co-founder and long-time president of Cleveland's West Side Irish-American Club, whose name was synonymous with leadership in the city's Irish community for more than half a century, died Saturday, January 22, in Ireland. He had returned last October to live in the land of his birth. A bachelor, he devoted much of his life to the club.

Born in Polranny, Achill, County Mayo, in 1896, he came to the United States in 1915 and settled in Cleveland. During World War I, he served with the American Expeditionary Force in France and was awarded the Purple Heart for being wounded in action.

Returning to civilian life in Cleveland in 1918, he became active in various Irish organizations. In 1930, he starred as a goalie for the Cleveland Shamrocks Soccer Team, and for several years he was president of Cleveland's Gaelic Athletic Association.

In 1931, he helped to found the West Side Irish-American Club and was elected its first president. Thereafter, he served 34 one-year terms in that office. His presidency was interrupted only once—in 1947—when he sponsored a motion that the club president should not succeed himself. The following year, the membership reversed that provision and restored him to office.

From 1932 through 1971, Mr. Lynch personally led his club's Pipe & Drum Corps in the annual West Side and downtown St. Patrick's Day Parades—except for 1963, when the United Irish Societies of Greater Cleveland honored him with the grand marshalship of the community's 96th annual Parade along the downtown route.

During his long career in Irish activities, Mr. Lynch became known, not only throughout his own adopted community, but throughout the nation and various parts of the world. He was instrumental in conducting literally thousands of fund-raising efforts for charitable causes, and in particular, for various orders of Roman Catholic missionaries in foreign countries. In 1958, he helped to establish the United Irish Societies of Greater Cleveland to carry on sponsorship of the St. Patrick's Day Parade and related activities.

That same year, he presided over the burning of the mortgage on the West Side Irish-American Club building at 9613 Madison Avenue. Under his leadership, the organization had acquired the structure—formerly the home of the Madison Theater—seven years earlier.

For 17 years, Mr. Lynch was a deputy Cuyahoga County sheriff, and for the 13 years preceding his retirement in 1966, he was a sidewalk inspector for the Cleveland Division of Sidewalks. In 1967, he was feted with a testimonial dinner on the occasion of his retirement from the club presidency he had held for so long.

Funeral services for Mr. Lynch were held on Monday, January 24, in Immaculate Conception Church, Achill Sound, Ireland. He was interred in Achill Sound Cemetery.

His survivors include a brother, Michael, of Ireland, and a sister, Mrs. Margaret Watkins, of England.

## IN DEFERENCE TO POPE GREGORY

## HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, the delicate balance of power has concerned governments for centuries, and the importance of maintaining such a balance has not decreased in recent years despite what advocates of U.S. isolationism would have us believe.

A mere glimpse at the Soviet Union's snowballing expansionism is a convincing enough argument that the United States cannot afford to become an isolationist nation.

In a recent article in *Newsweek*, George W. Ball stresses how important it is that the United States maintain a strong defense posture around the world. I now insert the article into the RECORD:

IN DEFERENCE TO POPE GREGORY

(By George W. Ball)

It was Pope Gregory XIII who fixed a date soon after the winter solstice to mark the beginning of the new year, and in recent times omniscient journalists have exploited that date as an excuse to ponder and pontificate.

For the most part, such pontification has followed a stylized pattern. The passing of the old year is hailed as the end of an era; the prognosis for the new year is invariably bright. "There will, of course, be problems, but we are well on the way, etc."

Well, I am not all that sanguine. I do not know what the next twelve months will bring forth, but I am certain we are not at the end of an era. What we should realistically anticipate is more of the same—but with a difference, since history adds its own fresh whimsies. Yet, though all we can confidently expect is the unexpected, I would note at least two particularly unstable areas—two foci of danger—that demand special vigilance. One is Belgrade, and the other the United States Congress.

## MEDITERRANEAN SCENARIO

Belgrade because the past fortnight's uprising in Croatia foreshadow the disintegration of Yugoslavia once the 79-year-old Tito is no longer available to hold it together. With an energetic assist from the KGB and other agents whom Moscow has enlisted in Eastern Europe, ancient hatreds are being stirred to the point where the momentary success of a local insurgency could provide an excuse for separatist leaders to call for help from the Soviet Army. The scenario has, I suspect, already been scripted in Moscow, where the elimination of the schismatic Communist regime in Yugoslavia is a long-cherished ambition. It would complete the consolidation of the Kremlin's Eastern European empire, encircle an obstinately prickly Rumania, and make chaos of the feeble politics of Italy, with its decaying political center and the largest Communist Party in the non-Communist world.

Nor would the impact of such an event be limited to the European mainland. It would be sharply felt in the whole Mediterranean basin where Soviet power is increasingly visible. This is where the vagaries of Congress are relevant, for if Congress finally yields to the Catonian call of certain key senators for the withdrawal of our troops from Europe, the logic and momentum of the legislative process will, sooner or later, remove the Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean. After all, if we leave it to our allies to look after Western

security on the mainland, why should they not take responsibility for what has long been thought of as a European lake?

## MIDDLE EAST STRATEGY

Given the present neurotic state of American opinion, such a nightmare sequence can definitely not be ruled out. Most of our countrymen still regard the Middle East as an affair of Arabs and Israelis, forgetting that the Russians have made it an integral part of the great-power struggle. They ignore the fact that the only operative forces deterring Moscow from a unilateral reopening of the canal and the effective isolation of Israel are the presence of the Sixth Fleet, the continuing availability of effective American military power in Europe, and—most important of all—fear that they would feel the thrust of that power if they tried to turn their Egyptian beachhead into hegemonic dominance of the southern Mediterranean littoral.

In spite of an epidemic of piety—which has led many otherwise sensible Americans to a self-flagellating rejection of great-power responsibilities—the West cannot afford to lose much more strategic ground to a Soviet Union clearly in an expansionist phase. For what is worth prayerful note—at this turn of the year—is that, while we are systematically contracting our power, the Kremlin is pursuing a reverse Nixon doctrine—establishing forward bases, deploying its rapidly expanding fleet of ships and submarines in strange waters, extending its military reach, and expanding its political presence around the world.

To contend—in the face of these flamboyant actions—that we should deliberately reduce our own weight in a power balance that has served the West well for two decades seems curious indeed. But no great nation has been wholly immune from aberrant behavior; we were blind and stupid in the 1920s and, in the words of the late New York City mayor, Fiorello La Guardia, "when we make a mistake, it's a beaut."

So let us see what 1972 brings forth and try to be more sensible than we have sometimes been in the past—which, I suspect, is as much as one should reasonably hope for in this imperfect world.

## SEPARATE SOCIAL SECURITY FROM WELFARE REFORM

## HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, last week I joined several of my colleagues in introducing legislation to separate some badly-needed social security benefit improvements from the controversial welfare reform package that has been tied up for months in the Congress.

In my recent questionnaire survey among the people of the Fifth District of North Carolina, it was revealed that an overwhelming majority—93 percent—favored efforts to reform the present welfare system, but an equal majority opposed the guaranteed annual income provision included in the welfare reform bill the House passed and which now awaits action in the Senate.

This is a controversy that promises to take a great deal of time for the Congress to resolve, and I do not think it is fair that the social security benefit improvements should be held hostage while we debate welfare reform.

Some of these improvements include: An across-the-board, 5-percent increase in benefits, effective June 1 of this year:

An automatic cost-of-living increase in benefits provided the consumer Price Index increases by at least 3 percent a year;

An increase from \$1,680 to \$2,000 the amount a retired person could earn without losing social security benefits;

New financial assistance to needy persons who have reached the age of 65, or are blind or disabled, effective July 1:

And extension of medicare protection to social security disability beneficiaries, including disabled workers, disabled widows and disabled dependent widowers between the ages of 50 and 65; and to people aged 18 and over who receive social security benefits because they became disabled before reaching age 22.

These are good and much-needed provisions, Mr. Speaker, but they are being needlessly delayed by the welfare reform controversy. The increases in benefits may be delayed indefinitely unless steps are taken to separate the social security provisions from the welfare reform measures.

This is the purpose of the legislation we have proposed, and I hope to seek action on this proposal begun in the near future.

Welfare reform that really is reform is an essential and immediate issue, and we owe it to the Nation to work diligently toward making that reform.

But the first order of business is getting social security through to leave time for a rational and intensive debate of welfare reform without penalizing our senior citizens and other beneficiaries.

This is the task we have begun with this legislation, and I urge my colleagues to join with us in this effort.

## A NEW CRACKDOWN ON TRAFFICKERS IN HARD DRUGS

## HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, over the weekend the President announced, as had been rumored, the creation by Executive order of a new Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement within the Justice Department, to press the attack on those who deal in the illicit narcotic traffic at home and abroad, and named Myles J. Ambrose, now Commissioner of Customs, as that new office's head.

It has been my privilege these past 3 years, through my subcommittee assignment as a member of the House Appropriations Committee, to get to know and appreciate Myles Ambrose's special qualities and capabilities. Under his vigorous leadership, we on the subcommittee have seen the Customs Bureau move out into new and necessary directions, not only to meet its steadily expanding normal workload but also to begin, at last, to make a real dent in that most difficult of criminal investigative



fields—the illicit drug trade. Commissioner Ambrose has shown, by his actions and attitudes, his full awareness of the fact that the Customs Bureau has stood, and still stands—as our front-line defense against the drug traffickers who, by virtue of the human tragedy they sow behind their nefarious activities, are nothing less than murderers and should be treated as such.

As the President noted, in announcing the new Ambrose appointment:

I have known ever since law school that there are many terrible crimes. But in my view and as I look at the consequences, the most despicable crime is that of the drug pusher and trafficker because the result of his act is that the life of the individual is destroyed.

Surely, as we have watched the growth of this evil in our midst—as we have seen its effects reach out from city ghetto and into even the most affluent suburb—it long ago became apparent that none but our best must be put into the fight. We have needed—and now I hope we shall get—a more effective Federal effort, and a fully coordinated Federal effort, against those who would deal out this brand of murder and, for profit, engage in this crime against civilization. The selection of Myles Ambrose, to lead such an effort, is the Customs Bureau's loss but, I am confident, will prove to be the Nation's gain. Particularly, do I hope—and believe—that Mr. Ambrose will be especially useful, by virtue of his demonstrated organizational and inspirational qualities, in encouraging not only a better Federal effort against the drug traffickers but, also, in developing a nationwide network of State and local law-enforcement agencies and prosecutors who, by working together, can do far more than on their own, with their limited staff and technical capabilities.

Some measure of Commissioner Ambrose's progress in the Customs Bureau along these lines can be gained from a reading of Miriam Ottenberg's column on this subject, as taken from this Sunday's Washington Star, and some measure of Myles Ambrose, the man, can similarly be gained from a reading of the Saturday New York Times profile on him, both of which articles are now set forth for the benefit of my colleagues:

[From the Washington Star, Jan. 30, 1972]

#### CUSTOMS TURNS TO TECHNOLOGY IN WAR ON DRUGS

(By Miriam Ottenberg)

Drug smugglers are considered the most sophisticated and dangerous criminals in the world. Now the Bureau of Customs is using the most sophisticated kind of equipment to defeat them.

No longer does the man on the front line—the customs inspector at the port or border—have to rely on memory or intuition to trap the smuggler. Now he's got machines supplying instant intelligence.

No longer does a customs agent watch ruefully as a plane he knows is carrying a load of heroin disappears over the horizon. Now the word can be flashed from car to car and plane to plane in a continuous surveillance until the smuggling aircraft lands—and the pilot faces a reception committee of customs men.

It's all part of the new look of law enforcement—the technological look. In the past few years, as the Bureau of Customs has strengthened in its fight to frustrate the

drug smugglers, the increased funds have gone into equipment as well as personnel.

As customs has paid off with continually increasing seizures of heroin, cocaine, opium, hashish, marijuana and dangerous drugs, Congress has paid off with bigger budgets. The customs budget has risen steadily from \$123 million in fiscal 1969 to \$189 million in the current fiscal year.

The outgoing commissioner of customs, Myles J. Ambrose, said much of the additional money will be used for aircraft and boats with "appropriate detection systems." Therein lies the bureau's answer to one of its toughest problems.

More and more over the past few years, private planes have loaded up with heroin, cocaine and marijuana in Latin America and flown to deserted air strips in the United States to unload their cargo. Flying without lights, skimming over the treetops to evade radar, they often have escaped detection. Because they have been successful, they have proliferated, until now the flying smugglers are bringing a "significant" amount of illicit drugs into the United States.

The traditional approaches to narcotics enforcement—undercover men penetrating the mobs, informers telling agents where to look—haven't succeeded in grounding these drug smugglers.

#### 20 FLIGHTS

A clue to how much may be escaping detection came during a test at Brownsville, Tex. Over a month's period, when radar scanned the skies for 47 hours, a total of 20 suspect flights were counted coming into the United States. They were suspect principally because they were flying without lights, or had taken off without filing a flight plan.

To clear the skies of flying smugglers, to draw the line and tell them aircraft can't cross into the United States except through designated corridors, customs sought help from the military.

"We're getting specially configured aircraft with sensors from the military," a customs official explained. "We're going into the military storehouse of knowledge to get the capability we need. The aircraft we borrow from them will be fitted with special equipment to spot and track smuggler aircraft."

The aircraft are being fitted now for their new duties and should be patrolling the skies by spring. They will concentrate on known smuggler routes and move from one to another seeking out the low-flying planes slipping in without lights during the night.

Customs aircraft and high-speed patrol boats are already doing a job of following suspect cars and ships. A lot of smuggled dope is now moving by ship, particularly on the West Coast. Recently, when Customs uncovered information about a huge marijuana shipment coming in by ship, Customs boats and helicopters zeroed in on a barge. The Customs men seized five tons of marijuana, the record for a single seizure of marijuana in the United States.

Pushing Customs' rate of seizures upward to record heights and catching both smugglers and other wanted characters is an intricate intelligence system using modern electronic computers. It's called CADPIN, the acronym for Customs Automatic Data Processing Intelligence Network.

In full service since April 1970, CADPIN now consists of 160 teletype terminals in Customs inspection areas along the 2,200-mile Mexican border, as well as 42 other key points. These include major Canadian crossings, selected international airports and Customs field offices throughout the country. This year, an additional 130 terminals will expand coverage on the Canadian border.

Here's how it works:

As each car moves into the inspection area at a border crossing where passengers and vehicles are first checked, the computer is given the license plate of the car and asked if it's a wanted car. Names, addresses and

other information about possible suspects are also fed into the computer. Within one or two seconds, the answer—"Yes," or "No" or "He may be armed and dangerous"—is flashed on the terminal screen.

When a "yes" is given—Customs calls it a "hit"—the computer furnishes additional data on the suspect car or person and the significance of the case. This takes about six to nine seconds and appears on a second terminal in the area, where suspected vehicles have been sent for further examination. That gives the Customs inspector all he needs to take action.

CADPIN is now processing between a third and a half-million primary queries weekly and hopes to have 1,000 terminals at ports throughout the country by the late 1970's.

Since CADPIN started operating, it has scored more than 625 "hits" resulting in more than 315 arrests and seizure of more than 190 vehicles including a number of airplanes.

Drug seizures as a result of CADPIN alerts have been impressive—more than four and a quarter tons of marijuana, 35 pounds of heroin, eight pounds of cocaine, a pound and a half of hashish and about 1.3 million pills of dangerous drugs.

This technological breakthrough works with dizzying speed. Last May, a man and a girl were arrested at San Antonio International Airport trying to smuggle in cocaine. From what they said and papers they carried with them, agents deduced that other cocaine smugglers would be crossing the border. An emergency alert was flashed over the system and entered into CADPIN's data base. At 5:58 p.m. on May 25, exactly two minutes after the lookout was posted, two people were arrested at the Laredo crossing.

CADPIN produces more than smugglers. Last February, it caught a man accused of abducting a little girl from Portland, Ore. It trapped a man wanted for murder at El Paso, Tex., five stolen cars and \$4,201 taken in a bank robbery along with the robber who took it. On the humanitarian side, CADPIN made it possible to locate a man to tell him he better see a doctor because he had been exposed to spinal meningitis.

#### NEW NETWORK

In another technological advance, customs has developed a new communications network which its designers say is one of the most advanced and complex in existence. It's something of a hybrid, combining landline-connected base stations, high-powered mobile units and radio repeaters, all linked to sophisticated switching consoles.

What's important to the agents is that no matter how far they are from home base, they're no longer alone. They can communicate from one end of the 2,200 mile Mexican border to the other in seconds and can do it either from a base station or from a radio-equipped car, boat or airplane. That, for instance, is how they can move faster than the suspect airplane they're tracking.

The system is so flexible that mobile units can communicate directly with each other, without going through the central console of that sector while the console monitors all traffic so it can take independent action if that becomes necessary. They can link up with commercial telephone lines as well as with any law enforcement agency in the country anytime of the day or night.

Moving deeper and deeper into technology, customs is going into neutron radiography, X-ray, radar and various sensory devices to try to detect heroin in women's handbags and men's luggage.

They haven't found the device yet to sniff out heroin but they have scored on detecting marijuana and hashish. Their detectives are dogs. In the first 11 months of 1971, the customs detector dog teams made 984 "hits," resulting in the seizure of 13,345 pounds of

marijuana, 1,049 pounds of hashish, 2,128 marijuana cigarettes, 33 pounds of opium and small quantities of heroin, dangerous drugs and cocaine.

The dogs and their handlers find the contraband in the malls, in cargo shipments and in concealed compartments of cars, boats and planes. To keep up the interest of the dogs, their handlers sometimes put test parcels of drugs in among the other cargo. The dogs invariably find the parcels.

What keeps the customs agents and inspectors happy—as well as their bosses—are their “hits.”

But as Commissioner of Customs Ambrose said shortly before President Nixon nominated him last week to a new drug enforcement job at the Justice Department:

“Machines do not run themselves, men do. So even in this age of advanced technology it is the man on the line, the inspector in uniform, the individual man or woman who has the responsibility and ultimately gets the job done.”

[From the New York Times, Jan. 29, 1972]

DRUG LAW ENFORCER: MYLES JOSEPH AMBROSE

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28.—President Nixon's new enforcer of narcotics laws is known as a relentless driver of subordinates who love him for it. One reason is that they know he sets an even tougher pace for himself. Nothing else could explain why 500 customs bureau workers chipped in to hire a movie house and walked there in a steady drizzle before the working hour today just to tell their boss good-by and good luck in his new job.

Myles Joseph Ambrose was 43 years old when he was appointed Commissioner of Customs in 1969 and the youngest man ever to hold the job. In the two-and-a-half years since then he has been working at it 12 hours a day and sometimes longer. His effort shows in the agency's vastly improved operating methods.

“Never ask a co-worker or a Congressman ‘what have you done for me lately’” says the former New York lawyer, who looks like a blocking back than a bureaucrat. “You’d be surprised at the results you get from asking ‘What are you going to do for me today?’”

Mr. Ambrose's approach to any job he tackles is to bury himself in it. It has paid off handsomely. At Customs it produced a loyalty from staff and rank and file workers that no amount of devotion to duty could equal. Harold F. Smith, the assistant Commissioner for Investigations put it this way:

THE GUY IS FANTASTIC

“The guy is fantastic; unbelievable but real. I’ve been around here for 35 years but never before did I ever see a man call a meeting for a Saturday afternoon and make the staff love him.”

Myles Ambrose is a New Yorker of Irish descent and looks it. His height is about 6 feet 2 inches and he weighs just under 200 pounds. His large dark eyes and highly expressive face reflect an easy confidence in himself and what he is doing. He is as much at home in a precinct squad room as a crowded courtroom or a diplomatic conference and has the vocabulary to match any locale.

He bristles with energy. He is a former public prosecutor and defense attorney who talks with a casual friendliness that puts the visitor at ease. He is capable of polished rhetoric, but if called for by the occasion he is equally adept at the monosyllabic vernacular of the New York waterfront.

It was his work as director of the Waterfront Commission for New York harbor and his success in eliminating gangster elements, including loan sharks, narcotics pushers and other known criminals that first attracted national attention.

A flair for innovation that brought results in cleaning up the waterfront gained him

a reputation among associates as “a boat-rocker who doesn’t mind getting wet in getting results.”

He invented the “blitz” inspections of piers, including the searching of persons and so-called dead space, such as offices and locker rooms to recover pilfered cargo or contraband. Longshoremen complained but complied rather than lose their licenses.

When he used the same tactics as Commissioner of Customs during Operation Intercept along the Mexican border, highway traffic backed up for five hours at some crossings while his inspectors combed through passenger cars and panel trucks searching for marijuana and heroin.

The Mexican Government complained to the State Department about indignities to which its nationals had to submit and their complaints about “a flamboyant and futile exercise” succeeded in getting it called off after two weeks.

But Mr. Ambrose had made his point and demonstrated what the United States could do when Intercept was succeeded by Operation Cooperation, the Mexican authorities began a search and seizure program.

Born in New York City on July 21, 1926, Mr. Ambrose graduated from Manhattan College and holds a J.D. degree from New York Law School.

He served concurrently as an instructor in economics and industrial relations at Manhattan College and, before entering Government service in 1957, was a personnel executive for a New York engineering concern.

As assistant to Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson, Mr. Ambrose was responsible for enforcement policies of the Secret Service, the Bureau of Customs, the Bureau of Narcotics—since transferred to Justice—the Coast Guard and the Internal Revenue Service.

Mr. Ambrose married the former Elaine Miller in 1948. They have three boys and three girls: Myles Jr., Kathleen, Kevin, Elise, Nora and Christopher.

## RESTORE PEACE CORPS FUNDS

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, the \$5 million reduction in the Peace Corps budget is taking place at the very time when the Corps is experiencing a rebirth of interest and enthusiasm. The Peace Corps is one of the most positive components of American foreign policy. It is a unique expression of Americans' concern for other people in an era when nations abroad are speculating about a new U.S. trend toward isolationism.

The Peace Corps is unique among Government agencies in that it has not only cut administrative costs by \$3 million, but also has reduced its administrative personnel by nearly one-third. This means that the proposed cut in funds will have immediate impact on the actual program operation of that agency. Thousands of volunteers, nearly half of those on active duty abroad, may have to terminate their assignments prematurely. Programs in 15 countries may end, and be reduced in 40 others. This cut comes at a time when requests from abroad for volunteers have doubled.

I regard the appropriations cut as a serious blow to a young agency whose efforts have been bent toward the deliv-

ery of practical expertise to people in desperate need. Like all new enterprises, the Peace Corps has had growing pains and has learned from mistakes. But under the direction of Director Blatchford, there is renewed enthusiasm for the Corps. By recruiting people from all walks of life, all age groups, and with a variety of skills, the Peace Corps has become a meaningful people-to-people, self-help program. Therefore, I strongly urge Congress to restore the Peace Corps funds so that it can continue its good work.

## IRAQ EXPELLING THOUSANDS OF IRANIANS

HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw to the attention of my colleagues the worsening situation between Iraq and Iran in which an estimated 60,000 Iranians have been uprooted and expelled from Iraq. Since the two nations broke off relations over a dispute concerning Persian Gulf holdings, Iraq has retaliated with the indiscriminate expulsion of thousands of Iranians who live in Iraq chiefly to be near their Muslim shrines.

The Iranian Foreign Minister, Abbas Ali Khalatbary, has indicated that the harshness of this intolerable situation could be mitigated if the Iraqis would handle the treatment of these forced refugees in a more orderly and humane manner.

The absence of such procedures is creating a condition in which thousands of Iranians, separated from their families and possessions, are being forced into emergency border camps in subfreezing temperature and deep snow. Many have starved; many have died due to lack of medical care; and many more will continue to suffer needless hardships until Iranian pleas for a more just handling of the refugee problem gains an accord.

I would now like to present several articles which detail the plight of the Iranian exiles:

[From the Indianapolis Star, Jan. 1, 1972]

### IRAQ EXPELS THOUSANDS OF IRANIANS

TEHERAN, IRAN.—Thousands of Iranian men, women, and children were trudging back to Iran yesterday in freezing temperatures after being ordered out of Iraq.

A religious leader, Ayatullah Sheikh Mohammed Shahroudi said in Khosrow Shahr, Iran, that another 250,000 Iranians have now been told to leave Iraq within 24 hours. Teheran says Iraq already has expelled 60,000 Iranians.

On his arrival from Iraq, Shahroudi claimed the Iraq had assaulted and tortured Iranian women and deprived men of their property.

Another religious leader, Ayatullah Sayed Jaffer Khouei, was among a group of 1,000 who arrived in Khorramshahr, south Iran.

Iraq and Iran have been feuding for years. Recently, Iran aroused Iraq's wrath by occupying three small islands at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, through which tankers pass carrying Iraqi oil to world markets.

Describing the expulsion, Khouei called Baghdad security men “more cruel than Ban-



gla Dosh revengers." He said he was forced to leave the country in which he had lived all his 65 years. The other Iranian refugees also have long lived in Iraq.

Six pregnant women reportedly gave birth on a two-mile walk from Manzarich in Iraq to the Iranian border post of Khosrovi. Refugees also reported that two men had been tortured and died before reaching the border.

The expelled Iranians said cars equipped with loud speakers have toured the religious towns of Karbala, Najaf, Kazemini and Koufe calling on Iranian Moslems to leave the country within 48 hours or face the consequences.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 13, 1972]

#### IRAN CHASTISES IRAQ FOR OUSTING NATIONALS (by John K. Cooley)

TEHRAN, IRAN.—In a wide-ranging interview with foreign newsmen here, Iranian Foreign Minister Abbas Ali Khalatbary said that: Iran's Shah, the first head of state to visit Pakistan's new President, did so to "get acquainted" with the President's thinking.

Since Iran opposes "secession of anyone's national territory, in line with the United Nations charter," it could not sympathize with the secession of Bangladesh.

Iran was not bound by its Central Treaty Organization ties with Pakistan to come to its aid militarily against India.

Neither was Iran, however, warned by the Soviet Union to refrain from helping Pakistan against India.

Departure of British forces from the Persian Gulf "does not leave a power vacuum there," but that the British presence would be replaced by "collaboration among the Trucial States."

Iran had no further territorial demands in the Persian Gulf after occupying at the end of November the three islands that were "rightfully our territory." These are Abu Musa, Big Tunb, and Little Tunb.

The islands were occupied for "sentimental and historical reasons" rather than for economic or strategic ones since Iran could easily have blocked the gulf using its older naval and air bases had it wished to do so.

Perhaps the United States Government will officially inform Iran about its recent agreement with Bahrain in the Persian Gulf to use naval facilities there. Mr. Khalatbary recalled that the U.S. has had a naval presence at Bahrain and in the gulf "for many years."

#### RELATIONS BROKEN

"The old U.S. arrangements in Bahrain were with Britain as protecting power," he commented. "Now that Bahrain is independent, the U.S. may have wanted to make new ones with the independent Bahrain Government."

The minister commented at length on Iran's conflict with Iraq and its Persian Gulf policies. Iraq broke diplomatic relations with Iran and Britain because of Iran's island occupation.

Since then, Iran has charged Iraq with expelling 60,000 Iranian residents of Iraq, although the Foreign Minister said that concluding the expulsions were reprisals for the gulf action was "only speculation."

Mr. Khalatbary estimated there were another 250,000 Iranian nationals living in Iraq. They included people living there for religious reasons, especially near the Shia Muslim shrines in Karbala and Qetef. Others, the minister added, are workers of various kinds including people doing seasonal farm labor in the frontier areas.

The minister acknowledged truth in Iraqi charges that many of the Iranians had no work or residence permits. But he said Iran had no contact with most of them and had never encouraged them to keep Iranian citizenship instead of accepting naturalization as Iraqis.

#### NO JUSTIFICATION

"There was no justification," he said, "for arresting sometimes as many as 11,000 or 30,000 in a single day, not even allowing them to see other members of their families or take any clothes or possessions with them."

He said Iraqi authorities had confiscated identity documents of many, "proving the act was premeditated"—which Iraq has denied.

A nationwide appeal by Iran's Red Lion and Sun Society, equivalent to the Red Cross, for aid in money, food, and clothes had "most gratifying results," he said. But if expulsions continue, Iran will have to appeal for international help.

He said that Iran had asked Switzerland, which protects Iranian interests in Iraq now that diplomatic relations are broken, to intervene with the Baghdad authorities to make expulsions proceed "more humanely."

"If Iraq wants these people out," he explained, "we cannot and do not plan to try to impose their presence. We have only asked that their departure be better spaced out and planned so that we can prepare the effort needed here to give them food, shelter, work, and schooling and thus integrate them into our economy."

At present the refugees are housed in emergency border camps in subfreezing temperature and deep snow.

[From the Washington Star, Jan. 12, 1972]  
EIGHTY-SIX REPORTED DEAD IN CLASHES OF  
KURDS, IRAQIS

TEHRAN.—Eighty-six persons died in clashes between Iraqi forces and Kurdish rebels at Niarah in northern Iraq, it was reported here today.

Accounts reaching Tehran said a group of rebels raided the garrison but failed to take it, and 43 persons were killed.

An earlier report indicated that another 43 persons had been killed during a similar encounter in Solaimanieh, northwest Iraq. That clash took place Sunday and Monday following a Kurdish protest against the expulsion of thousands of Kurds among the 60,000 Iraqis ordered to leave by the Iraqi government.

The fighting has underscored the erosion of a year-old truce between the autonomy-seeking Kurds and the Socialist Baath party government of President Ahmed Hassan el Bakr.

[From the Canton (Ohio) Repository, Jan. 8, 1972]

#### DANGEROUS SITUATIONS

"Dangerous situations" are becoming so common in the world at large that when they occur they fail to generate the same degree of concern that they did in the past.

Blase observers of the world scene, watching one crisis wind down, are apt to observe, "Well I wonder where the next one will be."

For the moment it appears the next one will involve Iran and Iraq but little notice is being taken of what Iran has described as a "dangerous situation" in a message to United Nations officials.

The Iranian government charges Iraq has created the situation by expelling more than 60,000 Iraqis from Iraq in the last 90 days. Members of the U.S. Security Council also have been advised of the mass deportations which must sound a little like the early days of the recent India-Pakistan dispute.

Iraq recently broke diplomatic ties after Iranian troops occupied three small islands in the Persian Gulf in a border-type dispute reminiscent of the conflict between the Communist Chinese and the Russians on the border between those two nations.

Although Iran has not yet asked for a meeting of the Security Council on the matter, it is being spoken of as a threat to peace.

Stories of ill treatment and even brutality and torture are heard but these, as usual, are denied.

Perhaps the potential crisis will evaporate. On the other hand it might not. If it does not, for awhile, at least, the eyes of the world will focus on Iran and Iraq.

And then, regrettably, there will be another "dangerous situation" somewhere in this troubled world of bumbling men.

[From the Kayhan International, Jan. 1, 1972]

#### FLOOD OF REFUGEES CONTINUES ACROSS BORDER FROM IRAQ

KHOSRAVI.—Deportees from Iraq continued to pour into Iran at this tiny border settlement as temperatures remained below freezing. Customs and immigration officials worked round the clock to speed up the intake.

Grim-faced men, weeping women and children, old men and women shivering in the cold and suffering from days without food continued to arrive every hour. They were part of an estimated 40,000 people waiting in nearly 1,000 coaches and Iraqi Army trucks on the other side of the border.

Iranian authorities are doing their best but they have not yet been able to increase the daily intake beyond the 700 mark reached yesterday.

If all 40,000 people waiting for permission to enter Iran are included, the number of people of Iranian origin expelled from Iraq during the past two years would amount to over 100,000.

The mammoth caravan of coaches and trucks bringing in the deportees could be seen stretching for miles into the Iraqi territory.

Officials here said that at least 20 people might have died during the past few days in the border region. Eleven were killed when an Iraqi Army lorry bringing in a group of deportees overturned. Two men died here shortly after arrival into Iran, and officials said the cause of their death was "persistent physical torture" by the Iraqi police. Two other people, one a woman, were feared dead because of starvation on the Iraqi side of the border.

Meanwhile, six women gave birth shortly after being admitted into Iran at a field hospital set up by the Red Lion and Sun Society.

So far 7,500 deportees have been settled at the Masrabad camp near Qasr-e-Shirin while over 4,000 others are being cared for at various mosques in Kermanshah.

The deportees pass through two stages: first, they are admitted into Iran at various border posts, then they are transferred to camps set up in various towns in the west.

Scores of coaches have been brought into service by the local authorities to facilitate the transfer. But a shortage of transport is still being felt.

The emergency organization set up to handle the situation is working round the clock under Premier Amir Abbas Hoveyda's general supervision. Efforts are being made to speed up the intake of the deportees as well as their transfer to various cities.

Local security officials are continuing to screen all the new arrivals in order to identify the saboteurs Iraq is believed to be sending through with the deportees.

Several prominent Shi'ite religious leaders were among the first group to be admitted into Iran this week. They included Ayatollah Haj Mostafa Meshkat, the Imam Jum'a of the holy city of Karbala and one of the leading religious personalities of Iraq. Ayatollah Flruzabad, another Shi'ite leader, also arrived here Thursday and was sent to Kermanshah for medical treatment. He said that he had been subjected to torture by the Iraqi police.

Reliable sources here said that considerable quantities of explosives and small arms

have been seized by security officials from a group of Iraqis arriving here recently.

They added that Iranian defences in the border region had been strengthened and emergency measures were being adopted to check every movement made by Iraq in the area.

Kermanshah Governor-General Javad Shahrestani this week toured the city's various mosques where thousands of deportees are being sheltered. He also had a meeting with the religious leaders expelled from Iraq.

Among the deportees there are thousands of people who are suffering from frost-bite, fatigue, malnutrition and injuries received as a result of torture. Almost all the field hospitals as well as hospitals in nearby towns are already full and some people would have to be transferred to cities further inside the country within the next few days.

Some deportees spoke of the "deliberate brutality" shown by the Iraqi authorities. They said that all those put on trucks and coaches to be sent to Iran had first undergone physical torture while some of the women thrown in goals for one or two days had been raped.

In over 80 per cent of the cases the deportees have had their identity documents seized by the Iraqi police before being put on army trucks and coaches and sent to the border region via the town of Khaneqin.

Those still waiting in coaches and trucks between Khaneqin and the Iranian frontier have received no food and water since Wednesday, Dec. 29 and appeals to the Iraqis to distribute supplies among them have been rejected. Hundreds of them, specially children and old people, are threatened with death because of starvation and cold.

Some of the deportees from Baghdad, Karbala, Najaf and Kazemain told reporters here that their houses and shops were looted by the Iraqi police prior to their arrest. One estimated the property looted by the Iraqi police in Karbala alone at a value of 100 million rials.

The loot is usually taken to the central police station in each city where it is divided among men and officers who took part in raids against houses owned by people of Iranian origin or Arab Shi'ites suspected of opposition to General Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr's government in Baghdad.

Before being put on coaches and trucks the deportees have their personal belongings such as watches and women's jewelry removed from them by the Iraqi border guards. In a number of cases Iraqi army officers have even removed the coats of the deportees leaving them stranded in snow and sub-zero temperatures.

"Even a nice pair of shoes could attract the Iraqi army officers," one deportee said. "They are behaving as common thieves and the bazaars of various Iraqi cities are already full of stolen goods marketed by the Iraqi army and police with a cut going to the ruling Ba'ath Party officials."

He added that in some cases Iraqi army officers and men came to blows with each other over "an expensive watch or a piece of jewellery" seized from the deportees.

Authorities here expect the massive influx of deportees to continue for several more days if not weeks. Special groups of the Iraqi police, army and the Ba'ath Party, have been formed to round up other people of Iranian origin still remaining in Iraq. Their number is estimated at 200,000 of which nearly half have already been expelled.

One way of deciding who is Iranian and who is not as far as the Iraqi authorities are concerned, is to see what kind of mosque or shrine an individual visits. Special squads are keeping a watch at all Shi'ite shrine and mosques throughout Iraq arresting anyone who visits them.

"The Iraqi authorities seem to believe that being a Shi'ite is equal to being an Iranian,"

one deportee said. But over 55 per cent of Iraq's 5.5 million Arab population are Shi'ites.

If the present rate of intake is maintained, and provided that no more people are sent to the border by Iraq the entire convoy of nearly 1,000 trucks and coaches waiting for clearance by the Iranian border authorities could be handled within the next week, sources here said.

Among those expelled from Iraq during the past few days there are over 400 Shi'ite religious leaders, an official spokesman said last week. He said that some of the leaders had Iraqi nationality. All of them would be transferred to Tehran as soon as weather conditions permit.

Kerman Governor-General Mostafa Drakshesh last week inspected a camp set up near Jiroft for refugees from Iraq. The camp now shelters over 10,000 people but is capable of taking at least twice as much.

A special committee has been set up to coordinate relief work for the refugees. It is headed by Interior Minister Mohammad Sam and includes a number of ministers, technical advisers and planners from various departments. Premier Amir Abbas Hoveyda personally supervises the committee's work.

Nearly 370 suspected Iraqi saboteurs have been arrested by security forces in the border region, reliable sources said Thursday. They were among some 3,800 Iraqi nationals "expelled" from their country during the past few days. The suspects will go before military tribunals on charges of attempted sabotage and espionage. They face the death sentence.

All Iraqi nationals sent to Iran during the past few days, excepting the confirmed saboteurs, will be returned to their country within the next few days. At present they are being sheltered in camps in west Iran.

[From the Kayhan International, Jan. 22, 1972]

#### FRONTIER CLEARED OF DEPORTEES

KHOSRAVI.—The flow of deportees from Iraq into Iran has come to a virtual halt during the past few days, authoritative sources said here last week. Some 40,000 people who had been deported from Iraq late last month have all been cleared and admitted into Iran.

Late last week only 40 people applied to enter Iran from Iraq. They seemed to be the last to arrive and said that they had not witnessed any major concentration of deportees on the Iraqi side of the frontier.

A spokesman for the Red Lion and Sun Society's special "task force" here also said that all the transition camps in the border region have now been cleared and their inhabitants sent to various cities throughout the country.

The Nasrabad camp, near Qasr-e-Shirin, for example, housed several thousand deportees until early last week. By last weekend only a few families were there waiting to leave for Mashad and Kerman.

The spokesman also said that so far over 33,000 deportees have been temporarily resettled in transition camps throughout the country. Some 8,000 others have been resettled on their own or have joined relatives and friends in various towns.

He added that all children of school-age who had been deported from Iraq have already resumed their studies either at special schools set up at transition camps or at ordinary government schools in various towns. Scores of deported university students have also been admitted into various universities and centres of higher education.

The religious teachers and students of theology who had been deported have all been absorbed by Shi'ite teaching centres in the holy cities of Mashad and Qom, the spokesman added.

He said that the programme for finding gainful employment for all able-bodied deportees is being applied successfully. Hun-

dreds of skilled workers have already been found employment while scores of others have found part-time jobs. Many more are employed by the RLSS in various fields connected with the maintenance of the transition camps.

Despite the fact that the period announced by RLSS for accepting cash and material aid for deportees has ended contributions are still being made in many parts of the country.

The spokesman also said that efforts have been made to set up the transition camps in warmer regions in order to avoid hardship for the deportees as a result of cold weather while also reducing the cost of running the camps.

Sources here said that local planners had expected to complete the transfer of all deportees by the end of January but the process was completed two weeks earlier due to greater government help and the availability of more means of transport than originally hoped for.

Despite the fact the flow of deportees has halted the local effective of customs and immigration staffs is being maintained "for the time being."

Sources here say that the main structures created for handling the flood of deportees within the last few weeks would not be dismantled for some time to come.

"Who can be sure of the Ba'athists?" one RLSS worker asked here recently. "We have to be fully prepared all the time because those chaps in Baghdad are so unpredictable."

[From the Kayhan International, Jan. 22, 1972]

#### RLSS DEMANDS FULL RECOMPENSE FOR REFUGEES

Iran has demanded full compensation for material losses suffered by Iranian refugees exiled from Iraq, it was officially announced this week.

The demand came from the Red Lion and Sun Society and has been accepted favourably by the International Red Cross and its affiliated organizations.

A representative group from the International Red Cross, the Union of Red Cross Societies and the Red Crescent, left Tehran for Geneva last week for a meeting called by the RLSS. They are expected to raise the issue in Geneva shortly.

The RLSS has condemned the Iraqi expulsions as inconsistent with the principles of international human rights and the universal declaration of human rights.

It has demanded full compensation from Iraq for material possessions of Iranians who were expelled from that country without a chance to collect their belongings.

The RLSS has explained that many of those expelled have lived in Iraq for several generations and were enjoying happy lives before the Iraq government confiscated their belongings and ousted them from Iraq.

#### ALLOW TIME

Iraq should return the belongings of the expellees so that they can start life in Iran, the RLSS has said, also demanding that in future Iraq should allow time for Iranians to collect their belongings before expelling them.

Future expulsions must also be made in small numbers to help Iranian border officials confirm the nationality and origin of the expellees at border towns.

The RLSS has also demanded the return of Iraqi nationals who have been sent to Iran together with refugees of Iranian origin.

#### IRAQIS

According to documents found on these people, they have served in the Iraqi armed forces and have been proved to be Iraqi nationals, the RLSS has said.

The RLSS has demanded that the International Red Cross assumes the responsibility of returning Iraqi nationals to their coun-



try, but it has agreed to provide for their care and accommodation as long as they are on Iranian soil.

Iraq should also put an end to separating family members, as well as stopping the expulsion of pregnant women who have been forced to give birth in trucks and under unhygienic conditions.

The RLSS should be allowed to provide physicians and medicine at border points, the list of demands concluded.

Meanwhile, a committee of five appointed by the Senate to consider the refugee's conditions in Iran announced this week that it would visit a refugee camp set up for 25,000 Iranians in Jiroft in southeast Iran.

## IT'S "BACK TO STALIN" FOR CZECH CATHOLICS

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 1, 1972*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we are going through another period where the propaganda machine of the Communist world is grinding out the line of coexistence, moderation, easing of conditions, and all the other false claims that the Communists make for their alleged mellowing process, the purpose being to lull the free world into complacency.

An article in the New World of January 28 tells of the crackdown on the Soviet imposed Red government and religious groups in Czechoslovakia which certainly runs counter to this propaganda line.

The article follows:

It's "BACK TO STALIN" FOR CZECH CATHOLICS  
(By Gerd Kriwanek)

VIENNA.—The thaw was followed by bitter frost.

This statement applies not only to the political developments in Czechoslovakia after the crushing of the "Prague Spring" in 1968, but also to the situation of the Church.

Experts agree the situation—after the short bright spell of 1968—is similar to that in the Stalinist period. The Church has become the butt of concentrated attacks from two directions—through administrative measures and ideological arguments.

The Communist regime is attempting to curb religious activities slowly but effectively by administrative action. The "truce," which held until talks between the government and the Vatican failed last spring, no longer exists.

More than half of all parishes in Bohemia lack priests, and there is no chance to overcome the shortage. At the moment only 12 students study for the priesthood in the entire Archdiocese of Olomouc. As a result of administrative chicanery, the number of children attending religious instruction in school is sharply declining.

At the same time, the regime has endorsed increased ideological attacks on the Church. Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party, charged the Church with having misused the situation in 1968 "to create a political basis for clericalism and Catholicism."

Lenart claimed religious sentiments were misused by the Church to promote "anti-Sovietism and anti-socialism."

The regime has increased its atheist propaganda. The magazine for teachers, Ucitelske Noviny, urged abolition of any "liberal attitude toward religion and the Church in our society." The journal also pledged increased atheist education of young people by the

party, mass media, schools and major organizations.

It also suggested the Academy of Science should devise the best methods to promote atheist education.

Party officials have said repeatedly at recent meetings religion "has a negative influence on the formation of Socialist conscience."

The Bratislava Communist newspaper, Pravda, demanded that religious ceremonies—christenings, weddings and funerals—should be replaced by Socialist ceremonies, because the "Church has misused the most important stages of human life for its own purposes."

Karel Hruza, head of the government state office, has described the regime's plans. "After rightists and counter-revolutionaries are removed from the party and government, we must concentrate in working a platform to cope with the reactionary policy of the Church. Our task is very difficult, but we shall solve the problem."

## U.N. INQUIRY NEEDED INTO MASSACRE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

**HON. MARIO BIAGGI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 1, 1972*

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the situation in Northern Ireland has escalated to the point of all-out war. Sunday, British troops massacred 13 unarmed civilians participating in a peaceful demonstration. These marchers were protesting the internment of over 700 citizens without trial under the Special Powers Act.

Mr. Speaker, over the last few months I have been citing examples of the atrocities which have been taking place under this Special Powers Act. Citizens have been snatched up in the middle of the night and physically abused with Gestapo-like tactics.

This rally, therefore, was justified as a peaceful means of bringing international attention to these atrocities and to the internment of innocent citizens in detention camps.

In addition, it was announced in advance by the IRA provisionals, and supported by the regular IRA, that there would be no arms in the march. Clearly, the British forces fabricated the claim that sniper fire was present to justify their attacks on unarmed civilians.

Eyewitness accounts also point to these conclusions. For example, Ivan Cooper, a Londonderry Social Democratic and Labor Party member of the Northern Ireland Provincial Parliament was quoted in the Washington Post as saying:

I was shot at even though I had raised a white flag as I tried to help a wounded man. I could see innocent people being shot down. I saw the shots coming from the army.

Another party member, William O'Connell, said that after seeing three armored personnel carriers drive up to the crowd—

Paratroopers jumped out and started to fire at the people, including people lying on the ground. It was completely indiscriminate.

The British troops even arrested a priest as he gave the last rites to a dying man.

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association which sponsored the march has repeatedly denounced the use of force or arms. Their efforts have always been in the direction of peaceful demonstration for civil and humanitarian rights in Northern Ireland. Attacks like these destroy the efforts of peaceful groups and encourage the small minority who would use violence to further their own ends.

For the last 2 years I have been attempting to implement measures which would reconcile the differences in Northern Ireland and end the bloodshed there. I have introduced legislation calling for an Irish plebiscite to settle differences and reunify Ireland. In addition, I have joined with my colleagues in introducing a resolution calling for the withdrawal of all British forces and the implementation of reforms which would eliminate discrimination in law enforcement, housing, employment, and voting rights. Never has the need for these measures been so clear.

Time is of the essence. Already 232 people have lost their lives in the fighting including many women and children. So far this year 59 people have been killed.

I call upon my colleagues to join with me in these efforts and to call upon the United Nations to begin an immediate inquiry into the tragic incidents which occurred over the weekend. The time for action is long overdue.

## MARTY A. LOTZ—A LEADER IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

**HON. CHARLES H. WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 1, 1972*

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, on February 13, 1972, I will join with a group of friends and associates at a dinner to honor Martin A. Lotz. I hope that my colleagues in the House of Representatives will also join in recognizing the distinguished services of this fine American. Marty Lotz has given many years of service to Culver City, both in community activities and as an elected official. I am pleased that we have the opportunity to pay special tribute to this man who truly exemplifies the characteristics that perpetuate this great Nation of ours.

Born in Philadelphia, Marty Lotz moved to Los Angeles in 1928, and finally settled in Culver City in 1956. He has been the owner and president of an aerospace manufacturing firm for over 20 years. During this time he received many citations for his contributions to the research and development of space exploration instruments. Also during these years he has devoted much of his time to various community activities. He has been active in the Boy Scouts since 1957, serving in many different leadership positions. In 1969 he was appointed to the parks and recreation commission, and has been instrumental in setting Culver City's "open-space" policy to provide park facilities in newly developing

areas. He also led the campaign to establish a teen center and a senior citizens center in Culver City.

Martin Lotz was elected to the city council in 1968, serving as mayor pro tem in 1968 and 1969. He has served as mayor since April of 1970. During these years he has continued to give unselfishly of himself and his time to improve Culver City.

I hope that all of my colleagues will join with me in thanking Marty Lotz for his years of unselfish service.

## BOYCOTT FRENCH WINES

### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the epidemic of drug abuse that has wreaked death and destruction throughout our country has prompted people in all walks of life to ask, "What can we do to stop this plague?"

The first response to this query is, of course, to look to legislative leaders and seek legal reform. In this area, there has been a commendable beginning and a firm indication of the strong stand this body is taking against drug abuse.

Another means by which we, as Americans, can help to put a halt to this scourge is to follow the example of the Long Island Restaurant & Catering Association. This organization has pledged to boycott French wines, liquor, and brandies in order to prod the French Government into dealing more effectively with the heroin processing and transshipment problems in that country.

As reported in the New York Times yesterday, the LIRCA hopes to have this position adopted throughout the country—demonstrating the resourcefulness of local communities in dealing with the serious problem of illicit drug traffic.

Following is the article from the New York Times:

L.I. RESTAURANTS BOYCOTT FRENCH WINES  
(By Roy R. Silver)

WOODBURY, L.I., Jan. 31.—A boycott of French wines, liquors and brandies in an attempt to have the French Government deal more forcefully with the heroin problems was started today by the owners of many of the top restaurants in Nassau, Suffolk and Queens counties.

The boycott, was voted by the Long Island Restaurant and Catering Association, representing 120 restaurants and caterers.

A proclamation adopted unanimously at a meeting in the Royal Viking Restaurant here said that the main source of supply of heroin was drugs imported from Turkey, processed in Marseilles, France, and then distributed illegally throughout the world.

The restaurant owners said that even if a boycott meant a financial loss to them, it was necessary "to impress the French Government that we will take a strong stand against their apathy in dealing with this problem."

They said that many appeals to the French Government "to seriously crack down on the importers, processors and exporters of heroin for foreign consumption have gone unanswered."

Placards announcing the boycott will be placed in participating restaurants and small cards will be placed on tables to advise customers to refrain from buying French wines and liquors and to order other imported or domestic wines instead.

Warren R. Spellman, owner of the Holiday Manor in Bethpage and president of the local association, said that the Restaurant Association of the State of New York, with 3,000 members, and the National Restaurant Association would be asked to join the boycott.

#### VICTIMS OF ADDICTS

Mr. Spellman, who is also president of the Long Island Committee for Crime Control and vice president of the National Association of Crime Commissions, said that many restaurant owners had been the victims of crimes by drug addicts.

He noted that of the 33 million gallons of wine sold in New York State last year, imported French wines made up "a large share."

"We feel that if each restaurant can sell one less bottle of French wine a day, it will be 3 million bottles a month less nationally," Mr. Spellman said.

He said that many people bought expensive French wines because of their reputation, but added that California and New York State wines were becoming comparable in quality and taste and that customers would switch because "the price is right."

Jean Pierre Gachelin, who is in charge of the division of food and beverages in the commercial attaché's office at the French Embassy, said today the press had reported that "American officials have found that French police and authorities are most cooperative in combating the drug problem."

## THE ECOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF CONTINUED GROWTH

### HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the Club of Rome, an international study group of industrialists, economists, scientists and others, is in the process of completing a report entitled, "The Limits of Growth." The report focuses on the impact of continued economic growth on our environment, and was the topic of two recent columns by Anthony Lewis in the New York Times.

The columns, from January 29 and 31, 1972, offer considerable food for thought and I recommend them to my colleagues. The report itself, to be published in the spring, should be equally provocative.

The material follows:

#### TO GROW AND TO DIE

(By Anthony Lewis)

LONDON, January 28.—Our diverse worlds—developed, underdeveloped, East, West—have at least one article of faith in common: economic growth. For individuals, for economic enterprises and for nations, growth is happiness, the specific for ills and the foundation of hope. Next year our family will be richer, our company bigger, our country more productive.

Now the ecologists have begun to tell us that growth is self-defeating, that the planet cannot long sustain it, that it will lead inevitably to social and biological collapse. That was the central thesis of the recent *Blueprint for Survival* published in Britain, and it is a theme increasingly found in analytical studies of the earth's future.

The proposition is so shocking that the

natural reaction is to wish it away. Some economists, the apostles of growth, do just that. There was an especially acute example of wishfulness in a Newsweek column by Henry C. Wallich, Yale professor and former U.S. economic adviser, condemning the opposition to growth as dangerous heresy.

"It is an alarming commentary on the intellectual instability of our times," Professor Wallich said, "that today mileage can be made with the proposal to stop America dead in her tracks. Don't we know which way is forward?"

As long as there is growth, he said, "everybody will be happier." By "allowing everybody to have more" and refusing to "limit resources available for consumption," we shall also have more resources "to clean up the environment."

If Professor Wallich's opinion is representative of the American intellectual community, it is an alarming comment on our awareness of the most important facts of life today. For he is evidently in a state of ecological illiteracy.

There are no such things as endless growth and unlimited resources for everyone and everything. We live in a finite world, and we are approaching the limits. Discussion of growth as an environmental factor has to begin with some understanding of such considerations.

The crucial fact is that growth tends to be exponential. That is, it multiplies. Instead of adding a given amount every so often, say 1,000 tons or dollars a year, the factors double at fixed intervals. That tends to be true of population, of industrial production, of pollution and of demand on natural resources—some of the main strains of planetary life.

The rate of increase determines the doubling time. If something grows 7 per cent a year, it will double in ten years. Right now world population is growing 2.1 per cent a year; at that rate it doubles in 33 years. And with each doubling, the base is of course larger for the next increase. The world had about 3.5 billion people in it in 1970. At the present rate of increase, it will have seven billion in 2003.

Exponential growth is a tricky affair. It gives us the illusion for a long time that things are going slowly. Then suddenly it speeds up. Suppose the demand for some raw material is two tons this year and doubles every year. Over the next fifteen years it will rise to only 32,768 tons, but just five years later it will be 1,048,576 tons.

That phenomenon is what makes it so hard for people to understand how rapidly we may be approaching the limits of growth. For as population and per capita consumption both grow, the curves of demand suddenly zoom upward.

Consider the case of aluminum as a sample of resource demand and supply. The known reserves of aluminum are enough to supply the current demand for 100 years. But the use is increasing exponentially, and at the rate of increase the supply will be enough for only 31 years. Moreover, the multiplying demand is a much larger factor, mathematically, than any likely discovery of new sources of supply. If reserves were multiplied by five, the same growth of demand would still exhaust them in 55 years.

The example of aluminum is not especially chosen to disturb, for there are others that even more dramatically indicate the way exponential growth can run up to projected limits. One is simply arable land. At the present rate of world population growth, the supply of land necessary for food production will run out by the year 2000. If agricultural productivity were doubled, the limit would be pushed back thirty years.

Those estimates are taken from drafts of what is likely to be one of the most important documents of our age. It is a report made for the Club of Rome, an eminent international group of industrialists, economists, sci-



entists and others. Entitled "The Limits of Growth," it was done by scientists using world system models developed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It will be published in March by Potomac Associates of Washington.

The report's authors would never insist on any particular figure. They know that they are dealing with variables, and they have indeed leaned way over backward to make optimistic assumptions in their projections.

But every model they build assuming continuation of the present world philosophy of growth ends in collapse. To ignore that tendency, to pretend that growth can go on forever, is like arguing that the earth is flat. Only the consequences are more serious.

#### TO GROW AND TO DIE: II

(By Anthony Lewis)

LONDON, January 30.—In the memory of the race, man has always struggled to overcome the limits imposed by nature. His success has been spectacular, especially in this last century of accelerating technology. Today he sees that he has the means to fight pestilence and disease, to unlock even the binding energy of the material world.

When he is told now that the growth of population and production threatens his existence—that growth is approaching its earthly limits—his inevitable reaction is to regard that warning as one more challenge to be overcome. Surely the technology that has enabled human society to grow so rapidly will find a way to break through the limits.

That is one instinct underlying our refusal to believe the scientists who in growing numbers see ecological disaster ahead. Even when they avoid doomsday rhetoric, when they are most calm and reasonable, their message of inescapable limits is difficult to accept. Skeptical listeners argue that man can find or make substitutes for resources that run out. He can multiply the yield of crops, carrying the green revolution further. He can eliminate pollution.

But the skeptics overlook the fact that every piece of technology has a cost. Manufacturing some new plastic instead of using a scarce natural material causes pollution. Suppressing pollution requires capital investment in machinery that in turn has side effects. Our life on earth cannot be separated into convenient compartments. Everything we do affects everything else, and in the end technology cannot escape a finite planet.

Food production is a good example. We know what remarkable gains there have been in agricultural yields. But there are costs, too.

World food production increased by a third between 1951 and 1966. That required increases over those fifteen years of 63 per cent in the money spent annually on tractors, 146 per cent in the spending for nitrate fertilizers, 300 per cent on pesticides. It will be significantly more costly to achieve the next one-third growth in food production. And of course the investment causes pollution and exhaustion of crop land.

Scientists who have been studying growth and ecology for the Club of Rome, an eminent international group, have demonstrated how the problems are inextricably interconnected. The findings are fascinating—and chilling.

The researchers projected the continuation of present growth trends. They discounted major wars or other serious dislocations. They made the optimistic assumption of a 250-year supply of all resources at the current rates of use. (But the point is that the rates will not be steady: They will increase exponentially with population and consumption.)

Their projections showed the world pattern of growth collapsing within 100 years

because of natural-resource shortages. It would become increasingly difficult to get at raw materials, requiring more capital. Food supplies would fall as fertilizer requirements could not be met.

Then the scientists assumed that the supply of resources was doubled. On that model, rapidly increasing pollution caused collapse.

The next projection made the further assumption, quite unrealistic, that by 1975 pollution all over the world will be reduced by three-quarters. That would allow industrial growth to carry on longer. But the expansion of cities and industry would use up agricultural land, erosion and land exhaustion would occur, and food would run short.

Finally, on top of their optimistic assumptions about resources and pollution, the scientists assumed a world-wide doubling of agricultural yields. That allowed a huge industrial expansion—and then collapse because of pollution, despite antipollution measures.

Even population control of unimaginable perfection would not avert the collapse. The scientists assumed that world population was absolutely stabilized by 1975. For a while, per capita income and food supplies would grow rapidly. But once again natural resources would run out.

The conclusion of the scientists was that there is only one way to avoid the pattern of boom crashing into the earthly limits. That is to moderate all the interconnected factors: population, pollution, industrial production. The essential is to stop economic growth.

We shall have to await publication of the Club of Rome report—in March—to judge how convincing its scientific arguments and mathematical analyses are. But there is already conviction in the sober method used, and in the fact that this group comes out with the same answer as other reputable studies and books have—the answer of the stable state.

If man wants an extended future, in short, if he wants to avoid the pattern of boom and collapse, he will have to give up the philosophy of growth. Is that socially conceivable? The more one thinks about what is asked, the more staggering are the implications.

#### A CLARIFICATION

### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, during consideration of the recent child development legislation I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on November 17 extraneous material concerning this legislation. One item was a report by the Emergency Committee for Children which contained this specific quotation, enclosed in the appropriate "quotes":

"Recognizing that communal forms of upbringing have an unquestionable superiority over all others, we are faced with the task in the immediate years ahead of expanding the network of such institutions at such a pace that within 20 years they are available—from cradle to graduation—to the entire population of the country."

The very next paragraph read in part as follows:

"Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner, a leader at the White House Conference on Children, quotes such statements in his book, 'Two Worlds of Childhood: U.S. and

U.S.S.R.," one of the popular authorities cited in defense of the child development proposals presently in Joint Conference and shortly to go before the President for approval or veto."

Unfortunately, the author of the quote is not clearly identified and could be attributed to Professor Bronfenbrenner. Professor Bronfenbrenner has advised me by letter that he is not the author of the statement in question and that the actual author is S. G. Strumilin, a leading Communist economic planner who was speaking not about the United States but about the U.S.S.R.

To further clarify the record, Professor Bronfenbrenner cited his testimony last year before the Subcommittee on Children and Youth of the Senate's Committee on Labor and Public Welfare concerning his position urging the primacy of the family as the hallmark that should distinguish child development programs in America from the Soviet pattern. He stated in part:

First, there can be no doubt that day care is coming to America. The question is: What kind? Shall we follow the pattern of certain other nations in which day care programs have served further to separate the child from his family and reduce the family's and the community's feeling of responsibility for their children? Or, shall the American model of day care retain and rededicate our commitment to the family as the primary and proper agent for the process of making human beings human?

#### INCREASING THE NATIONAL DEBT

### HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Ways and Means is considering legislation which would authorize an increase in our national debt by \$50 billion. I have had the privilege of presenting my views on this subject to the committee and am including the text of my testimony at the conclusion of these remarks.

The essence of my position is that claiming that the debt must be increased so that we can have funds for needed programs is begging the question. There is no doubt that such funds are needed; the difference which I have with the proponents of this legislation is over where we will get this money. Borrowing is not the only answer—in fact, it is less satisfactory and more costly than other alternatives available to us. Appropriate and long overdue changes in our tax structure, coupled with reallocation of some of our overstuffed defense budget, would more than provide the funds which we need for domestic programs.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS ON LEGISLATION TO INCREASE THE CEILING ON THE NATIONAL DEBT

Chairman Mills, Members of the Committee, I am pleased to have the opportunity to present to you my views on the question of increasing the ceiling on our national debt.

There can be no doubt that the federal government requires additional funds to undertake new programs and to expand existing ones. I fully support increased federal spending in such crucial domestic fields as housing, child care, public service employment, mass transit, and pollution abatement. While I believe that much of our federal defense spending is unconscionable, my primary objection to the proposed debt limit increase goes not to federal spending *per se*, but to the sources from which federal revenue comes.

We will spend 6% of our total budget—over \$21 billion—for debt service in the coming fiscal year. The debt service on an additional \$50 billion indebtedness will cost another \$2 or \$3 billion annually for years to come. There is ample money to be had, and we can obtain it in ways far less costly than borrowing it.

The most obvious and fruitful area in which we should begin the process of equitable and effective raising of revenue is the federal income tax structure. For example, we might reduce the oil and mineral depletion allowance, and increase the 25% maximum tax on long-term capital gains.

We must, as a matter of policy, look to those best able to contribute financially to the burden of government, rather than to the already overburdened low and middle-income taxpayers. The unending process of increasing the national debt places an ever increasing burden upon these individuals, for it is they who are taxed inequitably to pay the interest on that debt.

I might add that while changes in our tax structure are very much in order, they are not the only possible source of funds for critical programs. Our defense budget will swell to over \$80 billion in the coming fiscal year; there can be no doubt that the waste and unnecessary expenditures in the defense area could fund many, many valuable domestic programs.

I regret having to oppose the increase in the national debt ceiling, but I feel strongly about the need to reorder our means of spending and raising revenue. Passage of the debt increase proposal now before you would, in my opinion, constitute an admission that we cannot or will not reorient our revenue structure. This is an admission that we should not have to make.

#### WAGE-PRICE CONTROLS: THE TALE OF TWO STUDENTS

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, the concept of wage-price controls is certainly not new, although there is admittedly something new in seeing such a policy supported by those who had previously criticized it as fallacious and as one dealing only with the symptoms and not with the causes of inflation.

In 1951, college debaters throughout the United States considered the subject: "Resolved, that the Federal Government should adopt a permanent program of wage and price control." At that time, of course, it was the Democratic Party which supported such a policy, and the Republicans which opposed it.

Two college debaters approached Frank Chodorov, at that time associate editor of *Human Events*, and asked for

some assistance in handling this subject. Chodorov asked them, "What is the purpose of price controls?" Their reply was, "To keep prices down, of course." He asked what made them high, and the reply was, "A shortage of goods and a great demand."

To this, the editor suggested that the problem might be a bit more complex. He said:

Or an abundance of money. . . . The controls won't bring more goods to market and they are not intended to reduce the amount of money in circulation. They simply aim to compel sellers to accept and buyers to quote, prices lower than those prevailing in the free market . . . price controls had the effect of creating shortages and thus raising the prices they were designed to lower.

Mr. Chodorov was told that the students had to debate the affirmative and not the negative side of the question. He then sought to explain to them the doctrine which underlined the fallacy of controls. He told them:

In this case, the doctrine is that political power can make the market place jump through a hoop; there are no laws of economics to hamper the strong arm of the state. We had to accept that position, if we were to be of any help to the affirmative side.

After hearing Mr. Chodorov's explanation, the students who were to support the concept of permanent and compulsory control of wages and prices, replied "Hold on, you're preaching socialism." The young man declared:

You mean to say that to support the affirmative in this debate we have to take the position that the individual has no rights? That the state is supreme?

The response of Frank Chodorov was, of course, that this was indeed the basic premise of the affirmative position.

The young people involved came without prejudice. When they came to understand that the underlying doctrine for controls was that of statism "their sensibilities were aroused."

The arguments for and against compulsory wage-price controls in 1972 are precisely the same ones introduced by Frank Chodorov in 1951. Why some men are coming to different conclusions in 1972 than they did in 1951 is difficult to understand.

The late Mr. Chodorov wrote of his encounter with these college students in *Human Events* of November 28, 1951. This article has been reprinted in the *Freeman* for December 1971, and I share it with my colleagues:

#### THE TALE OF TWO STUDENTS

They were members of the debating club at a local college, and would we please help them prepare for the debate: *Resolved, that the Federal government should adopt a permanent program of wage and price control.*

They had good reason for coming to us. *Human Events* had made editorial comment on this debate topic in a recent issue, and the students inferred that we were something of an authority. We are not immune to flattery, and the coed debater was pleasant to talk to.

To bring the matter up to date: Before the college season opens, some five hundred colleges submit to a central committee their ideas on what ought to be debated. The committee consists of faculty representatives

from four intercollegiate fraternities and a member of the American Society of Speech. These five sift the suggested subjects and draft four resolutions that seem to embrace the major ideas. The four resolutions are submitted to the member colleges; the one receiving the highest vote becomes the debate of the year.

Our editorial comment on the topic for 1951-1952 was that it is "loaded"—the mere statement implies the acceptance of a questionable premise. The premise is that a wage and price control program is not only practical but even desirable; that goes without saying, and the only matter left open for discussion is the desirability of a permanent program. We pointed out, also, that in the current textbooks, with which we are familiar, the idea of controls is favorably treated, so that the debaters on the negative side would be arguing against what they had learned in class. If they debated well, how would they fare in their economics examinations?

The notebooks were made ready. We adopted the Socratic method. What is the purpose of price controls? we asked.

"To keep prices down, of course."

What made them high?

"A shortage of goods and a great demand."

Or an abundance of money, we volunteered. The controls won't bring more goods to market and they are not intended to reduce the amount of money in circulation. They simply aim to compel sellers to accept, and buyers to quote, prices lower than those prevailing in the free market.

"You are implying," said the young lady, "that there is an immutable law of supply and demand. One of my books says there is no such law."

Immutable, we ventured, is a long word leading to a long argument. Would she be good enough to tell me what she would do, were she a dressmaker, if the fixed price of dresses were below her costs?

"I'd quit making dresses."

Unless she reluctantly accepted prices forced upon her by women who disregarded the law, we added. However, if she went out of business, there would be fewer dresses on the market. Would the price of dresses then go up or down? The question, she suggested, Q.E.D.: that price controls had the effect of creating shortages and thus raising the prices they were designed to lower.

She demurred: "The government could go into the business."

And could sell dresses at a loss which would be made by taxing the buyer of dresses.

"Can't enforcement agencies hold prices down?"

We traced the course of a pork chop from litter to the butcher shop, just to pick up the number of points at which prices would have to be fixed and surveillance maintained, not overlooking the hide's trip from slaughterhouse to the glove shop. Would it be wrong to estimate that the number of cops needed to enforce price controls in general would come to at least a tenth of the population? Would not the withdrawal of these men from productive work result in lessening the supply of goods? And, who would watch the cops?

"Well, then, are you in favor of the black market?"

We are in favor of the true market, even if it is labeled "black." The true market never can be suppressed. Even the ruthless Soviet commissars cannot do it. The students were surprised at this remark, so we related how, when the Russians reduced the value of the ruble several years ago, they gave as their reason the large fortunes that had been built up by "profiteers"—which was an admission that an illegal market had been in operation. (Patronized by law-enforcement agents.)



## THE LOOPHOLE ECONOMY

"But, Americans are law-abiding. Didn't the OPA hold down prices during the war?"

They were too young to remember, and their textbooks do not record the shenanigans under OPA: how butchers would be "fresh out" if you asked them to weigh the meat before your eyes; how the tails of men's shirts were cut short to meet the fixed prices; how you had to buy an accessory you didn't want, at an outrageous price, in order to get an automobile at the legal price.

"If wages are held in line, prices would automatically follow."

Under wage controls, we explained, both employer and employee become criminals if one offers and the other accepts an increase in wages. During the war, to avoid putting everybody in jail, the War Labor Board hit on the device of up-grading jobs so as to make increases in pay legal. But applications for permission to increase were too numerous for the Board to handle, and the employers in desperation resorted to under-the-counter wage boosts, in order to hold their employees (so as to fill defense orders).

"You mean that neither prices nor wages can be controlled?"

Yes, they can; in the army or in prison.

THE ARGUMENT FOR CONTROLS WHEN THERE IS NO CASE

"Wait a minute," the coed interjected, "I've got to take the affirmative side. I need arguments in favor of controls."

That was a chore. How does one support what one holds to be a fallacy? Well, underlying every fallacy is a doctrine, and if you accept the doctrine, the fallacy seems to melt away. In this case, the doctrine is that political power can make the market place jump through a hoop; there are no laws of economics to hamper the strong arm of the state. We had to accept that position, if we were to be of any help to the affirmative side.

Sticking to the Socratic method, we asked: what is the advertised social purpose of controls?

"To distribute equitably whatever is in short supply."

Like the father, we suggested, who sees to it that none of his children gets more than the others. That is what we call "egalitarianism." To argue the affirmative in this debate, we said, you must accept egalitarianism as an ideal and a possibility; you must assume that the state has the right, the capacity, and the duty to allocate production and equalize consumption.

"Hold on; you're preaching socialism."

Maybe statism, we volunteered, is a better word. But, why get disturbed over a name?

"We don't dare mention socialism. The students don't like it, and neither does the faculty adviser."

Then we remembered that in the textbooks this controlled economy business is described as "democratic." Socialism is not mentioned. Putting nomenclature aside, we pointed out that the affirmative in this debate must rest its case on the goal of abolishing inequalities in the distribution of wealth and the state's ability to do so.

"What about the rights of the citizens?"

Pure fiction, we sneered. The only rights the citizens have are the privileges given him, on lend-lease, by the state.

"You mean the worker does not have the right to sell his services to the highest bidder?"

Of course not. We must keep in mind that the good of society, as determined by the state, takes precedence over the good of the individual. After all, if the worker insists on fencing for himself, how can the state take care of his interests?

"But, surely, if a farmer has put his back into a bushel of potatoes, those potatoes belong to him and he has a right to sell them for whatever is offered."

## PROPERTY RIGHTS REJECTED

It was the young man who brought up the right of property, and we had to argue that

that, too, is fiction. In his textbooks, we said, he would learn that in our highly integrated economy the individual worker produces nothing; society is the only producer. If society produces everything, the state has a first claim on everything, and is entirely within its rights when it confiscates property (by taxation) and distributes it for the general good.

They were perturbed. This was hard to take. "You mean to say that to support the affirmative in this debate we have to take the position that the individual has no rights? That the state is supreme?"

That's your basic premise, we insisted. Once you admit that the individual has rights which the state must respect, the case for controls is lost.

The students had come to us without prejudice. They were interested only in winning a debate, whichever side they took. But, when the argument for controls was related to the underlying doctrine of statism, their sensibilities were aroused. The debate took on a new meaning; it was not an impersonal verbal joust; it was a battle of values, a contest between right and wrong—and neutrality was impossible.

When they left, we felt that freedom is not a lost cause. It is rooted in the human soul; it cannot be eradicated by sophistry, nor obfuscated by erudition. Once it is spelled out, youth will recognize freedom, embrace it, and, if need be, fight for it.

## THE BURIAL OF A KING

## HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, working in my Washington office, I heard a rumor that I would be named by the President as one of the representatives of the United States that would attend the funeral of King Frederik IX of Denmark. The rumor proved true. Soon the word came through which meant much to me and were my parents living, words would never quite express their pride that I should be chosen to go—along with our sorrow at the death of the Danish leader.

This mission meant that proper dress had to be rented because nowhere in my wardrobe do we have long tails, a top hat, white vest and tie and all that goes with it. The State Department proved most helpful, though, in guiding us properly on all the protocol matters.

Late Saturday afternoon, January 22, I joined Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney, and former U.S. Ambassadors Guilford Dudley, and John Eisenhower at Andrews Air Force Base outside Washington. The big Air Force plane was parked waiting for us. It was marked "The United States of America."

On such a mission at such a time, I realized anew that the greatness and opportunity of our country far overshadow its turmoil. In any event, away we went—8 hours to Copenhagen non-stop. During those 8 hours, I did a bit of thinking. My father and mother had crossed the same ocean below in about 8 days, and I will have more to say about them later.

Arriving in Copenhagen, we were met by officials of the Danish Government as well as by the U.S. Ambassador, Fred J. Russell. We were later briefed on all the ceremonies to come.

The burial of a king is a majestic event, particularly in this case because of the great respect the Danish people had for their king. Bells tolled, shops were closed and a genuine sense of sadness prevailed because of the death of this great man who would roam the streets and meet the people of his country regardless of their rank or station in everyday life. He had never needed to fear violence because he reflected compassion and respect for all people who deserved respect. He was much beloved, as evidenced by the tremendous representation of other countries at his funeral.

On the day of burial, the king was borne through the streets on a gun carriage hauled by nearly 50 Danish naval cadets, followed by a procession of dignitaries and commoners that numbered well over 100,000. The king's body was then taken by train under royal escort to an 800-year-old cathedral at Roskilde, about 20 miles outside Copenhagen, and for many centuries the burial place of Danish royalty.

I was deeply impressed by the majesty and beauty of the service, and I experienced a feeling of great closeness with the Danes. I was the only member of the American delegation able to join in singing the Danish hymns, and it seemed as though we were singing for a fellow countryman. Later at an official reception, we joined in expressing the regrets of the American people to the Danish royal family.

The little country of Denmark has survived many trials. It has produced many hard-working, God-fearing people who have become a part of our own country, the United States of America.

And this, of course, brings me back to my parents, God bless their memory. Nels Peter Nielsen and his bride, the former Elisabeth Anderson, looked to the United States as a new home. Both about 24, they booked passage from Denmark on the cheapest line at the lowest rate available. Money was scarce. They arrived in America with little in their pockets but much in their hearts, including pride, determination, and a deeply religious conviction and dedication. At that time, there was no Government program to help them. In subsequent years, they suffered many trials, illness, hard times, but they survived. Their sights were set high and in their moderate way, they achieved success and presented a fine example in their community. Theirs was a responsible tradition that sometimes seems to be lost in the present day.

But theirs was the legacy and tradition that has helped to build America. It was my great honor to bear this legacy with me from this great land of opportunity in returning to their homeland for the burial of a king.

## WATER POLLUTION LEGISLATION: ITS BENEFITS AND ITS THREATS

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, one of the major bills scheduled for early consid-

eration by the House this session is the House version of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972, H.R. 11896.

Once again, this House will be called upon to vote on a bill that would sacrifice reason for emotion, a bill that would, like the Pesticide Control Act previously passed, give the Environmental Protection Agency the power to control American economy and force it further and further down the path to total socialism.

Too often this House has acted idealistically, not realizing the true effect of environmental legislation; this water pollution bill will once again present such a problem. The cost of implementing such a proposal as this may be too dear—and it is the consumer who will suffer as American industry forces the public to absorb the cost of complying with unrealistic Federal guidelines.

I urge our colleagues to consider seriously the basic question of this legislation: It is not a question of "Do we need this legislation if we are to clean up our waters?" It is, rather, "If we pass this legislation, will its environmental benefits be more than offset by the social, economic, and technological costs required to implement it?"

There is a strong possibility that the answer to the latter question is "yes" and we may still not have pure water.

I include an article from Barron's of January 31, 1972, that offers an insight into the possible impact of such legislation on American economy in the RECORD at this point:

**EFFLUENT SOCIETY?—PENDING WATER POLLUTION CONTROLS WOULD COST INDUSTRY DEAR**  
(By Douglas Caddy)

Now that Congress has reconvened for its second session, it will pick up where it left off in processing major legislation. At the top of the list is the Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972, an impressive title for an array of concepts and proposals which may drastically affect the balance sheets of American corporations for at least the next decade.

In the opinion of most Congressional leaders, the new water bill could be the most important legislation enacted by the 92nd Congress. One thing is certain: If the proposed 1972 amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1965 are adopted without substantive modification on the floor of the House, their potential impact upon the economy and upon industry, agriculture, labor and government will be profound. The bi-partisan leaders of the House Public Works Committee, in announcing that the Committee had ordered its bill HR 11896 reported on the day before the first session of Congress ended, described it as "the most significant water improvement legislation ever reported to Congress," meaning the 1972 off-spring amendments certainly outshine their parent act passed seven years ago.

#### SENATE VOTE

The Senate passed its own bill S. 2770 on November 3. The vote of 86-0 clearly reflected the absence of controversy and debate, although Senators — and —, who serve on the Senate Public Works Committee, voiced concrete reservations about some of the bill's provisions. The Senate Public Works Committee in the past two years devoted 33 days to public hearings on the water legislation, heard 171 witnesses, received 470 statements for the record, compiled 6,400 pages of testimony and held 45 executive sessions. In the end, even the two slightly criti-

cal Senators, joining in praise for — for skillfully guiding the bill toward successful passage, voted "yea" and sent the measure to the House.

—, chairman of the House Public Works Committee, almost immediately indicated he strongly opposed reopening the public hearings on the legislation which his committee, like its counterpart in the Senate, had been conducting for months. The Administration, supported by industry and state governments which felt the Senate bill weakened their pollution control powers, pressed for new hearings. Within a week after having voiced opposition to the hearings, — succumbed and scheduled final hearings for December 7-10.

The four days of hearings saw a parade of prominent witnesses—from the Republican governor of New York, Nelson Rockefeller, to the then Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Paul McCracken—criticize the Senate and House bills as embracing the wrong goals and establishing dangerous regulatory powers. Nevertheless, on December 16 the House Committee voted to order its own bill, stronger in some aspects than the Senate version, sent to the House floor where it will be voted upon, perhaps as early as February. —, who is Acting Chairman while — recovers from a slight heart seizure, and —, ranking minority member, declared the House bill goes "with the overwhelming bi-partisan support of the Committee's members."

#### COMPLEX PROVISIONS

One reason why little or no opposition is voiced against the legislation in Congress is that few members of Congress admit they understand the amendments' complex provisions and concepts. Indeed, it is worth noting that the Senate Public Works Committee on October 28 voted to report its bill but the actual text and committee report were not available until November 1, the day before the Senate was scheduled to vote. S. 2770 is 190 pages long and its length and complexity undoubtedly deterred many Senators from reading the bill in the 24 hours between the time the bill became available and the debate and vote. Thus, the Senate almost blindly relied upon the collective judgment of its Public Works Committee, which strongly recommended passage.

It was not until after Senate passage that the Administration and other critics awoke and began to clamor for a re-examination by the House Committee. S. 2770 and H.R. 11896 (as introduced on November 19—the text of the final bill will not be ready until February) must be read sentence by sentence to pierce their complex concepts and provisions. After doing so, one veteran Washington lawyer described the bills as "virtually a world's fair of legislative ingenuity and legal intricacy."

#### TOTAL NATIONAL COSTS OF SUCCESSIVE LEVELS OF POLLUTANT REMOVAL

(Dollars in billions)

Level of removal	Total cost	Cost per incremental percentage point of removal
85 to 90 percent.....	\$61.0	\$0.7
95 to 99 percent.....	119.0	6.0
100 percent.....	317.0	66.0

Source: Estimates of the Council on Environmental Quality and the Environmental Protection Agency. In effect the data are in terms of 1971 dollars, since no price inflation has been built into the data. Total costs include a 10-year program of capital expenditures and 20 to 25 years of operating costs for those facilities.

The controversy that has developed since Senate passage swirls around five concepts embraced by both bills:

First, the legislation sets a series of goals

to be achieved and deadlines to be met in order for the country to obtain pollution-free water.

By June 30, 1974, municipal sewage pollution facilities will provide the equivalent of secondary treatment.

By July 1, 1974, construction grants for treatment facilities will be made on a regional, or area-wide basis, rather than on a city or town basis as in the past.

By January 1, 1976, industrial sources of pollution will be required to have the best practicable control technology.

By January 1, 1981, industry will cease water pollution discharges.

By 1985, the discharge of all pollutants from all sources into navigable water will be eliminated.

#### INTERIM GOAL

There is one general interim goal: to make lakes and streams clean enough by 1981 for swimming and for the propagation of fish, shellfish and wildlife.

The Administration and industry representatives argue that the setting of these goals and deadlines is unrealistic and could lead to a new undermining of the confidence of the citizens in their government when expectations are not fulfilled. Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Ruckelshaus told a National Press Club luncheon on the same day that the House Committee ordered its bill reported that the provision for the elimination of all discharges into waterways by 1985 is not technically feasible.

Earlier, in committee testimony, the chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, Russell Train, also criticized the goal. After noting that "since wastes will not simply disappear and must be disposed or recycled in some way," Train observed, "a no-discharge requirement presupposes that it is uniformly preferable to dispose of all water-borne waste on the soil or in the air rather than in the water, except where some type of re-use is possible. It is true that the land should be considered and quite possibly used to a much greater extent as an alternative to water for waste disposal, particularly for wastes that are composed of usable nutrients. However, I am aware of no evidence that land can be regarded as the best or even a viable solution for all or most waste disposal requirements. There are practical limits on land availability; there is potential for contamination of soil and ground waters by heavy metals and other materials."

"These and other questions need, and are receiving, further research and investigation. Moreover, surface water has a capacity to absorb a certain amount of wastes without harm. Although we certainly should not abuse or strain this capacity, neither should we ignore it, especially not without weighing the environmental hazards of the alternative disposal choices." Train further noted that incremental costs of abatement increase greatly as higher levels of reductions are required. This is shown in the accompanying table.

#### EFFLUENT LIMITATION STANDARDS

The second major concept is abandonment of water quality standards developed under the 1965 Act and substitution of effluent limitation standards. Premised on a determination of the beneficial uses to be made of a given body of water, water quality standards include a description of the quality necessary for such uses, stated in physical, chemical and biological measures. A schedule of remedial actions to achieve and preserve such quality is included.

The proposed effluent limitation standards would require the progressive restriction on discharges into the water until the point is reached when no pollution effluent is discharged, i.e. 1981 for industry, and 1985 for all other sources.



EPA Administrator Ruckelshaus, in criticizing the substitution of effluent limitation standards for water quality ones, points out that this concept would forbid tertiary chemical treatment of sewage. Such a system is currently being installed at the Blue Plains sewage plant for the District of Columbia and, according to Ruckelshaus, the discharges from this treatment will be just short of drinkable quality. However, under the concept of effluent limitation the treated discharges could not be put into the Potomac River. According to Ruckelshaus the alternative will necessitate the building of huge lagoons for sewage sludge settlement and the use of irrigation or some other system for the return of disinfected sewage effluent to the land. EPA favors the new legislation building upon the existing foundation of water quality standards and employing effluent limitation only as a tool to achieve such standards.

The legislation's third major concept is to achieve the "no discharge" goal and effluent limitation standards through two phases. Phase I would require industry to apply the "best practicable control technology currently available" by January 1, 1976. Phase II would require industry to apply the "best available control technology" by January 1, 1981, if it is unable to eliminate completely the discharge of pollutants. A part of this concept is that all new point sources of discharge for 28 industrial groups (such as textile, steel, paper, chemical, etc.) will be required to use the "best available technology" and, if practicable, to meet a standard of performance which permits no discharge of pollution.

Industry representatives express concern over this concept because the legislation fails to define adequately what constitutes best "practicable" control technology, opening the possibility that the EPA or private parties in citizen's suits allowed under the act, might take the position that any control technology which is "possible" or "capable of being used" (the dictionary definition of practicable) is required. Since the two bills establish a precise standard of "secondary treatment" for publicly owned plants, they argue that precise standards should be applied to industry.

Industry is also disturbed over the logistical problem of meeting the Phase I January 1, 1976, deadline, since EPA regulations defining the treatment facilities will not be available until 1973. The design and installation of sophisticated treating facilities for large or complex manufacturing plants involve a lead time of several years. Moreover, thousands of plant owners will be competing at the same time for the equipment and construction labor. There is already about \$7 billion worth of waste treatment facilities for which federal financial assistance has been committed, construction of which is incomplete or not yet under contract. Still another problem is that Phase II will see a separate and more stringent standard for treating facilities. Thus, after massive investment in Phase I facilities, industry may quickly find that they do not satisfy the act's requirement.

#### NO SOLACE

The citizen's suits and administrative and judicial procedure set forth in the amendments comprise the fourth major concept. Since the act will permit citizen's suits to enforce compliance, industry may find no solace in the suggestion that EPA will be reasonable in applying the act and in resisting literal compliance.

The amendments would allow any citizen to initiate a civil suit against any party who is alleged to violate an effluent limitation or a federal or state abatement order, or against the EPA Administrator for failure

to perform a non-discretionary act. If EPA or the state initiates a civil or criminal action on its own against the alleged violator, no court action may take place on the citizen's suit.

Any party who willfully or negligently violates its discharge permit or who violates several other specific provisions contained in the amendments shall be liable to a fine up to \$25,000 per day of violation and/or one year in jail. The penalty for the second conviction is \$50,000 per day and/or two years in jail.

The Senate bill requires a petition for review of EPA's promulgation of standards relating to new sources of toxic pollutants and any petition for review of the EPA Administrator's acceptance or rejection of a state's procedure for controlling new sources or issuing permits to be filed within 30 days in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. A challenge to the Administrator's actions cannot be raised in civil or criminal enforcement proceedings.

#### FAIR SHAKE

Industry representatives argue these provisions substantially deprive interested parties, including the states, of access to judicial review. Since the U.S. Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia is characterized by some as a "liberal" court, they believe that they would receive a fairer shake if appeals could be filed in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the appropriate local circuit.

The House bill contains a provision which may prove to be a superior judicial procedure. It requires the President, through the Department of Justice, to study and make recommendations on the advisability of establishing an Environmental Court to resolve disputes over administration of pollution control measures.

The final concept embodied in the amendments is contract authorization. This would eliminate the budget-appropriation process of Congress and would give EPA direct authority to enter into contracts. At stake is the contracting authority to disburse vast sums of public funds. The House bill calls for a total outlay of \$27 billion over four years—\$7 billion more than the Senate bill. The Administration had originally recommended \$8 billion for the same time span.

Of the \$27 billion in the House bill, \$20 billion would be for sewage-treatment plants, including construction of collection systems. The Senate bill authorizes \$14 billion for plant construction. Both bills, in bypassing the normal budget-appropriation process, allow EPA to enter into long-term contracts with regional authorities. The federal share of construction costs under HR 11896 would range from 60% to 75%, depending on the state's contribution. This compares with 60%-70% in S. 2770 and 30%-55% in existing law. Both bills also authorize reimbursement to cities and states for their sewage plant construction work since 1965 (\$2.4 billion in S. 2770 and \$2.75 billion in HR 11896).

#### SIDESTEPS SAFEGUARDS

EPA Administrator Ruckelshaus, who would have the authority to disburse the billions of public funds, is opposed to contract authorization—as are a number of Senators. He says it "side-steps all the safeguards and discipline provided by the budgetary-appropriation process. . . ."

The concept of contract authorization raises perhaps the most fundamental question concerning the potential impact of the water act amendments: will the economy be adversely affected?

Paul McCracken believes it may well be. In testimony before the House Committee last December he observed: "If new programs are taken in without seeing clearly the magnitude and character of future commitments, they may get out of line with our

capability in the future to produce, thereby imposing severe strains and distortions on the economy. . . . We are already on an expenditure course such that federal outlays will tend to rise more rapidly than the increment of revenues that ongoing economic growth will yield with any given system of tax rates."

He warned that the impact of the water legislation could "turn out to be proportionately heavy on industries and products that are important to our foreign trade" and could lead to enlarged structural unemployment, the most difficult to control because it is caused primarily by disappearing markets.

In concluding, McCracken indicated his prepared remarks held three implications:

(1) "The commitment involved in H.R. 11896 is large. Required capital outlays for a sustained period would be equal to something like one-tenth of business fixed investment, and another like amount would be spent for operating costs.

(2) " . . . It would appear physically to be very difficult for this country under its system of construction as currently organized to produce the physical plants to achieve the level of effluent removal suggested by 1981 by either the Senate or House bills. Over the last two years the rate of growth of construction of waste disposal facilities has been 25% annually. This compares with a long-term rate of growth of approximately 6% . . . Higher levels of activity in this sector could lead to more rapidly escalating inflationary pressure. . . ."

(3) The question of the economic feasibility of carrying the removal level to 100% "is not answered by whether even purer water is better but whether after achieving a reasonably high level of removal the large resources involved to achieve small further gains could contribute even more to our material welfare if they were to be used elsewhere. . . ."

#### IMPORTANT EFFECT

The economic common sense contained in McCracken's comments had an important effect. Committee members agreed to insert a new provision in their bill to require that within two years after enactment the National Academy of Sciences would complete and report to Congress a study of the social, economic and technological effects that would result from achieving the 1981 clean water goals. The requirement that industries must use the best available pollution control technology would not come into force until the Congress takes action to implement the findings of the National Academy of Sciences study. Practically, this might mean the 1981 requirements would not take effect unless Congress reimposed it.

Of course, even if provision requiring this study is retained in the bill on the floor of the House, it may be struck out when the House and Senate bills are sent to conference committee. Nevertheless, the McCracken testimony and the proposed study do serve to focus the attention of the entire House not on the question most frequently posed up to now: "Do we need this legislation if we are to clean up our waters?" but instead: "If we pass this legislation, will its environmental benefits be more than offset by the social, economic and technological costs required to implement it?"

If Congress enacts the water act amendments, President Nixon is not likely to exercise a veto. To do so, as Ruckelshaus says, would open him to accusations that he favors "dirty water." Accordingly, Ruckelshaus cautioned the House Committee members in enacting legislation: "We must be as careful as surgeons. We must take care not to throw the proverbial cat out with the bath-water."

ANNUAL GEORGE E. STRINGFELLOW  
CANCER EDITORIAL CONTEST

## HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, these recent months have seen a growing awareness on the part of our Nation's citizens and its legislators of the need to curb the destructive forces of one of this country's great killers—cancer. This widespread concern has culminated in the passage of the Conquest of Cancer Act through which the evils of this dread disease will hopefully be more rapidly eradicated.

In the forefront of this struggle to wipe out cancer for the past 57 years, the American Cancer Society is certainly pleased that the conquest of cancer has become a national priority and it will continue its efforts in the fields of research, public and professional education and service to the cancer patient until the day when these services are no longer needed and cancer ceases to be the killer it is. It is toward this end—a cure for cancer—that the volunteers of the American Cancer Society are working. The New Jersey division of the society, with a solid force of more than 60,000 volunteers, is an active part of this national organization and carries out programs in all areas of the society's work.

Researchers, supported by American Cancer Society grants, are working toward this ultimate goal at five research institutions throughout the State.

Service to cancer patients and their families is readily provided by volunteers in each of the division's 21 units.

Active public and professional education programs are conducted on a year-round basis to keep the layman and the professional informed and aware of cancer's warning signals and the latest information about the disease. An essential phase of this public education effort is the annual George E. Stringfellow cancer editorial contest which has been conducted annually since its inception in 1947. The contest is named after the first president of the division. All daily and weekly papers throughout the State, as well as high school publications, are invited to submit an original editorial on the subject of cancer control. Through this contest, the press brings cancer control into public awareness and performs an invaluable service.

People must be given facts and knowledge to arm themselves in the fight against cancer. The New Jersey division is most grateful to the press for its continued support of the contest and proudly announces the winners of the 1971 George E. Stringfellow editorial contest.

In the daily category the winner is "May It Be the Last," written by Mr. William Caldwell of the Record, Bergen County, N.J.

First place in the weekly category is "Help Stop Cancer," written by Mrs. Carol Suplee of the Burlington County Herald, Burlington County, N.J.

In the high school category the winner is "Where Do We Begin," written by Lucy Zientek of St. Dominic Academy, Hudson County, N.J.

The editorials follow:

[1971 George E. Stringfellow Editorial Contest—Daily Category]

MAY IT BE THE LAST

(By William Caldwell)

Longfellow, celebrator of wayside inns, would have eaten it up. In the old (10 years) tavern at the crossroads (U.S. Route 80 and the Parkway) a few (450) sentimental old soldiers were met again to talk of ancient campaigns and bright victories. The sense of *deja vu* was overpowering. At the far end of the dark-paneled dining room sat the elders, the men in formal black, the women brilliantly gowned, along a raised table at whose midpoint presided the presence before which every child of this century trembles—the lectern, its bulb glowing and its microphones glittering in the candlelight. The reverend was pronouncing the invocation. Chairs rattled. The company seated itself, ten by ten, around tables. Waitresses charged forward bearing fruit cup. "When the hell do we eat?" someone inquired. One had been here before.

But not quite exactly there. This was a dinner meeting of the New Jersey Division of the American Cancer Society—that was evident in the table centerpieces, these being crossed red swords having the caduceus as their hilt. This was on the very eve of April, designated by the Congress to be Cancer Control Month. And, to be sure, the faces were familiar and so were the speeches, the long, somewhat narcissistic speeches in those florid tributes to others good men perceive so much of what is best in themselves.

Yet it was not the annual kickoff dinner. We had gathered at the Marriott not to get hopped up for this year's cancer crusade but to celebrate the state division's—and such early county units' as the ones in Bergen and Passaic—25th anniversary. On went the speeches. Awards were being passed to and fro at the head table. Each was accepted with ornate humility. It was inevitably hoped that we should never have to gather for a 50th anniversary, cancer in the meantime having been conquered, and a man found himself conceding that a silver anniversary is an appropriate occasion for thanksgiving but wondering suddenly whether all this hurrah was necessary.

He then found himself restoring to himself that, dammit, necessary is precisely what it was.

April is Cancer Control Month, and it is being celebrated in Washington with an outbreak of bureaucratic infighting for federal money. President Nixon kicked off that campaign when he said in his 1971 state of the Union message: "The time has come when the same kind of concentrated effort that split the atom and took Man to the Moon should be turned toward conquering this dread disease"—and budgeted an extra \$100 million for the conquest.

It's big money piled on big federal money. The National Institutes of Health got \$182 million for cancer programs in fiscal 1969. The new level of spending, more than a quarter of a billion, is nowhere near the outlay recommended in December by a panel of consultants to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee—they proposed a \$6 billion program beginning at \$400 million this year—but it has started a scramble that disturbs some scientists.

"[They] fear," writes Robert J. Bazell in the March issue of Science magazine, "that expenditures for applied results would quickly outpace available knowledge and would result in expensive, useless projects

that would drain away funds from necessary basic research."

Well, back to the wayside inn and the old campaigners' self-conscious talk about the years we've had together, and the American Cancer Society spends only—only!—\$24 million a year on cancer research. Alongside federal billions that's peanuts, right? And what's the use of persisting in trying, right?

Nope; wrong. The purpose, which is in danger of being forgotten, is not to spend money or manipulate grants. It is to save lives. There are a lot of precious lives to be saved. Something like 335,000 of us will die of cancer this year as against 329,000 in 1970. Some 635,000 cases will be diagnosed for the first time. One third of them, 212,000, will be cured. It's not enough. If cancer were detected in time half of them, 317,000 or so, would be cured. The difference between could and will is 105,000 human beings.

Research has done much and will do more. "Progress is being made in many important areas of cancer research," says Dr. Howard E. Skipper of the Southern Research Institute, "although admittedly it can never be fast enough." Thanks to research, 95 per cent of some kinds of cancer are curable and are cured. But no research in the world ever hauled a woman or a man with a cancer teeming inside him to his doctor's office in time for the diagnosis that makes the difference. Only people can do that.

Only people can do that, and people sat in the tavern at the crossroads the other night and talked of the years they've gone, one at a time, from door to door asking other people for money and, get it or not, stopping to tell other people how to suspect cancer and what—but fast—to do about it. There are, you know, seven danger signals. Run, do not walk, to your doctor's office. This year 212,000 of them will make it in time.

It's drudgery, and drudgery is not popular these days. It is work done in defense of persons whom one does not know and who will never say thank you.

Odd, a man would say to himself, looking around at faces the years have lined and strangely softened—odd that so many would come so far to celebrate each other and discover it's been fun.

[1971 George E. Stringfellow Editorial Contest—Weekly Category]

HELP STOP CANCER

(By Mrs. Carol Suplee)

Last year the hearts of the world's people went out to the nation of Pakistan which suffered the worst natural disaster of modern times—more than 100,000 of its people perished in quakes, tidal waves and floods during one terrible week.

Resources, money, and aid from all nations were mobilized to aid the stricken people. That many deaths is a shocking and traumatic event.

Yet, the United States has suffered a worse disaster. On one day last year, 900 people were killed, and it didn't stop there. The terrible slaughter continued each day until 300,000 people lay dead.

You didn't notice the headlines, you say? You can't remember reading about that terrible day and the ones that followed that snatched 900 people from their friends and families? What is the awful disaster that took those lives?

It was cancer—a threat more destructive than the "worst natural disaster of modern times" experienced by Pakistan. Yet the destruction of 300,000 American lives did not rouse nearly the concern or compassion than did that one event. And, of course, it's happening again. Yesterday, almost 1,000 lives were snuffed out. Where, now, is the mobilization of aid and resources?

The American Cancer Society is trying this month to marshal those resources of time,



money, and talent to make the fight against our own "greatest natural disaster of modern times" a meaningful and effective one.

The Vietnam war which has taken 42,000 American lives in 10 years, is costing the nation more than \$450 per person per year.

At the present time, cancer research costs about one dollar per person, per year, which is being used to STOP the killing of 300,000 Americans every year.

Each of us can help put those figures back into better proportion.

Welcome your volunteers when they come to the door.

[1971 George E. Stringfellow Editorial Contest—Secondary School Category]

#### WHERE DO WE BEGIN (By Lucy Zientek)

A few weeks ago, the Trumpet received a request from the American Cancer Society to devote editorial space to that disease and related research. To help us in this effort, the Society included with this request various tables and charts on the many aspects of cancer and cancer research.

We could, then, overwhelm you with statistics undoubtedly proving that killer cancer must be eradicated and can only be eradicated with your help (most importantly, your financial support). However, we do not think this purely intellectual approach will profit either our readers or the American Cancer Society. So let's go back those few weeks to the day that the letter was being typed and sent out.

Many of us at that time had found ourselves sitting in the theater in tears because Ali McGraw in "Love Story" had just died of leukemia. And the rest of us were probably making plans to see the same. It's amazing how easily we feel for the characters in this fictional tale. Then the lights go on and we walk out telling ourselves to stop crying—it's only a story.

The fact is, it's not. Each year thousands of Jennifer Barretts die from leukemia and other forms of cancer. Some young like Jenny, even more older people, but all with one thing in common: being too young to die with so much potential for doing good. And each year millions of Americans let them die because they think it "only a story".

Man has landed on the moon because one leader committed our nation to that goal. Man can eradicate cancer because one generation can commit our world to its defeat. Let's strive to make it our generation.

We preach love and peace so easily these days. Can't we preach determination as well? Can't we force our leaders to appropriate financial aid to cancer research, can't we make the world realize that 1970's best selling book is more than a tear-jerking, cute, but unreal story?

To paraphrase William Faulkner:

We decline to accept cancer as the end of man. It is easy enough to say that man cannot die simply because he will endure; that when the last ding-dong of doom has clanged and faded from the last worthless rock hanging tideless in the last red and dying evening, that even then there will still be one more sound: that of his puny, inextinguishable voice, still talking. We refuse to accept this. We believe man will not merely endure the destiny that cancer imposes on himself—he will overcome it.

And he will conquer cancer not because he alone among creatures has an inextinguishable voice, but because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance.

Support the American Cancer Society.

#### BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

George E. Stringfellow, 1600 South Eads Street, Arlington, Virginia, was born in Reva (Culpeper County), Virginia, son of James and Elizabeth (Bowers) Stringfellow. He

spent much of his early life in this area and in Washington, D.C. where the family later moved.

Mr. Stringfellow was appointed Vice President of Thomas A. Edison Industries of West Orange, N.J., by the late Thomas Alva Edison with whom he was associated for the last decade of the inventor's life. After thirty-nine years of service he retired in 1959 as Senior Vice President.

Mr. Stringfellow's civic activities have been varied and many. He was one of the founders and the first president of the New Jersey Division of the American Cancer Society and was the recipient of that Society's award for distinguished service in cancer control. He is an Honorary Life Member of the Board of Directors of the American Cancer Society and a Life Member of the Board of Trustees of the New Jersey Division.

He received the 1958 Citation Award of the Academy of Medicine of New Jersey and was elected an Honorary Life Member of the Academy.

He was Chairman of the New Jersey Republican State Finance Committee. He served for ten years as president of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association; two terms as president of the Chamber of Commerce of the Oranges and Maplewood, and was cited as the outstanding citizen in those five cities. He received a Citation of Merit from the New Jersey Association of Business Schools, and from the New Jersey Society of Professional Engineers he received the Citizen Award for outstanding achievement in industrial statesmanship. He was cited by the Brother of Christians and Jews for bringing about a better understanding among the three religious sects. He served two terms as President of the Kiwanis Club of New York City and was chairman of several international committees. He was awarded the Certificate of Service by the Rotary Club of Orange, N.J. He served eight years as president of the Board of Managers of the Home for Disabled Soldiers in Menlo Park, N.J.

Mr. Stringfellow holds honorary degrees from several colleges. In 1958-59 he served as Imperial Potentate of the Shrine of North America and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the 23 Shrines Hospitals for Crippled Children. He is presently an emeritus member of the Board of Trustees of these hospitals. He is a 33d degree Mason. He is a member of the Duquesne Club of Pittsburgh.

He is a director of Mine Safety Appliances Co., Pittsburgh; a member of the Board of Trustees of the James Monroe Foundation, Fredericksburg, Va.; and an emeritus member of the Board of Trustees, Indiana Institute of Technology.

The first Mrs. Stringfellow, the former Carrie M. Fearnow, died in 1961. In 1966 Mr. Stringfellow married Verna N. Seyfarth.

In September 1968 Mr. Stringfellow moved from East Orange, N.J., where he had resided since 1923, to Arlington, Va., fulfilling a desire of many years to return to the State of his birth where members of his family still reside.

#### SAWTOOTH NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

#### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1972

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I cast one of the few votes against the establishment of the Sawtooth National Recreation Area because I felt the legislation would not do what most people believe should be done in this area.

This is a unique area of high mountain and alpine meadow which should be preserved in its natural state for posterity. That preservation could best be accomplished by establishing the area as a national park.

This legislation, however, would allow the continued operation of some 300 mining claims, including an open pit mine. Roads could be built into the area and additional lands and waterways utilized for ore processing, tailings ponds, and waste disposal dumps.

Many national conservation organizations such as the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society opposed this legislation for these reasons.

Because of its natural features, I favor establishing this area as a national park so it could be fully protected from exploitation while being made available to the people for controlled recreational purposes.

#### ADDRESS TO ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE, BY SENATOR MIKE GRAVEL

#### HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, each year, the members of Alaska's congressional delegation are invited to return to address a joint assembly of the Alaska State Legislature. Each of us consider this a valuable opportunity to review the events of the past year, and to address the important issues between Alaska and the Federal Government. On Monday, January 31, 1972, Alaska Senator MIKE GRAVEL delivered his address to the legislature, and it is my pleasure to enter that address in the RECORD today for the interest of the many Members vitally concerned about the State of Alaska.

The address follows:

SPEECH BY U.S. SENATOR MIKE GRAVEL, PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BEFORE THE ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE, JUNEAU, ALASKA, MONDAY, JANUARY 31, 1972

JUNEAU.—As each of us knows, it is regrettable the case that those decisions about many Alaska matters that aren't made in the state tend to be made in Washington, D.C. But that's at least better than having them made in New York, Texas, or Seattle, because you are represented there. Today, I want to report on what's happening in Washington that bears directly or indirectly on our state—and I don't refer to the Presidential campaign!

I. Even big issues sometimes get resolved, and we are glad that the Native Claims settlement is behind us, at least legislatively. In my three years as your Senator nothing has commanded as much of my time and energies as that legislation. I estimate fully half of my office resources were devoted to it.

I did so willingly—not because there would be very many "thank you's" in it, for an issue as complex and emotionally charged as this one carries little glory—but because it was the right thing to do. All Alaskans—and certainly the Congress—breathe a collective sigh of relief that this landmark was finally reached.

The task now, of course, is to implement what we did in that legislation. It will re-

quire high order skills in public administration and a heavy dose of goodwill on all sides. It is in everyone's interest to move on with it.

In Washington, we will appropriate \$12.5 million as the first installment on Native compensation as provided in the law. Just before Christmas I wrote the President requesting that money be temporarily made available from his contingency funds so that Native groups could immediately begin to organize and gear up for their new responsibilities under the act. I was pleased to have your Speaker's support in this approach, however, I also expect to see money for the Bureau of Land Management's additional survey responsibilities under the act as well as money for the Bureau of Indian Affairs for its enrollment responsibilities. Additionally, we should expect new funds for the creation and operation of the federal side of the Joint Land-Use Planning Commission which I sponsored at the state level.

We will be armed with a good law and the money to make it work: we need only to go forward with it.

II. The Pipeline issue will continue as a primary activity for all of us. The acquisition of a pipeline permit, so to speak, free and clear of any injunction or encumbrance, is the goal of us all, at a price that Alaskans feel is fair to themselves and to the future well-being of Alaskans.

I believe that Alaska is headed in the right direction by exploring all the options before it on this issue and by examining the various methods by which it can control its own destiny.

In Washington, the pipeline issue is under the cloud of two investigations. One is potentially serious and the second seems to be an annoyance of secondary importance unless it uncovers something completely unexpected. The serious investigation is that associated with anti-trust laws. Some of the facts involved lend credence to the possible serious implications to the status quo which no responsible elected official can ignore.

The second investigation, whose sponsor is unknown to me, is that by the U.S. General Accounting Office into the costs associated in preparing the environmental impact statement.

There has been an undercurrent of dissatisfaction over the responsibilities of government and of industry related to the costs of determining the environmental impact of the proposed pipeline and its associated alternatives. The most visible dissatisfaction has been in the House of Representatives. But in view of the opposition that has manifested itself in the Senate, it is really impossible at this time to pinpoint the source of the GAO investigation.

At this time it is my best belief that the GAO investigation will not affect Alaska and is directed more toward resolving the mechanical issues of "who" should be paying for "what."

I expect that the final pipeline stipulations will soon be issued. I am not as sure that the final Impact Statement will be issued at the same time, nor has the Administration in Washington admitted that the Final Environmental Statement will be issued soon thereafter. I am sure that you would like to hear positive statements, not qualified by the words "perhaps," "maybe," "possibly," or "probably." The Administration is engaging in "reaction" to events outside of the Alaska Pipeline. It issued new alternatives as the result of the Louisiana Off-Shore Lease injunction. It is now rewriting, again, the final statement because of the U.S. Court of Appeals agreement with the injunction.

I believe that the White House hurt this State when it appealed the Louisiana injunction by dragging the Alaska Pipeline into the argument. This move seemed so blatant as to appear to be deliberate in trying to shelve the pipeline issue until after November, 1972.

There are alternatives that Alaska itself must insist on examining to be sure a pipeline route will be approved, to be sure pipeline stipulations meet our own demands, to be sure that production on the North Slope will correspond to good public policy, to be sure that the fiscal and technical monitoring will meet Alaskan standards and responsibilities. This is being forced on Alaska because the course of the Federal Administration is a precipitate one, leading to continual frustration and to continual disappointment, and to continual setbacks.

So your task is indeed a heavy one, heavy with responsibility and made complex by a great national issue which touches Alaskans everywhere, but I believe that your deliberations offer Alaska the brightest ray of hope, the brightest promise.

Without Alaska taking the leadership on this vital, Alaskan issue, I fear that the Federal Government will not deliver to Alaska what it has promised to deliver for the last two and a half years. If the Federal Government failed in the sixth month, failed in the twelfth month, failed in the twentieth month, failed in the twenty-third month, the twenty-seventh month, and again in the thirtieth month, why should we continue to lean on a crutch made of false promises—and zero fulfillment. Every time the Interior Department has come to bat it has struck out. So why, I ask you, should Alaska keep betting on a group that cannot score.

And if the Federal Administration ever gets a man on first, there are a half dozen lawsuits ready to stop him from even getting to second. The field of play is wrong. The players in the tournament are wrong. If Alaska moves, the field of reference must change. Alaska will have its chance. Otherwise, Alaska has no better chance than it has had for the last thirty months.

III. At my insistence, hearings which have been held in Washington and other cities in the nation by the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee concerning revising the public land laws will be held in Alaska this spring.

These hearings which were originally scheduled for November will be held to consider bills pending before the Committee dealing with management of public lands and revisions of the Mining Law of 1872 and the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920.

With over 90 percent of Alaska's land in the public domain, with many Alaskans earning their livelihood through mineral resource exploration and development and with the critical decisions which must be faced in classifying lands for alternative land uses, I cannot stress too firmly the importance of these hearings and the impending legislation to Alaska.

Aside from expenditures by the Federal Government in Alaska, the economic base of this State rests with the utilization and development of her natural resources.

If these resources are prudently utilized, Alaska can maintain a reasonably high standard of living. Once a reasonable scale of resource development is in progress, economic barriers such as transportation costs will be lowered thus enabling the secondary processing of the remaining depletable and the renewal resources.

The prudent use of Alaska resources involves, among other things, the coexistence of the fisheries industry, the wood products industry, the mining industry, the oil and gas industry and the tourist industry in reasonable harmony.

If logging cannot be conducted without silting salmon streams or spoiling cherished scenic vistas, then it is debatable, whether this activity should be allowed to take place.

If off-shore drilling cannot take place without spills that effect the fisheries, or the rafting of logs or the use and appearance

of beaches, then it is questionable that such an undertaking should be permitted.

If wilderness areas can be designated without assessing the subsurface values of all the resources and without comprehensive planning which takes into consideration such elements as long term thoroughfares, then this action, too, may be detrimental.

But the solution is not so much the denial of the various uses, it is rather a thorough knowledge of all resources, the development of reasonable plans, the designation of priorities and the compatibility of various uses.

If we are to prosper as Alaskans, logging and fishing and mining and recreation and wilderness must be made to coexist side by side without having an unduly adverse effect upon each other.

The resources we have are not limitless. There is a limit to the number of truly magnificent glaciers or majestic mountains or miles of placid inland passage. And past experience has shown us that plants and animals cannot be treated with abandon just because they are a renewal resource because they can be lost forever. Of the forests only a relatively small portion is economical to harvest as a resource and, contrary to popular opinion, there is not a bonanza under every rock. The deposits with economic potential are usually widely separated even in highly mineralized regions and compose a very small part of the overall land use.

The development of legislation for the management of public lands must fit the Alaska situation and the legislation must consider a much higher level of mining activity than presently exists.

The geology of Alaska indicates that many of the minerals demanded by industries through the world lie unfound or undeveloped in Alaska.

I am confident that as we have seen the beginning of Alaska as a major oil producer that we will see Alaska as a major hard rock mineral producer within this decade.

IV. As you recall hearings were held in Fairbanks, Anchorage, Bethel, and Nome this past April by the Senate Public Works Subcommittee on Economic Development to consider revising and extending the authorization of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

The results of these hearings will be the rewriting of the basic national legislation dealing with economic development to make it more responsive to state and local government. The first draft now in preparation will serve to re-establish strong, active and committed state and local government in the economic development area.

Alaska was well represented in the recorded testimony which is being used as a basis for rewriting this legislation. Out of ten cities throughout the nation in which testimony was received four were in Alaska.

This economic development legislation is extremely important to Alaska in that it is designed to aid regions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment by assisting in the planning and construction of needed public works projects. In fact, at the present time all labor market areas in Alaska, with the exception of Juneau, qualify for this program which has assisted Alaska sewer and water systems, cold storage plants, fisheries cooperatives, hospitals, docks and many other activities in the past.

I am optimistic that my colleagues in Congress will see the wisdom of Alaska being administered as a region unto itself under this program.

I also believe that the Alaska testimony will weight heavily in favor of expanding the authorized activities and the funding so that we may engage in an accelerated program for the construction or upgrading of bush airports, air vehicle routes and comprehensive utility and facility developments.

It will provide us with the opportunity to



have Alaska Native villages participate in the Indian programs on the same funding basis as received by Indian Reservations (100% in most cases.)

With the new Environmental Protection Agency standards being applied to all new economic development projects, I believe that now more than ever before that we need Advances for Public Works Planning reinstituted to provide preliminary engineering funds to Economic Development Act areas to assist these areas develop worthwhile projects.

Because of the importance of this legislation to Alaska, I intend to play a major role in shaping this legislation.

I am aware that there is a good bit of support for some sort of preferential hire legislation for Alaskans. As we all know, this is a very touchy area for policy-making. The problem of legislating most kinds of local hire arrangements is that the practice runs into Constitutional and legal questions about the right of any United States citizen to work anywhere in the country. Furthermore, persuasive economic arguments can be made that from the national standpoint we should not erect artificial barriers to labor mobility as economic opportunities shift from region-to-region and state-to-state.

For these reasons I believe the practical realities in Washington are that it is extremely unlikely that any legislation providing generally for resident preferential hire would get out of Committee, to say nothing of passing the Congress and being signed into law.

This does not mean, however, that nothing can be done in this direction. I think there can be. A good avenue I can explore is the extent to which we might write some such provision into the Economic Development Act which we on the Public Works Committee are presently revising. I would think there is a good chance we could make special provision for states and communities having persistent and unusually high unemployment, i.e. to set up the criteria in a way that defines the Alaska case.

V. Last week, the 1973 budget was presented to Congress. Not being regularly consulted by the Administration in its preparation, I have had only a few days to analyze what is proposed for Alaska. In a first glance at proposed federal expenditures, it is important to look at overall totals and in particular the budgets of the Departments of Interior, Transportation, and Defense.

Indications are that total federal expenditures on Alaska are continuing on a rising trend from \$760 million in FY 1970 to a proposed \$845 million for FY 1973.

While proposed Department of Defense expenditures for FY 1973 are not yet summarized, the total for FY 1970 was \$338 million, for FY 1971—\$414 million, and for FY 1972 the total was \$417 million. The Corps of Engineers had proposed \$13.3 million for Snettisham and 22 other Alaska projects. Included in this figure was \$13.3 million is money for a new construction start for the Chena River Lakes Project. I might add this project is one of only 13 new starts in the Nation. With the threat each spring of flooding in the Fairbanks area, certainly this is an urgent project.

The Department of Transportation estimate for FY 1973 is \$141 million, compared to \$139 million for FY 1970. And the Department of the Interior is budgeting \$83.7 million for the coming year, up from \$71.2 million in FY 1972 and \$63.8 million in FY 1970.

The recent capture of the two Russian vessels by the United States Coast Guard points up two fundamental problems that have long worried me regarding the violation of our territorial waters by ships of other nations.

First, the United States has never placed great importance on sitting down with representatives of other nations to mutually

work out procedures and guidelines with respect to territorial limits. When international conferences on this subject are convened, the United States typically sends military representatives, not those who represent the commercial and diplomatic interests involved. Such an approach does not further the aims of such a conference, where a give-and-take between the fishermen of the nations involved is necessary if a workable agreement is to be reached.

Secondly, the Coast Guard is inadequately equipped to provide effective surveillance of the territorial waters off Alaska. This is because the budgetary provisions for the Coast Guard are insufficient. I hope that the present incident will make the national administration more aware of this problem and will prompt an increase in the allotment for the Coast Guard in the budget which was just presented to us. I have been urging such an increase for some time.

Who knows how many foreign vessels enter our waters for illegal purposes? We only hear about those that are reported and actually apprehend only some of those. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that the Coast Guard needs to beef-up its resources in Alaska.

For Mr. Nixon's new budget to slight this crucial protective need at home while spending untold billions overseas would be another example of misplaced priorities.

Yesterday's incident also brings into clear focus the mistake by the Navy in closing the base at Kodiak. Should the Coast Guard have needed assistance during its encounter with the Russian vessels, the nearest Navy warship was some 2,000 miles away. At the same time there were over 60 Russian vessels in the immediate vicinity. The base at Kodiak appears vital, as the experience of the last few days should make abundantly clear.

In this last connection, but in a broader context, I am writing the Secretary of the Navy to ask for a full and open reporting on the strategies and missions of the Navy in the North Pacific Rim area and how Alaska relates to them. It would seem, for example, that if the Nixon Doctrine means a winding back of commitments overseas, then Alaska geopolitical position on the edge of Asia might logically be the recipient of forces redeployed in a forward position but on our own soil.

In a similar vein, I am writing the Secretary of State to try to find out explicitly what the national policy really is toward the prosecuting of foreign fishing captains caught in Alaska waters. We know what the practice is: it is to generally let the offenders off with a light fine. And I believe Alaskans could understand this if the national government would merely say what the rationale for leniency is; what other U.S. interest is being served by so doing; what is the *quid pro quo*? I believe we are at least owed an articulation of just what is going on and what we can expect as the federal stance in these matters.

While in a letter writing mood, there is one more that I am preparing in the hopes of getting action on another front—rural communications. In reviewing with the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Air Force last week, the status of the RCA expansion and capital improvement program I found that a major current obstacle is the inaction of the Federal Communications Commission. The FCC has yet to act on the license applications made last summer for toll service to 19 Native Villages where RCA has already installed the necessary equipment and all that is required is authority to turn it on. All-in-all, another 120 villages will be provided improved service over the next couple of years. It is unacceptable that the bottleneck to these forward steps be a lethargic regulatory body. In investment terms, this has meant that RCA has spent or contracted only \$800,000 out of a company-authorized

\$2.3 million and a promised \$4.5 million for improved service to the bush.

I also intend to keep the pressure on the Federal Communications Commission to come up with the much over-delayed decision on domestic communications satellites. This issue affects Alaska more than any other state including Hawaii. I hope that Alaska's regulatory mechanism to cope with the implications of communications will continue to be strengthened. The State has made several important strides in the last two years and there is still pending in this legislature important legislation on this issue.

The Communications Satellite Corporation intends to transport its small sixteen-foot earth terminal to Alaska, possibly by early March. Because of some litigation before the FCC, COMSAT may be forced to reapply for permission for the Alaska tests in several of our communities as a cosponsor with RCA. COMSAT has indicated it would like to bring the terminal first to Juneau while you are in session so that you might witness the quality of color television reception directly through the new Pacific INTELSAT IV Satellite. It is this satellite which will transmit television coverage of the Olympics and the Presidential visit to mainland China.

Last year at this time I introduced in the Senate two bills on election campaign reform, S. 1 and S. 9. This month the Congress took final action (and the President signed into law) S. 382, a comprehensive campaign reform bill which will be a great step toward making candidates start out on a more equal footing financially.

Both the financial disclosure provisions and the ceilings on media expenditures contained in the new law are essentially the same as the ones I proposed in S. 1 and I am pleased to have had a role in enacting this important legislation.

The loopholes in the law which have allowed the bizarre ritual of the filing of campaign expenditure reports in which candidates swear to zero-spending even though they have in fact spent hundreds of thousands of dollars are now closed. And the skyrocketing costs of campaigning in this electronic era, which have increasingly made electric politics the special preserve of the wealthy or those who have access to the funds of well-heeled special interests, will hopefully be held at least to current levels by the ceilings in this bill.

There is still plenty of room for reform, however. Campaigns should be financed in a way that will build support for our political institutions and respect for the political process. Government expenditure is the only way to accomplish this important goal, and that is what I proposed in my bill S. 9. The Congress took a step in this direction as well when it enacted the check-off plan for financing Presidential elections, but there are many problems with this law as it now stands, and it needs to be expanded to cover Congressional elections as well. In fact, I hope that eventually state legislatures will adopt this approach to campaign finance in state elections. In sum, this is an area where we have made real headway this past year, but much remains to be done.

We have had some successes this year in the passage of legislation favorable to government employees. Chief among these was the pay raise. One particular inequity that I've worked to rectify (unsuccessfully, so far) is the discrimination in pay between Alaskans serving on military duty in Alaska and those military personnel from outside the state who are on duty here. The second group receives extra pay and our own people don't.

My bill S. 1292 would treat them all equally, and I have several times attempted to tack it onto one or another military bill coming through the Senate. I will keep trying.

Earlier this year, I cosponsored and voted in favor of the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Amendment, which would have provided an additional 26 weeks of unemployment benefits in states where the unemployment rate exceeds 7.5 percent. The Senate approved the measure by a 48 to 31 vote. The House had a different version, and by the time it was signed into law the benefits were cut to an additional 13 weeks and the triggering vote was dropped to 6.5 percent.

The amendment will be of enormous assistance to Alaskans, where we have an unusually high unemployment rate. Specifically, the amendment provides that when unemployment exceeds the level of 6.5 percent in a state, the unemployed are eligible to receive an additional 12 weeks of insurance after the existing benefits run out. This additional coverage will be funded entirely by the Federal Government, placing no further burden on the states.

Two things can be said on highway matters. One is that we will again receive an additional \$20 million out of the Highway Trust Fund under the special provision we in the Public Works Committee were able to pass last year making money available for the first time for roads in the villages and the marine highway system.

The second is that talks are now going on between U.S. and Canadian officials on the old issue of the Alaska Highway. The renewal of these talks is a direct result of the provision we wrote into the Federal-Aid Highway Act last time around that the President should arrange such talks. Over time I hope that progress can be made and compromises struck in this perennial sore point.

XI. On the conservation front I can report that hearings have been held on my bill to make the state fish and wildlife and park and recreation agencies eligible to receive federal surplus property—machinery and equipment—along with the defense and education agencies already eligible. Given the extent of our needs and the amount of surplus federal property particularly in the Department of Defense, that can be made available I feel my amendment makes eminent good sense. The State government testified ably toward this end, and I hope to see a favorable outcome.

XII. No one likes to dwell on the subject of airline disasters, yet everyone worries about them when we fly. Our recent bad one is all too vivid a memory. This was a major tragedy which has been attributed—if not explained away—to "pilot error."

It was also an "agency error" and a "public policy error" because the navigational aids at Alaska's capital airport are inadequate, despite air traffic which averages some 90 flights daily (30 airline flights and 60 itinerant flights). Juneau airport has no radar service and no instrument landing system. Only after this sad accident did the FAA move to at least partially rectify these deficiencies at Juneau.

How many more Juneau-type tragedies are waiting to happen, and what kind of way is that to make agency policy? I cite the Alaska case only because it weighs so heavily on me, but I am sure the problem can be generalized for the country as a whole. The problem is that we are not proceeding fast enough in providing navigational aids to commercial airports in order to bring air travel to an acceptable level of safety.

I am told that in the last decade the fatalities from non-precision approach accidents have been about ten times those associated with ILS approaches (not to mention the additional advantages of increased service reliability, minimizing passenger inconvenience, and lessening airline operating costs which derive from the installation of ILS equipment).

The accident rate itself (disregarding

whether or not deaths were involved) was almost five times greater at non-ILS protected airports as against those equipped with this particular navigational aid.

I understand further that at the present pace of FAA programming it will take ten years to install ILS facilities to the point of covering half the runways used by the scheduled airlines.

I notice that the Airlines Pilots Association (ALPA) published a very responsible proposal last fall for the accelerated installation of various crucial safety facilities around the country's airports. The proposal is in two phases with the last phase presenting a two-year program and the second phase a five-year program. The proposal makes eminent good sense to me and I call on my colleagues in the Congress to support it in the interest of safety.

The Airline Pilots Association study includes a state-by-state and airport-by-airport inventory of the availability of key navigational facilities. These facilities and devices are the following: towers, radar service, runway and approach lights, instrument landing system (ILS), runway and identifier lights (REIL), visual approach slope indicators (VASI). Let us refer now only to what the actual situation is compared to the needed facilities and their estimated cost in the case of Alaska's airports. My colleagues can find similar summaries for their own individual states.

Of Alaska's 26 commercial airports we find that only 9 have control towers and only 4 are equipped with radar. Of 72 runways needing approach lights only 20 are in place, 6 runway end identifier lights are in service, but 46 more are needed. Alaskan airports have a total of 6 instrument landing systems, but 66 are needed. Visual approach slope indicators can be found at 22 runways, but 50 more such systems are needed.

The total cost of this whole package to make air travel in Alaska significantly more safe is estimated at \$80 million, with the first phase installation accounting for about \$20 million. Surely this is a reasonable price to pay for air safety in Alaska. No amount of money can make right the Alaska air crash of last September 4. But \$80 million is not much if it helps prevent the recurrence of such a disaster in the future.

And it is surely not much when measured against other directions of federal spending—like the Vietnam War. I recently looked up the inventory of navigational aids to be found at 22 airfields in Vietnam where the U.S. presently conducts operations (there may be many more). I found that all 22 have towers, 19 have radar, 9 have runway approach lights, and 6 have VASI. Again it is another example of misplaced priorities to be expending (surely not investing) millions of dollars on the other side of the world in an insane war in which we don't belong while urgent needs at home go begging.

I for one believe it is no longer acceptable for an administration or an agency to say, "we just don't have the money" when called to account for deficiencies in air traffic safety—deficiencies which allowed the tragic Juneau air crash and others like it.

I can't believe that as a government we are neither smart enough nor compassionate enough to have a policy for maximizing air safety and a plan other than to invest navigational aid money wherever an air crash has occurred with great loss of life. This behavior is totally unacceptable, and I urge all my colleagues and citizens everywhere to make a similar finding. When appropriation time comes again we in the U.S. Senate will have a chance to rectify this. I hope we can join together and do so.

I feel compelled to comment on the Alaska Air Service Investigation because of its critical importance to Alaska I will not comment, as I have not in the past, on any

individual carrier, but I will comment on the situation as it affects the people of Alaska.

I believe that the frequency and quality of air service are the primary considerations of the Alaska people and those traveling to Alaska. However, it appears that the overriding factor in the CAB decision was simply getting Alaska carriers off the Federal subsidy rolls irrespective of the cost in public service.

Frankly, this approach was not adaptable to the Alaska situation from the beginning and it was the primary reason for my opposition to the earlier Examiner's decisions.

I agree with both the Examiner and the CAB that economic considerations must be taken into account. However, the fact that a key to the economic development of any underdeveloped area is capital investment, especially in the area of transportation, must be a part of this economic consideration.

Alaskans do not choose air transportation as an alternate. Due to Alaska's state of development and geography, air transportation is an absolute necessity.

The Federal subsidy program is fundamentally a program of economic assistance. It was designed to assist people in a circumstance such as exists in Alaska rather than assist airlines. Airlines cannot be permitted to trade subsidy rights and benefits for monopoly rights unless it has been unequivocally proven that better air transportation at more reasonable rates will accrue to the people. Monopoly service may produce a profit for a carrier and alleviate the Federal government from subsidy payments; but, if past practice is an example, there can be no guarantee that the level of service or the frequency of service will be maintained.

In Alaska this subsidy was an investment by the Federal Government in the future of our State. Subsidies will not continue indefinitely. In the long run, Alaska, as with other western states in the past, will not require subsidies.

I especially object to the CAB view of this Federal subsidy promoting duplicative, wasteful, or otherwise inherently uneconomic operations. Alaskans have viewed these subsidies as a means of providing more frequent service and insuring quality service by creating competition.

In its estimates of future traffic growth trends, I believe the Board was unduly pessimistic. They chose to analyze historic growth rates in the context of the current (or clearly unforeseeable) economic climate. This again reflects an almost inconceivably cautious approach. If the Federal Government, the State, and the private business sector forecast and prepared for growth in developing areas such as Alaska on an historic basis in the context of the current economic climate, many generations would pass before development of any scale would be realized.

XIII. The fear of living or working or exploring or producing in the North is finally disappearing. The ignorance which at one time characterized Alaska as a "land of ice and snow" has given way to the reality of Alaska as "the great land."

I speak often about Alaska throughout the Nation. However, even when I speak on Vietnam or energy or a number of other subjects, I am always asked questions on Alaska—unfortunately too often on the pipeline and Amchitka.

People are becoming more interested in Alaska—not just the dream of living here. People are finally concluding that Alaska in terms of development of its resources is no more difficult an operation than Canada or Australia or South America or Central Africa.

The myth of Alaska as the unpenetrable land of ice and snow is dead.

I for one am very optimistic for what lies ahead.

Thank you and good luck.



## FUNDING FOR THE PEACE CORPS

## HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, the Peace Corps is one of our most effective foreign aid programs. It has the overwhelming support of the American people and the sincere appreciation of the peoples of many other nations.

The Peace Corps is now 11 years old. Although it has changed with the times and the needs of the host countries, it has maintained its original idealism and altruism. It is a good program, and deserves adequate funding to assure its continuation and expansion.

The Peace Corps was created by an Executive order in March 1961. In September of that year, the Congress passed the Peace Corps Act to promote world peace by making available to interested countries Americans willing to serve overseas. Three goals were established. First, volunteers would help the people of underdeveloped countries meet their needs for trained manpower. Second, the volunteers would help promote a better understanding of the American people on the part of the peoples served. Third, the volunteers would promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of the American public.

The Peace Corps has never been an intruder. Volunteers have only been sent to countries that requested them. On a few occasions problems have arisen where volunteers were serving in countries when anti-American regimes came to power. However, today 53 countries have requested volunteers. After the volunteers have arrived, in many countries, they have requested more be sent.

Volunteers serve for 2 years without a salary and with only a modest living allowance to enable them to live in a manner comparable to their native coworkers. This combined with the Peace Corps policy of refusing to grant special immunity or hardship payments to volunteers means that Peace Corps volunteers are seen by the people of their host countries as integral parts of their society rather than as outsiders or strangers. In addition, volunteers must speak the language of the host country. This keeps the "Ugly American" label off the volunteers, and enables the volunteers to understand and communicate with their native counterparts.

Over 50,000 Americans have gone overseas with the Peace Corps since 1961. The gain to this country from the experiences of these volunteers is probably as great as the gain to the recipient country. Returned volunteers have provided the United States with a pool of knowledge about the underdeveloped countries of the world which could not have been obtained in any other manner.

As the Peace Corps has matured, the skills requested by the host countries and those possessed by the volunteers have changed. In 1962, the skills of volunteers were distributed among the following

categories: 57 percent education, 23 percent in community development, 8 percent in agriculture, and 6 percent in health. These percentages were maintained relatively unchanged until 1969, when President Nixon took office. At that time, the operations of the Peace Corps were modified to take into consideration changed conditions in the less-developed countries. By calendar year 1971, 38 percent of the volunteers were working in education, 3 percent in community development, 26 percent in agriculture, and 9 percent in health. These changed percentages are an indication of the way the Peace Corps has begun to emphasize practical—immediately applicable—programs.

The large increase of volunteers active in agriculture is a direct indication of the pressing need to feed the rapidly increasing populations of many less developed countries. The number of agricultural specialists in the Peace Corps is increasing. In 1969, 82 volunteers had college degrees in agriculture. By 1971, this number had risen to 225. Further, during the same time period, the number of volunteers with agricultural experience increased from 308 to 769.

Accompanying the change in the occupational composition of the Peace Corps has been a change in the overall percentages of "skilled" volunteers. These are the volunteers with experience or training which is immediately usable when they arrive in their field assignments. In 1969, 38 percent of all volunteers were classified as skilled. At the end of this year, the figure is expected to be 76 percent.

Finally, the Peace Corps has implemented new training programs to convert volunteers without a specific skill into paraprofessionals in specific fields—such as agriculture extension, irrigation, well drilling, or one-crop production.

In sum, this program, under the fine leadership of Joe Blatchford, is an effective foreign aid program. I am convinced the Peace Corps should be fully funded so that it may continue to accomplish its goals.

For fiscal year 1972, the administration submitted a request of \$82 million for the Peace Corps. Such a request recognized the increased demand for volunteers from recipient countries and the increased number of applications to join the Peace Corps.

Unfortunately, the House and Senate Foreign Affairs Committee cut that figure to \$77 million in the authorizations bill. More discouraging, the appropriations bill, as it was reported from the House Appropriations Committee, contained only \$60 million.

The House restored \$8 million on the floor, but the \$68 million in the House-passed appropriations bill is still inadequate.

Last week the Senate Appropriations Committee approved funding for the Peace Corps at \$77.2 million. Although this is about \$5 million less than the amount requested by President Nixon, I hope that my colleagues at the conference committee—which undoubtedly will

meet within the next few weeks—will accept the higher amount.

It is in the interests of the people of the United States and of the less developed nations of the world that the Peace Corps be allowed to make its full contribution to the betterment of mankind. The Peace Corps deserves the full support of Congress in its efforts.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM IN  
STATE DEPARTMENT

## HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, in recent years the State Department has been undergoing massive internal changes. The architect of this project has been the Honorable William B. Macomber, the Under Secretary of State for Management. I am sure that his recent remarks on the progress of this program will be of interest to every Member of this House.

Secretary Macomber outlines the work which has been going on for the last 2 years to revamp the internal structure of the Department. As you will note, Mr. Speaker, significant steps have already been taken to achieve managerial reform and modernization.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that Bill Macomber needs little or no introduction to Members of Congress. Many, including myself, have had the opportunity to work with him and know firsthand the extent of his expertise and skill.

Since 1953, he has served in various positions under four Presidents. During his career, including 3 years as U.S. Ambassador to Jordan, he has tackled a variety of assignments which have all benefited from his singular skills as both diplomat and administrator.

For the past 3 years, Bill Macomber has been devoting his energies toward the Office for Management of the State Department. His remarks which describe this effort and the goals for the days ahead follow:

CHANGE IN FOGGY BOTTOM: AN ANNIVERSARY  
REPORT

My Colleagues in the Department of State: Two years ago this month this Department launched an unprecedented program of management reform and modernization; and in this same period we have seen it move in a number of very important ways towards a more equitable and effective system of human relations.

On this second anniversary it is appropriate to take stock, to examine what working together we have accomplished in this period of ferment and change, and to focus on what remains to be done.

First let's look at the program of management reform and modernization.

This has been a unique and far-reaching effort. It has been unique in the sense that Secretary Rogers did not, as is traditional in an effort of this kind, turn the job over to a team of experts from outside. Instead, in an unprecedented step, he chose the career professionals themselves to draw the plans.

He was convinced that you could do the job better than anyone else.

You responded to his challenge and produced the most comprehensive and searching critique ever written about this Department. If one wants to really understand our problems (and our strengths), no other document can match it. More importantly, after months of consultation with colleagues in the Department and abroad, with other Government agencies, and with many institutions and experts outside of the Government, you produced an extraordinary blueprint for reform. This blueprint consists of over 500 recommendations, about 400 of which have been, or are now being, implemented.

This effort has not received the attention it deserves, which is perhaps understandable. Major changes in management techniques and philosophy are not the stuff of exciting newspaper copy.

It is a significant story, nonetheless. For in the past two years, through this unique effort in self-analysis and creativity, important new foundations of a modern American foreign office have been laid.

# I

It has been argued that developments over the last twenty-five years—the new involvement of most departments of government in foreign affairs and the development of national security council staffs or their equivalents—have lessened the importance of foreign offices everywhere. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The diplomat's job is more important and more complicated than it ever was. He carries his old responsibilities and needs all his old skills; but because of the vastly increased complexity and diversity of our foreign affairs, we need a broader range of skills and expertise; and because of the participation of so many other elements of our government in foreign affairs, our diplomats must now be managers, coordinators and leaders, to a degree undreamed of by their predecessors of a simpler age.

The collective wisdom, experience, and judgment in the foreign affairs field of the people in the United States Department of State is unmatched elsewhere in our Government or in any other government. The job therefore has been to find ways to unfetter those abilities and to bring them more effectively to bear on the Department's evolving responsibilities.

The significance of what has been happening within the State Department during the past two years is this: The career professionals (aware that all foreign offices tend to have a better understanding of what their job used to be than what it is today) have made a major effort to explore and define the new and expanded dimensions of their role. Further, they have determined that the management of the State Department and of the Foreign Service is not just the concern of the administrators. They also have concluded that to meet their new responsibilities, something more is required than the traditional adherence to a low profile and traditional reliance on native ability, experience, old fashioned intuitive judgment and "trying harder."

As a result, here is how far we have come:

We have for the first time a Policy Analysis and Resource Allocation system (PARA) in operation throughout the Department—a systematic process for the identification of issues, interests and priorities, the allocation of our resources in accordance with those priorities, and the periodic review of our policies.

We have a new concept of team operation among the Seventh Floor principal officers which affords increased control of the Department's planning, decision-making, and allocation of resources. The team concept has permitted a more flexible utilization of the principals' time by breaking the relatively narrow field of specialization that each prin-

cipal has been assigned. The Seventh Floor team is served by common staffs, operates under the aegis of the Secretary, and is directed by the Under Secretary.

We have a new management evaluation capability in the expanded Inspector General's staff, which will now evaluate our policies as well as our performance.

We have a new balance between competition and job tenure in our Foreign Service officer promotion system which preserves its competitive nature but provides increased stability and security in the middle years of an officer's career.

We have made major changes in our recruiting activities which are already bringing a much wider range of skills into the Foreign Service Officer Corps than ever before.

We have adopted the concept of a new Foreign Affairs Specialist Corps which has been very popular with our career specialists. Over 870 of these have applied for entrance into this new Corps. Legal objections have been raised against this Corps. I am very hopeful these will be overcome shortly so that this important innovation will play a key role in our modernization effort.

We have established a "Mustang" program to identify clerical and staff support employees with unused talent or undeveloped potential and provide opportunities to them for advancement to officer-level positions through special training and assignments.

We have encouraged the flow of information, new ideas, divergent opinion, and creative dissent within the Department and at our posts abroad through the mechanisms of special message channels, new staff functions, and the continued use of the Secretary's Open Forum Panel.

In a quite different area, and in order to improve our service to the ever-increasing numbers of Americans traveling abroad, we have initiated a program in conjunction with the Postal Service to take passport applications in several hundred first-class post offices throughout the country. This will enable us to expand and improve our service dramatically without incurring the costs involved in establishing more federal facilities.

So on the managerial side these have been two very productive years. Much remains to be done, but much has been accomplished.

# II

But modernization and reform, if it is to be really effective, requires more than improved management in these areas I have been discussing.

Of critical importance, as well, is the development of an increasingly effective, fair, and enlightened system of human relations within the Department. Here, too, we have had a remarkable two years, with much progress being made—and with much still left to be done.

To begin with, we have been operating on the simple, unassailable assumption that women possess approximately half the brain power in this country. We have therefore sat down with women employees and designed and implemented a program for encouraging rather than deterring career prospects for women officers. They are now assured equal consideration for assignments, training opportunities, and perquisites, without regard to sex or marital status. Indeed one of the more interesting aspects of programs to enhance career possibilities for women is the development of working family teams in which both the wife and husband are career Foreign Service employees. Over 30 such teams are now in the Department's Foreign Service, and more may be expected soon.

The changes we have made in this area have been well publicized. They were made not only in justice to women but in the Department's own self interest, for we can

ill afford to ignore this major brainpower pool. I am pleased to report that this fall nearly three times as many women applied to take the Foreign Service exams as applied in 1969—the year before this program began.

Efforts are also underway to accord increased recognition of the professional status and rights of secretaries—still one of the largest and most important groups of women in the Department's Civil and Foreign Services.

We have also addressed the problem of a bill of rights for the spouses and dependents of Foreign Service employees. The voluntary unpaid support that wives have traditionally given to our embassy efforts overseas has constituted one of the great strengths of our service and also, from a family point of view, one of its most rewarding aspects. But there have been occasions when this tradition was abused and when its voluntary basis not properly understood. Working first with wives and later with the Secretary's Open Forum Panel we have now spelled out the rights of Foreign Service spouses and dependents—and I am confident that rather than weakening the traditional teamwork of Foreign Service families, this bill of rights will strengthen it.

In the past two years we have continued to emphasize our minority recruitment program despite our personnel cuts and the resultant reductions in our over-all recruitment.

In addition we recognize that there are many persons, some from minority backgrounds, some not, who have the ability to rise to positions of considerable responsibility but who have been denied their opportunity because of inadequacies in their education. With this in mind we have, as I mentioned earlier, created the "Mustang" program which each year will provide opportunities for specially selected employees to advance to officer rank.

Within this critical area of the Department's human relations, however, I believe the creation of a formal employee-management relations system for the Foreign Service is of overriding importance.

Following changes in Civil Service procedure, this new system has just been promulgated by the President. It is a pioneering effort specially designed for the Foreign Service and is the result of extensive debate and consultation between the management of the Department and representatives of the Foreign Service. For the first time members of the Foreign Service will have an important and formal voice in the development of all personnel policies—policies which play such an important part in their lives and careers.

Under this system members of the Foreign Service can elect an organization to be their exclusive representative, and administrative officials in the Department are required to consult with that organization on personnel policies which either the Department or the employees wish to change. If these consultations do not result in agreement, the employee's representative can appeal over the heads of the Department's administrative officials to the Board of the Foreign Service.

The Board of the Foreign Service will have two subgroups to help it carry out its responsibilities. Both of these groups are independent of the administrative side of the Department. First is the three-member Employee-Management Relations Commission made up of representatives of the Department of Labor, Civil Service Commission, and Office of Management and Budget. This Commission will have the final say with respect to the supervision of elections and the adjudication of unfair labor practice complaints.

The second group, working directly under the Board of the Foreign Service, is known as the Disputes Panel. It is made up of one member from the Department of Labor, one



from the Federal Services Impasses Panel, one from the public, and two from the Foreign Service. Thus the majority of this Disputes Panel comes from "outside" the Department of State. In addition, the two Foreign Service representatives cannot be part of the management of the Department. When the administrative authorities of the Department are unable to reach agreement in their consultations with the representatives of the Foreign Service employees, it is the function of this disputes group, acting on behalf of the Board of the Foreign Service, to establish the facts and seek a solution through mediation. If this fails, the Panel must then recommend an appropriate solution to the Board of the Foreign Service.

With the development of this employee-management relations system we have passed an historic milestone in the continuing development of the Foreign Service. But this milestone was not reached easily. There were strong differences of views, and much hard bargaining and public controversy.

But what has emerged in the judgment of both the management of the Department and the leadership of the American Foreign Service Association is "a system well adapted to the Foreign Service, and a system under which the men and women of the Foreign Service can have a real voice in the policies and regulations affecting their careers."

Here again, the past two years have seen an important breakthrough. But the job is just beginning, not ending. If this new system is to fulfill its promise, it is incumbent upon all members of the Foreign Service to pay close attention to the positions taken by the employee organization chosen as their exclusive representative. It is incumbent on that organization and the administrative officials of the Department with whom it will be dealing to make every effort to see that this new system works in a fair, constructive and responsible manner.

However, it is not enough simply to build a system where members of the Foreign Service, in the collective sense, will have a stronger and more effective voice in the development of personnel policies. In addition, there is the need for each individual member to have access to a meaningful grievance procedure independent of the Department's personnel authorities, and in which the individual's rights are clearly defined and understood. Until recently such a system did not exist. There was in its stead a formal system of limited scope and an informal system in which every effort was made to be fair, but which was neither independent of the personnel authorities nor characterized by any specific definition of the rights of an aggrieved employee.

We have now instituted an interim grievance procedure which is a major step forward. The Interim Grievance Board is chaired by William Simkin, who from 1961 to 1969 was Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, and is made up of distinguished public members as well as career officials with considerable experience in the Foreign Service. Unlike the earlier arrangements, it is set up and operates independently of the personnel and administrative officials of State, AID and USIA.

It is an "interim" grievance procedure because we believe that the definitive grievance procedure should be bargained out in the employee-management relations system—which is just what such a system is for. Once the definitive grievance procedure has been hammered out, the Department will support legislation which incorporates the basic principles of that procedure as an amendment to the Foreign Service Act.

Another crucial area of the Department's human relations is that of involuntary retirement or "selection-out." I believe that such a system, presently required by law, is an essential ingredient of a strong Foreign Service, and I believe that this view is shared

by the great majority of Foreign Service Officers.

But this system has recently come under increasing attack. We now have in the employee-management relations system a particularly appropriate means for the representatives of Foreign Service employees to sit down with the Department's management for a careful and thorough reexamination of the selection-out system. I am confident that out of the re-examination will come a reaffirmation of the need for a continued involuntary retirement system; and I am equally confident that in this re-examination we are going to find ways to make it a fairer and stronger system. Fewer than 10 officers are presently scheduled for involuntary retirement between now and June 30th. In view of this upcoming re-examination, the Department has suspended all final selection-out actions between now and that date.

In summary then, the most critical ingredients in the human relations field are the development of a strong employee-management relations system to deal with the development of personnel policies, and the establishment through the employee-management relations system, and ultimately by an amendment to the Foreign Service Act, of a definitive grievance procedure. Under the employee-management relations system we will also be re-examining involuntary retirement procedures and here, as elsewhere, looking for areas where we can strengthen the role of due process.

Some have said that in taking these actions we are undermining the basic discipline of the Foreign Service. Of course, the exact opposite is true. The way to guarantee the continuation of a disciplined Service is to make certain that its basic safeguards and fairness are apparent to all.

But as we move into this new era of the Department's human relations, let me make it clear that I do not believe the old system was as unfair as has sometimes been alleged. In a highly competitive system such as ours, there are bound to be disappointed persons. And while our involuntary retirement system has been run by human beings and is therefore fallible, it is my personal belief that those who manned the system earlier made every effort to make it as fair as possible.

But there is no denying that the system has been a paternalistic one. And even if it was far fairer than its critics give it credit for, it is not—because of its paternalism and its inadequate recognition of both the collective and individual rights of Foreign Service employees—a credible or acceptable system for today.

### III

The past two years have been a time of tumult. There has been criticism, disagreement, and public controversy. This is understandable. When a major reform and modernization program is launched, it is predicated on the assumption that things are wrong and need correcting. One should not be surprised, therefore, when there is considerable public focus on what is wrong—and vigorous debate over proposed solutions. This controversy may appear unseemly by earlier standards of State Department decorum. It is, however—except when disfigured by unjust and personal attacks on a dedicated career Foreign Service Officer—a very healthy and useful process.

It would be a mistake to allow the turmoil which has been a part of these last two years or the controversy and clash of views which will accompany the forthcoming employee elections, to obscure what is really going on in this Department. Controversy is an integral part of the progress we are all working for. There have been years in this Department when there has been very little tumult and very little progress. We are in a much better era now.

And now my final point: No effort of this kind starts without antecedents. Much of

the credit must go to those career officers among you who in increasing numbers in the years immediately preceding January 1970 pressed for reform and set the stage for what has followed. To you and to the many who joined you in the past two years, we owe a considerable debt.

The question I put to you now is this: Will your commitment to this effort be sustained? Important decisions lie ahead, and modernization is a task which, by definition, is never done. Even in the specific areas I have been reporting on today, the record is one of useful and important beings—not final accomplishments.

Modernization as a process will continue in the Department. That is inevitable. The question is whether you, the career professionals, will continue to lead it. If you do, and for as long as you do, this critically important work will be in the best of hands.

### CONGRESSMAN WOLFF'S 1972 NEWS-LETTER

#### HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, in an effort to keep my constituents informed of my activities as their Representative in Washington, I regularly mail a newsletter to all of my constituents. I include in the RECORD the text of my first newsletter of 1972.

The newsletter follows:

Dear Friend and Constituent: When the 92nd Congress first convened a year ago, the nation's economy was in a state of acute deterioration. The annual gross national product was lagging \$74 billion behind its potential and the industrial plant was operating below 75 percent of its capacity. The cost of living had risen 12 percent in two years; unemployment was at a ten year high; the number of Americans living in poverty, or subsisting on welfare, had increased to record percentages.

Since then, we have seen the devaluation of the dollar, the imposition of an unprecedented wage-price freeze, a 10 percent import surcharge (already abolished), the reinstitution of an investment tax credit program, the creation of thousands of public service jobs for the jobless, and the unfolding of Phase 2.

Despite all of these heralded programs, taxes continue to escalate. Unemployment appears stabilized at an unbearable level, LIRR fares have increased sharply again, bridge and tunnel tolls have doubled, rents are up 13 percent in NYC, and by as much as 30 percent in Nassau—all while wage increases are limited to 5.59 percent. Profits are held down and industry predicts only a 9 percent increase in capital outlays.

In short, the problems continue. The solutions, implemented to date, have aimed only at preventing things from getting worse—without attacking the root causes of our social and economic imbalance.

To call for an increase in the already inflated Defense Department budget while vetoing the education bill, the child care bill, and a bill to improve sewage treatment facilities as "too costly" is wrong. To expand the agricultural subsidy program, the system which pays people not to produce food while millions starve, makes no sense.

This is what I said in South Dakota recently, when I was asked to spend two days speaking before agricultural groups on the needs of our cities. I approached the visit with some trepidation since, in my seven years in the House of Representatives, I have

voted against every agricultural subsidy bill to come before us. However, much to my surprise, I was very warmly received.

During the coming months, we will have an especially vivid opportunity to observe whether America's elected officials live up to the high standards of their constituents who want an immediate re-examination of government spending priorities. Unless we settle down to this task soon, it may be too late.

#### FIND SUBTERFUGE IN VIET ELECTIONS

To substantiate my findings that a U.S. financed political poll was taken in South Vietnam before the elections and was shown only to President Nguyen Van Thieu for his obvious self-interest, I demanded that the State Dept. declassify letters to House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Thomas Morgan from David Abshire, State Dept. Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations. I then released the contents of these letters to prove that the U.S. is still engaged in the kind of subterfuge that was chronicled in the Pentagon Papers—in this instance, the behind-the scene American involvement in South Vietnam politics.

As the direct result of my investigation, the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, of which I am a member, held hearings to gather more information on the role the U.S. played in the South Vietnamese elections. We sought answers to my Resolutions of Inquiry (H. Res. 632 and 638) which direct the Secretary of State to provide the Foreign Affairs Committee with all communications concerning the election.

However, not until the announcement that I had sworn testimony from persons who had participated in the poll-taking did the State Dept. admit it had conducted these opinion surveys.

The extent and character of this obviously partisan U.S. involvement in the offensive no-contest Vietnam election debases the immense sacrifice of American lives.

#### FORCES UNITE TO BATTLE DRUG ABUSE

Recently, I had the opportunity to address a two-day drug seminar sponsored by Hofstra University in conjunction with North Shore Hospital and Cornell University Medical Center.

Today, drug addiction is a national disaster that calls for nothing less than crisis intervention if we are to preserve the structure of social order in our nation. We can no longer delude ourselves with rhetorical blame-fixing. It is time for health and educational institutions to seek constructive and workable solutions to this problem of shattering magnitude.

Our young people are ahead of their elders in recognizing the health hazards of tobacco and cyclamates. They warn drug abusers to steer away from amphetamines with the slogan "speed kills", yet teachers and parents still resort to pious preachings. For example, moralizing about marijuana has been unpersuasive in the absence of firm scientific evidence. More research is needed in this entire area of so-called "soft" drugs to substantiate rational arguments. Our business and industrial leaders must deal with drug abuse in a responsible manner by channelling addicts into rehabilitation programs. The challenge facing us here and throughout the nation is one that must be met by a complete and cooperative response on the part of professionals in the fields of health and education, from the private sector and from all possible community resources.

#### PRESERVATION OF UDALL'S COVE ASSURED AS CITY MAPS ACQUISITION

The preservation of Udalls Cove, fertile salt marsh estuary on Little Neck Bay, as a spawning ground and habitat for native wildlife is now virtually assured. I have been working for some time with conservationist

groups and environmental agencies to effect a permanent plan for these valuable wetlands.

I am happy to report that NYC Parks Administrator August Hecksher has informed me the city will acquire the remaining 33 acres of available land on the Queens side of the cove for a wildlife sanctuary (58 acres are in Nassau). The result of this cooperative action is a major milestone towards the perpetuation of our open spaces for future generations of New Yorkers.

#### PRESIDENT'S VETO OF CHILD CARE BILL A BIG DISAPPOINTMENT

A big disappointment to me of the last session was the President's perplexing veto of the Economic Opportunity Act to continue, through fiscal 1973, the nation's essential anti-poverty programs.

The two-year extension package, as approved by Congress, included the innovative Child Development Program to provide \$2 billion for comprehensive day care services (education, health, nutrition) for more than one million pre-school youngsters. The President's veto was a devastating blow to the initiative of poor families—and especially working mothers—who had hoped to achieve economic independence and upward mobility.

#### OIL DRILLING LEASES STILL A THREAT

I am becoming increasingly concerned that, despite the outcry by Atlantic states representatives and senators and their demand for a moratorium on all leasing plans, Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton is insistently supporting private off-shore drilling rights.

I was dismayed to learn that he had conducted yet another briefing on the Administration's plans to consider such leases while the House and the Senate have before them bills seeking a two-year stay on any such action, subject to the outcome of a complete study by the National Academy of Sciences. As chairman of the bi-partisan ad hoc congressional committee investigating this threat of indiscriminate oil drilling, I intend to ask my colleagues to press for the earliest possible consideration of our bills.

#### CONSUMER RECORD WINS TOP MARKS

My voting record on consumer issues during the last session of Congress has been praised by the Consumer Federation of America, prestigious national coalitions of consumer groups. Singled out were by votes to create a federal Consumer Protection Agency; to establish a select House committee to make an in-depth study of the country's energy resources; to continue provisions to extend legal aid services to many more disadvantaged persons.

The entire NY State Delegation, of which I am a member of the Steering Committee, was given high marks by the Federation for strong support of consumer legislation. I am hopeful that in the coming months we, in Congress, will enact these and other important consumer measures as necessary steps toward readjusting our national priorities.

#### RENT CONTROL HIKES UNDER SCRUTINY

The New York City Congressional delegation reacted swiftly and efficiently to the Price Commission's recent announcement that rents charged for controlled apartments in NYC would be permitted to increase by 7.5% and stabilized rents would be allowed to rise 13% while increases elsewhere in the nation would be limited to 2.5%.

The immediate response by Congress was to pass an amendment to the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 which prevents the Price Commission from singling out rent-regulated units for special treatment while wage increases are held to 5.5%.

Despite the new laws, the commission has failed to carry out this new provision. I have called upon the House Banking and Currency Committee to hold oversight hearings and have been assured these will be held.

#### AMTRAK

### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, for a long time our railroad system has been sick. Service has been deteriorating and trains have been taken out of service.

In an effort to maintain skeleton passenger service between key cities, the Rail Passenger Service Act was enacted and Amtrak was established.

But is Amtrak the answer to our problem? Not so in the opinion of Lem Kaercher, editor of the Ortonville Independent in our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District.

Lem is a railroad enthusiast. He has been one since he "rode the rods" as a young man.

Recently, he took a sentimental journey to Florida with his family.

This is what he had to say about that trip:

MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

DEAR FRIENDS, ONE AND ALL: Amtrak! What is it? It is America's first nationwide passenger rail system.

When President Nixon signed the Rail Passenger Service Act, it gave Amtrak the responsibility of managing the country's intercity rail network, which started May 1, 1971.

With son Jim and his family, we made reservations to ride an Amtrak train from Chicago to Miami Beach, thinking it would be an experience, and something different for a change.

And—it was!

But never, never again!

We boarded the 10-car train at 11 o'clock Monday night and soon learned that there were fewer than 100 persons aboard—notwithstanding the fact that they led you to believe you had to have reservations, well in advance.

"Thinking that the train would be "super" in all respects from the passenger trains of a few years ago, we were so disappointed to find it one of the dirtiest trains we have ever ridden on.

And, if all Amtrak trains are like the one we rode, I predict they are doomed to fail.

Amtrak selected the best 1200 cars in the country out of 3,000 passenger cars formerly in service. All are stainless steel.

But not a window on the train had been washed.

You couldn't see out of a single window, not even the dome car.

And the track, especially from Chicago to Indianapolis, was the roughest I think I've ever ridden over. Jim and family had a compartment while I had a slumber coach in the same car.

Having read the evening Chicago Tribune, I rapped on their door, but got no answer. Was going to give them the paper to read.

I awoke Tuesday morning to discover they were in a compartment to the far end of the car. They had not slept a wink all night. Their first compartment was too hot and the train crew could not shut off the heat, so moved them to another room, and later to still another—three times that night—and—when I finally located them, their door was wide open—again, too hot!

Talk about Amtrak!

I, for one, never want to hear about it again.

What an experience!

The only thing that can be said for it that was good, was the food. It was par excellent.

The train was two hours behind time, but



instead of making up time, like trains strove to do years ago, we continued to lose time.

Jim and family got off at Orlando, Wednesday morning, to enjoy Disneyland, while I continued on to Miami, finally arriving at 3 o'clock that afternoon.

As much as I love the rails and would love to see Amtrak succeed, they will soon be finished—UNLESS they comply with many of their promises, some of which include: Cleaner and better trains than in the past; Attentive, courteous personnel, more so than in the past;

Running trains on schedule; Catering to every passenger, as though he owned the train. Etc., etc.

It just may be that the trains running to the coast are better patronized—that they are cleaner—and that the personnel is happy and jovial—not like mourners! I don't know. For the sake of Amtrak, we hope so!

### POLITICAL STRATEGY HELPS SHAPE ADMINISTRATION'S PESTICIDE BILL

#### HON. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, January 22, 1972, there appeared an article in the New York Times which I believe my colleagues will find of considerable interest.

It discussed the extent to which the present administration is willing to compromise its desire for sound long-term legislation to control pesticides, for the sake of short-term political gains.

It is the story of the President's need for "legislative victories" in an election year and the administration's decision to ignore the strong objections of concerned environmentalists because "they will not, for the most part, be voting for the President."

Well, Mr. Speaker, we are all very well aware that this is an election year, and a very important one at that. But, I do not believe that we should turn our backs on an increasingly important problem, the regulation and control of dangerous pesticides, simply because it would be politically expedient to do so.

I sincerely hope that the recent publicity that this issue received in the Times will have an effect—a constructive effect on the final outcome of the pesticide control bill in the Senate.

Because of the importance of this legislation, I insert at this point the article in the RECORD for my colleagues' attention:

POLITICAL STRATEGY HELPS SHAPE ADMINISTRATION'S PESTICIDE BILL

(By E. W. Kenworthy)

WASHINGTON, January 21.—Howard A. Cohen, who handles Congressional affairs for the Environmental Protection Agency, has put together political strategy for the administration on some controversial environmental bills.

Mr. Cohen's confidential memorandum has leaked from Capitol Hill and is causing some glee among Democrats because only two days ago at a news conference, William D. Ruckelshaus, the head of the environmental agency, charged Senator Edmund S. Muskie with playing politics with the environment. The

Senator is chairman of the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution and is the front-runner for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

"We have got to stop this game of political one-upmanship going on regarding the environment," Mr. Ruckelshaus said with some heat. It was impossible, he added, to make rational decisions on what were, after all, technical questions while "this kind of nonsense went on."

#### A DIFFERENT VIEW

It is evident from his strategy statement that Mr. Cohen does not share Mr. Ruckelshaus's desire to make the environment a nonpartisan issue. He circulated the statement, on the stationery of the administrator, at a briefing here Jan. 12 of the agency's 10 regional administrators. He told them, according to one participant, "I will be spending part of my time working for the pre-election of the President."

And he reminded them in the memo that "the President is in an election year and needs some legislative victories." To get action, he said, in one place, the Administration is willing to accept weakening amendments, for example, on the pesticide bill, in order to mollify the bill's opponents and help elect the President and Republican candidates for the House and Senate.

Most instructive and extensive (five pages) is Mr. Cohen's strategy on the pesticide bill. This is a hot issue in the Middle Western and Southern farm states, which are heavily represented in the Senate and House agriculture committees.

#### TOUGH, WITH LOOPHOLES

The Administration sent a draft bill to Congress early last year. It was regarded as tough, even by environmental groups, although they thought it had some loopholes; the House committee weakened it considerably, and its version was passed by the House in November. The Senate committee held brief hearings, and then decided to wait until it got the House bill before going ahead.

In his paper, Mr. Cohen says that the agency must decide whether to seek stiffening amendments in the Senate, and then consult with John Whitaker, the President's environmental aide, "in order for E.P.A. to ascertain the degree, if any, of flexibility which this agency will have in dealing with the Senate committee."

Once the Administration's position is "solidified," Mr. Cohen writes, the agency's spokesman must approach key Republican members of the Senate committee and also those farm state Republicans up for re-election—Jack Miller of Iowa, Carl T. Curtis of Nebraska, Gordon Allott of Colorado, James B. Pearson of Kansas and Clifford P. Hansen of Wyoming—as well as the Republican candidate for the seat of Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota, who is retiring.

#### TWO DEMOCRATS NAMED

Thereupon, Mr. Cohen continues, the agency should approach two Democratic Senators, Herman E. Talmadge of Georgia, chairman of the Agriculture Committee, and James B. Allen of Alabama, chairman of the subcommittee dealing with pesticides, "in an effort to quickly and quietly resolve any differences prior to the bill coming to a vote in the full committee where there sit two announced Democratic challengers to the President—McGovern and Humphrey."

Although the Administration insisted on reopened hearings in the house on Mr. Muskie's water pollution bill last month, Mr. Cohen says, "any further hearings on the [pesticide] bill ought to be avoided, since they would put E.P.A. on the spot in trying to defend the House bill or attacking the House bill as being too weak."

#### "UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES"

"Under no circumstances," he continues, "should E.P.A. attack the pesticide bill as

being too weak. This would cause serious problems for the President in farm states."

The important thing for officials of the environmental agency to remember, Mr. Cohen says, is that "the White House can live with the House bill."

Mr. Cohen acknowledges that "the environmentalists will strongly object to the lack of further hearings," but this should cause no concern since "they will not, for the most part, be voting for the President." Since the House bill is "an improvement over the present law, we can disregard any objections based on the fact that we did not get all we had asked for, Mr. Cohen writes.

Should Democrats from nonfarm states attack the bill as too weak, Mr. Cohen says, the Administration can counter by charging "they are antifarmer and thus want to put too many unnecessary restrictions on the American farmer," or "they are putting their own political interest ahead of the environment by demanding a stronger bill when they know that the House will not go along with them and therefore they are, in effect, killing the bill."

### ABUSE OF THE PRIVILEGE OF A LICENSE TO PRACTICE LAW

#### HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, practicing law for a fee is not a right. It is a privilege, conditioned upon support of the Constitution, the common law, and the continuing obligation of each lawyer as an officer of the court which every attorney is.

Persons who abuse the privilege should have it suspended. If the abuse continues they should be disbarred. Such a person is Attorney William Kunstler who has disgraced the bar, the law and the profession so blatantly, so contemptuously, so publicly, so repeatedly that the general reaction has developed inferring that the bar is either afraid to deal with the Kunstlers, or indifferent, or apathetic, which is about the same thing.

Recently in Pittsburgh, Pa., Kunstler made it clear all over again. He declared:

I hate the law. The Judicial decree has replaced the assassin, etc.

This man should be disbarred without further delay for he willfully and repeatedly disgraces the honorable profession of the law.

In this connection I recommend the reading of James J. Kilpatrick's column in tonight's Washington Star. How much longer is the organized bar to tolerate this abuse of the lawyer's privilege?

The article follows:

#### FALLACY OF RADICAL LEFT'S TWISTED REASONING

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

PITTSBURGH.—We touch gloves. It is expected of antagonists before they come out fighting—a teaspoon of harmony to cool approaching discord. For a few moments, backstage, we sip on small talk, not speaking of Bill Buckley, not mentioning Judge Hoffman, keeping a careful distance; and so the debate begins.

This is our third match. We met at Vanderbilt, two or three years ago; we tangled later on at Oklahoma. Now it is Pittsburgh, in the university's little jewel of an auditorium. In this corner, William Kunstler—lawyer, defender of the poor, counsel to the Movement. And on your right, the Southern journalist, conservative columnist and self-styled Whig: Me.

"Resolved, that decisions of the Warren Court have tended to protect criminals at the expense of law-abiding citizens and of society in general."

The affirmative goes first in these sawdust affairs, and the rule is to paw twice at the question before seeking a hold. Thus a small tribute to Kunstler: A dedicated lawyer. The adjective is noncommittal. Kunstler knows it. Then a suggestion that lawyer and newspaperman, disagree though they may on particular opinions, share a respect for the law itself. For my own part, I say, before tackling *Miranda v. Arizona*, "I love the law." Twenty minutes later it is Kunstler's turn.

"I hate the law," he begins, and he tracks his leonine head around the balconies, cold-eyed, a twin battery of five-inch guns. He drops the words as heavily as shells: "I hate the law."

"I know the law," says Kunstler. "It is used to oppress those who threaten the ruling class. The judicial decree has replaced the assassin . . . I remain a lawyer, I stay with the law, only because the law is maneuverable, it can be manipulated. But in the future?"

Kunstler leaves the question hanging. He recalls what Fidel Castro once said in a great speech: "I thought the law could be used in order to change the system. I found it could not be so used in Cuba, and therefore I went into the Sierra Maestra."

The debate, as it turned out, collapsed in misjoinder. In Kunstler's view, the Warren court "did nothing for individual liberties." Whatever it might have built, in any event, was now being dismantled by the court under Burger. Those "two new constitutional subversives," Powell and Rehnquist, would complete the job. The *Miranda* rule already lay in ruins, the prohibition against self-incrimination had been further abridged, the protections of habeas corpus were being destroyed.

The particular cases and opinions to one side, it was Kunstler's acid view of the law itself that set in motion an uneasy train of thought: "I despise the law; I loathe the law." To judge from a recent article in the *Washington Post*, it is a view widely shared by Movement lawyers.

"The System must be changed." That is their first premise. "The System cannot be changed successfully by law. That is their second. Therefore, goes the syllogistic conclusion, the System must be changed by other than lawful means."

The monstrous fallacy of the Movement's twisted reasoning ought to be exposed. In the name of restoring liberty, in the name of ending oppression, the Radical Left would have us change from a society based on law—to what? To a society of no law? Or to a society of their law? If the rule of law itself should be despised, why should we then love the law of Mr. Justice Kunstler? Yet a society of no law is no society; it is no more than a jungle, ruled by brutish beasts.

To love the rule of law is not to minimize its imperfections. These abound. But to suppose that human liberty can survive without social order is to suppose the impossible. We debate this night, he and I, because there is law—law that frees, law that restrains. To hate the law is to hate the freedom it secures. Out of the poisoned spring of such hatred, only tyranny can flow.

## THE RIGHT TO OWN GOLD

### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, the world monetary system of today is not a natural growth, as was the old international gold standard, but is an arbitrary and artificial scheme developed by monetary bureaucrats, the governmental equivalents of those who developed urban renewal, agricultural price supports, and the war on poverty.

These bureaucrats, of course, differed among themselves. Some wanted inconvertible paper currencies free to fluctuate in the foreign exchange markets and "managed" by each country's own bureaucrats, solely in accordance with the "needs of its domestic economy." Others wanted "exchange stability," which meant fixed values for each currency in relation to the others. One of them, however, wanted constant convertibility of his country's currency by any holder into a fixed weight of gold on demand. That had been the essence of the traditional gold standard.

The gold standard demanded a certain responsibility which has long been absent from international economics. If a country overexpanded its money and credit and pushed down interest rates, it immediately began to lose gold. This forced it to raise interest rates again and contract its currency and credit. A deficit in balance of payments was quickly and almost automatically corrected. The debtor country lost what the creditor country gained. Today, this is not the case.

In an important article, economist Henry Hazlitt notes that:

Despite the fact that no immediate agreement can be found among the world's monetary managers, there is one immediate and indispensable reform that all who believe in a basic individual freedom, regardless of their specific monetary views, should be able to unite on. This is for every country and above all the United States, to remove the prohibition on the right of private citizens to own, buy, sell, or make contracts in gold.

Mr. Hazlitt points out that:

If the prohibition against private citizens holding gold were removed, the consequences would be immediate, and they would not be trivial. American citizens would have a major way, prohibited to them now, of protecting their savings against the further erosion in value of an irredeemable paper dollar.

Recently, Prof. Milton Friedman declared in an article in *Newsweek* magazine that:

The nationalization of gold "was for one purpose and one purpose only: to keep private individuals from profiting by the rise in the dollar price of gold that the government deliberately engineered. Private holders of gold were required to turn their gold over to the U.S. Treasury at \$20.67 an ounce when the market price was well above this sum."

Professor Friedman declared that:

This was an act of expropriation of private property in no way different in principle

from Castro's nationalization of U.S. owned factories and other properties without compensation . . . As a nation, we do not have a leg to stand on when we object to these acts of expropriation. We did precisely the same thing to the residents of the U.S.

The gold standard may not be perfect, yet it remains the only alternative to the irrational and unworkable system we have today. Mr. Hazlitt points out that:

If citizens once again had the right to own gold, gold would become both an international money of account and a de facto international money, whether it was officially "monetized" or not.

I wish to share Henry Hazlitt's article with my colleagues, and insert it into the *RECORD* at this time:

#### THE RIGHT TO OWN GOLD

(By Henry Hazlitt)

The dilemma we face today is not merely that the international monetary system is drifting into more and more disorder, but that no agreement can be found among the world's monetary managers, or even among professional economists, regarding what a sound monetary system ought to be.

There is (1) the dispute between those who advocate some sort of gold standard and those who want gold to play no monetary role whatever; and (2) the dispute between those who want "flexible" or "floating" rates for national currencies and those who want fixed rates. And even among the latter, there is no agreement on precisely what the various fixed rates should be.

But there is one immediate and indispensable reform that all who believe in a basic individual freedom, regardless of their specific monetary views, should be able to unite on. This is for every country, and above all the United States, to remove the prohibition on the right of private citizens to own, buy, sell, or make contracts in gold. (Such prohibitions, in fact, exist mostly in Communist-controlled countries, such as Albania, Bulgaria, Cuba, East Germany, Hungary, Rumania and the USSR. Exceptions are Ceylon, India, Libya, Malaysia, Mali and Rhodesia.)

When President Roosevelt announced on March 6, 1933, that the nation's Federal Reserve notes and gold certificates would no longer be convertible into gold, nor gold-bond obligations paid in gold, he broke the explicit pledge of the United States government, and he abrogated private contracts. He then, with the help of Congress, made it illegal for American residents to hold gold.

The real culprits were declared to be those who had taken the government at its pledged word, and had already redeemed some of their paper money in gold. They were ordered to turn back the gold under criminal penalties for failure.

The initial excuse was that, if conversion continued to be permitted, the government would be drained of its gold stocks. But as Milton Friedman and other economists have pointed out, when these decrees were issued in 1933, the U.S. gold stock was higher relative to the total quantity of money than at any time since the Federal Reserve System was established in 1914.

The price of gold was fixed in early 1934 at \$35 an ounce in order to devalue the dollar relative to other currencies and so raise the dollar prices of American farm products and other exports. The rise in the price of gold (plus fears of the intentions of Hitler's Germany) produced a flood of gold into the U.S. From 1934 to 1940, the U.S. gold stock more than tripled.

As Prof. Friedman has put it, this "nationalization" of gold was for one purpose and one purpose only: to keep private individuals



from profiting by the rise in the dollar price of gold that the government had deliberately engineered. Private holders of gold were required to turn their gold over to the U.S. Treasury at \$20.67 an ounce when the market price was well above that sum. This was a bare-faced expropriation of private property.

Later, when at Bretton Woods the International Monetary Fund was set up foreign central banks were allowed to convert their paper dollars into gold at \$35 an ounce; but the prohibition against American citizens' attempting to do so, or even holding gold bullion of any kind, was continued.

The excuse continued to be that if American citizens were allowed this right, they might drain the Treasury of so much gold that it could not fulfill its solemn obligation to convert into gold for foreign central banks. But now that the United States government has repudiated and defaulted on even this pledge, the last excuse for depriving private citizens of the right to own or hold gold has been wiped out.

Congressman Philip Crane (R.-Ill.) has introduced a bill repealing the prohibition on the ownership, purchase, or sale of gold by private individuals. It is not merely the advocates of an eventual return to the gold standard who should support this bill, but everybody, no matter what his monetary theories, who is opposed to an inexcusable restriction on individual freedom.

The disparagers of the gold standard have been saying for years that gold may be all very well for wedding rings and filling teeth, but that there is no reason for giving it a different legal or economic status than any other metal or, for that matter, any other commodity.

But if they really believe this, what possible excuse can they give to justify prohibiting private citizens from owning it and trading in it, as they are free to own and trade in platinum, silver, nickel, copper, iron, wheat, cotton, stocks and bonds? Isn't it about time American law ceased treating gold as if it were a dangerous drug or poison, equivalent to heroin or arsenic?

If the prohibition against private citizens holding gold were removed, the consequences would be immediate, and they would not be trivial. American citizens would have a major way, prohibited to them now, of protecting their savings against the further erosion in value of an irredeemable paper dollar.

This erosion in value, it must be emphasized, is not accidental; it is the result of the deliberate policy of the federal government in recklessly spending far beyond the level to which it dares to tax, financing its chronic deficits by printing more fiat money, making this fiat money the sole legal tender, systematically depreciating the value of this sole legal tender—in brief, systematically swindling its own people.

The real present reason for prohibiting its citizens from owning gold is precisely to prevent them from having this recourse to protect their savings and thereby spoiling the government's game of continuous swindle.

Another consequence of restoring the right to own gold would be the immediate creation of a really free gold market, here and abroad. (I am assuming that the U.S. Treasury itself would neither depress nor support the market; that it would neither buy nor sell gold, but simply hold on to its present \$10-billion gold stock, which some day it will need desperately.)

Once free gold markets came into existence, the price of gold would vary from day to day in terms of national paper currencies. It would reflect the extent of their depreciation. But gold would become both an international money of account and a de facto international money, whether it was officially "monetized" anywhere or not.

Exporters and investors would insist on being paid in terms of gold. International and even domestic contracts—especially long-term contracts—would be made increasingly

in terms of gold, for the simple reason that this is the only currency that anyone would trust.

And when this practice became widespread, as we can assume it would, individual governments would find it to their advantage to put their currencies back on a gold basis by making their currency unit convertible on demand into a fixed weight of gold. It is in this way that the gold standard is most likely to be restored.

It may be doubted that a true gold standard will ever be restored by an elaborate multilateral international agreement among governments, equivalent to a new IMF. The politicians and their appointees, the central bankers, will want to perpetuate the power to manage, manipulate and debase their own currencies; they will never willingly give it up.

The gold standard may fall short of some imaginable perfection, but its priceless merit is precisely that it is the only alternative to a currency governed by the schemes and caprices of the politicians.

### THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF A SEVERANCE TAX ON KENTUCKY COAL

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, Kentucky is emerging as the Nation's leading State in the production of coal. And since this mineral resource is so crucial to the Nation's ever-increasing energy demand, there is nearly universal interest in the health of the coal mining industry.

Accordingly, I am inserting in the Record for the benefit of my colleagues, a summation of an important study, published in January, concerning the economic impact of a severance tax on Kentucky's coal mining industry.

This study, prepared at the suggestion of the Kentucky General Assembly's Interim Committee on Appropriations and Revenue, was written by Curtis E. Harvey and Philip J. Karst of the University of Kentucky's Office of Business Development and Government Services. The report was published by the Kentucky Legislative Research Commission.

The significant finding of this extensive and well-documented study is that—

A levy on coal is feasible and could produce substantial amounts of revenue without undue hardship to the coal industry, to employment, or to the economy of the regions that support it.

The authors report that they "found no evidence to substantiate the frequently heard allegation that a severance tax on coal would spell the demise of the industry or for the regions that support it."

Mr. Speaker, I insert the following summary in the RECORD:

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study examines the economic impact of imposing a severance tax on Kentucky mined coal. The need for this study arises from the intention of state legislators and executive officials to propose such a tax for the purpose of raising additional revenues. The authors of this study were not asked to adjudicate the fairness or wisdom of imposing such a tax, but merely to examine its

economic impact. They were asked to consider the tax as a given, but variable, factor in their analysis.

The study finds that a levy on coal is feasible and could produce substantial amounts of revenue without undue hardship to the coal industry, to employment, or to the economy of the regions that support it. This prognosis is based on the conclusion that in the short run, the demand for and supply of Kentucky coal are insensitive to moderate tax induced changes in price, and that in the long run, the dynamic growth elements of an expanding demand will offset any minor short run quantity adjustments. And although the demand for a portion of Western Kentucky's coal appears to be price sensitive, the imposition of a tax would probably affect this part of the industry only slightly; as a consequence, total tax revenues would probably remain unaffected.

A severance tax of equal burden on all mine operators in Kentucky would necessarily have to be a tax of unequal dollar amounts per ton of coal mined—higher for Eastern than for Western Kentucky. Since the average price per ton of coal is higher in the former, a uniform ad valorem (value) tax rate would imply a higher per unit tax in Eastern than in Western Kentucky. From an equity standpoint, such a uniform rate is clearly preferable to a single per unit rate which would impose a greater hardship on the Western part of the state. If, however, the principle of an equal tax rate is abandoned in favor of an unequal rate, then the study results suggest that Eastern Kentucky could support a higher ad valorem rate than Western Kentucky. That is, a moderately differentiated ad valorem tax rate could be used.

Because transportation costs enter significantly into the delivered price of coal, a severance tax represents a smaller percentage increase in the final costs to users than its f.o.b. mine price suggests. Thus the fact that the actual tax rate as a percent of the delivered price of coal is less than the assessed rate further supports the conclusion that the demand for Kentucky coal is essentially insensitive to moderate changes in price.

The authors of this study found no evidence to substantiate the frequently heard allegation that a severance tax on coal would spell the demise of the industry or of the regions that support it. On the contrary, the characteristics of the demand for and supply of Kentucky coal are such that practically the entire burden of the tax would eventually fall in the form of higher prices on the users of coal, most of which reside outside the Commonwealth. Since 86 percent of Kentucky's coal is exported, and because the demand for this coal is rapidly expanding and is insensitive to changes in price, the frequently noted argument that the burden of the tax can be exported is essentially correct. This makes a severance tax on coal appear to be a particularly attractive source of revenue.

### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 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?

WALL STREET JOURNAL PRAISES  
HON. WAYNE ASPINALL

## HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, on January 21, 1972, the Wall Street Journal featured a front page story about our friend and colleague from the State of Colorado, WAYNE ASPINALL. Since the story relates the many contributions of this dedicated man, I think that it merits the attention of every Member of Congress and it follows my remarks.

More of the Nation's outdoor resources have been protected under WAYNE ASPINALL's leadership than during any other period in our history, with the possible exception of the first decade of the century when huge areas were set aside without any congressional review.

WAYNE ASPINALL's contributions to the cause of conservation have not been limited to protecting the Nation's most scenic areas, but have extended into other fields. He has worked long and hard to conserve and develop the water resources of the West and he has made many contributions to the wise use and development of other natural resource values.

As pointed out in the article which follows, WAYNE ASPINALL is his own man. He thinks for himself. We who have worked closely with him are impressed by his "unquestioned integrity, hard work, and mastery of the legislative process."

WAYNE ASPINALL is one of the outstanding legislators of the House. He loves and understands the legislative process. This body has been his profession and his hobby. No one works harder for the people of the Nation and for his people at home. Of course, he is powerful, as the Wall Street Journal article indicates, but he uses that power in the interest of all of the people of the country.

It has been my pleasure to serve as a member of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, chaired by WAYNE ASPINALL, since coming to Congress 11½ years ago. For me, this has been a pleasant, educational, and rewarding experience. I, for one, am glad that our Nation has a man of WAYNE ASPINALL's ability, experience, dedication, and character in Congress.

The aforementioned article follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 21, 1972]  
U.S. PRESIDENTS COME AND GO, BUT THE  
POWER OF REPRESENTATIVE ASPINALL PERSISTS  
(By Dennis Farney)

WASHINGTON.—Wayne N. Aspinall was on his high horse.

There on Lyndon Johnson's White House desk was a proposal urging the President to invoke an obscure law called the Antiquities Act of 1906 and add over seven million acres to the national park system by fiat. Seven million acres without going through Congress! Without going through Congressman Wayne N. Aspinall! Mr. Aspinall got on the horn.

Set aside those acres, the Democrat from Western Colorado told the mighty LBJ, but he, Mr. Aspinall, would make sure Congress took its sweet time about appropriating the money to administer them.

Mr. Aspinall, a crusty, plain-talking man, is recounting the confrontation from a big blue leather chair in his office. Well, he continues, Mr. Johnson thought things over for several days. Finally the President said, "Wayne, I have to do something. I'm going to add 350,000 acres instead of 7 million." A smile wrinkles Mr. Aspinall's 75-year-old face. "And then he said, 'What's your position on that?'"

"And I (a chuckle from the blue leather chair) said: 'Still you don't get any money.'"

Wayne Aspinall always keeps his word. His House committee is still holding up some of that money. It would be exaggerating to say Mr. Aspinall's opposition was the only reason the President scaled down that ambitious proposal in the waning days of his administration. But it would be hard to exaggerate the power of this proud and prickly congressional elder, an ex-peach-grower and ex-schoolteacher, to put his personal stamp on a broad range of environmental legislation. Presidents come and go: since 1958 Mr. Aspinall has remained chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

## "I'M NOT A NATIONAL FIGURE"

That makes him a key man to see on every national park proposal, every wilderness proposal, every one of the giant reclamation projects that generate power and irrigate the West. When the 37 men and one woman of his committee gather around the sweeping horseshoe-shaped table in their ornate committee room (a gold-framed portrait of Mr. Aspinall hanging over the marble fireplace), they can preserve wilderness or exploit it commercially, dam rivers or let them run wild, settle a picayune Indian claim or give 40 million acres of federal land to the Eskimos and other Alaskan natives.

For all this power, Mr. Aspinall remains little-known outside Colorado and anything but a lion of the Washington cocktail circuit. His life revolves around work and family. He was deeply shaken when Julia, his wife of 49 years died in 1969; he married a grade-school chum, Essie Best, in 1970. Essie, in fact, was his first date back in Palisade, Col., early in the century. A recent social column in The Washington Star reported they often spend evenings playing gin rummy or watching television. "I know" he volunteers, "I'm not a national or an international figure."

No matter. Mr. Aspinall's congressional district in northern and western Colorado, heavily dependent upon mining, logging and ranching, has been sending him to Congress since 1948, although sometimes by narrow margins. And so, in what one critical committee member calls a classic example of "the ability of the seniority system and chairmen to give regions and industry an unwarranted amount of power," Mr. Aspinall has risen to influence—and controversy.

"Rep. Wayne Aspinall has demonstrated time and again the power of his position to influence the timing, character and outcome of almost all environmental legislation," contends the book of case studies, "Congress and the Environment," which is authored by several academicians and published by the University of Washington Press. And "because of his particular philosophy and outlook, as well as his close alignments with various economic interests, that power has been used almost exclusively in a negative way."

## "DREAM AFTER DREAM DASHED"

Environmentalists blame Mr. Aspinall for "the 1984 clause" in the Wilderness Act. It keeps wilderness areas vulnerable to mining operations until midnight, Dec. 31, 1983. He was for a dam that would have backed water into Grand Canyon National Park. He was against a big redwoods national park. Almost singlehanded, he has kept the Mining Law of 1872 on the books, despite contentions that it is outmoded and environmentally destructive. He's frankly for exploitation of natural resources. He's outspokenly against, as he told a recent convention of big-dam people, "the ecology binge as prac-

ticed by the lunatic fringe of the environmental movement."

Says environmental militant David Brower: "We have seen dream after dream dashed on the stony continents of Wayne Aspinall."

But Mr. Aspinall draws strong praise as well. Congressmen and Senators of all stripes cite his unquestioned integrity, hard work and mastery of the legislative process. More surprisingly, perhaps, he draws some praise from arch-conservationists, too.

"You have to give this guy credit," volunteers a generally critical member of Mr. Aspinall's committee. "He's never gotten himself into any position where he couldn't be fiercely independent and totally his own man. At 75, he puts in more work than 90% of the members of the House."

The 1960s saw major additions to the national park system and, of course, every addition was eventually approved and later sponsored in the House by Mr. Aspinall's committee. Further, Mr. Aspinall played a strong role in winning House approval for the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, a mechanism for financing additions to state and national park systems. All in all, says a battle-scarred conservation lobbyist, "we could have looked a hell of a lot stronger and farther (for a chairman) and done a hell of a lot worse."

Unquestionably, Mr. Aspinall has done a lot for his district and the entire West. For example, he already has steered through Congress a staggering total of more than \$5 billion worth of big-dam authorizations—enough dams to make a wilderness-lover shudder, so many it may take 20 years to build them all.

## NEITHER VILLAIN NOR HERO

Mr. Aspinall is admitting to being neither villain nor hero as he sits talking in his quiet office. Always a punctual man (he used to schedule two-minute appointments at odd times like 3:42 and 10:53 until secretaries dissuaded him), he has set aside 20 minutes for this interview. In about 12 minutes, however, he'll cut things off with a cordial, "Now, my time is up." Right now, though, he's talking political philosophy.

He sees himself as a balancer of conflicting interests. "All people generally are selfish. Some are destructively selfish." Every group can be expected to try to legally advance its self-interest just as far as possible. Somebody has to draw the line. Mr. Aspinall sees himself as that somebody.

"I've just never been able to put myself in the position of people who are selfish... even to the point of locking things up for their own selfish interests," he says. "Just as I've never been able to put myself in the position of those who want to do things for the selfish interest of making a dollar. So I find myself out of step with the extremists on all sides of this issue. I'm just not an extremist."

Mr. Aspinall's definition of conservation remains the definition of Theodore Roosevelt: The wise use of resources. He believes resources are there to be exploited, though the form that exploitation takes can be anything from a national park to a copper mine. Increasingly, though, the public definition of conservation has shifted toward the preservation of resources in the form of wilderness. Mr. Aspinall defines himself as a "conservationist"—but not, emphatically, as a "preservationist."

## THE GREAT WILDERNESS FIGHT

He sees the latter as big-city types who want to set aside vast areas of beautiful countryside to play upon—somebody else's countryside. "I've just never been able to understand how you could play at somebody else's expense all the time," he says. His palm slaps down. "How you could protect the ecology at somebody else's expense all the time." Slap. "How you could have the good things of life without a mutual acceptance of the obligation for payment for those things."

Politically, the new breed of conservation-



ists have drawn their strongest support from the big cities. They've had more support in the White House than in Congress, more support in the Senate than the House. Their staunchest foes have been Eastern Congressmen, acutely sensitive to the economies of their districts. Traditionally, Mr. Aspinall's committee has reflected these Western, commercial interests. And Mr. Aspinall, a Westerner with what a friend calls "a philosophical identification with the committee," has reflected them in concentrated form.

Nowhere was this more evident than in the great wilderness fight. It saw Mr. Aspinall's committee block wilderness bills for years, despite overwhelming support in the Senate and prodding from two Presidents.

After President Kennedy endorsed the concept, a strong wilderness bill rolled through the Senate in 1961 by a vote of 78 to 8. But Mr. Aspinall's committee sat on the bill well into 1962, finally reporting out a version that wilderness advocates considered worse than no bill at all. Chairman Aspinall further infuriated them by attempting to ram this bill through under a parliamentary procedure that permitted no amendments from the House floor, where prowilderness sentiment was stronger than in the committee. When Speaker McCormack denied this request, apparently moved by a deluge of protesting letters and vitriolic editorials, an angry Mr. Aspinall took the floor.

"Extremists," he said, "... have created an atmosphere which makes impossible the enactment of any wilderness legislation during this Congress." Then he went home to Colorado. The bill was dead for another session.

#### MAKING A DEAL

In 1963 another strong bill breezed through the Senate and bogged down again in Mr. Aspinall's committee. The preservationists struck a deal. They agreed to support an Aspinall bill to create a commission to review management practices on the nation's public lands. He agreed to report out a wilderness bill and permit amendments from the House floor. In 1964 the preservationists finally got their bill. Put had they compromised too much to get it?

"In hindsight," says former Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, "I think the pro-wilderness people gave up too much, and that he (Mr. Aspinall) really shellacked them on it."

The preservationists had begun in the 1950s by seeking 55 million acres of wilderness; they got 9.1 million, with provisions for possibly getting an additional 5.5 million acres. They accepted "the 1984 clause." They had favored the Senate version of the bill, which empowered the President to designate additional wilderness areas subject to congressional veto; the final version, at Mr. Aspinall's insistence, reverses the process. Any additions will have to run the congressional gauntlet.

Mr. Aspinall, a quintessential man of the Congress, thinks that's only proper. One of his proudest boasts is that he's never lost a committee bill on the House floor. In fact, his only defeat of that kind came long ago in the Colorado legislature. He still remembers the margin: three votes. (He had it won, he muses, then the lobbyists got to somebody.)

"Wayne's an old schoolteacher," says one committee member, "and for years he ran his committee the same way." Even today, for example, Mr. Aspinall's secretaries write it down when a committee member cuts a meeting or shows up tardy. Mr. Aspinall expects members to "do their homework." He doesn't like dumb questions, and he has been known to snap at people who ask them.

So the committee room took on certain aspects of an unruly classroom a few years ago, when younger Democratic committee members began resisting Mr. Aspinall's authoritarian way of running things. The insurgents were members of the liberal House Democratic Study Group, and they had

sought seats on the committee because the DSG wanted to dilute the panel's traditional conservatism. They quickly rubbed Mr. Aspinall the wrong way.

"Wayne thought he could ride roughshod over them, and he did," says a Republican committee member. "I used to feel sorry for them." Conservatives dubbed the newcomers the Crazyes. But before long the Crazyes were plotting revolution.

Their ringleader was Rep. Phillip Burton (D. Calif.), who says it all began when he made the mistake of going to the rest room.

Mr. Burton was trying to add an amendment to a bill under consideration by the committee. Mr. Aspinall was presiding when Mr. Burton found it necessary to excuse himself. "My amendment," he says, "was deleted while I was in the can. ... That was the trigger mechanism."

#### A BIPARTISAN REVOLT

Mr. Burton rallied the Democratic liberals, and the liberals then approached Republicans chafing under the tight rein of their minority leader, Rep. John Saylor of Pennsylvania. The Republicans accepted the Democrat's proposition: join forces to curb both Mr. Aspinall and Mr. Saylor and to authorize the Republicans to hire some staff.

The result was a series of changes approved by majority votes when the committee organized itself for the 92nd Congress last January. Subcommittee chairmen got somewhat greater independence of Mr. Aspinall in the scheduling of hearings. The Republicans got their minority staff. And no longer do Mr. Aspinall and Mr. Saylor determine the delegations to House-Senate conference committees; now that's up to the respective party caucuses.

Friends of Mr. Aspinall say the changes caught him by surprise—and hurt him painfully. But committee members say that once he realized he was outvoted he offered little resistance. One story has it that after the votes, an embarrassed insurgent said: "Now Wayne, go ahead and run the committee as you always have." To which Mr. Aspinall reportedly replied: "You wrote the rules. I'll abide by them."

Rules are important to Mr. Aspinall. "I've always believed the majority has a right to rule," he says, discussing the incident in his office. "They had the opportunity to make the changes and inasmuch as this was their will ... I abided by it."

Then he looks directly at his visitor and continues:

"And the next question you should ask, if you're following through, is, what have been the results? And I would say, a slowdown. A slowdown in the work."

"And the next question you should ask is, what has been the caliber of the work? And I would say, no better than it was before." (And no worse, he later adds.)

"You cannot have a lot of people calling the signals and still have the dispatch."

Other committee members disagree over just what the rule changes did to committee dispatch. Ironically, though, they generally agree that the total effect on committee operations hasn't been very dramatic.

Mr. Burton, a subcommittee chairman, has more leeway now, and Mr. Aspinall seems more responsive to his Democratic committee members. But the liberal reformers have a lot of other irons in the fire, and those careful attendance records, still being compiled by Mr. Aspinall's secretaries, find them among the poorest attenders of committee meetings. The best attender is Mr. Aspinall and, rule changes or not, he seems very much in charge of things.

"Still, a friend worries that the uprising disheartened Mr. Aspinall and wonders if he'll run again next November. "It's a different world up there now," the friend says. "It's just not as happy a world as it was."

Mr. Aspinall says he'll make that decision when the time comes, and if he's disheart-

ened he isn't talking about it. But it may be that he's more reflective now. Or so it seems as he sits looking back from the vantage point of that big leather chair. He is talking about mistakes he has made.

"I would say with regard to my operating procedures that I have sometimes been too quick with administrators in government and with some of my colleagues ... too short with them," he says thoughtfully. The old schoolteacher might be grading himself. "I'm quite short with people who won't do their homework, in other words. This has led to a situation where people haven't quite understood. ..."

Then, a minute or two later he asks: "Well, is that about it?" And, punctual as always, he sees his visitor to the door.

PETER G. PETERSON, NIXON'S  
"ECONOMIC KISSINGER," NAMED  
SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Nixon administration continues to move closer and closer to a position openly in favor of one world government.

The latest indication of this growing shift in the administration public posture is the announcement of the President's choice to assume the role of Secretary of Commerce, a position left vacant by the resignation of Maurice Stans to become fundraising chairman for the President's reelection campaign.

Peter G. Peterson, Nixon's choice for the Commerce post, has been called the "economic Kissinger." He has served the President for the past year as Presidential Assistant for International Economic Affairs and Executive Director of the new Council on International Economic Policy.

Peterson also serves on the Board of Directors of the United Nations Association of the U.S.A., an organization that enjoys preferential tax status while actually advancing the interests of a quasi-alien government—the United Nations—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 92d Congress, second session, pages 1697-1699.

Nixon is reported to have said that this "experience—would serve him well at the Commerce Department, the top U.S. agency for trade and other business affairs."

The news article does not indicate exactly how this "experience" in advancing the cause of world economy would benefit a man charged with the responsibility of the commerce of the United States.

I include a related news article in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Evening Star, Jan. 28, 1972]

STANS SUCCESSOR: PETERSON NAMED TO  
CABINET

Peter G. Peterson, a native of Nebraska who has been making his mark in the business world ever since he got out of college in Chicago, is the new secretary of Commerce.

Peterson, 45, succeeded Maurice Stans, 63, who resigned yesterday to become fundraising chairman for President Nixon's re-

election campaign. Stans served in a similar capacity in Nixon's 1968 campaign.

The President thinks so highly of Stans and Peterson that he personally announced the news about the two men yesterday. He also announced that Peter Flanigan, 48, a former Wall Street investment banker and a White House aide since April 1969, would succeed Peterson as his "economic Kissinger."

Peterson, former chairman and chief executive officer of Bell and Howell Co. of Chicago, has been known as the "economic Kissinger" since he came to Washington a year ago to be a presidential assistant for international economic affairs and executive director of the new Council on International Economic Policy.

He was referred to in this manner because his position as White House adviser on trade and other world economic matters paralleled the national security position of presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger.

Nixon said that Peterson's experience in this field would serve him well at the Commerce Department, the top U.S. agency for trade and other business affairs.

He said that Peterson "will be able as secretary of Commerce to carry on many of the ideas he has worked on" at the White House.

Peterson told reporters he planned to spend much of his time in an attempt to make American business more competitive in world markets. "Ultimately how we fare in the 1970s and 1980s will depend upon our ability to compete," he said.

Nixon described Stans as one of his closest friends and said he had "served splendidly" as a member of the Cabinet.

Peterson, born in Kearney, Neb., on June 5, 1926, was graduated summa cum laude from Northwestern University in 1947. In 1951, he received a masters in business administration with honors from the University of Chicago.

In 1952, he became executive vice president of Market Facts, a Chicago firm specializing in marketing counsel and product research.

The following year, at the age of 27, he became a vice president and then general manager of the Chicago office of the advertising firm of McCann-Erickson.

In 1958, he joined Bell and Howell as executive vice president and director. Three years later, at the age of 34, he was elected president of the company and two years after that, he became the chief executive officer.

For the three years before he came to Washington in 1971, he served as both chief executive officer and chairman of the board.

#### CORRECTION OF THE RECORD ON RIEGLE LEGISLATION

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

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 1, 1972*

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, on January 27, H.R. 12721 was introduced in my name. This bill would provide the Secretary of Commerce with the authority to make grants to States, counties, and local communities to pay for up to one-half of the costs of training programs for firemen.

Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to state for the public record that I did not introduce this bill nor did any member of my congressional staff authorize its introduction. Somehow there was an administrative mixup outside my office which I have been unable

to trace. I am sending a letter to my distinguished colleague, Mr. MILLER of California, chairman of the House Science and Astronautics Committee, disavowing any connection with this piece of legislation.

#### BUTZ: BELIEVER IN AMERICA'S FARMER

**HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS**

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 1, 1972*

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to call to the attention of my colleagues an article written by Mr. Jerry Fetterolf, a widely respected agricultural writer for the Wichita Eagle newspaper.

Jerry Fetterolf is known and respected by farmers throughout Kansas as being able to separate the "grain from the chaff" regarding news concerning agriculture. His keen ability to get the "story behind the story" has become his personal trademark in agricultural journalism.

In the January 16 issue of the Wichita Eagle and Beacon newspaper, Mr. Fetterolf wrote an in-depth article concerning the new Secretary of Agriculture, Dr. Earl L. Butz. Many in Washington have stated that Secretary Butz has the toughest job in Washington.

It is obvious to anyone interested in agriculture and aware of "farm politics," that the farm "verdict" on the Secretary's efforts in behalf of rural and small-town America is still out. However, it is equally obvious that Earl Butz has become a most aggressive and enthusiastic spokesman for agriculture. There may be disagreement on what approaches we should take to improve farm income in our rural areas, but I think we should give credit where credit is due and commend the Secretary on recognizing this need and making a personal commitment to revitalize rural and smalltown America.

At the time of Secretary Butz confirmation hearings, I stated we need a farmer, a fighter, and a salesman for agriculture. In a very short time since assuming his awesome responsibilities, Secretary Butz has proven his ability as a fighter for farm interests by the release of a half billion dollars in agriculture funds and in announcing new innovative programs to deal with depressed farm conditions and overproduction.

As a salesman, Secretary Butz is focusing national attention on the plight of the farmer. His recent appearance in my congressional district before the Salina Chamber of Commerce was testimony to the fact he takes time out of his busy schedule to tell the farmer's story to both urban and rural citizens across our country.

I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues. I think it shows that while many of us interested in agriculture may have differences concerning policy, that our new Secretary of Agriculture is a concerned activist in behalf of the farmer.

The article follows:

[From the Wichita Eagle and the Beacon, Jan. 16, 1972]

#### BUTZ: BELIEVER IN AMERICA'S FARMER

Eagle Agriculture Writer Jerry Fetterolf last week spent two days with Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz as Butz met with farmers and stockmen in Denver, Topeka and Salina. Here is his analysis of Butz' philosophies as gleaned from an exclusive interview and an examination of how farmers reacted to the controversial secretary's policies.

Dr. Earl L. Butz has no illusions about either his popularity or the complexities and frustrations of his job.

He admits frankly that although he realizes the difficulties and thankless aspects of the position, "I just didn't feel like I could refuse" the appointment by President Nixon.

I watched and listened to the new secretary through three speeches, three press conferences, numerous meetings with private and public individuals—and spent nearly an hour in private conversation with him—during the 24 hours he spent in Kansas and Colorado Wednesday and Thursday.

The most solid impression is that he takes his job more seriously than he takes himself. He has a fine, quick and highly trained intelligence—but he refrains from overpowering his listeners with either his extensive economic background and training, or his obvious ability to speak in terms that might confuse.

Although he is 62, his staff, some of whom are no more than half his age, confesses the average 16-hour day he has maintained since his confirmation in office is wearying.

He does his own thinking and maintains his own philosophies. And yet an unswerving loyalty to President Nixon and a devotion to bettering the economic and cultural levels of rural America and agriculture sound in most of his speeches and conversations.

"We have the same goal—to better farm income," Butz told the National Association of Wheat Growers in Denver Wednesday.

"If we have differences, it is in the means we should use to bring this about," he added.

"When the President gave me my assignment, he told me he wanted me to do whatever is necessary to bring income of farmers and rural America to a respectable level.

"I asked him how he wanted me to accomplish this, but he said, 'That is your problem.' He only sets policy—I have to carry it out."

Although he has spent a major portion of his life in the classrooms at Purdue University, where he was a professor of agricultural economics, dean of the school of agriculture and dean of continuing education, Butz gives little of the professorial image in public.

His statements in public are likely to be sprinkled generously with colloquial expressions, dropped G's on the ends of words and an almost Lincolnian humor.

About transportation tieups and dock strikes he said:

"I'm tired of farmers getting bloodied between the eyes in somebody else's scrap."

He referred to the estimated billion dollars in farm income lost to farmers by delays or lack of delivery of farm products into international trade because of the West Coast and Gulf-Eastern Seaboard dock strikes which have hampered international farm trade since last July.

He strongly advocated quick passage of Senate Bill 560, the proposed law backed by the administration and called the Dole-Griffin Bill—or the Emergency Transportation Protection Act.

"Farmers and the wheat growers spent 15 to 20 years developing markets in Japan and other foreign countries—and these were destroyed by the strikes. They'll never get 'em back. How can they when they can't guarantee orderly delivery?" Butz asked.

"The Japanese turned to Australia and Canada to buy wheat. They have to eat every day. The President invoked the Taft-



Hartley Act—and that is kind of a difficult decision for a president. He has to face his share of the labor constituency, too.

"But his legal alternatives have been exhausted. The West Coast docks are working—but for how long? The Gulf Coast court order expires Feb. 14, and if they decide to walk off again, there is no way to get farm products to foreign markets.

"So—I'm tired of the same members of the 'other party' and the same presidential aspirants crying crocodile tears about the plight of the American farmer, while a bill that would help farm exports this much languishes for more than a year in the committee they control," Butz said firmly.

"What are we going to do—let the farmers lose another billion dollars because of a failure to act? I hope you all will send thousands of telegrams to the Congress. They'll listen to something like that."

In Denver among the wheat growers, Butz knew he had a potentially "hostile" audience. Maybe not so hostile personally against Butz—more like, let's wait and see what he does. But the wheatmen admittedly felt that Nixon administration farm plans had not worked to give farmers a more equitable income.

The "wait and see" attitude remained with the wheatmen after Butz left Denver—and so did some of the disagreement about methods for achieving equality for farm incomes.

But the new secretary of agriculture had become a man of flesh and bones. And as much as he could project himself, he came through as a man genuinely interested in welfare of farmers.

The substance of the man they saw and heard as Butz spoke, then moved through the crowd shaking hands, greeting older acquaintances and making new ones, seemed a far cry from the seeming ogre who had decreed "adapt or perish," according to some Senate confirmation hearing reports.

"I grew up on a 160-acre farm in Noble County, Indiana," Butz recalled. "We shucked our corn by hand, and we fed the hogs with a bucket of slop mixed with middlin's. That was a family farm—and my sister and her husband still operate that farm—but it is larger and they've adapted to the changes necessary.

"The way some politicians define a family farm is like the way Lincoln ended the Civil War, telling General Grant to discharge the soldiers and give each of them 40 acres and a mule."

Butz pointed out that Gene Moos, president of NAWG, from Edwall, Wash., had said he was a "family farmer with 700 acres of wheat land" in that state.

"There's quite a change in the size of farms. They are larger and more efficient. In fact, if I can paraphrase Winston Churchill—never have so few done so much for so many—as have the farmers of America in this generation.

"And when you pay \$25,000 for a combine, you and I both know you have to drive that machine over a lot of acres to make it pay for itself.

"We do have surprises as a result of many things—but if I have to choose between too much and not enough, I'll take too much.

"Sure food's cheap—too cheap. Right now Mrs. America gets her food for 6½ per cent of disposable income. That's better than any other nation in the world.

"Tonight, two out of every three people in the world will pray for enough food to last the day, but in the United States two out of every three people will pray for strength enough to stay on their diets just one more day.

"The Department of Agriculture has a lot to do with food and welfare programs. We spend between \$4 billion and \$5 billion a year for food stamps, school lunches and direct welfare food. This is about four times as much as when President Nixon took office.

"I want to say that I will not rest as long as there is one child in the United States who is not getting enough to eat.

"But I would like to add that cheap, subsidized food is not the birthright of Americans who are able to pay for it. The ones who are able should pay for their food just like they do for their televisions, their automobiles and the other things they buy."

Butz called it a tragedy that in the last 20 years so many youthful farmers have moved to the cities where they are "ill-equipped for city life and unhappy."

"They said to me—There were a million farmers moved off the land during the Benson administration. Yes true. And another million moved off during the Freeman administration. They are still moving off and the secretary of agriculture is not to blame.

"To blame the secretary of agriculture because of a decreasing farm population is like blaming the director of the Census Bureau for the population explosion. I don't think he had very much to do with it.

"Of course a farm has to be large enough, and it has to have capital enough to support a family. And nowadays it is a lot more than it used to be. . . . And today a million of our farmers make more money each year off the farm than they do on their farms."

Butz declared the inflationary period has been more difficult for the farmer than for any other segment of the population. But he declared, too, that the Nixon administration was doing something about farm problems.

Farm income is now about 75 percent of parity with urban income, he said, adding that this is a 6 per cent betterment during the Nixon administration from a like period prior to the tenure of Nixon. And he pledged to make the situation better.

"We have a Herculean task before us," he told Kansans at the state Board of Agriculture convention in Topeka. "We have the job of making people realize that agriculture is a basic industry and that it must be supported."

He praised the efforts of Nixon in opening up trade and policy negotiations with Peking and Moscow. These and other Nixon maneuvers are offering an opportunity for more widespread distribution of farm products from the United States around the world.

He pointed out that since he was confirmed as agriculture secretary in December he has pumped upwards of a quarter of a billion dollars into the farm economy through purchases of corn by the Credit Commodities Corporation (CCC), through release of \$55 million more to the Rural Environmental Action Program (REAP) of the Agriculture Stabilization Conservation Service (ASCS), and the funding of \$109 million to the Rural Electrification Association (REA) for the remainder of fiscal 1972—with more to come after July 1.

Butz takes the difficult steps along with the easy ones as he follows the Nixon plan. His explanation of the administration's opposition to the Smith-Melcher bill was made directly. (The bill would increase domestic loan supports by 25 per cent—to about \$1.57 for wheat—and would create a strategic reserve of grain supplies to be purchased by government funding.)

This bill, he said, would, if passed, ruin the chances for success inherent in the 1970 Farm Act which passed Congress on a bipartisan vote.

The administration belief is that the bill would destroy the competitive position of farm products in the world market, and would cause a glut of farm products on the domestic scene as well.

He pleaded for cooperation with the 1970 Farm Act. "Give it a chance to work," he said. He pointed out that the act was passed

after the 1970 crop was in the ground, and that because of the corn blight scare, too much corn was produced in the 1971 crop last fall.

Meanwhile "the President is putting his money where his mouth is" in behalf of the nation's farmers, Butz said.

The new Secretary has ideas for reformation in rural life, noting that Nixon has empathy for farmers and residents of rural areas.

Butz' plan is to initiate a crash program to better the quality of rural life.

"We don't need necessarily to keep them down on the farm. What we need is to provide a way to keep the young folk in rural America."

The crash program will be the naming of several teams of experts to examine the situation with reports due in late spring. These teams are selected from among farmers, educators, health, industrial, natural resources and government experts to determine possibilities.

"We'll do some brainstorming," he said. "Then we'll begin to work for better roads, better schools, better sanitation, better housing, health facilities, cultural opportunities and other ways that will keep people in the rural areas—not necessarily on the farms."

Butz wants a well-coordinated program to develop rural areas in such a way that quality of life will be as good there as among the well-paid urban and suburban citizen of the United States. "We want viable rural communities along with better income for farmers," he said.

Meanwhile, he pointed out, outlook for futures in cattle, soybeans, dairying and cotton is good. Broilers, wheat and feed grains are not good but getting better. He estimated gross farm income will be up \$2 billion this year, and net income for farmers will be up at least \$1 billion.

He doesn't really sound like a professor, this man who earned his bachelor of science degree in agricultural economics in 1932 at Purdue University. He farmed a year before returning for his masters degree, and later took his doctorate in economics after a stint in the Federal Land Bank at Louisville, Ky.

He is proud of his former association with farm youngsters as a 4-H Club member—and he married a 4-H Club girl from North Carolina whom he met in Washington, D.C., after each had won a trip there among groups from each state.

A controversial figure heading up one of the largest departments in government, Butz confesses he still remembers sentimentally the exact stone in the lobby of the Department of Agriculture building where he and his wife met. The stone is but a few feet from the glass-lined office in which he now directs the activities of a world wide empire of employees.

What worries a man with an international reputation for understanding agricultural economics? The danger of over-government—a government too big and too far removed from the people it governs.

Phase II of the current effort to halt inflation is a major concern of Butz. "How do we get out of it?" he asked. "I'm frightened."

"I'm like Confucius, who I think said—he who rides a tiger should first make a plan to get off."

Does he fear the environmental crisis will damage farming?

No. He believes environmental worries are at a peak and that the emotional environmentalist will give way to a more reasonable and realistic group of planners. He doubts that modern methods of farm chemical and drug usage will be banned—"as long as farmers are careful to obey the rules set out for their usage."

## A MESSAGE OF NOTE

## HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of all my colleagues a very thoughtful and stirring address by an outstanding member of the business community in my congressional district, Mr. Ellis M. Ivey, Jr., general manager of the Saginaw Steering Gear Division, General Motors Corp., Saginaw, Mich. Mr. Ivey was honored by being selected to give the Saginaw Club's 60th annual New Year's Day toast to President Richard M. Nixon. His talk was a somber and realistic appraisal of what he called the deteriorating climate for business in our Nation today. Mr. Ivey, I believe, presented a most accurate and, to some degree, startling picture of our present business community and what today's conditions mean to the future of our free enterprise system.

I would urge you to read over Mr. Ivey's complete address as reproduced in the January 2, 1972, edition of the Saginaw News, Saginaw, Mich., which follows:

## TOAST NOTES DETERIORATING BUSINESS CLIMATE

"Business here in America includes almost everyone," Ellis M. Ivey, Jr., general manager of Saginaw Steering Gear Division, General Motors Corp., told members of The Saginaw Club Saturday.

Giving the club's 60th annual New Year's Day toast to President Richard M. Nixon, Ivey spoke of what he called the deteriorating climate for business in the United States today and gave his views on why this condition exists.

The text of his talk follows:

Fellow Saginaw Club members, sons and grandsons:

I am honored and pleased to have this opportunity to deliver the club's 1972 toast to the President of The United States.

As a preamble to the toast, I would like to take just a few minutes in which to discuss a matter of true concern to all Americans—the deteriorating climate for business in the United States today.

What a strange set of circumstances we have come upon. This nation and the American people who developed the free enterprise system and produced the highest standard of living in the history of man, now have become the most severe critics of that system. Meanwhile much of the rest of the world openly most efficient system for producing goods and services, with the greatest capacity for stimulating growth and effecting change.

The implication thus becomes clear. Private enterprise as a means of creating and distributing economic progress now is most favored in other nations, including many that supply this country's toughest competition in international trade.

Most informed observers agree on two premises. One is that American business and industry is in deep trouble today. The other is that sweeping changes will be required of any business or industry that is to survive and prosper through the decade of the 1970s. These are the two points I would like to explore briefly with you today.

Business is in serious trouble because of a strong and growing cult of critics who disparage America's free enterprise system. Many of these critics who question our so-

ciety are young. Some are sincere and well-intentioned. But there are many who criticize American business and American institutions simply because they desire to destroy free enterprise as we know it. They seek drastic changes in our system of business ownership and control—changes so drastic that they would wreck the American economy.

Among these widely heard and often misinformed critics is Ralph Nader, who has lashed out frequently at a variety of businesses and industries, with little regard to whether his allegations are based on fact. Another is Michigan's own Senator Philip Hart who, on more than one occasion has stated publicly that American business is bilking the American consumer out of some \$200 billion per year. Such a figure is ridiculous. It is more than four times greater than the total amount of all corporate profits for 1970. Senator Proxmire of Wisconsin recently issued a statement to the effect that companies with assets of over a billion dollars were prospering at the expense of smaller companies. The truth is that the smaller firms with less than one million dollars in assets have enjoyed a higher average return on equity than have the larger so-called "industrial giants" over the last five years.

Such irresponsible statements by these critics already have tarnished the reputation of America in the eyes of many people, at home and abroad. They already have weakened out free society. The damage they do is greatest among our young people, who are no longer even given the time to judge our system by their own experience. Instead, they often are encouraged to disparage it long before they have had an opportunity to try it out for themselves.

These critics are following tactics of divisiveness—and with considerable success. They endeavor to turn various segments of our society—government, labor, the universities—against business. They try to make America a society at war with itself.

They tell the consumer he is being victimized. New products are being foisted upon him, whether he wants them or not. These products are not as good as they should be—that is, they are less than perfect. They tell the consumer that businessmen are greedy and uncaring, that advertising is false, prices are padded, labels are inaccurate.

Therefore, the consumer—the critics would have us believe—is helpless and unprotected and really not responsible for what he buys.

This delusion—that the consumer cannot trust his own free choice—strikes hard at the free competitive system. That system, of course, is founded on the conviction that in the long run the consumer is the best judge of his own welfare. If the consumer can be convinced that he really does not know what is good for him—and this is what the cynical critics try to do—then freedom is gone from free enterprise. At that point the greatest of our economic freedoms—the freedom to decide our purchase—will be lost.

This cannot happen, many will say. To them we should reply, "look back." Look back at only the past decade to see how rapidly we have expanded the role of government in the marketplace.

To protect the consumer, a new aspect of bureaucracy, "consumer affairs," has been created, not only in Washington but in state capitals and local communities. Since 1900, Congress has passed 39 major consumer laws, but two-thirds of these have been enacted in only the last eight years. Some of the laws are worthwhile, but far too much of this new legislation is unnecessary and does not deliver a value to the consumer commensurate with the potential cost in higher taxes and higher prices. After all, bureaucracy is not noted for exercising judgment.

Make no mistake, the results of irresponsible harassment have added significantly to the cost of doing business. The higher taxes

are costly. Adapting products to new regulations is costly. Meeting daily harassments, answering criticism, defending against public attack—all these carry costs, in time and energy as well as dollars.

Every unwise impairment of free enterprise carries some additional costs to 200 million individual American consumers. It likewise reduces the ability of American industry to compete in the markets of the world.

"Corporate responsibility" has become the slogan of the destructive critics who sound off so loudly today. When something is wrong with American society, blame it on business, they say.

You and I know that business did not create racial discrimination in America, but business is expected to eliminate it. Business did not bring about the deterioration of our cities, but business is expected to rebuild them. Business certainly did not create poverty and hunger, but business is expected to eliminate them. There are dozens of equally ridiculous examples that could be cited.

Equally disturbing is the fact that America no longer enjoys the technological edge over other advanced countries that we once had. This is especially true with Japan, Germany, France and Italy. These industrially progressive nations are enjoying substantial annual increases in productivity, while America is not. They are experiencing economic inflation, but, because we start from a much higher base, the dollars-and-cents advantage they hold is widening. For example, the wages paid to automotive workers in America are double that of Germany, three times that of England and quadruple that of Japan.

Obviously this growing competitive disadvantage against America is an important factor to American business. The destructive critic will not admit this. Instead, he continues to demand that business be more and more socially responsible—but gives no consideration to the costs of meeting such social aspirations.

I would like to employ some statistic to highlight the recent sharp decline in the U.S. public's normally favorable attitude toward business. This information was assembled through national public surveys by the Opinion Research Corp. But, first, here is an interesting sidelight. When we look at the results of a public survey, just who are the respondents? What kind of a person is the "average American" whose opinion we receive?

More than eight out of ten U.S. adults have not travelled by air in the last 12 months. Almost as many do not own stock. Three out of four have never traveled outside the U.S. One out of two have not been 200 miles from home in the last year. From this you can see the great disparity between the kind of people you meet in business meetings or at the golf club, and the great mass of the American public. You can be sure your views and those of your colleagues are not typical of public thinking generally.

People are less sure today than they were in 1965 that profits benefit them as consumers. Only 55 per cent now agree that profits are necessary and beneficial. And, there is a widespread misunderstanding of the rate of profit. A recent survey showed that Americans believe corporate profits average 28 per cent. Actually, the average profit was 4 per cent last year.

Here are some other alarming trends in public thinking. Since 1965 more people now believe that one or two companies in many areas of business have too much control; that big business gets cold and impersonal as it grows larger; that too much power is concentrated in a few companies and that many large companies should be broken up. For example, 45 per cent think that companies should be broken up.

There are three main factors that relate



to the deterioration of the public's opinion of business in recent years. The first is the inflationary pinch. When prices go up, no matter who is to blame, business draws the brunt of the criticism. The second factor is "consumerism," the pressure for legislation to guarantee consumers fair value and to protect the health and safety of the public. The third factor is pollution and other environmental problems. People are much more alert and aware of these problems today than they were four or five years ago. The criticism has been mounting and manufacturing businesses, particularly, are held to blame for a large part of the problem.

Let's examine factor number one, the inflationary pinch. The proportion who say they are worse off financially is up sharply since 1965, with the biggest jump registering since 1969. This is true regardless of income level. Older people, and those on fixed income in particular, are really being pinched badly.

The percentage who feel they are not hurt at all is down sharply. The group that is hurt seriously has risen to 30 per cent, and that represents about 19 million families. That's a lot of voters putting pressure on the politicians. It also means pressure on union leaders to produce big wage increases for their membership. The results? A push for higher taxes and higher wages, both of which strike hard at business profits.

Now, let's look at "consumerism," the second factor influencing the public's loss of confidence in business.

In recent years more and more consumers are willing to invite federal legislative muscle to correct what they feel are abuses of the consumer's rights. It is interesting that the largest demand for new laws is not among people in the low-income part of the scale, or those with little education. Rather, it is the sophisticated group who have been to college, and who have money to spend, who feel that legislation is needed to protect the public in the marketplace.

When the question involves protecting public health and safety, an even larger majority today sees the need for legislation.

Public ignorance is in part the reason for the sentiment that "something needs to be done." But even the more knowledgeable segments of the public also support "consumerism" proposals; for example, business and financial editors of the major metropolitan newspapers and news magazines. A clear majority of these thought-leaders feel that consumers need new consumer legislation.

With that attitude reflected, it is easy to see why there will be more legislation out of Washington to put restraints on the freedom of business management.

There are "class action" proposals already on the books, and more being considered, to allow customers to band together and sue a business that they felt cheated them. Again notice that it is not the average citizen so much as it is the college-educated person who supports the idea of such legislation.

The third factor influencing the public's opinion of business is pollution and environmental problems. Public concern about air and water pollution sharply over the last few years, especially among big city residents, 93 per cent of whom say air pollution is serious and 89 per cent feel the same about water pollution.

Despite strenuous efforts on the part of business and industry, pollution improvements are not always visible to the public. This data is from a study in a major metropolitan city that has had an antipollution drive going for a number of years prior to the survey. Notice that 72 per cent know little or nothing about any anti-pollution progress having been made.

With this high level of concern over air pollution there can be little wonder that when a so-called "solution" to the problem is offered, it immediately attracts wide approval.

Thus far we have looked at some of the problems and challenges facing business, including a loss of public confidence. Now let's very briefly explore the probable outlook for the future. This is the point at which you young men, and the generation you represent, step into the spotlight. Marketing experts today emphasize that doing business in the 1970's means marketing to youth.

The recent unprecedented infusion of youthful attitudes into the business world has added a lot of zip to some traditional marketing concepts. And for those businesses that expect to operate successfully in the 1970s, a great deal more of this zip will be required.

Why is it expected that this trend will gather more impetus in the seventies? Consider the following data, which comes from surveys by the National Industrial Conference Board, Ohio State University and other organizations.

College students, for example, will represent one of the fastest-growing markets in this decade. Conservative estimates show that last year alone college students spent more than 12½ billion dollars on goods and services ranging from books and grooming supplies to travel and stereo equipment.

Teen-agers today average nearly \$20 a week in spending power—and, again, this figure also will rise significantly in the next 10 years. Teen-age girls will spend the largest share of their money on clothing, while the boys (as might be expected) will invest the biggest percentage of their money on girls—spending it largely in such industries as motion pictures, quick-order foods and recreation. The automobile and petroleum industries will be major beneficiaries of the youth market in the 1970s. Auto manufacturers, in fact, already have oriented their sales programs toward youth.

The significant growth markets of the 1970s will be concentrated among consumers in the 25 to 34 age group. Evidence for this projection lies in the fact that between 1970 and 1980 the number of persons of ages 30 to 34 will increase by 53.2 percent and the number of persons aged 25 to 29 will increase 40.3 percent. By contrast, the total population is expected to increase only 13 or 14 percent during this same period—and for some of the middle-aged groups there will be actual decreases.

The story becomes even more dramatic when you consider spending power. In 1967, for example, families in the 25 to 34 age category possessed only 18.4 percent of income in the United States, but by 1980 this same group will command at least 26 percent of all the income and will be the economy's most important age category in terms of purchasing power. The further significance of youth-oriented marketing efforts can be underscored by analyzing the strategic growth target represented by the 25 to 34 age group. It's important to realize that the members of this group all share a common characteristic today—they are all under 25! Thus, it is clear that business must begin appealing to the youth market of today if they expect to reach the strategic markets of tomorrow.

What factors will motivate the youthful consumers of the 1970s? One factor will be the desire to "enjoy life now" and let the future take care of itself. This partly explains the insistence of young people today upon immediate answers to the social problems that face the Nation. More importantly for businessmen, this phenomenon means that they will demand instant environment, instant fashion, and instant recreation—just as consumers of the 'sixties demanded instant food.

These forecasts and "educated guesses" as to the future course of America's businesses are interesting to all of us. They are vital to businessmen who expect to stay in business

in the 1970s. However, they will quickly lose all meaning and significance if American business continues to lose its competitive position in the world and the respect and confidence of the American public.

I think you will agree that the survey data we have examined is convincing evidence that the public has, indeed, lost much of its confidence in American business and industry. There is ample evidence also that American business is losing its competitive leadership in the world. Sadly enough, there are many Americans who do not regret the loss of our world leadership. They say this was a role we should not have assumed in the first place and should not now try to continue. They say the cost is too great, the risks too many, and the rewards too few.

I feel otherwise and I am certain you do, too. America is a nation built on man's individual freedom, dignity, and equality of opportunity. As such a nation, we have no alternative but to lead. And the reward we seek for leadership is simply the continuation of our free society and our free enterprise system.

The fact is that business, here in America, includes almost everyone. Government depends on business for taxes. Workers depend on business for jobs. Professional men depend on business for customers, clients and patients. Stockholders get their earnings from business. Everyone who owns insurance or draws a pension has a vital stake in the growth of the economy. Business is not a separate group. Business is all of us.

Thus the challenge is clear and unmistakable. All Americans must look at what is right with America. We must not allow our free enterprise system, the backbone of our entire economy, to be pushed into disrepute by our inaction, indifference, or unwillingness to stand up for what we know is vital to America's place in the world.

President Nixon, with great courage and conviction, and in the face of fanatic opposition, is trying to lead us in that direction. In recent months he has launched us on a new economic course designed to correct some of the problems besetting the nation's economy and to regain the worldwide respect and position of leadership that America has so long enjoyed.

Regardless of our political beliefs, certainly we can all join together in pledging our whole-hearted support to him in the fight to restore our faith in America.

To this end, gentlemen, it is my privilege to propose a toast to the President of the United States of America, Richard Milhous Nixon. May he continue to enjoy good health, clear thinking, and courageous leadership of this nation throughout 1972.

#### RESOLUTION COMMENDING THE COAST GUARD

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, in view of the recent incursion of Soviet vessels into our territorial waters in Alaska, I would like to submit into the RECORD a resolution drafted by the Kodiak Area Chamber of Congress.

I would like to take this time to extend my personal thanks and commendation to the U.S. Coast Guard, for the job they have done, and ask my colleagues to join me in urging the Department of Transportation to expand the Coast Guard's force in the Bering Sea, in

order to make their job easier and safer.

The resolution follows:

#### RESOLUTION

We, of the Kodiak Area Chamber of Commerce, commend the Coast Guard for its sterling performance in guarding our waters and resources, even with very limited equipment and manpower. The current problem of 120 Russian vessels in the Bering Sea with only one Coast Guard ship for enforcement is indicative of the magnitude of the problem in the North Pacific.

We, of the Kodiak Area Chamber of Commerce, unanimously urge the Department of Transportation and the Congress of the United States to increase the capabilities of the Coast Guard to enable it to carry out the mission of protecting our marine resources.

#### EASTER SEAL REHABILITATION CENTER

**HON. STEWART B. McKINNEY**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 1, 1972*

Mr. McKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, I have taken the opportunity of inserting into the RECORD a letter from Mr. Edmund McLaughlin, the executive director of the Easter Seal Rehabilitation Center of Eastern Fairfield County describing the success which out-patient community health care facilities have had in Fairfield, Conn. This Easter Seal Rehabilitation Center has provided quality health care for the physically handicapped while at the same time reducing the cost of this care. At a time when health costs are skyrocketing, such a program deserves to be applauded for their outstanding accomplishments. I would recommend to those interested in the health care field to view the information contained in the following letter as an example of the virtue which this kind of cooperative, coordinated community planning can achieve in the field of health care:

THE REHABILITATION CENTER,  
Bridgeport, Conn., November 17, 1971.

Hon. STEWART McKINNEY,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR STU: At this particular time in the history of the United States, there is a great furor and clamor regarding the cost of health care and the delivery of health care in America.

I am writing to you at this time to share with you an experience which I think is indicative of what may be an opportunity to help eliminate or alleviate such a situation, at least in terms of out-patient services.

As the Director of the Rehabilitation Center here in Eastern Fairfield County, it is with great pleasure that I advise you that because the Rehabilitation Center chose some three years ago to open its doors directly across the street from a rather large general hospital—the Bridgeport Hospital, and to construct its facility so that there could be a tunnel which would allow for the flow of in-patients from the Hospital to the Rehabilitation Center for the variety of services in the Center, we have been most successful.

As a matter of fact, I might say this type of program is a forerunner of things to come.

No one imagined some eight years ago when we first talked about the building of the Rehabilitation Center, that the desire

and the need for a cooperative and coordinative relationship between in-patient facilities and out-patient services—such as the Rehabilitation Center represents, would have been a move that would be imperative.

The Board of Directors of the Rehabilitation Center chose to make that move.

As a consequence, in this—our third year here, when we are preparing our cost analysis for the Hospital Cost Commission—we find ourselves in the rather enviable position of having to charge less for our several services, because of the facility, utilization of professional skills, and the organization with which we have developed here at the Center.

To be specific, last year the per unit cost for 30 minutes of physical therapy was \$10.25—at the present time, our fee—which is going to be established with the Hospital Cost Commission, will be some \$2.00 less per unit. In the pulmonary rehabilitation program—which has provided out-patient rehab services for the person with respiratory diseases, and, particularly, the emphysemiac, the cost has gone from \$10.00 per half-hour unit down to \$5.00.

Incredible as it may seem, this has been done without sacrifice of quality and competence in the organization. It has been done, however, because we have chosen to share our expertise and our competence, and even our facility, with the in-patient program in the Hospital, which is constantly growing and which demands that these services be available to their program and for their patient care.

It is imperative, also, to remember that the Rehabilitation Center has been able to develop within its own bounds certain services that do not necessarily have to be duplicated in the Hospital: (1) a completely organized and equipped physical therapy department, (2) a physiatrist who is a specialist in physical medicine and who provides electromyography, a diagnostic service, (3) an extensive audiometric evaluative program which can in effect review, evaluate and test persons with all kinds of hearing aid, hearing and speech problems—pre and post-operatively, and (4) a pulmonary rehabilitation program which has on a number of occasions continued to provide out-patient services to patients who formerly spent weeks and months in the hospital: this program has kept them from repeated hospital involvement.

I wish to share all of these exciting things with you because I think that the Rehabilitation Center of Eastern Fairfield County, quite frankly, has chosen to move in the direction of the provision of health care services and the delivery of health care without having been told to do so.

I think the attitude on the part of the Board of Directors and the understanding and appreciation of the Board of Directors with respect to "casting their lot" in terms of where the needs are as opposed to an ivory tower out in the middle of nowhere, has made all this possible.

In addition to this, we have chosen also to establish a satellite facility in the town of Fairfield, and are presently involved in the development of one in Stratford—again extending our services to the community where the community's needs are and extending our services to the physically handicapped who require the medical and treatment facilities of a rehabilitation center at their convenience, and at no additional cost to the patients.

All of this I think is an indication of the value and of the need for the development of community health care facilities.

I like to think, quite frankly, that the Rehabilitation Center in its pursuit of the development of a drug project and underwriting of the preparation of such a project by engaging a consultant and having the project itself approved and funded, is an indication of what a facility such as this can do in

a community in response to a community need, and, also, in response to what I consider the Rehabilitation Center's obligation to meeting health needs.

There is one further value to all of this and that is that the Rehabilitation Center has pursued this on a regional basis, and, certainly, I think the fact that we have attempted to reach out to the region—realizing that the health and the needs of the physically handicapped know no boundaries, and extending our influence and our expertise to meeting the needs of these people, has helped meet our responsibility to the community.

Quite frankly, I don't know what this means to you as a Congressman but I do hope that as you are thinking in terms of the kinds of things that are being done in this country, you might find solace in the fact that here in your own State of Connecticut, attempts are being made and have been made to maintain quality care and to be ever conscious of the cost of this care.

We are delighted—though it might present some financial problems, as we grow, to be able to state this, but it is with this in mind that we have maintained such a development and such a relationship with the community, and, certainly, the value and the virtue of organizing our efforts in this behalf are passed on to the consumer—the handicapped.

In your arguments there in Congress for the development of such facilities and services and with the present development of national health care programs, it seems to me that the value and virtue of health centers and out-patient facilities, such as the one we represent, has great import, and, in particular, the fact that facilities can be developed near outstanding and extensive in-patient facilities indicate the success of the delivery of health care services and the value of the patient care program in those facilities.

As the Director of this facility, it is with pleasure that I advise you of this success and I do hope that if this is of some value in your thinking and in your pursuit of the kinds of things you are doing, we would be more than happy at any given instance to be used as an example of the virtue of this kind of cooperative, coordinative community planning.

Your individual kindness and enthusiasm throughout the years has made this all possible. I might also say that this has all been made possible, quite frankly, without any Federal funds being involved in the process. We have done this simply because the community has responded, and we have done this because of the competence that our staff exudes.

I am pleased to be able to make this information available to you.

Sincerely yours,

EDMUND S. McLAUGHLIN,  
Executive Director.

#### HERR BRANDT MEETS AMERICA

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 1, 1972*

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon has now concluded his series of contacts with Allied heads of state prior to his departure for Peking. One of the most interesting was with Chancellor Willy Brandt who, in addition to visiting President Nixon, had a vacation in this country.



An editorial in the Chicago Daily News of January 20 carefully noted the importance of Chancellor Brandt's feelings, and I wish to insert it into the RECORD as an example of positive diplomacy:

**HERR BRANDT MEETS AMERICA**

When chiefs of state visit the United States they usually have a solemn talk with the President, another with the secretary of state, and a brace of proper dinners to wrap it up.

West Germany's Willy Brandt did something more. He and his family took a two-weeks' tour of Florida's West Coast, poking around here and there, doing a little fishing, chatting with people they encountered.

Brandt learned something about America—something important, we think. He learned that Americans are short on formality but long on warmth and hospitality. One neighbor brought over a six-pack of cold beer when he returned from a fishing trip. Another asked him to come by for a visit: "Never mind calling, just drop by when you feel like it." A teacher brought over her star pupil to meet him.

He remembered these things fondly in a later Bonn interview. "I sensed how much inner strength there is in these United States, how much down-to-earth helpfulness and friendliness there is among the Americans themselves and toward strangers." He said it was different from the picture of Americans one gets in Western Europe.

That it is; it's even different from the picture many Americans gain of themselves, reading about all the violence and bitterness that make the grist of the news.

So it's good to be reminded by an eminent visitor that this is still America, a lot of decent, friendly, openhanded people, maybe a little forward, maybe a little naive, but finding time for a smile and a friendly word to each other and to a stranger. Brandt is right—that's the hidden strength of America, and providentially there's a lot of it left.

**REPORT FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN ED ESHLEMAN**

**HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have just recently sent my constituents a newsletter. I am including the contents of that newsletter in the RECORD at this point:

**REPORT FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN  
ED ESHLEMAN  
BIG STEPS**

Some of the same people who not very long ago were complaining that President Nixon was not doing enough about world and national problems are now heard complaining that he's doing too much too fast. Policy changes like the trip to China and the new economic program are said to be certain failures because we weren't ready for such big shifts in direction. I would remind these critics of the wise words of David Lloyd George who said, "Don't be afraid to take a big step if one is indicated. You can't cross a chasm in two small jumps."

**DOG NAMED DYLAN**

Nearly everyone who visits my Washington office comments on the dog that is sprawled in front of the door or across the middle of the hall. His name is Dylan, and he does not belong to us but to a girl across the hall in Congressman Obey's office. Dylan

has become our good friend, however. Other than sometimes blocking our doorway a bit, he causes no problem. And, he is our constant guardian. There has not been an attempted purse-snatching (a not uncommon occurrence on Capitol Hill) in our hallway since Dylan took up his vigil.

**WHERE IT GOES**

Many people look at their bill as they leave the grocery store and figure that the farmer really must be making a bundle. Only the farmer knows how wrong these people are. The high cost of grocery shopping doesn't find its way into the farmer's pocket. The magazine *Supermarketing* recently showed where some of the money does go. In the first place 23 cents out of every dollar spent in supermarkets doesn't even go for food. It is spent for paperbacks, household supplies, pet foods, pantyhose and a host of other products at "one-stop shopping" places. Nine cents out of each food dollar goes for packaging. The publication also notes that the food items making the biggest gains in sales are things like expensive meats and cheeses, fancy breads, cake mixes, toaster pastries, snack packs, boil-in-the-pouch foods and "portion packs" of many products. All of this shoves up the grocery bill—not to the benefit of the farmer, but to handlers, packagers and others who are profiting from selling convenience rather than food.

**DO AS THEY SAY**

If you missed the CBS television show "60 Minutes" on which Mike Wallace looked into the question of where Washington's liberals send their children to school, you should be very interested in some of the findings. Almost without exception, according to Wallace, the liberals send their offspring to private or suburban schools rather than to the public schools which are predominantly black. Those who send the children to private schools include: Senators Muskie, Kennedy, Hart, Bayh and Mondale; Delegate Walter Fauntroy, a black who represents the District of Columbia in Congress; New York Times columnist Tom Wicker; Washington Post editor Benjamin Bradlee, Post editorial page editor Philip Geyelin, and Post columnist Nicholas Von Hoffman. Senator McGovern, who has moved into the District from Maryland, still sends his daughter to a Maryland high school approximately three percent black, even though it means a tuition charge of \$1,450. You might remember this CBS study the next time you hear these gentlemen expressing their opinions on busing.

**SHORT-TERM INTERNS**

During their January recess from college, two young women worked in my Washington office. Dolores Strickler attends Immaculata College and Melinda Jackson is a student at Western Maryland College. For both girls the experience was one of learning rather than earning, since they volunteered to work for free.

**NEW ANGLE**

"And now, gentlemen," continued the Congressman, "I wish to tax your memories." "Good heaven," muttered a colleague, "Why haven't we thought of that before."

**POLITICAL NOTE**

During this year when political campaigns are in the headlines, and particularly during the season of primary elections, you'll probably read about the campaign of this candidate or that picking up speed. Someone noted the other day that most things pick up speed when they're headed downhill.

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

When I first started to poll my constituents about their opinions on national issues, I used this newsletter as the means of distributing the questions. Then, two years ago, I tried another way and mailed individual questionnaires to every household in the 16th District. This year I'm changing back to the

old method of including the poll as a part of the newsletter. The reason is primarily one of cost. The out-of-pocket expenses for polling every household came to about \$1000. This was a bill I shared with the Republican Congressional Committee, but was substantial enough to make me weigh the cost against the return. The first year I used the mass mailing technique, the return was excellent. Last year the return tapered off considerably and did not appear to justify the expenses involved. Therefore, I am again going to pose the questions in the newsletter giving all who receive it a chance to respond. I'm also asking newspapers throughout the 16th District to cooperate, as they have done in the past, by publishing the questionnaire so that everyone has an opportunity to participate. My purpose in asking for your opinions is the same as always. I want to have an indication of your thinking so that I may better represent that thinking in the Congress.

**THE ESHLEMAN POLL**

**Instructions**

Please study the questions below and give me your thinking on these important issues facing our country. I will tabulate the returns as soon as possible and let you know the results. In cases where your family has difficulty agreeing on replies, my District Office in the Lancaster Post Office Building (telephone 393-0666) will be glad to furnish extra copies of the questionnaire. For our convenience please tear off this back sheet of the newsletter when you submit your answers. Thank you!

**Nixon Administration**

1. Where do you stand regarding Nixon Administration policies in the following areas? Do you (A) generally agree, (D) generally disagree, or are you (NS) not sure? (Place the proper letter before each category)
  - Vietnam.
  - China Trip.
  - National Defense.
  - Pollution.
  - Education.
  - Economy.
  - Deficit Budgets.
  - Housing.
  - Crime.
  - Welfare.
  - Consumer Protection.
  - Race Relations.
  - Drug Abuse.
  - Aid to Cities.
  - Agriculture.
  - Health.
  - Other (specify).

**Foreign affairs**

2. Do you favor President Nixon's efforts to seek a new relationship with the Soviet Union and China?
3. Are you in agreement with the movement underway in Congress to reduce substantially foreign aid spending?
4. Has the U.S. program of troop withdrawal and winding down the war in Vietnam met with your general approval?
5. Should the power of a President to commit American troops to combat without the specific approval of Congress be curbed?
6. Do you agree with the President's call for increased national defense spending during the coming year?

**Economy**

7. Do you think that wage and price controls should be a temporary rather than a permanent factor in national economic policy?
8. Which of the following economic problems do you regard as the most serious? (Choose One)
  - a. Inflation.
  - b. Unemployment.
  - c. Balance of payments deficit.
  - d. Unbalanced Federal budgets.

## General government

9. Do you favor revenue sharing as a way of providing State and local governments with more money to meet the problems they face?

10. Would you favor replacing the present draft system with an all-volunteer military?

11. Do you believe that stronger laws are needed to deal with strikes that cause or threaten to cause national emergencies?

12. Should the cost of political campaigns be limited by stiff Federal controls?

13. Do you favor the Administration's Family Assistance Program with its provision for a guaranteed minimum income as the answer to our need for welfare reform?

14. In your opinion are the efforts to reduce crime in your community adequate?

## Health and drugs

15. Should we place greater emphasis on medical help for drug users than on criminal penalties?

16. Although cost estimates are quite high for a program of free health care for all Americans, do you believe the Federal Government should provide such a program?

## Pollution and population

17. Would you favor a government program to limit the size of families by eliminating income tax exemptions for more than two children?

18. Do you think 100% pollution control is important enough to justify spending far more than might be required to achieve 80-90% control?

Please return to: Hon. Edwin D. Eshleman, 416 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

## NATO—WRITING ON THE WALL

## HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, many persons in and out of the Congress are calling for a reappraisal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the role the U.S. Government is to play in the future defense of Western Europe. And perhaps a reappraisal is needed, at least in terms of a general mood in this country that we can bring home American troops stationed in Europe; that the Soviet is not up to anything sinister there.

It is probably time to take a close look at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, but it should be a careful and informed look keeping the competition in true perspective. In this regard, I invite attention to the following article entitled "NATO—The Writing on the Wall" written for the February issue of the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings by Air Force Gen. T. R. Milton:

## NATO—THE WRITING ON THE WALL

(By Gen. T. R. Milton, U.S. Air Force)

Peace is in the air in Europe, or rather—because there has been a sort of peace for a long time—there is a growing desire to get rid of the tools of war. In fact, a curious new profession has emerged in the shadow of this long period of relative peace—that of the disarmament expert. The term itself is a triumph in dissimulation, but it is, nevertheless, well-accepted in NATO that these experts exist and meet from time to time to pursue jointly their mysterious business. Over the years it has not mattered much

whether or not we had disarmament experts. The whole question of disarmament was largely academic. But it is no longer academic. The Leonid Brezhnev statement endorsing the general principle of force reductions in Europe had the immediate effect of giving urgency to the studies on force reductions. And the Mansfield resolution calling for substantial U.S. reductions in NATO, while defeated decisively, was widely regarded in Europe as the writing on the wall.

The French have a nice word for this euphoric air of relaxed tension—"détente"—and the mood in the West these days is marked by a longing for it. The real question is whether this understandable longing for détente, with its presumable easing of military expenditures, will be balanced by logic and caution, or whether there will be simply a one-sided slacking off. There is that danger, and it stems from a very real contempt on the part of many otherwise responsible people for all things military coupled with a growing conviction that the Soviet Union is no longer up to anything very sinister.

Nevertheless, it is probably time to take a hard look at NATO. The fact that it has been singularly successful is not in itself reason for leaving it alone. On the contrary, its long and successful run may carry the seeds of its undoing for, in the absence of any believable recent threat to the peace of Western Europe, the whole subject of preparedness has become an expensive bore. But an informed look at something as complex, even fragile, as the NATO Alliance requires a point of view. This point of view must include, always in focus, the other side—the competition, so to speak.

It is probably a fair assumption that war in Europe is neither imminent nor likely as things stand today. The operative phrase is "as things stand today." It may also be true that the Soviets have no hostile intentions toward the NATO Allies, at least in a military sense; but, in all fairness, we must at least entertain the notion that they might have hostile military intentions. For quite apart from what their diplomats say, the Russians are clearly improving their military capability—not necessarily their intention, but their capability—to subjugate Europe.

Again, this extravagant outlay for conventional forces may simply reflect a die-hard suspicion on the part of the Russians towards the motives of the West.

There is also just the chance, as we have agreed, that the basic motivation of Russia has not changed. The statements of Soviet military leaders stand on the record, and they make uncompromising reading. Marshal V. D. Sokolovsky, editor of *Military Strategy*, an official Soviet military publication which presents not only the views of the Ministry of Defense, but also, and perhaps more important, those of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, said in a discussion of the nature of modern war:

"The Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, in order to protect their socialist achievements, will be forced to adopt . . . decisive aims directed towards total defeat of the armed forces of the enemy with simultaneous disorganization of his interior zone, and towards suppression of the enemy's will to resist, and rendering aid to the people to free them from the yoke of imperialism."

"A future world war will require of the Soviet Armed Forces, of the entire socialist camp, the use of the main military forces from the very outset of the war, literally in the very first hours and minutes, in order to achieve the most decisive results in the shortest time possible . . . Therefore, not only is a high degree of combat readiness of the Armed Forces required, but the entire nation must be specially trained for war against the aggressor."

But if we cast around, we can find other Russians who do not sound so fierce and we can read signs that seem to bode well for

détente. If the West ignores the Marshal Sokolovskys and chooses to follow the pleasanter sounds, then NATO must look to its future in reduced terms.

Viewed superficially, an alliance formed to defend its members against an attack by the Soviet bloc no longer makes much sense if the Soviet bloc clearly has no intention of attacking. At this point, a reasonable question arises as to the need for the present NATO troop levels or, in fact, for NATO at all. However, we agree to keep the other side in clear focus.

An examination of the Soviet bloc, or Warsaw Pact, over the past ten years shows it to have had an undeviating upward trend in equipment, in modernization, in money, and in total strength. The strategy of flexible response, requiring as it does heavy outlays for conventional equipment, may be a NATO doctrine, but it has been a doctrine more thoughtfully provided for by the Soviets and their Allies. The comparative strengths shown in Figure 1 are revealing.

Even a casual look at the relative conventional strengths of the two alliances makes one thing clear—NATO is a defensive alliance. It simply does not have the numbers and weight of equipment to launch an attack, even were it guided by the most suicidal of strategies. It is clear to a casual observer and it must be equally clear to Russian planners. NATO does not have a serious non-nuclear offensive capability.

And the other side? Anyone, after doing a few easy sums, will arrive at the conclusion that the Warsaw Pact has, in general terms and particularly in significant items such as tanks, the 3:1 ratio of superiority all cautious Soviet generals like to have before attacking.

This gives rise to another simple question. If the Russians have no hostile intentions, and NATO, regardless of any intention it might secretly have, has not the capability to attack, what is the Warsaw Pact doing with such a heavy and costly preponderance of strength?

It is, of course, anybody's guess. Perhaps they need all these forces simply to maintain order in their uneasy alliance with the Western satellites. This seems unlikely now if it were in fact ever true. Undoubtedly some of these forces are there to maintain order and, from time to time, they have been used in just that fashion as we all remember so well. But they do not need the sophistication and the numbers that are presently available to the Warsaw Pact for the purpose of internal order; and, as we have seen, they do not need them purely for the defense of Warsaw Pact territory. China is a rising specter of the Soviets and some of this heavy defense outlay may be traced to this cause. But why do they keep forces needed for China thousands of miles away in Western Europe? What a simple and reassuring prelude to force reduction negotiation it would be if Russia transferred a significant number of their Warsaw Pact forces to the Chinese frontier.

FIGURE 1.—COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF NATO AND WARSAW PACT

Category	Northern and Central Europe		Southern Europe	
	NATO	Warsaw Pact	NATO	Warsaw Pact
Combat and direct support troops available (in thousands).....	580	900	525	370
Main battle tanks available to commanders (in peacetime).....	5,500	14,000	2,100	5,000
Tactical aircraft in operational service:				
Light bombers.....	16	240	.....	30
Fighter/ground attack.....	1,400	1,300	600	200
Interceptors.....	350	2,000	250	850
Reconnaissance.....	400	400	100	100



Nonetheless, it is unlikely at this time that Russia is planning any truly aggressive actions, in the classic sense at any rate, against the West. There are no obvious signs that would indicate this and it seems to be clearly against their interests at the moment to start a war.

If that is so, perhaps these Soviet, and Soviet-equipped, forces serve a simpler purpose; an ever-present and threatening reminder of Soviet strength in Europe. When one couples this military presence with the spectacular accomplishments of Russian science, the effect on some people is ominous and downright discouraging. It need not, and should not, be.

In the early days of the Cold War, and particularly during the tense year of the Berlin Blockade, it would not be an overstatement to say that the appearance of a Soviet platoon, accompanied perhaps by two or three tanks, in any Western town along the German border would have created absolute panic. A panic that probably would have spread rapidly and with disconcerting, if not catastrophic, effects on the shaky political apparatus of Europe during that period. Had it not been for the U.S. nuclear superiority during those years, it is at least arguable that the Soviets would have moved through Western Europe, either in small forays or in strength. There was nothing to stop them. The Allies had essentially demobilized after the war and their forces in Europe were occupation troops, equipped and deployed for that purpose. Only U.S. nuclear bombs, and the capability to deliver them, stood between Russia and the whole of Europe.

Today, any small incursions, for whatever purpose, could be dealt with without question. Regardless of the fact that NATO is at some disadvantage wherever it faces the Warsaw Pact, the Soviets would have to mount a major attack in order to carry out any successful demonstration of force. And, in this case, it would clearly no longer be the use of military force for the support of some limited political maneuver but would, in fact, be war.

Thus, the maintenance of even an inferior force so long as it is big enough to be truly credible becomes an essential counter to the very great Soviet military presence. To go back to the early days of the Cold War, it is easy to forget what a dangerous game we played and on what tenuous threads hung success. It is equally easy to forget that every successful confrontation with the Soviets has had as its basis a clear display of strength and firmness of purpose.

Sometimes we forget how much the Russians respect the direct approach and how little attention they pay to conciliatory behavior. One of the more remarkable incidents during the Berlin airlift, and one which received little publicity then or later—possibly because of diplomatic outrage—took place at Tegel Airport.

The French had not had much of a part to play in the Berlin airlift, although they shared with the United Kingdom and the United States responsibility for the government of West Berlin. Because air traffic control was best served by the least number of aircraft types, it had been agreed to turn the flying job over to the British and the Americans. Nevertheless, the French wanted a part in the operation and so they offered to build a third and much needed airfield, Tegel, in their sector. It was an old German tank ground and well suited for the purpose.

The French commandeered thousands of Berlin citizens and made ingenious use of rubble to supplement the limited building material in Berlin. In remarkably short time the airport was finished and ready except for one serious obstacle: directly in the traffic pattern stood a broadcasting antenna some several hundred feet high. Moreover, it was the transmitting antenna for the prin-

cipal Russian station in East Berlin. Clearly Tegel could only serve a limited purpose so long as this antenna stood in the way.

The Americans and British set about negotiating with the Russians for its removal, and with, of course little hope. The French considered this solution utterly unrealistic and recommended the destruction of the tower. But it was the view of the British and the American authorities that this would be an extreme provocation and might endanger the airlift itself.

A few days later, without either warning or consultation, the French quietly but firmly locked in their offices the few Americans at Tegel. Then, without further ceremony a platoon of French demolition experts marched out to the tower and, with precision, blew it to the ground. Done with serious work for the day, the other side of their Gallic nature then emerged at a champagne party celebrating the great event.

In spite of the alarm of the Americans and the British, the French were convinced that the Russians would understand that it was the logical thing to do. In fact, the French were right. Russian retaliation was confined to minor harassment, a kidnapping or two.

More than 20 years have passed since those days. Most of the people who planned the airlift and the defense of Europe in the immediate postwar period are no longer on active service. Governments have come and gone. Many of the lessons learned by the West during those hectic and crucial days have been forgotten or have suffered the sea-change of two decades of the ebb and flow of western European politics. Not so with the Soviets, though. The monolithic nature of their government slows changes and retains the past further into the future.

World War II and its stepchild, the Cold War, are receding into history. If the Soviets remain quiet, with no more Hungaries or Czechoslovakias to stir old memories, the Cold War, and its premonitions if a Hot War, will recede even faster. A listing of contemporary problems by the average Western politician probably would not put the danger of war with the Soviets very high on that list. Soviet planners have a somewhat simpler problem with their own work generally uncomplicated by the voice of the people. Long-range international plans, whatever they may be, need not be subordinated to the immediate internal needs of the country. All that is needed is resolve and time to see these policies through.

A good example of Soviet resolve can be seen in the tremendous growth of the Soviet Navy. Post-World War II naval policy concentrated on the building of submarines. The submarine, with its ability to disrupt lines of communication, as a natural choice for an inferior seapower. However, disruption is not control and lack of control was perhaps decisive in Soviet decision-making during the Cuban crisis. The merchant fleet could not be escorted. Russia then turned to building a true fleet, a surface, seagoing Navy. Less than ten years later, the Russian flag can be seen in the Indian Ocean, the Caribbean and, most evidently in the Mediterranean.

Where does all this lead? Clearly the increasing budget pressures, if nothing else, probably spell a change in national NATO commitments in the coming years. If these changes are made with only budget considerations in mind, which is to say, mindlessly, then we can predict a process of rapid erosion and the eventual demise of this successful alliance. But if some real thought is given to force improvement, and if we accept the fact that the principal mission of NATO is to maintain the peace rather than to fight the war, then change is possible. It might even be a useful change, but we have to keep clearly in mind the fragile nature of this unlikely structure. And we must also keep in

mind the fact that if we begin pulling out support without having done our calculations, the structure will be irrevocably demolished. After that, we can only pray for the future of Europe in its present form. The means to preserve it will be gone.

MISS CLAUDIA PETERS AND MISS LAURA DE LA MADRID PARTICIPATE IN CALIFORNIA DRUG-ABUSE CONFERENCE

HON. CHARLES E. WIGGINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, several months ago the Commission of the Californias held a conference in Tijuana, Mexico, to discuss a problem of concerned citizens on both sides of the border. The subject was drug abuse.

The Commission of the Californias is an entity composed of Californians and representatives of the State of Baja California and the territory of Baja California Sur, the purpose of which is to develop better understanding and to promote the cultural and economic relations between the two nations. The commission has held two drug conferences, bringing together United States and Mexican officials and experts in the fields of education, rehabilitation, law enforcement, prevention, and manufacturing as well. A number of young people were included in the second conference and their contribution was very significant.

The first conference led to the enactment of more stringent drug-abuse laws in the State of Baja California.

The second conference has already resulted in the enrollment of 15 Mexican representatives in a forthcoming drug education program operated by the California Department of Education. The second conference also motivated the compilation of the drug laws of the United States and Mexico, which was printed in both Spanish and English.

The chairman of the California delegation to the commission is our respected former colleague, the Honorable Ed Reinecke, the Lieutenant Governor of California. Also participating were Miss Claudia Peters, a student in San Diego, and Miss Laura de la Madrid of Tijuana. Lieutenant Governor Reinecke is justly proud not only of the achievements of the conference, but of the contribution made by these two young ladies. I share his pride for their contribution.

To provide for the recognition that these young ladies deserve, I insert their remarks before the commission in the RECORD:

REMARKS BEFORE THE COMMISSION OF THE CALIFORNIAS

(By Claudia Peters)

Good morning ladies, gentlemen and honored guests, the theme of the Commission of the Californias Conference is the discussion of various problems related to drug abuse.

This is the first time youth has been asked to participate. We feel that this is an important addition to the drug discussion.

Being young might lend to our bias. It is hoped that through the formal presentation by youth, the observations and comments made by them during the workshop sessions and the meaningful input of other conference participants, we will be able to find acceptable and relevant approaches to solving the drug problem.

The problem of drug abuse in youth is complex and affects all levels of society. Unfortunately, many of our reactions are based more heavily on emotional responses than on facts. This lack of accurate information has created dulling effects on many treatment, educational and legislative programs. Some illustrations of inconsistencies are: smoking a marijuana cigarette is a misdemeanor, while the possession of an unlighted marijuana cigarette is a felony; possession of LSD is a misdemeanor, yet it is proven to be a more dangerous drug than marijuana. Historically, the attack on drug abuse seems to be without complete logic, and thus has added more confusion to an already complex medical and social problem.

Before delving into more specialized aspects of drug abuse, it is necessary to define the term. The definition of drug abuse most readily accepted by youth is that definition included by Joel Fort, M.D., in his book, *The Pleasure Seekers*. To Dr. Fort . . . drug abuse "refers to the use of a drug, usually the excessive use, or preoccupation that produces definite impairment of social or vocational adjustment on health."

Dr. Fort also defines drugs as "any biologically active substances used in the treatment of illness or for recreation."

This definition of a drug brings up two very important points. First, a drug is any biologically active substance, thereby including aspirin, antihistamines, alcohol, etc., as well as the drugs most commonly associated with youthful drug use. In other words, all drugs, legal or illegal do have the potential for abuse, depending upon how and why a person is using a drug. In addition to health hazards, the user of an illegal drug is violating the law and therefore running the risk of impairing social or vocational adjustment.

The second important point is that drugs are used for recreational purposes. Many individuals enjoy their drug experience. Adults enjoy drinking with friends. Youth enjoy "getting high." Drugs can be a very pleasurable experience, although most individuals will acknowledge that whenever one takes a chemical into his body, he is taking the risk of an unpleasant reaction or experience.

If we mold our discussions around a really humane aspect, giving attention to the value systems of all involved, we will obtain the best results. Through experience, education, and factual evidence, youth has gained both knowledge and misinformation. A fear approach is no longer possible or effective. More realistic outlooks must be approached and recognized.

Thus, operational assumptions should be stated in order to set up a common ground for discussion.

The American culture is very much a drug-saturated society. People are often encouraged to take a chemical if they want to alter the way they are feeling. If you doubt this statement, watch the commercials on TV any evening. No one will doubt that most drugs are very beneficial when used properly. A drug in itself is not good or bad, it is what an individual does with it that is either beneficial or harmful. Because of the American drug-oriented society, drug abuse has become very much a problem. It is not entirely a problem of youth either. There is a significant number of housewives who are abusing amphetamines, and one of the last estimates of the number of alcoholics was 8 million (a conservative estimate I might add).

It is common knowledge at this point in time that legal and illegal drugs will continue

to be widely available and promoted. Certain restrictions and controls should be considered for curbing the enormous production of un-needed amounts of certain drugs. The present environment may not be a fair setting for youth to make a rational decision about drug use. The impact of effective education on rational decision making should be stressed. Needed are a number of new, creative and innovative approaches for effective drug education.

This brings us to the three aspects to be discussed in this conference: Drug Abuse related to (1) laws and law enforcement, (2) public health and rehabilitation, and (3) education. Formal recommendations of the California youth participants on each of these aspects will be presented in the individual workshops.

Thank you for your attention.

#### MESSAGE TO THE NARCOTICS COMMITTEE OF THE COMMISSION OF THE CALIFORNIAS

(By Laura Martha de la Madrid)

Ladies and gentlemen, it is very comforting for the youth of today to see how the Commission of the Californias has given such importance to the problem of drug abuse; the Commission has given it such a priority that not only has it invited Government Officials and highly specialized professionals from both sides of the border, but it has also invited the youth from both Californias to participate in the study and in the making of recommendations to fight this social plague which is not only reaching epidemic conditions in Mexico and in the United States, but in all of the world.

I would like to expose before this honorable Commission my particular opinion as a youth in a problem that has a social origin and begins in different forms depending on the environment in which the youth of our countries have to live in.

It is evident that the youth from a high economic level has all of the necessary funds available to receive high and costly education from their parents, but in reality all that they receive is an abundance of material things in exchange of what they really want and need, which is love and affection.

The youth of the middle class lives in a disintegrated family atmosphere, for the majority of the husbands and wives have to abandon the home to work, and this absence of both parents has a grave repercussion on them.

The adolescent of the poor class lives in need and despair and that seriously depresses him and on occasions leads him to delinquency.

Before such a perspective, I speak to you as a youth who wishes to dialogue with love and respect.

I say love and respect, because to me, these are the two fundamental things that must exist in every family so that the conglomeration of them may form a country of peace and happiness.

When I refer to love, I refer to love in the highest sense of responsibility and understanding.

When I mention respect, I refer to the respect that is not based on fear, nor the one that is imposed by force, but I refer to the natural respect that the son should have towards his father, based precisely in love and in the direct relation that should exist between father and son. The father is by excellence the symbol of social authority, but it should be understood as an authority that will surely dialogue and accept the faults of his children. It is also indispensable that the father show his respect towards his son by accepting him as an individual with all the rights and responsibilities that this implies.

We, the youth, should understand that our parents are not infallible, and if and when they should commit errors, we should by no means incur to inconformity or to rebellion,

but we should recourse to their help with a great sense of love and respect.

Our Governor, Milton Castellanos, not too long ago, expressed the following, at a meeting where family problems were discussed:

It is my understanding that the relation between father and son, and mother and son, should be exactly that of a parent towards a son. The friendship between parents and their children should be motivated by love and respect, because during childhood and in his adolescent years, the youth needs the father and also needs the friend. The tie between experience and the emotional, between the anxiousness and the serenity, should not lose that marvelous characteristic of respected confidence, of authentic love and honour, that are the basis for the success of future citizens."

And here, ladies and gentlemen, in the words spoken by Governor Castellanos, is the formula to develop your works about such important purposes, for it is imperative to destroy the drug plague before it destroys the most valuable harvest in the world—our expendable youth.

Thank you.

#### MESSAGE OF APPRECIATION TO THE COMMISSION OF THE CALIFORNIAS

(By Laura Martha de la Madrid)

Honorable Commission, ladies and gentlemen, in the last two days, through the different workshop meetings, the Commission of the Californias has given us, the youth of California and Baja California, a participation at the same level as that given to many outstanding officials of both of our Countries. This, of course, is a sincere confirmation to the position that is ours by right, but also as a demonstration of the Commission that it really is interested in finding practical, legal, but above all, humane solutions to the problem of drug addiction, that if it is true that it is a very grave problem, it is also a problem that has united the youth and the adults; it has united the Californias and it has united Mexico and the United States, in an atmosphere of love and respect, in looking and finding solutions to our common problem.

We have seen the true interest shown by the delegates that have taken part in the Education sub-committee under the chairmanship of Assemblyman José María Márquez. We heard the factual concepts presented by Dr. Donald McCune, Doctor Peter Frank and by Mrs. Lita de Romero Aceves.

In the Public Health workshop, under the direction of Doctor Ruy Castañeda, we assimilated the information made known to us by Mrs. Joan Friedenberg.

Under the Chairmanship of the Honorable Judge Arthur Alarcon, we became aware of the legal aspects of our problem but through it all, we also felt that from the law enforcement officer there is a new phase of understanding and consideration to this complicated social epidemic.

The research and translation done by Miss Tamia Hope and Attorney Wilfrido Ruiz did not escape our perception. The presentation by Mr. Evelle Younger, Mr. Joseph Bush, John Kelly and Jeff Day were outstanding. These names are but a few of those of the delegates that participated earnestly in the Law and Law Enforcement sub-Committee:

The presence and the messages by such remarkable persons as Governor Raymond Schaeffer, Mr. Pete Wilson, Mr. Rodolfo Chávez Calvillo, who comes as a personal representative of the Attorney General of Mexico, and Doctor Carlos García Álvarez from the Mexican Public Health Secretariat, clearly indicate to us that on this occasion there is indeed a true desire to help, not only the youth, but also the adults, in overcoming drug addiction.

It is indubitable that many hours of hard work have been employed by prominent



people with great knowledge of the problem that affronts us, and it would be very sad, but very sad indeed, if all of this work bore no fruit.

We have come to your call. We have modestly contributed with our grain of sand; now it is up to you, the government officials of both Countries, our parents, our teachers and the Honorable Commission of the Californias to put forth the recommendations, here agreed upon today, to the corresponding authorities and obtain the necessary enactment on them.

May I remind you that there is not a moment to lose; that the work that has been collected here does not end up in an old storage room and becomes dusty and full of cobwebs; no gentlemen, this file should remain on top of the desk of each and everyone of you to remind you that it is a matter of high priority and one that demands an immediate solution.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the youth of California; it has been great knowing you, let's keep in touch, as in not a too distant future, we will have the reins of our destiny in our own hands and we'll have to help one another.

To the Commission, my thanks for your interest and help in our search to the answer of one of our problems; there are many more answers, to many things, that we are looking for, but I assure you that today our future seems much brighter than when this meeting began two days ago.

To all of the delegates here today my love and respect; to my colleagues from California Peace.

Thank you.

#### SELECTION OF ARCHITECTS AND ENGINEERS

### HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 1, 1972*

Mr. BROOKS, Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 in order to assure the American people that the highest qualified architects and engineers are selected to design and offer consultant services in connection with the Federal Government's multibillion-dollar construction programs.

In the course of the next few years, thousands of architects and engineers will be required by the Federal Government to develop plans and specifications for the massive public construction projects that will be undertaken. Our task is to do whatever we can to secure the highest quality, the most efficient and effective services at the lowest reasonable cost.

Historically, architectural and engineering services have been recognized as presenting unique considerations insofar as procurement is concerned. A commitment to design a complex building is far different from purchasing the day-to-day supplies of Government. Structures are designed by architects and engineers only after a work contract has been awarded, and not before. Thus, the job of securing the best possible design and specifications for new buildings depends heavily upon the selection of architects and engineers with the highest qualifications who are also willing to

undertake contracts at fair and reasonable prices to the Government.

Under the provisions of my bill, architects and engineers would be invited to submit data as to their qualifications and performance by the relevant Government agencies requiring these services. Based on the data submitted, the agency head would rank architectural and engineering firms according to their qualifications to undertake a particular design contract then under consideration.

The next step would be for the agency head to negotiate with the highest qualified individual or firm and, if a fair and reasonable price can be agreed upon, award the contract to him. In the absence of a negotiated agreement on price, the agency head would then turn to the next most qualified architect or engineer for the purpose of negotiating a fair contract. This process would continue until an agreement is reached. The approach embodied here optimizes the possibility of the Federal Government's acquiring the highest qualified services that will be translated into the most efficient buildings and other facilities costing less to construct and maintain.

I introduced a similar bill in 1970 which passed the House, with amendments, in the closing days of the 91st Congress. However, it did not reach the floor of the Senate for full consideration. I believe we should act at once to complete this most important piece of unfinished business. I urge all Members of Congress to again give this bill the greatest possible degree of consideration. The American people expect us to insure that Federal projects receive the most creative and capable architectural and engineering services available. The text of my bill is as follows:

H.R. 12807

A bill to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 in order to establish Federal policy concerning the selection of firms and individuals to perform architectural, engineering, and related services for the Federal Government.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 (40 U.S.C. 471 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new title:

#### "TITLE IX—SELECTION OF ARCHITECTS AND ENGINEERS

##### "DEFINITIONS

"Sec. 901. As used in this title—

"(1) The term 'firm' means any individual, firm, partnership, corporation, association, or other legal entity permitted by law to practice the professions of architecture or engineering.

"(2) The term 'agency head' means the Secretary, Administrator, or head of a department, agency, or bureau of the Federal Government.

"(3) The term 'architectural and engineering services' includes those professional services of an architectural or engineering nature as well as incidental services that members of these professions and those in their employ may logically or justifiably perform.

##### "POLICY

"Sec. 902. The Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the Federal Government to negotiate contracts for architectural and

engineering services on the basis of demonstrated competence and qualification for the type of professional services required and at fair and reasonable prices.

#### "REQUESTS FOR DATA ON ARCHITECTURAL AND ENGINEERING SERVICES

"Sec. 903. In the procurement of architectural and engineering services, the agency head shall encourage firms engaged in the lawful practice of their profession to submit annually a statement of qualifications and performance data. The agency head, for each proposed project, shall evaluate current statements of qualifications and performance data on file with the agency, together with those that may be submitted by other firms regarding the proposed project, and shall select therefrom, in order of preference, based upon criteria established and published by him, no less than three of the firms deemed to be the most highly qualified to provide the services required.

#### "NEGOTIATION OF CONTRACTS FOR ARCHITECTURAL AND ENGINEERING SERVICES

"Sec. 904. (a) The agency head shall negotiate a contract with the highest qualified firm for architectural and engineering services at compensation which the agency head determines is fair and reasonable to the Government. Provided, however, if deemed appropriate the agency head may, before selecting the highest qualified firm, request alternative methods of approach to the solution of the problem and concepts of the scope of services required. In making such determination, the agency head shall take into account the estimated value of the services to be rendered, the scope, complexity, and professional nature thereof.

"(b) Should the agency head be unable to negotiate a satisfactory contract with the firm considered to be the most qualified, at a price he determines to be fair and reasonable to the Government, negotiations with that firm should be formally terminated. The agency head should then undertake negotiations with the second most qualified firm. Failing accord with the second most qualified firm, the agency head should terminate negotiations. The agency head should then undertake negotiations with the third most qualified firm.

"(c) Should the agency head be unable to negotiate a satisfactory contract with any of the qualified firms, he shall, in his discretion, either select additional firms in order of their competence and qualification, or re-issue a new request for proposals."

#### MIDDLETON MARCHING KNIGHT BAND

### HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 1, 1972*

Mr. BYRON, Mr. Speaker, for 2 years in a row, western Maryland has been honored to represent the State of Maryland in the 1972 Festival of States in St. Petersburg, Fla.

This year the Middletown Marching Knight Band of Middletown, Md., has earned this high honor. The Middletown Band will be in Florida from April 3 to April 9, and I would like to congratulate them on this fine achievement.

The Middletown Marching Knight Band is 17 years old. When first organized, the band had 35 members and has now increased to 140 marching members. The band was selected as Maryland's of-

ficial band in 1969 and was given its second invitation to represent Maryland in the Festival of States. The Marching Knights, under the direction of Mr. Mar- rone for 15 years, has won many local honors and prizes throughout the State of Maryland. They have participated in local parades, half time shows at sports events, and carnivals in Frederick County.

I wish them success in their Florida sojourn. I know the band has earned this honor, and I wish them well.

## NO FAULT AUTO INSURANCE

### HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, currently in the State of Alaska, as in many States, there is a growing demand for a no fault automobile insurance, that would allow for more reasonable insurance premiums, and end petty or overly imaginative law suits. Today I am submitting into the RECORD two resolutions from local governments in Alaska calling for action on this issue.

One is a resolution drafted by the Kenai Peninsula Borough, Bruce F. Noah, assembly president, and the other has been drafted by the city council of the city of Seward, R. F. Richardson, mayor.

The resolutions follow:

#### RESOLUTION 72-2 R

#### A RESOLUTION RELATING TO "NO-FAULT" OR "FIRST PARTY" INSURANCE

Whereas, the American insurance industry has been a vital factor in the overall development of the basic concept of automobile liability insurance, and

Whereas, the dramatic growth of the economy of the nation and the expanding use of motor vehicles has created an unprecedented demand for protection from serious financial loss from automobile accidents, and

Whereas, the present system of automobile liability insurance has created dependency on the courts, delay in the prompt settlements of claims and serious hardship for a great many of those involved in automobile accidents, and

Whereas, a new concept of automobile, bodily injury and property damage insurance has been advocated in some states called "no fault" or "first party" insurance, and

Whereas, this no fault insurance holds promise of reducing court calendars, speeding claims settlements and perhaps lowering premiums through more effective handling of claims

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Assembly of the Kenai Peninsula Borough:

1. That the State and Federal governments be requested to initiate legislation which would promote no fault bodily injury and property damage automobile insurance.

2. That the State and Federal governments are requested to investigate the current programs in effect in other states and to provide an interim report to the citizens of Alaska on the merits or demerits of these programs.

3. That copies of this resolution be sent to Senator Mike Gravel, Senator Ted Stevens, Representative Nick Begich, Governor William A. Egan, Senator Bob Palmer, Representative Keith Specking, Representative Clem Tillion, Kenneth W. Kadow, Commis-

sioner, Department of Commerce; Cloyce A. Drake, Director, Division of Insurance; Hon. Gene Guess, Speaker of the House and Hon. Jay Hammond, Senate President.

Adopted by the Assembly of the Kenai Peninsula Borough this 18 day of January, 1972.

#### RESOLUTION No. 843

Whereas, the American insurance industry has been a vital factor in the overall development of the basic concept of automobile liability insurance, and

Whereas, the dramatic growth of the economy of the nation has created an unprecedented demand for protection from serious financial loss in accidents arising from the expanding use of motor vehicles, and

Whereas, the present system of automobile liability insurance has created a dependency on the courts, a delay in the prompt settlement of claims and a possibility of serious financial hardships for those involved in automobile accidents, and

Whereas, a new concept of insurance has been advocated in some states which is known as "no-fault" or "first party" insurance which holds promise of clearing court calendars, speeding claims settlements and perhaps lowering premiums through more effective handling of insurance claims,

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the City Council of the City of Seward, Alaska, that the State and Federal Government be requested to initiate legislation which would promote this new system of automobile insurance, and

Be it further resolved, that the State and Federal Government are also requested to investigate the current programs in effect in other States and to provide an interim report to the citizens of Alaska on the merits or demerits of these existing programs.

Passed and approved by the City Council of the City of Seward, Alaska this 17th day of January, 1972.

#### EDITORIAL—"EXECUTIVE ORDER 11490"

### HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, on December 14, 1971, I placed before you a most disturbing and thought-provoking editorial that had appeared in the largest newspaper in my district, the Santa Ana, Calif., Register. Entitled "Tyranny's Timetable," it predicted a dictatorship in the United States in 1984, right on George Orwell's schedule, if present policies continue.

Now I would like to take this opportunity to supplement this editorial with its sequel, in the same newspaper on December 11, 1971, entitled "Executive Order 11490." The editorial follows:

#### EXECUTIVE ORDER 11490

Returning to the subject of our editorial, "Tyranny's Timetable," we are advised by a scholar of libertarian thought that we were in error in designating 1984 as the date of the emergence of dictatorship in the U.S. "The power already is in the hands of the executive branch of the government to provide for complete control," our friend advised.

He explained that politicians use power as ordinary people use money. They don't use it all at once.

It is difficult for us ordinary mortals to keep up with the manipulations by the politicians, so you may not know when all this power was handed over to the President.

It happened on October 30, 1969, through a little matter called Executive Order 11490 "Assigning emergency preparedness functions to federal departments and agencies."

Executive Order 11490 makes fascinating reading. It was issued by President Nixon with the following preface:

"Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and pursuant to Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1958 (72 Stat. 1799) the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, the Defense Production Act of 1950, as amended, it is hereby ordered as follows:"

The order starts out:

"Whereas our national security is dependent upon our ability to assure continuity of government, at every level, in any national emergency type situation that might conceivably confront the nation..."

The language is interesting, especially "emergency type situation." We have learned that an emergency exists when the President says it exists. The executive order continues for 11 pages in the Congressional Record (Sept. 27, 1971) covering every subject imaginable. We will cite a few.

The Attorney General was ordered to (among many other things) "Develop emergency plans for the control of persons attempting to enter or leave the United States."

Among the other emergency programs assigned to the Post Office Department is "censorship of international mails." You'll find that under Part 6, (1) (a).

Thumbing through the executive order, we find "Part 10—Department of Labor, Sec. 1002 Functions. The Secretary of Labor shall: Develop plans and issue guidance designed to utilize to the maximum extent civilian manpower resources..."

Under Part 18, the Federal Communications Commission is ordered among other things to "develop plans and policies covering... construction, activation or deactivation of broadcasting facilities and services..."

Under Part 25, The Securities and Exchange Commission is instructed to collaborate with the Secretary of Treasury in the development of emergency financial control plans including "temporary closure of security exchanges, suspension of redemption rights and freezing of stock and bond prices if required in the interest of maintaining economic controls."

Also under this part is the provision for "The prevention of the flight of capital outside this country..."

It should be clearly understood that these emergency powers do not relate solely to emergencies through military attack by foreign powers. It applies to "any national emergency type situation that might conceivably confront the nation..."

When our friend advised us we were in error in assigning the date 1984, he further surprised us with the information that when George Orwell first wrote his book, the date used was 1948. His publisher advised him that the public would not buy that idea since the date of "Big Brother take over" was too soon. If he could make it read as a science fiction piece, it would be bought and read. So the date 1948 was transposed to become 1984.

Fascinating.

Since an increasing number of people are expressing great concern about this and related Executive orders, and advance some strong arguments to justify their concern, I believe it is time we looked into this subject thoroughly. Consequently I have introduced House Reso-



lution 772 for this purpose. The text follows:

H. RES. 772

Whereas the use of Executive orders by the President of the United States as a means of determining national policy and acting in lieu of legislation appears to be increasing; and

Whereas the existence of Executive orders which were originally intended for use in a wartime or other major emergency situation have given rise to apprehensions that they might be invoked when no major emergency actually exists, thereby drastically threatening personal freedom in the United States for insufficient reason; and

Whereas the need for, and the extent of authority to be exercised under, Executive orders has not yet been clearly defined; and

Whereas a potential appears to exist for bypassing the lawmaking action of Congress as the body of elected representatives of all the people of the United States by means of Executive orders issued by the President: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the appropriate committee or committees of the House should undertake, at the earliest practicable date, a full-scale investigation of the basis, scope, nature, and exercise of the President's power to issue Executive orders.

## THE POLITICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL OIL INDUSTRY

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, Bernard D. Nossiter's article in the Washington Post of January 29, 1972, highlights the importance of the current negotiations between the world's major oil exporting countries and international oil companies. The oil nations are seeking at least a 20-percent share in the ownership of the companies and a timetable leading to 51 percent effective control. Either could drastically alter the geopolitics of the international oil industry. I recommend Mr. Nossiter's remarks to my colleagues. His article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 29, 1972]

### NEW OIL TALKS COULD RESHAPE WORLD ECONOMIC, POLITICAL MAP (By Bernard D. Nossiter)

GENEVA, January 28.—In Jeddah, the Saudi Arabian capital, two men are due to begin talks on Tuesday that could drastically reshape the world's economic and political map.

Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, the Saudi petroleum minister, will meet in his office with Frank Jungers, president of Aramco, the Arabian oil-producing creature of four giant American concerns. They will discuss an innocuous sounding word, "participation." It stands, however, for nothing less than a demand from the oil states of the Middle East to tear up their old concession agreements and deal themselves in for a share of the ownership in the companies exploiting their one great resource.

For a starter, the oil nations are demanding at least a 20 per cent share. But they also insist on a fixed timetable that would ultimately assure them 51 per cent, effective control.

In brief, the oil states—not only in the Middle East but also in Africa, South America

and Southeast Asia—have now determined to end their role as more or less passive collectors of royalties on the oil that Western companies extract from their lands and seas. National governments want to become first junior and then senior partners in managing and controlling their most valuable asset.

In Jeddah, the resourceful Yamani, an elegant man who sports a black mustache and goatee, will speak nominally for the Persian Gulf producers alone—Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Qatar, Kuwait, and Abu Dhabi. In fact, he talks for five other nations as well who are joined together in the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries or OPEC. The other five are Libya, Nigeria, Venezuela, Indonesia and Algeria. Together, the OPEC nations account for about seven of every eight barrels of oil exported to the non-Communist world.

Junegers, in turn, will nominally speak only for Aramco. But behind him stand Aramco's four parents—Standard Oil (New Jersey), Standard of California, Texaco and Mobil. Moreover, alongside this quartet are the other four decisive oil "majors"—Gulf, British Petroleum, Shell (a British and Dutch concern) and the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (CFP). The big eight, locked together in exploiting consortia all over the globe, extract three of every four barrels shipped to the non-Communist nations.

The eight, plus the independent Atlantic Richfield, have already met once with Yamani and representatives of all the other OPEC nations except free-wheeling Libya. That took place here in Geneva on Jan. 21. At this preliminary meeting, Yamani sketched out what participation means. The well-coordinated company men listened, and, by pre-arrangement, each addressed himself to one specific difficulty posed by the demand.

#### CRUCIAL POINT

The crucial point, however, is that the companies did not say "yes," and they did not say "no." In private, some of their key executives in London acknowledge that national share ownership is inevitable; the only questions—enormously difficult to resolve—are how soon and on what terms. Indeed, as these company men point out, the new, and generally less profitable concessions now being granted, typically provide for some ownership stake by the host country.

To appreciate the importance of all this, the decisive role of oil as a source of energy, as the fuel for factories, cars, heat and anything that requires power, must be understood.

No less than 80 per cent of Japan's energy comes from oil; for Western Europe, the figure is 55 per cent and for the United States, 44 per cent. OPEC nations, in turn, supply 80 per cent of Japan's oil and 87 per cent of Western Europe's.

The organization's members provide now only about 17 per cent of the heavily-protected American oil supply, and that is largely from Venezuela. But the demand for energy is rising so rapidly that the industry estimates that by 1980, the United States will be importing about 7 million barrels daily from the Middle East alone, nearly 30 per cent of a predicted 25 million barrel daily consumption.

Who controls oil, then, plays a central role in any modern economy.

#### VERY GRAVE SITUATION

"This is a very grave situation, very worrying," says one important oil company executive who, like his fellows in the industry, agreed to talk with this reporter only on condition that he not be named. The executive, an American, makes this argument against participation:

As the concession arrangements stand now, the companies are a buffer between the pro-

ducing and consuming nations. The companies have only economic, not political interests, and thus can better assure an uninterrupted supply of oil.

Once the national governments are cut in on the ownership, they will be unable to resist demands from their own people or more radical brethren, like Libya, to use oil as a political weapon, to cut the supply when a Western government offends them by, for example, support for Israel. Participation, in short, means politicizing oil.

Indeed, last November, President Ahmad Hasan Al-Bakr of Iraq spoke in just those terms. "The strategic aim of the revolution," he said, "should be to liberate fully the country's oil resources from foreign exploitation and control . . . to turn them into an effective instrument in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism."

#### NATIONAL CONTROL

Moreover, oil companies say, national control will wreck the industry's price structure, flood the world with oil, thereby reducing profits for both the companies and the host nations. The point here is that the big eight are a cartel, imperfect because they no longer control all the foreign oil, but largely effective. In a variety of ways, they carve up the world's markets among themselves and limit supply to prop up the price.

Although independent firms now extract about one-fourth of the oil that moves in world trade, they too have been impressed into the cartel. The U.S. Justice Department saw to that by providing an immunity from antitrust laws that permits all the companies not only to bargain as one with the equally cartelized OPEC, but also to give each other oil if one is cut off by an angry producer nation.

The companies are now saying, in effect, that national majority share ownership will upset this delicate arrangement, that each producing nation will be under strong pressure from its own citizens to step up the flow of its own oil, thereby breaking down the supply discipline that keeps up the price.

Finally, the great international concerns point to the need for billions of dollars of new capital investment needed to enlarge supplies in an "orderly" way to meet the growing oil demands of the 1970s and 80s. The company men argue that investors will be frightened off if Arab and other states move in on ownership, that the investment will simply not be forthcoming.

#### OPEC UNIMPRESSED

OPEC is singularly unimpressed by the political argument and its leaders even stand it on its head. At the organization's Vienna headquarters, the secretary general, Nadim Pachachi, a gifted Iraqi, replies:

"If we wanted to stop oil to the United States, the lack of participation would not stop us. That is the right of a sovereign state, regardless of whether it owns shares in a company. Look how your government cuts off strategic materials to the Soviet Union without participation in companies. The political weapon is already there. Fifty one per cent participation won't change it."

At his handsomely furnished Lausanne apartment, Oil Minister Yamani took up the theme from a different stance. He observed that Algeria has already taken over its oil; that the Iranian concession runs out in 1979 and that Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi has said no new one will be granted; that Venezuela is preparing to take over its oil when its concessions expire in 1983; that Libya has nationalized British Petroleum's assets. "The others," he said, "have to do something politically speaking for their own public opinion. We must start quickly on the participation process to assure the companies any participation in the concessions."

For Yamani, the alternative is plain: either the companies sell the government a share

in their concerns or the pressure from within their own countries will force every oil state to nationalize the properties.

Pachachi, the OPEC official, scoffs at the idea that national governments cannot run a cartel. "We are not stupid enough" to break the price of oil by flooding the world with it. We want to utilize this asset. We are as interested (as the companies) in maintaining the price level. It is a wasting asset, not replaceable. So we must make the maximum use of it."

He concedes that heavy investment will be needed to expand supply and satisfy the growing demand. He concedes, too, that only Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Kuwait will have idle resources for this task and that inevitably Western capital will be required. But Pachachi argues that Westerners need not be scared off by a participation arrangement, that the companies will still be shareowners, that both countries and companies have a joint interest in rational and profitable operations.

#### COMPANIES DIVIDED

In fact, the companies are far from single-minded about the principle of cutting the governments in. According to insiders, Shell, CFP and Gulf have virtually accepted the notion. Gulf has traditionally been a hard-line company but the Mellon family, its dominant owner, is said to have shaken up the management. Last year, I. G. Davis, Gulf's executive vice president, told the New York Society of Security Analysts: "One can understand the desire of the producing country to have a more effective voice in the planning, producing and disposal of crude oil produced in their country. This is particularly so where petroleum is the principal and sometimes only natural resource and finite and depletable resources at that. One can even foresee a beneficial mutual understanding resulting from joint consultation. . . ."

The big eight's undecided members are said to be Jersey Standard, British Petroleum and Mobil. Only Texaco and California Standard are reported to be insisting that a deal is a deal, a concession is a concession until it expires, and no rewriting shall take place.

#### UNITED ON TACTIC

Whatever their differences on the principle, the companies are united on their tactic: let us not hurry any changes. They argue that last year's big bargain at Tehran, where the companies agreed to a stiff increase in the royalties they pay the host nations (in foreign oil, royalties are called taxes so that the American firms can offset them against taxes that they would otherwise pay to Washington) was supposed to assure five years of "stability."

Even the most outgoing concerns insist

that participation should not begin until the Tehran deal runs out at the end of 1975.

The companies have just reluctantly agreed to enlarge the Tehran deal, increasing their payments by 8.5 per cent or about another \$700 million a year to the Persian Gulf states alone. But that settlement was made to compensate for the devaluation of the dollar, the unit of account in which oil royalty-taxes are figured, and thus is not seen as a violation of the "stability" principle.

#### OPEC ARITHMETIC

On the other side, Yamani regards delay over the participation question as politically impossible. He will not spell out the OPEC demands in detail. But he hints that a start on participation, the granting of a minority share, must be made soon and that OPEC expects its 51 per cent share within a decade.

Apart from the time scale, the other great issue in these crucial talks is how much the producer governments will pay for their shares. Yamani says that OPEC has determined to give no more than the net book value of concessionaires' assets above the ground.

Assume, for example, that Aramco has \$800 million worth of rigs and the like but, after depreciation, now values these installations at \$300 million. Then Saudi Arabia would pay only one-fifth of this total or \$60 million for its initial, 20 per cent share.

That kind of arithmetic horrifies the companies. They insist they are entitled to be paid for the loss of their future profits on oil in the ground, profits they expected to reap during the lifetime of their concessions. Since many of the concessions do not run out until the next century—one in Kuwait expires in 2026—the companies are asking a lot of money.

How much is their secret since they do not reveal mestic companies have suction, although this is understood to be the most profitable part of their global operations. In any event, it is likely that the difference between the country proposals and the company position is several billion dollars.

However the lengthy negotiations beginning at Jeddah this week turn out, it is also clear that consumers in the West can only shudder at what is happening. Even if the two cartels—companies and nations—reach an amicable agreement that assures the supply of oil, both have a vested interest in pushing prices higher and the means to do so.

Some help will come from the growing discoveries of oil in the Western-controlled North Sea. Some may come from Alaska if the ecological worries can be laid to rest. Additionally, exploration off Indonesia's shores is likely to yield more oil.

#### EXPANDING DEMAND

But all these sources together, it is estimated, can not possibly replace over the next 20 years the Middle East and African oil needed to satisfy the expanding demand.

Moreover, the bulk of these concessions, too, will almost certainly be held by the big eight's cartel. At best, these new sources then will provide some safety margin for supplies but their exploitation will be controlled to prevent any fall in price.

It is clear then, from both the point of view of supply and price, that new energy sources must be tapped as long as wealthy nations demand rising material standards. These sources exist—oil from shale and tar sands, nuclear energy, possibly energy from the sun.

Typically, however, their exploitation has been held back, often at the insistence of oil companies that do not want rival fuels developed. Shale oil is the classic case; there both the major international concerns and domestic companies have successfully prevailed on the U.S. Interior Department to lease the shale lands only recently and then on the smallest scale.

Elsewhere in the world, rich nations like Japan are making a determined effort to free themselves from both OPEC oil and from the big eight companies. By 1980, Japan is expected to cut its dependence on oil as an energy source from 80 per cent to 68 per cent. And a smaller share of that oil will be coming from OPEC members.

For American consumers, the major policy question posed by the new round of cartel-to-cartel talks is this: how to find new sources of energy and how to exploit them outside the existing corporate structure.

#### PRESIDENT NIXON IS KEEPING HIS WORD

#### HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 1, 1972

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, last week the President of the United States withdrew an additional 7,200 soldiers from Vietnam.

On January 20, 1969, there were 532,500 Americans enduring the perils of an Asian war. Today there are 136,500 Americans in Vietnam who are planning to come home.

Mr. Speaker, President Nixon is keeping his word.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Wednesday February 2, 1972

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*I beseech you to lead a life worthy of the calling to which you have been called, eager to maintain the unity of spirit in the bond of peace.—Ephesians 4: 1, 3.*

O God, Thou everlasting sustainer of our spirits, we come to Thee seeking peace, strength, and wisdom as we endeavor to lead our Nation through these demanding and difficult days. We are weak, but Thou art mighty; we are impatient, but Thou art so very patient. Do Thou hold us with Thy powerful hand and all our lives through be Thou our strength, our shield, and our support.

For our families and friends, for our colleges and universities, for the city about us, for our Nation, and for the whole human race we pray and our prayer is that all of us may be led from ill will to good will, from fear to faith, and from things seen to things eternal, and to an ever-increasing experience of Thy presence in the hearts of men. In the spirit of Christ we offer our morning prayer. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

#### VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

(Mr. BADILLO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, the slaughter of 13 civilians by British troops in Northern Ireland Sunday followed the pattern of the mindless slayings of students at Kent State in 1970 and of unarmed prisoners at Attica Prison last September.

When will armies and police and gov-