

row, the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) be recognized for 15 minutes, and that following the remarks of the distinguished Senator from New York the other orders for the recognition of Senators previously entered into then take effect.

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

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 9 a.m. tomorrow.

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

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR MANSFIELD TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the orders for the recognition of Senators previously entered into, the distinguished majority leader (Mr. MANSFIELD) be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

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

QUORUM CALL

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the con-

clusion of the remarks of the distinguished majority leader tomorrow, there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business of not to exceed 15 minutes, with statements therein limited to 3 minutes, at the conclusion of which the Chair lay before the Senate H.R. 14370.

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

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT FROM FRIDAY UNTIL 10 A.M. ON MONDAY

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business tomorrow, it stand in adjournment until 10 o'clock a.m. on Monday, September 11.

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

PROGRAM

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, the program for tomorrow is as follows:

The Senate will convene at 9 a.m. Following the recognition of the two leaders under the standing order, the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) will be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes. He will be followed by the distinguished Senator from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN) for not to exceed 15 minutes. He will be followed by the distinguished Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH) for not to exceed 15 minutes, after which the Senate will resume the consideration of H.R. 14370, the so-called revenue-sharing bill, the unfinished business being temporarily laid aside throughout the day of tomorrow.

Amendments to the revenue-sharing bill will be voted on throughout the day. Yea-and-nay votes will occur.

In view of the fact that there will be no Saturday session this week, it is necessary that the Senate make as much progress as possible tomorrow on the revenue-sharing bill.

Senators will therefore please be prepared for a full day of work tomorrow.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9 A.M.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 9 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and at 7:44 p.m. the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, September 8, 1972, at 9 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 7, 1972:

FEDERAL METAL AND NONMETALLIC MINE SAFETY BOARD OF REVIEW

Peter J. Bensoni, of Minnesota, to be a member of the Federal Metal and Nonmetallic Mine Safety Board of Review for the term expiring September 15, 1977; reappointment.

BOARD OF PAROLE

Thomas R. Holsclaw, of Kentucky, to be a member of the Board of Parole for the term expiring September 30, 1978, vice William F. Howland, retired.

IN THE ARMY

The following-named officer under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3066, to be assigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under subsection (a) of section 3066, in grade as follows:

To be lieutenant general

Maj. Gen. Phillip Buford Davidson, Jr.,
xxx-xx-xxxx U.S. Army.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 7, 1972:

NATIONAL SCIENCE BOARD

The following-named persons to be Members of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation, for terms expiring May 10, 1978:

Wesley G. Campbell, of California.
T. Marshall Hahn, Jr., of Virginia.
Anna J. Harrison, of Massachusetts.
Hubert Heffner, of California.
William H. Meckling, of New York.
William A. Nierenberg, of California.
Russell D. O'Neal, of Michigan.
Joseph M. Reynolds, of Louisiana.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

POSTAL SERVICE STANDARDS

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, I frequently hear unfavorable comments about the Postal Service. Not all such criticism is fair.

In this regard, I cite an article published in the Roanoke Times of July 5 which shows that this new organization is trying to give us better mail service.

One of the most encouraging developments in the Postal Service is the establishment of service standards. I am pleased to note that the Roanoke District of the Postal Service is meeting the national standard for local delivery—

next day delivery with 95 percent reliability.

This is most encouraging, and I hope to see more standards like this in the near future for all types of mail.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article, "Postal Service Attaining Goals, District Chief Says," be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

POSTAL SERVICE ATTAINING GOALS, DISTRICT CHIEF SAYS

(By Robert B. Sears)

Knocking the mail service is still a popular pastime a year after a government corporation, the U.S. Postal Service, took over the venerable U.S. Post Office Department.

But Charles L. Fallis, manager of the Roanoke District of the Postal Service, a man not without a certain bias about mail

matters, doesn't take much stock in the knocking.

Fallis, a 44-year-old career employee, who began as a railway postal clerk in Cincinnati 19 years ago, is a relaxed, low-keyed, pleasant-spoken executive, whose mild manner has to be deceptive.

Deceptive, for one reason, because his job is bigger than it sounds.

He is responsible for 509 post offices from Appomattox on the east to Princeton, W. Va., on the west, and from a point between Harrisonburg and Staunton on the north to the North Carolina line on the south. The district includes all of Southwest Virginia clear to Lee County and the Kentucky line.

Fallis believes the Postal Service is doing a good job, and here are some of the reasons:

Last November, the Postal Service instituted a nation-wide local area service improvement program for first-class mail.

"Our goal," Fallis said, "was to give next-day delivery service with 95 per cent reliability."

A letter mailed anywhere in the Roanoke District would be delivered to an addressee within the district the next day—95 per cent of the time.

The Postal Service set up a special section in Washington called ODIS (Origin Destination Information System) to scientifically sample the mail and see how well the 95 per cent goal is being met.

"It's run," Fallis remarked, in his soft, unprofane-sounding voice, "by a bunch of people, who don't give a damn whether we make it or not."

The Roanoke District has been rated by ODIS every two weeks, and Fallis is proud of his employees whose work has resulted in a 95 per cent for better rating every time.

On two occasions since the program began, ODIS has rated the Roanoke District 100 per cent.

The Roanoke District, too, like the rest of the nation, has an air mail improvement program, Fallis said.

Roanoke has not done as well in this department, but Fallis blames the weather and Woodrum Airport's proclivity for closing down.

"We constantly make 95 per cent," he said, "when we have the weather that will allow us to do it."

Postmaster General E. T. Klassen has stated that the Postal Service must save \$450 million in the fiscal year that began Saturday, that it must at the same time improve service (including courtesy), that it must not hire any new employees, and, indeed, must reduce employees, by attrition.

The \$450 million saving is to avoid a postage hike.

Long-time employees have been offered inducements to retire early.

How, then, is the Postal Service to improve service with fewer employees and less money in the face of a mail load estimated to be increasing at an average rate of two per cent annually?

Fallis has some answers:

Area Mail Processing is one. Roanoke will get it before September.

The Staunton Sectional Center already has it.

There are 53 post offices in the section, including Staunton itself. Letters mailed in any of the other 52 post offices are packed up and sent to Staunton for sorting to their destinations.

No sorting is done in the individual post offices.

Letters mailed in 2nd, 3rd, and 4th class post offices receive the postmark of the local post office.

But letters mailed in 1st-class offices—Clifton Forge, Staunton, Lexington, Buena Vista, Covington, and Verona—are not even cancelled there.

They are bundled up and shipped off to Staunton, where the cancellation they get reads:

"U.S. Postal Service, Va. 244."

A recent National Observer article indicated that the small-town postmark, like "Floyd," is doomed by Area Mail processing. Fallis said this isn't so.

Employees at small 4th class post offices aren't that busy, Fallis said, and they will continue to cancel letters with the local postmark. The same goes for 2nd and 3rd class offices.

If you live in Lexington or any other first-class post office in the Staunton Sectional Center jurisdiction and feel strongly about the local postmark, you can get it by putting your letter in a special slot at the post office, or handing it to a clerk and telling him to cancel it with the local postmark.

Another way the Postal Service aims to save money is by putting all carriers, including city carriers, in vehicles. Motorization of Roanoke City is not complete, Postmaster Melvin S. Ralke said recently, but it is on the way.

Fallis explains the saving this way:

The carrier delivers both parcels and letters, so you don't have a separate parcel post delivery system.

The method of giving every carrier a vehicle means that he can take ALL the mail for his route out at one time.

Now, another man takes a vehicle and puts extra mail a carrier can't carry in a relay box, where the carrier picks it up.

The Postal Service even has a name for the new system: "Park and Loop."

The carrier drives his vehicle to the block where he begins, parks it, then "loops" around the block on foot delivering letters. He saves his parcels, if any, to the last and delivers them and the letters destined for the same address as the final task in the block. Then he goes to another block and does the same thing.

The vehicles don't get driven excessively, because the letter carrier still does a lot of walking, Fallis said. For that reason, although the Postal Service has a lot more vehicles, they are expected to last for three or four years each.

"We came down here a year ago," Fallis said, "and we set goals for improved productivity (in mail processing). The Roanoke District at the end of the fiscal year (last Friday) has achieved 200 per cent of our goals for improved productivity."

Of the 19 districts in the Eastern Region of the Postal Service, Fallis said, the Roanoke District rates second.

"We are not going to cut any kind of service," Fallis said, "I don't think the public will stand still for any kind of cut. We are trying to give better service, not cut service."

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE'S LATEST NEWSLETTER

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, my eighth annual newsletter has just been printed for distribution to my constituents and I enclose its contents hereafter as part of this RECORD for the information of my colleagues:

CONGRESSIONAL CAPSULE FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN BILL HUNGATE

NINTH DISTRICT AGAIN REDISTRICTED

Under the court redistricting plan now in effect, the Ninth Congressional District lost several counties, some of which had been in our District as long as 80 years. Four counties south of the Missouri River—Franklin, Gasconade, Osage and Maries—are now in the Eighth Congressional District served by Congressman Richard H. Ichord. We also lost Adair County and our 7,000 Boone County constituents.

I would like to welcome those who are new to the Ninth District—about 16,000 residents of Ferguson in St. Louis County—and we are pleased that Putnam, Schuyler and all of Scotland Counties are once again in the Ninth District.

While it is unfortunate to lose constituents who have been part of the Ninth District for so many years, I am glad we were able to retain most of our District.

The characteristics of the Ninth Congressional District remain much the same. We are fortunate to have such a good cross-section of people from urban, suburban and rural areas.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERN

Great concern for our environment was shown during this session of Congress and

the House acted on many bills aimed at curbing pollution. Some of this legislation is listed on page 4 of this newsletter under "Legislative Record."

I hope you will continue to give me your views and suggestions on how to clean up our environment—whether it's a local problem or your opinion on national legislation.

Ninth District interest in solving our pollution problems was recently highlighted by the Environmental Protection Agency. In their June, 1972, "Citizens Bulletin" the following comments appeared:

AMERICANS WILLING TO PAY FOR ENVIRONMENTAL IMPROVEMENT

Recent polls show that Americans are more willing than ever to pay for environmental improvement. Results of a survey of constituents reported recently by U.S. Rep. William L. Hungate (D. Missouri) showed that 61.2% of the individuals answering were willing to pay more for products and utilities if they were made [virtually] pollution-free.

We should be proud that ours is one of the first Congressional Districts to express support and willingness to cooperate in improving our environment. Let us encourage others to follow our lead in the wholehearted national effort needed to solve our pollution problems.

VISITORS TO YOUR "MISSOURI EMBASSY"

This year we've had a record number of visitors in our Washington office. Over 500 individuals and families from Missouri have visited us—met the staff, seen our offices and the U.S. Capitol. We're always happy to help by providing official passes to the House and Senate galleries, schedule tours and offer whatever assistance we can to make your visit to our Nation's Capital more meaningful and pleasant.

From January through August this year, we've had visitors from every county in the Ninth District. Please let me know when you plan a trip to Washington and we'll be glad to send information that will be useful in scheduling your tour. Do drop by your "Missouri Embassy" whenever you are in our Nation's Capital! The welcome mat is always out at 439 Cannon House Office Building.

COMMITTEE REPORT

Judiciary Committee

This session of Congress the Judiciary Committee, on which I serve, held hearings and acted on many various proposals. These include improving our Federal courts, bus-ing, antitrust aspects of professional sports, family farm protection from conglomerates, hand gun controls, 18-year-old vote, equal rights for women, and narcotics control, treatment and rehabilitation—40 percent of all Congressional legislation is handled by the Judiciary Committee. As you can see this busy Committee is presented with some of the most difficult and important questions facing our nation.

It is no place for the timid. It is no place to avoid controversy. It requires a willingness to speak out on matters of conscience to protect and preserve our freedoms of speech, press and religion, even when such positions may be temporarily unpopular. It requires regular reflection on the value of each individual's right to privacy, dignity and respect. It is our duty to safeguard each person's Constitutional rights against any possible tyranny by the State.

Small Business Committee

As Chairman of the Subcommittee on Environmental Problems Affecting Small Business, I have held hearings on "Small Business Opportunities in Outdoor Recreation and Tourism" and "The Effect of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 on Small Business." (OSHA.)

The Assistant Secretary of Commerce urged greater emphasis on tourism for the benefit of small business. For every 100 person directly employed in the travel industry, 60 to

100 backup jobs are created in travel-related businesses. Eighty percent of the dollars earned from tourists stay in the local community. This is a greater percentage of locally retained revenue than would be generated by a new industry having an identical dollar volume.

There is a great potential for small business in outdoor recreation and the associated tourist trade. Our hearings produced increased awareness in the Federal Government of the need to concentrate our efforts on tourism, particularly in attracting more visitors from abroad.

The hearings on occupational safety and health have probably been some of the most important during this session of Congress. Over 83 witnesses, including 47 trade associations representing 2.2 million small businesses, appeared to testify regarding the administration of the law. I think the law is basically sound (although it needs several modifications), but it appears the bureaucrats have once again complicated matters by establishing rules and regulations that are unrealistic and too often unfair to the small businessman.

During the course of these hearings, the Assistant Secretary of Labor agreed to support some changes in the law to make it more reasonable for the small, independent businessman trying to comply. The Committee urged a compliance policy based on education and persuasion rather than intimidation. Witnesses included William S. Lowe of Mexico, Mo., President of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and Charles Bade of Owensville, President of the Missouri Oil Jobbers.

The Subcommittee's recommendations should bring about some important and beneficial changes in the OSHA law for all small businessmen.

NEWS FROM THE STAFF

Rosetta Pagnella has been a member of Congressman Hungate's staff since 1965 and has served as Administrative Assistant since 1969. Her knowledge of the Ninth District, its people and its projects, has been vital to the successful operation of this Congressional office. Rosi is the wife of airline pilot Bill Pagnella, and mother of four-year-old Brian and in her "spare time" led the office team, "Hungate's Hee Haws," to a third place finish in the congressional softball league.

Mary Lou Liggon is probably the first voice you hear when you call the Congressman and the first person you see when you visit the office. While swamped with appointments, invitations, visitors and phone calls, Mary Lou somehow retains her friendly disposition and keen sense of humor. Mary Lou, her husband Dave (a decorator), three children, Debbie, Lisa and Steve, and two dogs, Kelly and Teen, have adjusted well to midnight phone calls and 9 p.m. suppers.

Katie Straube and Sandi Panneton continue their competition to see who can help Congressman Hungate win the most social security and military cases. Katie, from Bowling Green, enjoys the single life in Washington and lives in a huge old townhouse with several girls near the U.S. Capitol. Sandi's husband, Roger, is working on his PhD and she is gaining recognition for expertise in her sparetime hobby of cake decorating.

Pat McBride makes sure Mr. Hungate sees every letter constituents write about legislation before it comes before the House for a vote. With a ready smile, Pat enjoys taking fellow Missourians on a tour of the U.S. Capitol and has become handy with the office camera to make sure all our visitors have a photo memento of their visit with Congressman Hungate.

Vicki Kessler, Legislative Assistant and Academy Secretary, urges all Ninth District young men who have applied to the service academies for classes beginning in 1973 to complete as soon as possible all the require-

ments necessary for them to be considered for appointment.

Jackie Hendricks, whose excellent secretarial skills are always in demand with our heavy volume of mail, is the mother of 8-year-old Butch, and finds Washington offers many opportunities for pursuing her varied interests.

Joyce Straube, back from college and back on the team, is cheerfully lending a hand wherever needed on the special projects constantly arising in the office. Eager and interested, Joyce is an asset to our busy office.

Larry Grewach of Troy, attended St. Louis University last year and participated in the George Washington University intern program this summer. Larry, now returning to school, contributed valuable service to his own Ninth District Congressional office.

Marion Ross, Washington Press Secretary, behind her desk constantly flooded with the papers and reports that flow through every Congressional office, works with the Congressman on press releases, newsletters and speeches. Marion loves the hectic pace of Washington so much that when she leaves our active office she goes home to her apartment overlooking one of the city's busiest streets. As editor of this newsletter, Marion hopes you'll enjoy this issue and welcomes your comments.

LEGISLATIVE RECORD: JANUARY-JULY, 1972, 92ND CONGRESS, 2ND SESSION

Some of the important legislation which has passed the House with my support:

Legislation to establish an institute to coordinate and disseminate information on juvenile delinquency and provide training for all levels of government dealing in control of juvenile offenders.

A bill to establish a national coordinating facility for data on the environment.

A bill to provide assistance to the States to help meet costs of vocational rehabilitation services for the handicapped.

A measure to prevent the capture and killing of ocean mammals for commercial purposes to prevent losses of endangered species.

A bill to authorize the Environmental Protection Agency to coordinate all Federal programs relating to noise control.

Legislation to set national goals to eliminate discharge of pollutants into the waters of the United States by 1985.

A bill to provide for the development of a comprehensive plan to control drug abuse.

A measure to extend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act and provide additional funds for water pollution control.

A bill to upgrade veterans education and training opportunities.

Legislation to provide a program for drug detection, treatment and rehabilitation for members of the Armed Forces.

The Rural Development Act to encourage small business and other development in rural areas.

A measure to provide additional source of funds for tree planting and seeding of national forest lands.

A bill to help finance telephone cooperatives and companies in rural areas.

A bill to establish a National Institute of Aging to research aging process, particularly health problems and develop treatment and cures.

A measure to advance the national attack upon the diseases of the heart, blood vessels, lungs and blood.

CONSTITUENT SERVICES, AN IMPORTANT PART OF OUR JOB

In this newsletter, I have emphasized national issues and legislation. This is because these issues affect everyone, and everyone deserves to know his Congressman's position and action on such matters.

However, dealing with national issues is only one part of a Congressman's job. An-

other part, a very important part, involves constituent services.

What are constituent services? Finding out why a Social Security check is late; helping a serviceman obtain a hardship deferment from overseas assignment; cutting the red tape involved in dealing with the Federal government.

I have deliberately directed the work of my office toward these and scores of similar "people-related" services since coming to Congress in 1964.

If you have a problem involving the Federal government, write or phone:

Congressman William L. Hungate, 439 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515, Area Code 202-225-2956.

PALESTINIAN TERRORISTS

HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 6, 1972

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, the display of moral depravity by the Palestinian terrorists at Munich yesterday is almost beyond belief. This senseless act of barbarism, seizing Israeli Olympic competitors and then murdering them, must outrage decent peoples and governments throughout the world.

The gathering together of young people from all nations to take part in this great athletic competition has always been looked on as a means of bringing nations together and creating a common area of understanding. These Arab criminals turned it into a political battleground.

This is not the first time that such actions of reckless disregard for human life and defiling of decency have been perpetrated by Arab terrorists. Unfortunately, past action, many of which resulted in greater loss of life, failed to arouse world outrage. Such failure merely encouraged these international criminals and served as a green light for them to continue to disrupt world peace and threaten the lives and safety of people virtually everywhere.

Instead of being all too quick to pass resolutions condemning Israel as they have done in the past, the United Nations must take a strong stand against Arab intransigence and Arab support for such emissaries of violence and hate.

It is not enough that we condemn those actions here. Our Ambassador to the U.N. should be instructed to introduce a motion of censure against the Arab nations that have failed to condemn those acts of violence. The U.N. should be asked to declare sanctions against those nations who harbor and encourage terrorists groups and activities. As a matter of our own national policy we should suspend all forms of aid, trade and commerce with those nations that provide support, assistance or the means in any form for these groups to exist and operate.

Mere words cannot express the contempt I feel—a contempt which I am certain that millions upon millions of the world's people share—for men who would aid or commit atrocities of this nature.

It is not enough to say that these people must be of sick minds. As a nation our Government must take all necessary steps to see that such actions are universally condemned and cannot reoccur.

THE COST OF LIFE INSURANCE

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, on July 24, 1972, I inserted an article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD about the cost of life insurance. I have since been contacted by Mr. Remmel H. Dudley, vice president of Metropolitan Life, and in the interest of presenting both sides of the issue, I call the following remarks by Mr. Dudley to my colleague's attention:

METROPOLITAN LIFE,
Washington, D.C.

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HUNGATE: In chairing your Subcommittee, of the Small Business Committee, I have observed you on several occasions, and have concluded that you are a fair-minded and a most reasonable Member of Congress. Hence, I am taking the liberty of writing you this letter.

In a recent Congressional Record you inserted the so-called "Shoppers' Guide to Life Insurance", released by the Pennsylvania Insurance Department. Metropolitan Life was mentioned therein.

At the outset, I want to emphasize that we have no interest in debating the Commissioner, nor are we asking that you do anything. The purpose of this letter—since you do have an apparent interest in this matter—is simply to make a couple of comments that we ask you to consider.

We were listed as only average in this guide. Frankly, we are not particularly seeking to be the lowest in price as the only way to accomplish that is to sell selectively. We have 48 million customers, and we take pride that our policyholders represent a true cross-section of the citizens of the United States and Canada.

This shoppers' guide provides only a limited measure of one artificial situation, and is not an indication of the real worth of a company which serves the entire market in all its aspects.

Even using average cost figures as shown in the guide, it must be realized that small changes in policy facts can alter the figures and produce entirely different rankings. For example, most companies in arriving at premium rates use the "age nearest birthday" whereas Metropolitan uses "age last birthday." Such facts as this were not taken into account in the guide, and would change the rankings significantly. Additionally, a difference in an individual's eligibility for the "preferred" rather than the "standard" underwriting classification would have a profound effect on the rankings. Since mortality rate is the largest single factor in the cost of life insurance, a ranking based upon our "preferred" class would put Metropolitan near the top in a ranking of costs.

The dollar and cents difference in cost between Metropolitan and the company ranked first in the guide is small when looked at in the relation of amount of premium—and is, in fact, no more than the amount by which the "cost" figures can be expected to change over a period of 20 years. In a mutual company such as ours, dividend scales would nor-

mally be changed several times over that long a period. It is evident that the soundest, best-managed companies are the ones that will achieve the most improvement in dividends in the future.

Metropolitan's growth over a period of 104 years, and its millions of policyholders who continue to buy more insurance from us, are ample testimony to our company's rank in providing real values to our customers.

As noted above, we have no desire to debate the pros and cons of this guide, but as a fair-minded Member of Congress—with an apparent interest in the guide—I thought you would be interested in these observations.

With kind personal regards, and looking forward to seeing you soon, I am

Sincerely yours

REMMELE H. DUDLEY,
Staff Vice President—Government Relations.

POSTAL SERVICE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recognizing the great interest that Members of Congress have in the progressive developments in the Postal Service, I am pleased to direct to their attention an address delivered by E. S. Donnell, co-chairman of the Sixth Annual Postal Forum, on August 28 to approximately 3,000 delegates to the Postal Forum.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY E. S. DONNELL

It's a privilege to serve as cochairman with Merrill Hayden at this Sixth Annual Postal Forum. I'm here in a dual capacity—as a representative of the mail order industry and my own company, which has been a partner with the Postal Service since our founding 100 years ago.

Last year, the mail order general merchandising companies had sales in excess of four billion dollars in their mail order operations alone. Moreover, the past three years they have enjoyed an 11% growth rate versus 8% for the past decade. Our industry is growing as more customers enjoy the convenience of catalog shopping. Unfortunately, continuing postage increases are forcing many to look at alternative means of distributing catalogs. And, incidentally, as many of you know, under current price controls, we have no way of recapturing these costs.

Montgomery Ward will handle over 300 million pieces of mail this year and this, in turn, will generate \$38 million in postal revenues. As a result of the importance of mail service to our company, our key executives have been deeply involved in the Postal Service and industry mail order activities. With me here today are Bill Allred, our vice president of catalog merchandising, currently president of the Mail Order Association of America, and Mac Holloway, our general traffic manager, a member of the Postmaster General's Technical Advisory Committee. It is natural that I welcome the opportunity to join with them in serving at this distinguished gathering today.

This 1972 Postal Forum is different from its five predecessors. It follows the first full year of operations by the Postal Service as an independent agency rather than a government department. Fortunately, at this historic moment in postal history, the service has an experienced, creative leader with Ted Klassen. He has won the respect of the service and the business community in the short time he has been at this post.

All of us here today recognize the multitude of problems faced by the Postal Service during its present transition. The challenge in this case must be recognized as more complex than any faced by an industry in the private sector.

The Postal Service has over 42,000 branches and stations. It has over 700,000 employees. It has an expense budget that exceeds nine billion dollars annually.

The commerce of the nation cannot pause while a transition is made in its Postal Service. The pressures for service are constant and urgent. There is little tolerance for failures. There is vocal concern and genuine alarm in many areas of the business community about the rising costs of mail distribution. And, although the intensity of political pressures has been blunted somewhat by the new law, it has by no means been eliminated.

How has this revamped Postal Service coped with its problems in its first year? Considering the magnitude of this undertaking, most of us would have to agree that it has done remarkably well.

Mail service generally has been maintained with no increase in the incidence of system breakdowns. There have been some specific improvements in service, notably in parcel service and in airmail service between major cities.

But, to many, the most encouraging development has been the growing evidence of a new attitude at the Post Office. It is an attitude that seems natural to businessmen. I'm talking about the attitude: "We want your business" and "We want more business." It is the attitude of concern for customers.

As a postal partner, we believe that the mail order industry objectives are identical with those of the Postal Service. We both want an efficient operation which provides good service at lowest cost.

Our industry gets no real benefit from playing one class of mail against the other since we are heavy users of all classes. We are convinced that our own interests will be best served if we can effectively help you bring total expense and total revenue into balance.

In the retailing industry, we know well that price increases do not necessarily increase profits. A far more common solution to narrow profit margins is to reduce prices selectively in order to attract new business and to generate incremental volume. And incremental volume is as important to the Postal Service as it is to industry.

In our business, a small increase in the sales per square foot in a retail store can move a store from a loss position to a profit position. It is easy to imagine how an increase in the speed of handling mail could attract more business and narrow the gap between postal service costs and revenues.

Increased productivity with little or no change in fixed costs would provide the kind of incremental volume that could generate several billion dollars in revenue.

As a means of increasing postal revenues, there might be virtue in a national marketing campaign in the various media promoting greater usage of postal services. An appropriate time would be with the completion of the major units in the bulk mail network. Such a campaign could attract support with an explanation of the importance of fully utilizing these new facilities in the shortest possible time.

Every citizen wants and needs an efficient, low cost mail service. Advertising mail provides the financial support that is essential to survival of the Postal Service as a low cost consumer service. Unfortunately, there is good reason to doubt that the general public is aware of the contribution that advertising mail makes to a sound postal system.

Many of those most interested in a self-supporting postal system are quite vocal in attacking the one category of mail which offers the best hope for achieving the kind of postal service they themselves want. It is this category which helps the Postal Service fulfill its social responsibility in providing lowest cost dissemination of news and educational materials.

At this Forum, we have gathered together people representing almost every segment of business and industry. And all of us recognize the simple economic fact that "the more business the Post Office gets, the lower cost per unit it can achieve."

It is only through this means of lowering the costs that all of us can benefit, regardless of the classes of mail we may use. As most of us know, Ted Klassen and his team are working now on recommendations for possible mail classification changes. Their deliberations will, I am sure, be long and agonizing. They must wade through and sift countless suggestions, always carefully evaluating the impact a change in one area may have on other areas.

Hopefully, what finally comes out will be price changes which will (1) permit sharper pricing practices for workload sharing by mailers; (2) produce revenues for the Postal Service well in excess of costs; (3) produce savings to mailers well in excess of the extra work they do.

In closing, I want to take this opportunity on behalf of the mail order industry to express our appreciation to the Philatelic Department of the Postal Service for their decision to issue a mail order centennial stamp in Chicago on September 27 this year.

To Postmaster General Klassen, and all members of his team, both in Washington and throughout the nation, we pledge our wholehearted support in working with you to achieve our common goals.

HOW SAD AND TRAGIC

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 6, 1972

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, how sad and tragic.

Today as we meet, the entire world is aware of the senseless acts of barbarism which took place in Munich during the Olympic games.

The entire world had an opportunity to watch on global television one of the most horrendous acts of terrorism ever committed.

Our sympathies go out to the families of these martyred young people.

These acts were not limited to the young victims of the Olympics. These acts were an assault on a nation of freedom-loving people and to the rest of us throughout the world who support a free Israel.

No one can stop the quest for a free and independent Israel. They can murder but we know that adversity and hostility are not new experiences to the Israeli people.

For centuries the Jewish people have wandered the globe, ridiculed, tormented, and unaccepted. But through those years a hope and a dream persisted—a nation of Israel.

We all must do more than merely condemn these beastly attacks.

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The time has come to take the most effective steps possible to end some of these international outrages.

There are countries that provide continuing refuge for such terrorists. The countries which provide a haven for persons unwelcome elsewhere are as guilty of murder as the terrorists themselves. The full weight of the world community must be brought to bear on those nations.

I fully support the belief that we should make every effort to have nations throughout the world boycott any other nation which provides sanctuary to these terrorists. If a country is so callous and so inhumane as to provide sanctuary to terrorists then we should make every effort to bring it to its economic knees.

One day soon, the Jews of Israel will finally have the peace they have so diligently sought these many years, and they will be free from fear and threat. One day soon, the Jews in the world's ghettos will be free of the medieval oppression that has kept them prisoners of ignorance. And one day soon, the Jews in the Soviet Union and its satellites will be free to leave.

How soon that will be, only God knows.

SEMIANNUAL PUBLIC OPINION POLL

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, I am mailing out this week my semiannual poll of public opinion to all my constituents to get the benefit of their thinking on the many issues still confronting us in the weeks ahead. I will report the results of the poll as soon as they have been tabulated.

The questions are as follows:

1. Do you believe that forced busing of school children from your neighborhood by court order will:

- Improve quality of schools.
- Eliminate segregation in schools.
- Reduce racial tensions.
- Add to the cost of local schools.

2. Should the President be prohibited from engaging our armed forces in hostilities for more than one month without a declaration of war by Congress?

3. Do you approve of selling large quantities of agriculture products to the Soviet Union?

4. Do you think the federal minimum wage should be increased from \$1.60 to \$2.00 per hour?

5. Should we start to phase out wage and price controls?

6. Would you vote to suspend air service to any country that harbors airplane hijackers?

7. Should Congress ban the sale of cheap, concealable handguns (the so-called Saturday Night Specials)?

8. Do you approve of unauthorized negotiations between American Citizens and North Vietnam?

9. How do you feel about amnesty for those who fled this country to evade military service? (Check one only please)

- For amnesty now.
- Would consider individual cases after a cease fire and POW return.
- Oppose amnesty of any kind.

10. Do you favor a federal law to authorize "no-fault" auto insurance?

11. Would you stop distribution of food stamps to strikers?

12. Do you think President Nixon was right when he resumed bombing and mined Haiphong Harbor after the North Vietnamese invasion in April?

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my May 1972 report from Washington to the residents of California's 30th District. The report highlights some of the major legislative and national issues being considered by the 92d Congress.

The report follows:

THE TAX CRUNCH: TIME FOR REFORM

Dear Constituent:

I would like to thank you for the letters you have sent expressing your views and concerns. Many of you have stressed the urgency for more comprehensive tax reform. One of the great injustices today is the heavy burden shouldered by low- and middle-income taxpayers to finance Government spending. Through years of special exemptions for big business and the privileged few, our progressive tax system has become a multibillion dollar giveaway.

In 1969 the Tax Reform Act was passed to improve our tax structure, but it failed to go far enough in its reforms. The Act, for example, did not stop the yearly occurrence of very wealthy persons paying little or no federal income tax. One year after its passage, there were still some 112 persons with reported incomes over \$200,000 who paid no federal tax.

Events since 1969 have dramatized the general ineffectiveness of current tax reforms. In 1971 the Revenue Act adopted a policy of reducing business taxes to create new jobs. I opposed this legislation because it gave too much tax relief to large corporations at the expense of the average taxpayer. In fact, it failed in its purpose to solve our high rate of unemployment, which continues to hover at 6%.

NEW INITIATIVES

For these reasons I have urged emergency legislation to close the glaring loopholes in our federal tax system. Known as the "Tax Reform Act of 1972", this measure would yield \$7 billion or more a year in new revenues and check staggering increases in our federal debt.

My bill would take the following actions: Tax capital gains on property transferred at death or by gift. This would produce \$2 billion a year and end a loophole whereby a person passes on his wealth to heirs without paying taxes.

Repeal the asset depreciation range system for big business. This would produce \$2 billion a year and end a tax break that is wasteful, and duplicates an already existing investment credit.

Tax income of foreign based subsidiaries owned by American companies. This would produce \$150 million a year and stop a loophole which allows American companies to move to countries with low priced labor at the expense of our own workers.

Tighten the minimum tax provision. This would produce \$3 billion a year, curbing the

practice of the very wealthy paying little or no income tax.

This bill will greatly help to restore confidence in our tax structure, gearing it more closely to an individual's ability to pay—and not to his ability to find profitable loopholes. Hopefully it will also be a stimulus for radical tax reform in favor of the average taxpayer.

JOB CRISIS CONTINUES

Despite 15 months of so-called recovery under new economic policies, this country is still experiencing an unemployment rate of nearly 6%. This represents some 5.1 million unemployed, with 600,000 in California alone. To get a true picture of our job crisis, we must add to this total at least another 788,000 unemployed who have been dropped from official labor statistics because they have given up the search. If we add to this 13.7 million workers receiving poverty level wages, we arrive at a total of 20 million workers seeking decent jobs. This is truly of tragic proportions.

The "trickle down" theory—which offers billions of dollars in tax breaks to business in hopes of creating jobs—has been a dismal failure. What is needed is public employment programs that will keep ahead of the constantly increasing numbers of new workers.

To achieve this goal, I have sponsored a Public Service Employment program to provide more than 1.15 million jobs to the unemployed and underemployed. For the purpose of planning local job programs, this bill requires local governments to form councils in which government, business, labor, veterans, community groups, both unemployed and underemployed are represented.

The bill would authorize \$3 billion the first year, \$7 billion the second, and \$10 billion for each succeeding year. Besides state and local public agencies, community groups, model cities programs and private organizations would also be eligible to receive funds.

Unlike current federal employment programs, this would be a continuing rather than temporary effort. Even if this country reached minimum levels of unemployment, say 3 or 3.5%, there would still exist areas of deep poverty and unemployment.

The amount of money spent for this program would be more than compensated by the dramatic recovery it would bring to our economy. Through jobs the once unemployed gain a greater buying power which, in turn, produces more revenues and lessens each individual's tax burden.

SENIOR CITIZENS

The older citizen is no longer resigned to live in poverty, loneliness and neglect. He is developing his own national movement for better living conditions and equality. It is a new pride and strength that deserves our respect and assistance.

The majority of our elderly continue to live on the meager income they receive from social security—an average of only \$117 a month. Almost 25%, or over 5 million of them, live in abject or near poverty. Although all of us have felt the current economic squeeze, it is the older citizen with his fixed income who suffers the most.

In 1971, when the House passed the welfare reform bill, it only provided a 5% increase in social security benefits effective this June. This would barely offset recent price increases, and certainly does not provide an adequate income for the older American. To remedy this situation I have supported a 20% boost in benefits beginning this year. With the welfare bill tied up in the Senate, and final action likely to be delayed, I have urged that we vote on the social security reform separately, adding to it the much needed 20% increase.

ON WAGE-PRICE CONTROLS

Under our present wage and price controls the burden falls most heavily on the individual worker rather than on industry. More restrictions should be placed on those industries who employ low priced labor in overseas factories and ship these goods back to the United States to compete in the American market.

ON POLLUTION

While there has been a lot of rhetoric, pollution continues. We all know that pollution is not just confined to New York, California or other heavily populated and industrialized areas. It is a national problem. The cooperation of both industry and the individual is necessary to bring it under control.

CLEAN WATER: GOALS AND TIMETABLE

The constant flow of waste, mostly untreated, from farms, factories and cities has transformed our lakes and waters into vast sewers. Many of our beaches and rivers have become a hazard to health. According to a 1970 U.S. report, 30% of our nation's drinking water contains potentially hazardous amounts of chemicals.

In 1956 the Federal Water Pollution Control Act established a permanent and wide ranging national control program. It provided grants for research and for construction of local sewage plants. In 1970 the Water Quality Act strengthened the law on federal permits and licenses, and regulated oil pollution and discharges of hazardous substances.

Last year I sponsored several clean water measures to expand construction of sewage plants and require tougher quality standards, public hearings and stiffer penalties. In late March of this year the House overwhelmingly approved a \$24.6 billion Water Pollution Control Act, incorporating several major aspects of my proposals. It set into motion a national timetable to make our waters safe for fish and recreation by 1981 and to eliminate all discharge of pollutants by 1985.

Major provisions of this sweeping legislation included:

National mandate to severely limit the discharge of pollutants by industry by 1976 and to achieve zero discharge by 1985.

Requirement that state discharge permit programs be subject to Environmental Protection Agency approval and continual review.

Sizable increase from 30 to 60% in the federal share for local waste treatment projects.

Citizen's right to sue violators of the Act if their interests were directly affected or if they had actively engaged in the administrative proceedings before the suit.

Fines of between \$2,500 and \$25,000 per day or one year imprisonment for criminal violations, and \$50,000 per day or two years for a second offense.

Differences in the House and Senate versions will be ironed out in a joint Congressional conference. It is expected that California will receive between one-half to one billion dollars when this bill becomes law.

PEACE IN VIETNAM

The Vietnam war has been one of deep frustration for all Americans. We have already sacrificed countless American lives, expended a decade of our best military and technical strength, and spent billions of dollars at the expense of much needed domestic programs. And yet there is no end in sight.

The recent edict by the President to mine North Vietnam harbors and to enforce a total economic blockade has embroiled us in a deeper conflict. While it is impossible to assess the outcome of this action, it is clear we are walking a global tightrope. It is my hope that

there is still time to find a peaceful solution to this war.

SERVICE ACADEMIES

I would like to congratulate an outstanding young man from my District, Midshipman Patrick A. Fayle, who is graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy this June. I am also announcing the appointment of 3 young men from my District to 2 Service Academies. To the U.S. Military Academy: Robert M. Gallo. To the Air Force Academy: David E. Johnson and Enrique Saa.

If you are interested in competing for 1973 nominations to the U.S. Academies, please contact my Los Angeles Office, 688-4870.

LEGISLATIVE NEWS

DRUG CONTROL

In an effort to stop the flow of drugs into the U.S., Roybal proposed to cut off aid to countries which fail to curb the sale of drugs to the U.S. This restriction was incorporated into the Foreign Assistance Act and various international loan programs.

JOBS FOR ELDERLY

Sponsored an initial 2 year program to create jobs for the older citizen. Known as the "Senior Citizen Job Corps Act", the bill would provide part-time community service jobs for unemployed low-income persons 62 years or older. Participants would work in such areas as social services, health, education, community improvement, anti-pollution, and economic development. The rising costs for housing, food, transportation and medical services have literally devoured their small savings and income.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

The House voted for a Roybal supported bill to extend the Equal Opportunity program for 2 years at a funding level of \$5.3 billion. The bill provides for such programs as an independent Legal Services Corporation; an expanded Head Start program for low-income children; a new Environmental Action program; continuation of the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps and VISTA; a new rural housing development and rehabilitation program; and new programs for the elderly totaling \$50 million.

TAX EQUITY

Last month the House Ways and Means Committee held hearings on a Roybal sponsored uniform tax bill. This legislation, which recently won the support of the Committee's chairman, would establish a uniform tax schedule for both married and unmarried taxpayers, removing all previous inequities in the tax schedule.

GREG FEHRIBACH OF INDIANAPOLIS: A LESSON IN COURAGE

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, October 1, 1972, 13-year-old Greg Fehribach son of Mr. and Mrs. William J. Fehribach, 7405 Glenview Drive East, Indianapolis, Ind., will receive his Eagle Scout Award, the highest rank attainable in scouting.

This award will be added not only to his other scouting achievements, but also to the recent Ad Altare Dei Medal, which he received recently from the Most Reverend George J. Biskup, Roman Catholic archbishop of Indianapolis, for his study of and work for his faith.

So what is unusual about this? Greg Fehribach cannot walk. He has never walked in his life. Victim of a congenital bone disease, his world is limited by what can be done in and from a wheelchair.

That has not stopped him from attaining these achievements I described above. It will not stop him from being a productive and valuable citizen of the society of our American Republic. And his example should show us all what someone can do—if they have the will and the courage, which Greg Fehribach certainly has.

OPERATION KEELHAUL REMAINS UNSOLVED

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Julius Epstein, the noted research specialist and historian, has done more than any living American to solve the mysteries connected with Operation Keelhaul following World War II. As a searcher for truth, Mr. Epstein understands that our people cannot solve our current problems and the uncertainties of the future unless history records the realities of the past. Especially is this so when the facts of Operation Keelhaul are in the possession of our Government and yet under the suppression of either major political party they are prevented from reaching the public so that the American people know the full truth about World War II.

Professor Epstein now reports that he has exhausted all efforts to complete his historical mission and that only a congressional investigation of Operation Keelhaul and its unwarranted secrecy from the people will complete this void in history and solve the question, why the suppression of truth, who is being protected, and why.

I insert a recent letter from Professor Epstein and his letter to the editor of the San Francisco Examiner, "Political Prisoners":

THE HOOVER INSTITUTION ON WAR,
REVOLUTION, AND PEACE,
Stanford, Calif., August 1972.

DEAR FRIEND: The American people are being kept in the dark about the mysterious Operation Keelhaul in World War II. With your help it can be revealed.

Early in spring 1954, I went to the Army's historical branch archives in Alexandria, Virginia, to do some research on the forced repatriation of millions of ardent anti-Communists to Stalin's gallows and concentration camps in Siberia during and after World War II. There is no doubt in my mind that this forced repatriation was a war crime as well as a crime against humanity, committed by the Americans, the British and the French just to appease Stalin, tyrant and mass murderer.

In the catalogue, I found this index card: "383.7-14.1 Forcible Repatriation of Displaced Soviet Citizens—Operation Keelhaul." I ordered the dossier. I was informed that it is closed, meaning classified Top Secret and therefore unavailable. The index card was immediately removed from the catalogue.

That forced repatriation was a crime can be proved by untold American documents, as

well as expressions by American political leaders, including presidents. For example, President Eisenhower said in a speech on May 7, 1953: "People that have become our prisoners cannot by any means be denied the right on which this country was founded . . . the right of political asylum against the kind of political persecution they fear . . . Consequently, to force those people to go back to a life of terror and persecution is something that would violate every moral standard by which America lives."

The question arises: Why, then did American, British and French authorities commit this crime against humanity? In my forthcoming book "Operation Keelhaul, The Story of Forced Repatriation" (Devin-Adair Company, Old Greenwich, Connecticut) I have made the attempt to answer this and other questions.

During my work on the book another question arose: Why have the American people never been officially informed about this crime, committed by American military and civilian authorities, a crime which was also a gross violation of international law? Why was the "Operation Keelhaul" file classified Top Secret 11652 (now downgraded to Confidential)?

President Eisenhower's as well as President Nixon's Executive Order 10501 regulates the use of the Top Secret classification. Only those military documents should be classified Top Secret whose disclosure would result in a grave and immediate danger to national defense or foreign policy. To imagine that release of the Keelhaul dossier to the American people could today cause such danger is absurd.

When in 1967 the "Freedom of Information Act" went into force, I brought legal action against the then Secretary of the Army, Mr. Stanley Resor. My complaint in the District Court in San Francisco was based upon the "Freedom of Information Act." This public law allows the court to examine the documents in question in camera in order to find out whether classification is justified or not. I lost in the District Court and in the Court of Appeals, and the Supreme Court rejected my petition for a writ of certiorari.

Ultimately, only a Congressional investigation of "Operation Keelhaul" and the unwarranted secrecy will bring out the truth. (Here's where I need your help).

On October 22, 1970 President Nixon informed me that "The U.S. Government has absolutely no objections (based on the contents of the files) to the declassification and release of the 'Operation Keelhaul' files. However, given the joint origin of the documents, British concurrence is necessary before they can be released, and this concurrence has not been received. Thus we have no alternative but to deny your request." By so informing me, the President has finally removed the main obstacle used by the courts to deny my request for release of the "Keelhaul" papers. Nevertheless, I was still denied access to the documents.

Then came the historic decision by the Supreme Court to allow the New York Times and the Washington Post to print the stolen "Pentagon Papers" on Vietnam. It was this Supreme Court decision which induced me to file my second complaint against the administration. It seems to me unthinkable that the Supreme Court would allow the publication of the highly sensitive purloined "Pentagon Papers" and forbid the release of at least those documents which are of purely American origin, classified by American military authorities more than 21 years ago!

It is now my hope that Congressional pressure as well as pressure by the American people through their press, TV and radio will finally prevail and induce our government to declassify the "Operation Keelhaul" files

depicting the American, British and French crime against humanity.

I appeal for your assistance—won't you please help me?

Sincerely,

JULIUS EPSTEIN,
Former Research Associate.

[From the San Francisco Examiner,
June 13, 1972]

POLITICAL PRISONERS

TO THE EDITOR:

On her day of triumph, Angela Davis said: "Starting from this day forward, we must work to free every political prisoner and every oppressed person in the country and in the whole world."

This would include untold thousands of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, in the People's Republic of China, in the German Democratic Republic as well as all the political prisoners in Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. (Beside the billion people of the countries who are not right now "political prisoners" but just "oppressed.")

Will Angela Davis, who was so wrong when she believed she would never get a fair trial in the U.S. really work for the liberation of the political prisoners in the countries just mentioned and also for the liberation of the millions in these countries who are just "oppressed"?

If Miss Davis' answer is "yes," she should have the support of millions of Americans and others the world over. Her answer to this question will be the acid test of her sincerity.

JULIUS EPSTEIN.

PALO ALTO.

THE MUNICH TRAGEDY

HON. NORMAN F. LENT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, it was with a deep sense of horror and dismay that I learned of the barbaric murder of 11 unarmed members of the Israeli Olympic team during the XX Olympiad in Munich, Germany. This insane act of terrorism, perpetrated by a band of Arab guerrillas, has few parallels in the annals of international crime. It has shocked and deeply grieved the entire civilized world.

Nearly 2 weeks ago, more than 10,000 athletes from almost every nation of the world gathered in a spirit of peace and brotherhood to begin an event based not on political beliefs but on fair play and friendly competition. I hope and pray that the interruption of the competition by this despicable act of barbarism will cause the civilized world to ostracize any peoples or nations giving sanctuary or refuge to those who commit such acts of international outlawry.

To merely mourn the deaths of these men and to condemn the acts of these fanatics is not enough. For this reason, I firmly supported the passage of House Resolution 1106, which expressed an unbending resolve to cut off from the civilized world all nations which provide refuge or comfort to these sorts of criminals rather than punish them as they should. There should be no hiding place for assassins like the Arab terrorists. There

should be no place to which they can flee after executing their hideous plots. I know of no other way in which such assassins can be stopped.

At this time, I also want to extend my sincerest sympathies to the families of those murdered men, and to call upon all nations of the world to take positive action in support of the resolutions passed by both Houses of Congress on September 6, 1972.

MAIL SERVICE IMPROVES DRAMATICALLY

HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, much is being written pro and con about the quality of mail service provided by the new U.S. Postal Corporation. One of the major trade publications in my State—the Packer—concludes editorially that mail service has improved dramatically in recent months. The editorial pays special tribute to postal employees in Missouri for their tireless work and to Postmaster General Ted Klassen for his leadership in a difficult job.

The editorial follows:

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Packer, July 29, 1972]

THE PACKER VIEWPOINT: PACKER POSTAL SERVICE

Many times we think we are quite justified in our criticism of federal government services and this year more charges will be levelled with the coming national election in November. But we take issue with those current critics of the U.S. Postal Service. Such recognized publications as the Wall Street Journal have chipped in with their criticism in recent months with headlines such as "Postal Service Marks Its First Anniversary. But No One Celebrates."

The Packer says "It isn't so"—the service has improved dramatically in recent months. We're convinced when President Nixon took the Post Office Department out of politics and created the present U.S. Postal Service he made a move that should have been done years ago. And we are one of many second class mail business publications that have been paying their way and will be paying more to give our subscribers in the United States, Canada, Mexico and foreign countries the type of delivery they want and deserve. Though the Packer complained as much as any of the printed media (and we still are), in all fairness something has happened and is happening in the postal service that promises better service in the future for all of us.

Winton Blount, former postmaster general in the Nixon cabinet, did a job in getting the postal service into its present structure. E. T. Klassen, present Postmaster General, is a real businessman and he knows how to organize. Local postmasters got the word to start making decisions at their level instead of running to Washington to look at the book. A freeze on hiring was initiated and an early retirement program was set up, but more important, Klassen got the word out that his organization had better start providing service to gain more customers because competition has set in.

The postmasters and employees are now doing their job because The Packer service has improved a hundredfold. The post office

department knows that a publication such as ours serving the important fruit and vegetable industry has to have delivery within 48 hours anywhere in the country. They know the need of service for a publication serving an industry that handles perishable products. In many cases The Packer is back to "the old days" of Monday delivery anywhere in the U.S.

Any business is only as good as its people. We've talked to postmasters in all sections of the country to ask for better delivery of The Packer. They responded and are not only cordial but they are doing everything possible by recommending measures to improve the service to our customers and their customers. The Kansas City, Kansas, post office department deserves a special vote of thanks and they work tirelessly in our behalf. The same is true at the post office in Sedalia, Mo., where The Packer is printed. The St. Louis post office is most cooperative too and they are an important link for eastern shipments.

We are not saying that the U.S. Postal Service is improved 100 per cent. Far be it! It will be another three or four years before they make their full mark. The Packer still has problems of delivery in such areas as Canada and the Northwest but we are convinced the post office department will correct them. There certainly is a ray of light for the future of our new postal system.

RESPONSIBLE NIXON VETO

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, an editorial of great worth recently appeared in the Buffalo Evening News regarding the Labor-HEW appropriations bill recently considered and reconsidered by this body.

I have tried to stress the importance of a return to fiscal responsibility by the Congress through my votes cast here and will continue to oppose any irresponsible or reckless spending by the Congress.

I submit the wisdom as contained in the News editorial for the benefit of my fellow colleagues:

RESPONSIBLE NIXON VETO

President Nixon argued a persuasive case in vetoing the huge \$30.5 billion bill passed by Congress to finance current programs of the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. And we're glad to note that the House acted responsibly in promptly sustaining him.

The bill would have budgeted \$1.8 billion more than the President had requested for these programs. Additionally, the omission of a legal limit on federal matching funds for state social services might have produced even larger actual outlays.

With the nation's economy moving smartly ahead after a long period of trouble, the biggest future danger probably is a rekindling of inflation. In the President's view, the bill exemplified "that kind of reckless spending that just cannot be done without more taxes or more inflation." Congress like the President needs to focus more closely on fiscal discipline.

Nor can the veto legitimately be attacked for betraying any lack of concern for the desirable social programs. The total Nixon budget request of nearly \$250 billion proposed last winter allocated 45 per cent of its outlays to human resources, the highest percentage in history. Thus, one of the most

telling points in Gov. Rockefeller's Tuesday night nominating speech was his reminder that President Nixon has "completely revised the nation's priorities"—finding 45 per cent of the federal budget being spent for national defense and only 32 per cent for human resources when he took office, and turning this into exact reverse, with today's ratio now 45 and 32 the other way.

Just in terms of the specific labor, health, education and welfare services covered by the vetoed bill, the presidential request of \$28.7 billion was itself up more than \$2 billion from a year earlier.

In any event, now that Congress has sustained the Nixon veto, we hope it can quickly agree to a less profligate substitute mutually acceptable to the White House and Capitol Hill.

TRIBUTE TO MR. ROBERT R. CHURCH

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Evening Star and Daily News of September 2, 1972, printed a tribute to an outstanding citizen of Memphis, Tenn., Mr. Robert R. Church. Born a slave, Mr. Church, in the troubled post-Civil War period, became a leader in Memphis civic affairs, a man respected by Memphians both black and white. It is interesting to note that in connection with the restoration of the historic Beale Street area, the auditorium mentioned in the article is to be rebuilt on the same site as the original park and auditorium and bear the same name, "Church's Park and Auditorium."

Mr. Church was an active member of Memphis' fledgling Republican party. In 1900 he extended this involvement to the national level by serving as a delegate to the Republican National Convention which nominated William McKinley for President. Mr. Church's granddaughter, Miss Roberta Church, is continuing the family tradition of public service as a member—recently reappointed by President Nixon—of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education.

This article appeared in the Star-News as part of the series They Had a Dream which focuses on prominent black Americans. I would like to suggest that Robert R. Church is a fine example to all Americans and I therefore include this tribute to him in the RECORD:

THEY HAD A DREAM—WEALTHY MEMPHIS CIVIC LEADER

(By George Reasons and Sam Patrick)

Yellow fever epidemics struck Memphis in 1878 and again in 1879, killing thousands and causing thousands of others to flee the city. In this climate of fear, business came to a standstill. In no time, the city's treasury was empty.

Unable to pay its bills, Memphis lost its city charter and reverted to the status of a taxing district.

The future appeared glum until officials came up with a plan to restore Memphis' financial solvency by issuing bonds. Public confidence was at a low ebb, however, and the bonds were met with skepticism.

One man had faith in the city's future. He was Robert R. Church, a Memphis busi-

nessman and the first black millionaire to emerge in the post-Civil War South.

Church bought the first bond and paid \$1,000 for it. His demonstration of faith had profound consequences, as the Memphis Evening Scimitar reported in these words 10 years later:

"They (the bonds) were the first issued, and their market value was hence problematical. But Mr. Church showed his faith.

"With his example before them, capitalists of the Caucasian race could not afford to be shy, and the whole of the bonds was placed."

Before long, Memphis regained its economic health.

Church was a widely known and respected businessman in Memphis for more than 40 years. He made his fortune in real estate and in banking.

Born a slave in 1839 on a cotton plantation in Holly Springs, Miss., Church had no formal schooling. He was sent to Memphis as a youth to work as a cabin boy on a Mississippi steamboat.

It was an adventurous life but dangerous. One steamboat he worked on exploded in midriver, and he was one of several survivors.

Church stayed on the river until he was emancipated after the Civil War. Then he worked briefly in a livery stable before opening a saloon of his own. He was a thrifty man, and invested his profits in real estate.

In a short time, he had accumulated substantial raw acreage as well as rental property. He founded the city's first Negro bank, which soon became the largest black bank in Tennessee.

Church was noted for his willingness to support any worthy civic endeavor. In 1896, he built a handsome auditorium on Beale Street to provide a meeting and entertainment center for the city's blacks.

On another occasion he bought a patrol wagon for the city. And in 1902, he donated \$1,000 to help underwrite the annual reunion of Confederate veterans in Memphis.

"Mr. Church has never been appealed to in vain," the Scimitar once noted. "Whether it was to contribute to a fair, a trades display, the reception of a president, Republican or Democrat, to a church, orphan asylum or to a private charity, he has always responded promptly and liberally, regardless of whether the beneficiaries were of his own color or political faith."

Church and his family lived in a fine home in a white neighborhood. He counted among his friends some of the city's first families.

When he died in 1912 the city's two leading newspapers, which routinely ignored news of blacks, noted his death in lengthy obituaries.

POLL FINDS "COATTAILS" FAIL IN CALIFORNIA

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, on a cloudy day, rays of sunshine are particularly welcome. I call attention to a recent poll by Mervin Field in California:

POLL FINDS "COATTAILS" FAIL IN CALIFORNIA

President Nixon's "coattails" aren't working in California, according to a recent statewide survey conducted by pollster Mervin Field.

Field's poll, conducted among 1,032 adults between July 31 and Aug. 16, showed that Mr. Nixon's popularity in the state does not appear to be carrying over to Republican con-

gressional candidates for the state's 43 House seats, increased by five as a result of the 1970 Census.

Mr. Nixon's overall lead of 49 to 41 per cent over Sen. George McGovern, Field said, is due to a crossover of about one of every four Democrats. However, the pollster reported, "only a small percentage of those Democrats who are crossing over in the presidential race are also planning to vote for the Republican congressional candidate in their district."

Democratic congressmen currently outnumber Republicans in the state's 38-seat delegation 20 to 18. The poll found 39 per cent of the state's voters saying they plan to vote Democratic in their district's congressional contest: 27 per cent, Republican, and 34 per cent, either undecided or favoring "other" party candidates.

WAR PRISONERS: A GRIM PICTURE

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Ramsey Clark's comments concerning the treatment of American prisoners of war in Indochina may certainly have caused confusion in the minds of some Americans. I believe it advisable, therefore, to include in the RECORD at this point an article which appeared in the August 28 issue of U.S. News & World Report.

As the article indicates, those few POW's who have made it back to freedom "paint a grim picture of life in Communist captivity." They have been tortured, starved, and held in horrible and inhumane conditions. There have been countless violations of the Geneva Convention even though North Vietnam is itself a party to the convention.

The article follows:

WAR PRISONERS: CENTER OF A POLITICAL FIGHT

The plight of U. S. prisoners of war, a non-partisan concern for most Americans, has suddenly been thrust into the center of a growing political debate.

It was the return of former Attorney General Ramsey Clark from Hanoi in mid-August that set off the sparks.

Mr. Clark left the impression, in a series of statements, that he had been assured that the election of Senator George McGovern in November would bring the immediate release of American POW's.

On top of that, Mr. Clark directly contradicted White House claims of mistreatment of American captives held in North Vietnamese prison camps.

On August 15, Mr. Clark told of a visit with 10 Americans at a prisoner-of-war camp near Hanoi, reporting that they were in good health, good spirits and well treated.

"My judgment is that they are treating the prisoners humanely," he said. "I think the people who say they are not may have motives themselves. They may care more about the Thieu Government than getting the boys home."

Mr. Clark's picture sharply conflicts with the official U. S. Government position, which contends the Communists have repeatedly violated the 1949 Geneva Convention outlining humane treatment for war prisoners.

GOVERNMENT CHARGES

The White House and Pentagon, for example, insist they have proof that the North Vietnamese have continually broken the

Geneva Convention by refusing to give a proper accounting of the American prisoners held, by refusing to allow international inspection of the POW camps and by refusing to repatriate the sick and wounded. Other alleged violations are listed on the facing page.

Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird, disputing Mr. Clark's contention of humane treatment, said both he and the families of the prisoners and missing were disappointed Mr. Clark did not use his time in Hanoi to press for better conditions. Mr. Laird said photographs Mr. Clark brought home showed the same prisoners used in previous North Vietnamese propaganda pictures.

John N. Mitchell, himself a U.S. Attorney General until recently, went further:

"Occasionally, a naive American has been unwittingly duped into playing Hanoi's wretched game, into serving as an American megaphone for Communist propaganda. Such a naive American is Mr. Ramsey Clark."

Louis R. Stockstill, a spokesman for the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, declared:

"How can he say they are getting humane treatment? At least 20 Americans have died in Communist prison camps, by Hanoi's own admission. And some of them have been photographed before their deaths looking, in Mr. Clark's words, 'as healthy as me.'"

Pentagon officials emphasize that if all American prisoners are being treated as well as the 10 Mr. Clark interviewed, then there has been a vast improvement in prison conditions since the Viet Cong released the last American Oct. 8, 1971.

SOME ACCOUNTS BY POW'S

Those few former prisoners of war who have escaped or been released, together with Communist defectors, paint a grim picture of life in Communist captivity:

In North Vietnam, many Americans are held in solitary cells where lights burn night and day. They are tortured, restricted from exercise and given inadequate diets.

The Viet Cong hold Americans in tiger cages made of bamboo and at night lock their feet in stocks. One U.S. Army prisoner was kept in such a cage for more than five years.

In Laos, Americans are held in pits in the ground and live on food scraps thrown down at them.

Navy Lt. (j.g.) Dieter Dengler, who escaped after being captured by the Viet Cong, reported he was tied to a tree and used for target practice, repeatedly beaten with fists and sticks, and dragged through the jungle tied behind a water buffalo. Lieutenant Dengler, 180 pounds when captured, weighed 98 pounds when he escaped.

Navy Lt. Robert F. Frishman, released in 1969 by North Vietnam, said most of his captivity was spent in solitary confinement. His food consisted of two daily meals of little more than pumpkin soup. His injured arm took six months to heal, he said, because of inadequate medical care. He lost 45 pounds while in Communist hands.

Defense Department sources say the most recent reports from North Vietnam indicate that many Americans have been tortured by being hung from ceilings, tied with ropes until they developed infected sores, burned with cigarettes, deprived of sleep and refused food. Bones have been broken by guards, and the fingernails were ripped from the hands of at least one American.

Such reports have compelled the U.S. Government over and over to express its concern about the fate of those prisoners who are never brought out and shown to visitors in North Vietnam.

"The fact is," says Mr. Stockwell, "that the vast majority of the Americans held by the Communists have not been seen by anybody but their captors."

THE AMERICANS THAT REDS HOLD IN CAPTIVITY *

How many. U.S. lists 524 servicemen captured or interned, and 1,240 missing throughout Indo-China.

915 of these are from the Air Force.

277 are from the Navy.

444 are from the Army.

128 are from the Marines.

Where held. From what can be pieced together, 866 are held by the North Vietnamese, or were last seen in North Vietnam. In addition, 603 were captured or last seen in South Vietnam, and 293 in Laos. Two pilots, downed in Communist China, are reported to have been interned there.

How long. Some prisoners have been held for more than eight years—and the majority for at least five years. The first U.S. POW in Southeast Asia was captured Dec. 26, 1961, but he later escaped. The longest-held U.S. serviceman was captured in March, 1964. At his family's request, the prisoner's name has never been made public.

Released. North Vietnam has released nine U.S. prisoners, the last three in 1969. The Viet Cong have freed 23. By comparison, 188 North Vietnamese have been repatriated and 1,231 Viet Cong have been released. Also, 3,082 Viet Cong have been let out of prison after defecting to the South Vietnamese Government.

Escaped. No American has escaped, once captured in North Vietnam. From the Viet Cong, the U.S. has rescued 3 and 24 more escaped through their own efforts. Two U.S. servicemen escaped from Pathet Lao in Laos.

HOW HAVE THE POW'S BEEN TREATED?

North Vietnam became a party to the Geneva Convention governing the treatment of prisoners of war in 1957. The Defense Department annual report for the year starting July 1, 1972, lists the following treaty terms and violations:

Neutral inspection of prisoner camps will be permitted, including interviews of the prisoners without witnesses in attendance.

The enemy has never permitted such inspection or such interviews.

Prisoners' names will be released promptly.

Names the enemy has released have not been disclosed promptly nor through regular channels.

Notification of deaths in captivity and full information on the circumstances and place of burial will be furnished.

The enemy has not furnished any information about circumstances of death and place of burial.

Prisoner-of-war camps will be marked clearly and their location made public.

The enemy has not marked its camps nor divulged their location.

The seriously sick and wounded will be repatriated or interned in a neutral country.

The enemy has refused to comply.

Prisoners will be permitted to send at least two letters and four cards a month.

The average has been two or three letters a year and none at all from some prisoners. Sufficient food must be given to prisoners.

All the released prisoners have been found to be underweight and suffering from malnutrition.

Prisoners will not be held in conditions of close confinement.

The enemy has held some men in solitary confinement for years.

Prisoners will be humanely treated.

This provision has been consistently violated.

WHAT UNITED STATES HAS DONE THROUGH TALKS TO GET BACK ITS POW'S

1970. The U.S. proposed in October a mutual exchange—immediate and uncondi-

tional release of all prisoners held by both sides. More than 36,000 Communist prisoners are in Allied hands.

1971. In May, the U.S. offered, in then-secret talks to withdraw all American forces in return for the release of all prisoners of war coupled with an Indo-China cease-fire, leaving all other issues for subsequent settlement.

The United States in October, again in private talks, offered to withdraw all U.S. forces from South Vietnam within a fixed period following agreement in principle on an over-all settlement—the withdrawal to proceed in parallel with an exchange of all prisoners of war captured throughout Indo-China. Both sides would present a complete list of prisoners, and the release would begin on the same day as the troop withdrawals.

1972. U.S. in January publicly proposed the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and the simultaneous release of all prisoners within six months of an agreement in principle on an overall settlement.

In May, President Nixon publicly proposed complete withdrawal of all American forces from Vietnam within four months, once prisoners of war were released and an internationally supervised cease-fire began throughout Indo-China.

Hanoi's response. Says the Defense Department:

"The Communist rejected all of these proposals. They continue to insist that we unconditionally set a specific date for total U.S. withdrawal and remove the Government of South Vietnam as conditions for any discussions on prisoner release.

"We are continuing to use every means to press for the earliest possible release of all Americans held in captivity, and the fullest possible accounting for the missing. We have made clear that we will not withdraw all of our forces from South Vietnam until we secure the release of our imprisoned men."

ATROCITY IN MUNICH

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 6, 1972

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, we have all been stunned this week by the incredible barbaric murders of 11 members of the Israeli Olympic team in Munich. My heart goes out to the families of the victims who came to Munich proudly to represent their country and to test their individual athletic prowess against their counterparts from other nations.

Perhaps the sober lessons of Munich is that nowhere in the world is there shelter from the madness of international violence which sets man against man and nation against nation.

We all dream of a day when international disputes will be settled in a peaceful and orderly way. What has shocked the world this week is the realization that we who consider ourselves civilized people have not risen above resolving our disputes with the blood of innocent non-combatants.

If the international community is serious about making progress toward world order and decency, we are going to have to go beyond mere rhetoric. It is time that we simply read out of the community of nations any who counte-

nance or foster acts of murder and sabotage.

That is the sentiment expressed in the resolution before us today. As a cosponsor of House Resolution 1106, I hope its enactment will move us toward the day when no international criminal can find a place to hide from justice, and no nation which gives asylum to such animals is permitted to participate in international commerce, travel, or communications.

We cannot bring back the lives lost in Munich. But we can and must take stringent steps to see that such an atrocity does not recur.

MCGOVERN ASKED TO STOP LOTTERY AND RETURN FUNDS

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, on August 15, 1972, an organization styled the McGovern Million Member Club launched a nationwide fundraising mailing which violates our postal laws in that it creates a lottery.

The mailing offers all contributors the chance of being one of 250 invitees to be selected at random to a "People's Dinner Party" at the White House next January following Candidate McGovern's inauguration.

According to a Washington Post story of August 30, a McGovern staff man claims a technical change was made in the conditions of the raffle, so that the invitee list will be drawn from "supporters," not just "contributors."

Assuming this alteration will permit the raffle of White House dinner invitations to proceed under some cloak of legality, the question remains about what to do with the funds so far illegally solicited. The same McGovern staff man put the figures at about \$125,000 per day in a story run by the Wall Street Journal September 1.

It is not clear from press reports whether Senator McGovern was ever aware that his signature was being so illegally employed by his staff, but as he has sought to make an issue of the rectitude of his campaign finances versus those of his opponent's, it is incumbent upon him to take the only morally defensible course: Return those funds raised in violation of our postal laws.

On August 30, I wrote Senator McGovern a letter requesting he do just that, and I reprint the letter below for the information of my colleagues:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

Washington, D.C., August 30, 1972.

HON. GEORGE S. MCGOVERN,
U.S. Senate,
Old Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MCGOVERN: On August 15, 1972, a campaign finance organization styled the McGovern Million-Member Club sent out a 4-page fund raising letter nationwide soliciting contributions over your signature.

* Source: Dept. of Defense, as of Aug. 5, 1972.

A postscript to the letter promises a "Peoples Dinner Party" after your inauguration next January, the invitation list to be "made up by selecting 250 names at random from our total list of contributors."

This, of course, constitutes all the elements of a lottery (a prize, consideration, and the element of chance), and is in violation of Section 1302, Title 13 of the U.S. Code.

That you have been placed in such a position by your staff must be most distressing. The Washington Post this morning (page A2) quotes your direct mail expert, Morris Dees, as saying that only about 300,000 letters out of a total of 3 million went out with the word "contributor" in the postscript. "I caught it when it first went out," Dees said.

It is commendable that your staff recognized and voluntarily stopped its conduct of a lottery in your name, but what do you intend to do with the funds obtained by a solicitation in violation of the postal laws?

As the Presidential Candidate who has sought to make an issue of the rectitude of your financial activities in contrast to your opponent, you have but one course open to you: return the money raised in violation of the postal laws to the contributors along with a disavowal of your staff's use of your signature on such a mailing.

Sincerely yours,

VICTOR V. VEYSEY,
Member of Congress.

CREDIBILITY GAP AND THE FAILURES OF CONGRESS

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, one of the major ironies of the current election year is that members of the majority party in Congress have been going back and forth across this great country criticizing President Nixon for everything that is wrong.

The fact is, the Democratic Party has controlled Congress the last 18 years, and all but 4 of the last 40 years. It has constructed the present maze of Federal programs and has written the tax laws which so badly need simplification and reform. It has established our spending priorities. By refusing to really modernize its own procedures, it has virtually abdicated Congress role as an equal to the executive branch of the Federal Government.

Yet, now that we are in the midst of an election campaign the Members of Congress who are really in control here blame President Nixon for everything that is wrong. This seldom noted fact is nothing short of hypocritical. The failure of the media to comment more fully in this adds ammunition to those of us who feel they are badly biased.

I was particularly interested to note a recent column by David Broder on this very subject. Considering Mr. Broder's established record as a liberal columnist who has no proadministration bias, this is especially noteworthy.

The column follows:

[From the Boston Globe, June 14, 1972]

THE FAILURE OF CONGRESS

(By David S. Broder)

WASHINGTON.—To return from the Democratic presidential primary trail to Washing-

ton and the Democratic-controlled Congress is to move from a world of glittering rhetoric to one of petty, paralyzed reality.

While George McGovern, Hubert Humphrey and the rest have been out on the road promising wondrous changes in the offing, their colleagues have been back here—doing what?

Well, the scoreboard of major legislation passed by this second session of the 92d Congress includes two laws that will affect people's lives directly and two other reform measures that may have considerable indirect effect.

Last week, Congress sent the President a massive program of aid to higher education, with a provision included to slow school busing orders. Earlier, it added enforcement powers to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Both those laws will be felt in people's lives.

Though not many voters will see the advantage in concrete terms, there's also a public benefit in the stricter campaign financing law, which Congress finally passed last January, a carryover from the previous year. And there may be benefits down the road, if the equal rights amendment for women, which Congress approved, is ratified by the states.

But that about exhausts the list of significant legislation passed this year. It's a meager catalogue, compared to the needs of the country or the promises Democratic presidential contenders have been making on behalf of their party.

It may be that Richard M. Nixon will overlook this Democratic "credibility gap," but don't bet on it. The President has legitimate complaints of his own with this Congress, let alone the political incentive to rake its "do-nothing" record.

For three years, the President has had before Congress serious proposals on revenue-sharing with states and cities, and reform of the welfare system. For two years, he has had equally significant proposals on reorganization of the Federal executive branch and expansion of health insurance protection.

All of these are matters of urgent national priority, they have been acknowledged as matters of major concern by the Democratic presidential candidates, who—in all the areas except Federal reorganization—have offered counter-proposals of their own going well beyond what the President has suggested.

Yet in all these areas, the Democrats will go into convention, less than a month from now, with a record of congressional inaction. To date, the Democratic Congress has neither given the President a final, up-and-down vote on his proposals in these four vital areas, nor developed and passed alternate programs of its own.

If there is justification for this abdication of political responsibility, it does not come readily to mind. And the Democratic convention orators and platform writers will have to be more devious than usual to divert the public's attention from the yawning chasm between their promises and their party's poor record of performance.

It is true, of course, that divided government—with responsibility for the executive branch in the hands of one party and the legislative branch in control of the other—is an open invitation to paralysis and irresponsibility. But the Democrats cannot avoid blame by claiming negligence on the part of the President in meeting his domestic responsibilities.

The President has made serious proposals in all these areas. He has not threatened to veto the democratic alternatives, for, indeed, no alternatives have come close to passage.

In any fair accounting for the paralysis on the domestic front, the Democrats who control Congress must take the lion's share of the blame.

The truth is that while the Democrats have talked change in this campaign to the point that their likely nominee, McGovern, is accused by some of his fellow-partisans of being "too radical," the reality of the party's legislative record is one of pitifully little progress.

Contrasted with the openings Mr. Nixon has made in the areas of foreign policy, where he does not have to wait for Congress to come plodding along, there is real question as to which party can honestly claim to be the party of changes.

Where is the Democrats' domestic equivalent of the Nixon "open door" China policy? Where is there a law passed by the Democratic Congress in the past four years that rivals in significance the strategic arms treaty Mr. Nixon negotiated in Moscow?

These are questions the voters will be asking, when the rhetoric of the presidential campaign is measured against the record.

WGR EDITORIALS

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, in recent years, radio and television stations have had the opportunity to editorialize on a wide range of subjects of both local and national interest.

In my home city of Buffalo, N.Y., WGR-AM-FM-TV has a regular schedule of editorials and several broadcast on separate days in mid-August shows the diversity of topics.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I include the texts:

CRIME INSURANCE

The Federal Government wants more Buffalonians to take advantage of new low rates for crime insurance.

This means that business men and homeowners in high-risk areas of the city can recover a major portion or perhaps all of their losses due to burglaries and other crimes.

The insurance became available in Buffalo a year ago but there haven't been many takers. The new rates should change that.

We believe crime insurance is a progressive step, but it should not eliminate the continued search for the basic causes of our sociological and economic problems.

BAD WATER IMAGE

Buffalo and Erie County are constantly battling a bad-weather image. Now we have to defend our water.

The Erie County Water Authority feels that "World" magazine has done it a disservice by publishing material that infers Erie County water does not meet federal standards.

You who have traveled and had occasion to sample the drinking water of other major cities or tried to bathe or shower in it, know how fortunate we are.

We support the Water Authorities action in seeking a correction from "World" magazine.

GREAT LAKES CLEAN-UP

We hope an omission in a report serves as a jolt for more money and action for clean water on the Great Lakes.

It seemed unusual that the White House Council on Environmental Quality would report cleaner air and dirtier water around the nation last week, after many millions of dollars spent. Actually, the increase in polluted water in this report was due to the fact that several thousand miles of polluted

streams went unreported in a previous survey.

The Council said by 1980 it will take over \$3 billion dollars to clean up our water.

This is why we want more water clean-up action for the Great Lakes. A few days ago the International Joint Commission appointed a Great Lakes Water Quality Board to over-see a two and a half million dollar program to clean up the lakes.

It seems like such a drop in the bucket.

NO-FAULT INSURANCE

All is not lost in the battle for no-fault auto insurance.

There won't be any more action on it in Congress for a while, but we feel it will resurface.

The National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws recently met. They have decided to push for no-fault. There are officials and legal experts from all 50 states. Some congressional aids also attended.

Ten states currently have what they call no-fault insurance laws. The Conference will make available to all 50 states information and model legislation on no-fault.

We continue our support of a reform in New York State Auto Insurance regulations.

NAVAL RESERVE/ZOO REPAIRS

Here's a riddle with relevance.

What do the Buffalo Zoo and a battleship have in common?

Sailors!

The Naval Reserve and the Naval Militia have been welcome workers at the Zoo. The highly skilled men have been doing a remarkable job of repairing and restoring the Zoo.

We're doubly proud of these men. They are meeting a commitment to their country while providing a valuable service to their home town.

Naval Reservists, we salute you!

THE MYTH OF TAX REFORM

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of political mileage has been made in recent days by those who have advanced the view that the average American is paying far too great a share of the nation's taxes because other, richer Americans are escaping their own legitimate tax liability.

What this approach has done is to make the citizen, weary of taxes, turn his frustration and anger not against the concept of deficit spending, not against the excessive waste in Government, not against expensive programs which fail to do what they are meant to do, but against other taxpayers.

The very men who argue that "tax reform" is the answer to the burden placed upon working citizens advance new proposals, such as that of increased welfare payments to every American, which would increase the tax burden significantly.

The real fact is, however, that the basic proposition that large numbers of wealthy citizens are escaping their real tax responsibilities is simply not true.

Recently, Under Secretary of the Treasury Edwin S. Cohen told the Senate-House Economic Committee that

substantially all of the rich are paying large amounts of Federal income tax. Discussing Mr. Cohen's testimony, the Chicago Tribune pointed out that—

Of 624 individuals with adjusted gross incomes of more than \$1 million in 1970, only three paid no tax. The other 621 paid an average tax of \$985,000 for a total of \$612 million. This represented a tax of 46.4 percent on gross income and 65.3 percent on net taxable income.

While some political spokesmen repeatedly refer to the large number of wealthy Americans who escape paying taxes, the facts appear to be far different. Mr. Cohen said that no tax was reported for 1970 by 22 of 2,593 individuals with adjusted gross income over \$500,000 and by 112 of 15,323 with income over \$200,000. The reason why some paid no tax, said the Under Secretary, was that many paid high taxes abroad which are credited against U.S. tax. Others paid State income taxes for 1969 in amounts exceeding 1970 taxable income.

Discussing the facts and figures disclosed by the Treasury Department, and the ideas set forth in the political statements of the Democratic Party candidate for President, the Chicago Tribune in its editorial of July 31, 1972, concludes that—

The Treasury spokesman's analysis reduces Mr. McGovern's talk about tax-dodging rich to a demagogic class appeal. The things he has been saying just aren't so.

Following is this editorial from the Chicago Tribune:

IT JUST IS NOT SO

Sen. George McGovern, the Democratic Presidential nominee, has been saying things like the following: "The federal tax system is basically sound, although it has been riddled with special privileges for the rich. . . . On the basis of 1969 tax returns . . . some 21,317 people earning more than \$20,000 paid no federal taxes whatsoever. That includes 56 people with incomes in a single year of \$1 million or more."

Again: "I propose a minimum income tax so that the rich could not avoid their share of the tax burden no matter what loopholes they used."

Now comes Under Secretary of the Treasury Edwin S. Cohen to tell the Senate-House Economic Committee that substantially all of the rich are paying huge amounts of federal income tax despite reports to the contrary. He advised the committee not to be distracted by the few high-income individuals who manage to escape taxes and cause a shower of "political rhetoric" in an election year.

Mr. Cohen said that of 624 individuals with adjusted gross income of more than \$1 million in 1970 only three paid no tax. The other 621 paid an average tax of \$985,000 for a total of \$612 million. This represented a tax of 46.4 percent on gross income and 65.3 percent on net taxable income.

The undersecretary said no tax was reported for 1970 by 22 of 2,593 individuals with adjusted gross income over \$500,000; 112 of 15,323 with income over \$200,000; 394 of 77,899 with income over \$100,000, and 1,338 of 429,568 with income over \$50,000. The average tax of those in the bracket above \$200,000 was, he said, \$177,161, and the tax collected from them was \$2.7 billion.

There was a reason, Mr. Cohen said, why 112 persons at this level paid no taxes. Some paid high taxes abroad which are credited against United States tax. Others paid state income taxes for 1969 in amounts exceeding 1970 taxable income. Many had high deduc-

tions for interest paid and for business expenses.

Mr. Cohen defended the income tax system as "the most efficient revenue device in the history of the world." Although further reform may be in order, Mr. Cohen urged the committee to proceed "with calm analysis and thoughtful judgment" in considering the complex issues involved in so-called "tax subsidies."

The Treasury spokesman's analysis reduces Mr. McGovern's talk about tax-dodging rich to a demagogic class appeal. The things he has been saying just aren't so.

McKEESPORT MAJORETTE DRILL TEAM AND BELL LYRE CORPS 25TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, on October 1, an organization which has brought pleasure and enjoyment to hundreds of thousands of people in southwestern Pennsylvania will mark an important milestone. The McKeesport Majorette Drill Team and Bell Lyre Corps of McKeesport, Pa., will observe its 25th anniversary.

An appropriate tribute has been arranged to recognize this group which grew from an initial membership of just four young ladies interested in baton twirling to a precision marching unit of more than 245 young people, ranging in age from 5 to 22. Over the years, the group has compiled a record as glittering as the trophies it has collected for more than 500 first-place awards in more than 1,000 parades and other competitive appearances. Among its many honors is the remarkable distinction of winning the tri-State championship for 18 consecutive years.

This record was not compiled overnight nor without hardship. Few people outside of the organization realize the obstacles, frustration, and disappointments encountered and overcome by the group and its leaders. From the beginning, the task of financing and equipping the unit has been the responsibility of those associated with it and their inspiration has been a warm, gracious, and dedicated woman who started it all—Mrs. Helen Donato Tozzi.

It was Mrs. Tozzi, a former majorette herself, who was persuaded by her high school band director, Mr. Edward Garbett, to organize a majorette program. It was Mrs. Tozzi, along with her assistants, Mr. Victor DeLeo and Mrs. Katherine DeLeo, who soon discovered their venture was filled with pitfalls.

One of the first was a place to practice. It is a problem that grew as the unit grew. Over the years, the majorettes and musicians have used the facilities of churches, clubs, studios, and union halls. They practiced anywhere they could find the room and despite the inconvenience, the twirlers and marchers were welded into a precision unit.

For 10 years the drill team was just a single division. But, in 1958, it was enlarged into two groups. Also, a color

guard and a drum section had been added. The bell section was formed in 1959, and a junior division of it was organized in 1962.

As the unit expanded, so did Mrs. Tozzi's responsibilities and involvement. Eventually, she was forced to give up a teaching career to devote full time to the majorettes and marchers.

Since the group is self-supporting, fund raising campaigns have been an integral and necessary evil part of its operations. They are the group's only source of revenue and its members have not hesitated to undertake any project, whether it be serving dinners or selling toothbrushes, to raise the money necessary to purchase uniforms and equipment. Today, the roar of approval which greets any appearance of the unit is a tribute to the success of those projects and a testimony to the dedication of those who performed them.

Mr. Speaker, I take great pride in joining the public acclaim given the more than 3,000 past and present members of the McKeesport Majorette Drill Team and Bell Lyre Corps and to the woman who made it all possible—Mrs. Helen Donata Tozzi.

POLITICS OR SCIENCE—THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I received correspondence from Dr. Philip Handler, President of the National Academy of Sciences. Before placing Dr. Handler's letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I sent a copy to Dr. William Shockley to see if he cared to reply.

I include Dr. Handler's letter of May 15 and Dr. Shockley's response of August 25:

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES,
Washington, D.C., May 15, 1972.

HON. JOHN R. RARICK,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RARICK: I have read with interest the materials which you inserted into the Congressional Record for May 2, 1972, under the title "National Academy of Sciences Prefers Politics to Research." It is unfortunate that you did not have the opportunity to clarify the information in the inserted news articles which in several respects gave a garbled and misleading representation of the actions of this Academy. In the interest of clarity I respectfully suggest that you may wish to place this response in the Congressional Record.

First, with respect to the nature of the resolution by the membership of this Academy. I have enclosed a copy of the referenced resolution and believe that an actual reading of it will permit you to better judge the extent to which it can be considered as an "anti-war" resolution. Undoubtedly, the motivation of the sponsors of this resolution at the Academy's annual meeting finds its origins in the deep concerns of our members with respect to the painful national dilemma posed by our long and difficult involvement in Southeast Asia. I trust that you will agree that the intent of the resolution is entirely constructive. The eyes of our members were on the future, not the past, the intention

was to remind all of those in responsible positions that wars rarely solve anything and are to be avoided if at all possible. The resolution asks that our nation utilize its enormous scientific and engineering talents for the benefit of mankind in such fashion as to avoid repetition of the circumstances in which we presently find ourselves in Southeast Asia.

I personally find it difficult to take exception to that resolution and I deeply hope that all those individuals who represent the American people in the Congress and in the Executive Branch share similar concerns.

Secondly, there is the matter of our member Dr. Shockley. Over the past five years Dr. Shockley has freely brought resolutions with respect to evidence concerning the relationships between heredity and intelligence to the floor of our annual Academy meetings.

But he has not been ignored. Three years ago, in response to a motion which he brought before the membership, I appointed a select committee of members with objective and impeccable credentials to address these questions. A copy of their report is enclosed for your information. In essence, that report indicated that our committee did indeed agree that research addressed to establishing the relative roles of heredity and environment in the determination of intelligence is a legitimate field for inquiry. Further, it encouraged such research by competent, appropriately trained individuals. As a result of these issues have been raised to a sufficient level of interest that competent investigators will certainly have been attracted to such studies, and that should suffice. Thereafter, the normal processes of the scientific community should be operative. Investigators should undertake their studies, describe these in appropriate fashion and submit their results for publication in suitable referred journals. The committee saw no need for the Academy to set itself up as arbiter in this matter any more than it does in other technical areas.

In the period since, Mr. Shockley has continued to utilize the Academy's annual meetings as a means of focusing public attention on his position in this regard. He has been treated with proper respect and never been denied the floor from which to express his views. It would seem that our members simply refuse to be used for his purpose. From my standpoint, there is no more reason why the Academy should serve to sponsor the study which he proposes than there is for us to sponsor any of 10,000 others.

Sincerely,

PHILIP HANDLER,
President.

SUMMARY REPORT: AMERICAN LYSENKOISM IN THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES—A RESPONSE TO DR. HANDLER'S LETTER OF MAY 15, 1972

(By W. Shockley, Stanford University)

"... A failure to be influenced by the findings of the students of eugenics or a continuation in our present fatuous belief in the potency of money to cure..." human-quality problems, including their racial aspects, might "... hasten the end..." of civilization. Alexander Graham Bell was Honorary President of the Second International Congress of Eugenics held at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City where the preceding quotations were presented in 1921 in an address by Charles B. Davenport of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C. [Eugenics, Genetics and the Family, Volume I, Scientific Papers of the Second International Congress of Eugenics, Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1923.]

Dysgenics—retrogressive evolution through the disproportionate reproduction of the genetically disadvantaged—struck me as a real threat as evidenced by 1963 news stories of successive generations of low IQ families

on relief. My public speeches about dysgenics in 1964 and 1965 disregarded race. My response to a question in a U.S. News and World Report interview about the high incidence of poverty and crime among Negroes made race an issue for me. My scientifically objective response proposed research on adopted Negro orphans. Eminent scientists branded me a racist. These experiences convinced me that in academic circles, eugenics, dysgenics and race were taboo subjects. I resented taboos in science. I still do.

In 1966 I made a decision: By campaigning against these taboos as a Nobel Laureate, I would serve the objective of the "greatest benefit on mankind" phrase in Nobel's will. I also felt an obligation: I would risk less than would others sharing my convictions but not my academic security.

Several years after I had launched my campaign, my library research revealed Dr. Bell's picture as the frontispiece of the book on eugenics. It was disconcerting to learn that in the twenties Dr. Bell had presided at a respectable international conference on subjects that forty years later had become unspeakably taboo—much as had Greek astronomy in the dark ages of Galileo.

I rebelled at sweeping dysgenic and racial questions under the rug. I undertook research on existing research. This research led me inescapably to the opinion that the social and intellectual disadvantages of American Negroes arise primarily from genetic causes. I found evidence for Negro physical superiority. Specifically, I researched data on failure rates on 20/20 vision and other Army eye tests. Disproportionately more whites than Negroes fail. I found a new relationship: Negro and white distributions of poor vision are statistically related by laws like those for IQ distributions but with Negroes not 15 points lower, as for IQ, but instead 9 points higher. I also found that American Orientals and Jews attain scientific eminence about ten times more often per capita than Caucasians. I called these findings "opinions" rather than "proofs" because they had not been objectively reviewed by adequate scientific bodies.

I found evidence for dysgenics for Negroes: Over a forty year period there was loss of ground for Negroes as compared to whites in Army preinduction mental tests. [See W. Shockley, Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci. 57, 1767 (1967)]. Although all civilizations may become dysgenic and decline, in ours at present, American Negroes may be most threatened. Their family size patterns are most dysgenic. Dysgenics may produce a new kind of Negro enslavement—genetic enslavement. I concluded that to fail to diagnose this worry was inhumane. To fail to campaign for objective diagnosis was irresponsible—an irresponsibility I could not tolerate.

To provoke diagnosis of dysgenics, I called on the National Academy of Sciences—the body that I believe is obligated to be the scientific conscience of the nation by virtue of the charter granted to it by President Abraham Lincoln. From 1965 to the present my campaign has used letters to members, contributed papers at meetings and resolutions at business meetings. I brought my concerns to public attention by lectures, articles and by encouraging members of Congress to pose my questions to the Academy.

The Academy has responded to my campaign by publishing reports in 1967 and 1971—the second much less resistant to my urgings than the first. The introduction to the first report and the subsidiary motion that set up the second show that neither was motivated to diagnose as I had urged. Instead, the initiation of both reports included rejection of my worries and even derogation of my competence and objectivity.

The second report, in draft form in April 1970 by the Committee on Policy with Respect to Studies of Genetic Quality (later called Committee on Genetic Factors in Hu-

man Performance), rejected one of my strongest research conclusions—one that I would call a "proof" rather than an "opinion." I objected at the time. In April 1971, the Academy voted to "accept" the report, called the Davis Report (named after Committee Chairman Kingsley Davis), including its rejection of my research conclusion. I requested but was denied an opportunity to show data to support my conclusion.

Here is the issue that my research conclusion raised: I had researched four independent studies of separately raised white identical twins compiled in a fifth review study by Arthur R. Jensen. I had concluded that IQ geneticity was 80% (more precisely, 82%): 80% IQ geneticity means that gene differences among the twins pushed IQ scores up and down from the median of 100 four times more strongly than did environmental differences. Furthermore, the sample of twins was representative of the white population as a whole from which they were drawn both as to genes and as to environments. My own research contribution was to show that the results were so striking that even for the small sample of 244, one could eliminate being fooled by chance at a significance level of one chance in 2,000. I presented the analysis that supports this conclusion at the Academy meeting in October 1971.

My research had documented 80% IQ geneticity—a definitive case in which genes clearly dominated IQ—a conclusion rejected by the Davis Report. I moved resolutions at two Academy meetings that my statistics be reviewed. Both were defeated. But opposition decreased from 200 to 10 against my resolution in October 1971 to 44 to 24 with fifty abstaining in April 1972. Why has the Academy refused to examine my statistics?

My interpretation is that the Academy abandons scientific objectivity when emotions are involved. What was so emotional? My resolutions avoided race by focusing on white identical twins. But to admit publicly, contrary to the Davis Report, that genes do dominate IQ in any meaningful case might force a consideration of what I have demanded for more than six years—diagnosis of dysgenic trends. Although dysgenics applies to whites as well as blacks, research must inevitably include the emotionally loaded racial issue. Research might prove that Negroes are genetically inferior and are reproducing fastest. This possible dysgenic threat is emotionally loaded. I believe that scientific objectivity has yielded to the threat of emotional issues. There is a parallel in a disaster of Russian science under Stalin.

Dr. Trofim Denisovich Lysenko became Stalin's favorite scientist because his pseudoscientific theories conformed to Marxist philosophy—inheritor of conditioned characteristics. Lysenko claimed that his biologist coworkers had discovered how to transform one species into another—wheat into rye, pines into firs, etc. While Lysenkoism ruled, contrary opinion was heresy and Lysenko's critics were silenced. Punishments included imprisonment and death. Lysenkoism forced Russian science to trim, clip and twist scientific inquiry to fit ideological preconceptions. Controversial research and open debate were suppressed. Lysenkoism was a disaster for Russian agriculture.

American Lysenkoism describes the attitude toward my 80% IQ geneticity resolutions. Where facts do not fit the ideological preconceptions, they are twisted or even suppressed. Here are two examples of twists of my resolutions: An eminent geneticist who opposed my 1972 resolution stressed that the conclusions would not apply across the racial gap. This made my resolution seem racist—a twist that helped dispose of it. News stories about my 1971 resolution were headlined: "Race and IQ Study Barred by Academy" and "Shockley's Race Study Rejected." To be a heretic against the ideological preconceptions underlying these twists is the only

course I find possible for a scientist of conscience.

Dr. Handler's letter of May 15, 1972 to The Honorable John R. Rarick, which led to the research reported in this Summary Report, conveyed two unjustified impressions. (1) The Davis Report's Committee was set up, not by Dr. Handler's response to my resolution as erroneously stated in Dr. Handler's letter, but by the passage of a subsidiary motion by a member who regarded my resolution "as unscientific and improperly motivated and therefore altogether inappropriate for serious attention by the Academy." This subsidiary motion's preamble exhibited American Lysenkoism by using the words "racists, bigots, fanatics, injustice, and cruelty." (2) Dr. Handler's letter also erred in representing my resolutions as calls for sponsoring my own research. None of my resolutions called for a fraction of the effort required of the Academy for the Davis Report.

In Lysenko's Russia and in Galileo's Italy, heretics were silenced by lethal threats—and death. Heretics against American Lysenkoism are silenced differently. Research funds are denied; invited lectures are disrupted; academic tenure is withheld; courses on dysgenics are denied credit.

I believe that American Lysenkoism will be eliminated. Signs are already in evidence. Articles by feature writers in newspapers and periodicals are appearing in greater numbers in the last few years. So are books. They ask questions and oppose dogma. I am fortunate to have had the opportunity to contribute to this growing dedication to the search for truth and to express these views openly for the general public in this contribution to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and elsewhere. If I have indeed contributed to eliminating American Lysenkoism—and I like to believe that I have—my effectiveness was made possible because our nation's founding fathers wisely made it so safe for our citizens to speak out. The evils in the Russia of Stalin and in the Germany of the Nazis would have been soon corrected had the basic human goodness of their intellectual leaders been defended by rights like our own—the rights that our wise predecessors put in our Constitution as the First Amendment.

The National Academy of Sciences is an organization of outstanding and capable scientists. Save for the area of thought-blockage upon which this communication focuses, I am proud to be a member. I am relieved to be able to state, as discussed in the CONCLUSION of the Research Report that supports this Summary Report, that some members are showing encouraging evidence of overcoming thought-blocks and of sharing my concerns about American Lysenkoism. I hope that this analysis will reach others and that it will help to create a new era of true scientific inquiry into human-quality problems.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 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 1,757 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

OLYMPIC TRAGEDY

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, all Americans deplore the senseless murders of Israeli athletes at the Olympics in Munich.

In Winchester, Va., a sampling of opinion of leaders of the Jewish community was reported by Mr. Jack Davis, executive editor of the Winchester Evening Star.

These leaders reacted with splendid restraint to the outrageous killings. They expressed the hope that revulsion over the murders might in some way improve the chances for peace in the Middle East.

Mr. Davis also interviewed the president of the local ministerial association, who called on Christians and Jews to unite in the effort to end violence.

As a resident of Winchester, as a Virginian, and as an American I am proud of these responses of my fellow citizens.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article, "Jewish Leaders Here React With Restraint," published in the Winchester Evening Star of September 6, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

JEWISH LEADERS HERE REACT WITH RESTRAINT
(By Jack Davis)

The local Jewish community, stunned by the slaughter of members of the Israeli Olympic team, still was able to react today with reason and restraint.

Not toward the terrorists, or their sympathizers. But Jewish leaders here voiced hope that these murders could in some way lead to a national Middle East peace through world revulsion over the act itself.

Seymour Barr, board chairman of the Beth-El Congregation, said that "we as Americans and as Jews view with horror and shock the murder of innocent Israeli Olympians in Munich by Arab terrorists."

"The theme of peace demonstrated in Munich—that peoples can compete and respect each other—was turned into a nightmare. But the Olympic goal and example cannot be destroyed through political murder by an unpredictable group. The Israelis have never yielded to terrorist blackmail."

"The West Germans are to be respected for their efforts to erase the memories of the Nazi era. Arab nations generally have condemned this terrorism, and it should be the hope that this night and day of terror might be the catalyst for a peaceful solution in the Middle East."

"As we approach the High Holy Days, we will especially include these martyrs of Israel in our prayers."

The Beth-El congregation begins its observance of the Holy Days Friday at 8 p.m. at the synagogue on Fairmont Ave. The synagogue also serves Jews in Front Royal and Strasburg. The congregation numbers about 45 families.

Charles Zuckerman, Winchester city councilman and a congregation leader said he hoped the radical element among Jews would not govern the Jewish approach.

"We have heard certain remarks about an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," he said. "I don't believe this is a time for that. Instead, we should do everything in our power to further peace."

"I, for one, reject the eye for an eye feeling

completely, especially at this time. It would only add to the trouble we've seen already.

"I only hope we don't go out and do things that would result in the killing of more innocent people."

The Rev. Robert J. Donnelly, president of the Winchester-Frederick County Ministerial Assn., said the Christian community was "appalled and shocked over the situation in Munich."

"We grieve with our Jewish brothers over this incident that has taken the lives of 11 Israelis. Christians and Jews the world over need to stand together and pledge themselves anew toward building a world in which violence is the exception and not the rule for resolving the problems that confront us."

"The incident in Munich helps us to realize that while we've come a long way in demonstrating our physical prowess, we've still fallen far short of the goal of true world brotherhood desired by the God of both the Christian and the Jew."

No Arab-related local residents were available immediately for comment.

LUCY'S LETTER

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, in these modern times, we occasionally tend to sense a void that the elegantly spoken words of our great statesmen in the past so adequately filled. We can see, however, that the art of fine oratory is not completely lost in our age and generation. In this connection, I am extremely pleased to submit the observations of Lucy Albright, which appeared in the *Glasgow, Ky., Republican*, August 31, 1972.

The article follows:

LUCY'S LETTER

(By Lucy Albright)

If the public were of the opinion that oratory at its finest was of a past era then the Republican Convention changed their minds for there, before a great American audience it came to life and reiterated the same fine delivery as Daniel Webster and Henry Clay. There has been much comment concerning the convention in the days which have followed it and it appears to have evoked applause grounded in confidence among the viewers. Personally, I delight in listening to a speaker who has a message and the ability to deliver it. There are those who were most favorable toward the speech of Ronald Reagan, governor of California. Others leaned to Nelson Rockefeller, to Nixon, to Barry Goldwater, to John Wayne in his drawing sincerity and all agreed that the one minute speeches were packaged in truths, delivered in concise superiority, however this may come as a surprise to you, but I favored the speech of Spiro Agnew. I hear no speaker anywhere that can equal his plain understandable four square delivery and his great storehouse of a ready, unique vocabulary with a keen mind that gives him rhetoric unequalled by any to convey his thoughts. Through the past four years when Agnew has held the second spot in the executive branch of government he has managed to give respectful identity to the office of Vice presidency without ever seeming to take any limelight from the president and though at times his words may have had a sharp edge, his fearless sincerity has won respect for him and his office. And through the years of democracy the vice president's names have passed into history, in most parts as nonentities, but Agnew's name is a household word and the memory of it will long remain.

INDIANA PAPERS, PLEASE COPY

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, the *Columbia Journalism Review* commented, in its September/October, 1972 issue, on a lengthy series published by the *Journal Herald*, a daily newspaper in Dayton, Ohio which is within my district.

I placed the investigative articles in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD* on April 25, 1972. They alleged a series of shocking improprieties relating to a bankruptcy ring in Indiana.

The *Review's* piece reads like a postscript, which both the *Review* and I hope it will not be. Because of the developments which have occurred since the publication of the *Journal Herald* series or more accurately, the lack of developments—I insert herewith the text of the *Journalism* magazine's commentary:

INDIANA PAPERS, PLEASE COPY

In decades past, journalists became familiar with the phenomenon of national press intervention in regional stories—often in the South—when the local press was reluctant to do the job. That situation now occurs less and less in the South, but one can find variants elsewhere. The Dayton, O., *Journal Herald* has become involved in a similar situation on a story for which it crossed the state line.

In December, 1970, the *Journal Herald* asked Keith McKnight, an investigative reporter, to look into charges that the two U.S. Senators from Indiana were linked to an Indianapolis "bankruptcy ring"—an operation that used bankruptcy court proceedings to enrich a chosen circle of lawyers and officials. In April, 1971, the *Journal Herald* assigned a second man, Andrew Alexander, to the story. They worked for a year before their newspaper was ready to publish their findings in an eleven-part series that began last April 10.

The findings were intricate—indeed, the series makes extremely difficult reading—but substantial. The stories claimed to confirm existence of the bankruptcy ring and charged a great variety of improprieties and illegalities. They showed that one large bankruptcy was handled by men who were also fund-raisers for Sen. Birch Bayh in 1968, and that there never had been a complete accounting for Bayh's campaign finances in that year. They also asserted that a former governor, Matthew E. Welsh (who is the Democratic candidate again in 1972), had been appointed in a bankruptcy proceeding in which he allegedly dealt with a company linked to organized crime.

Recognizing that Indiana lay beyond its own circulation territory, the *Journal Herald* took care to see that its series was distributed in that state. Before publication it sent copies to three dailies, in South Bend, Kokomo, and Evansville. It also gave a copy to the Association Press.

If the *Journal Herald* had thought that these steps would ensure publication in Indiana, it was soon disillusioned. Not one of the three dailies used the series, nor, the *Journal Herald* found, did other papers—despite a detailed summary transmitted on the AP regional wire each day. One radio station—which the *Journal Herald* people dubbed Radio Free Indiana—called Dayton every day for the latest information, which it broadcast: the station was WIBO, Indianapolis. A momentary beam of hope came when the Indianapolis *News* reprinted a

Journal Herald editorial demanding disclosure by Sen. Bayh; then a court reporter for the *Star* produced a story raising the question of indictments in the case. But the reporter abruptly was removed from his beat, and the Pulliam newspapers resumed their silence.

The story did only slightly better on the national level. On the CBS program *Face the Nation*, Sen. Bayh was questioned by three correspondents; they referred to the *Journal Herald* findings repeatedly, but in the end permitted the Senator to discredit the story's sources without forcing him to rebut its substance. Two syndicated columnists—Clark Mollenhoff and Milton Viorst—also wrote about the case, and there was a further brief flurry of attention when Republican Congressmen from Indiana called for investigation.

But the silence in Indiana has left the reporters deeply frustrated. McKnight says, "Never in my ten years of journalism have I witnessed anything so blatantly and unalterably wrong. Yet my partner and I are powerless to do anything about it. Our objectivity has since become encumbered by outrage, but even if it was not, the shouts of two journalists, in Dayton, O., don't carry very far."

It is not necessary to endorse the findings of the *Journal Herald* to question the silence across the line in Indiana. The charges are documented; they deserve, at the least, serious rebuttal.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT BANK

HON. JAMES ABOUREZK

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. ABOUREZK. Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the *Midland Cooperator* called to my attention the views of Stanley Dreyer, president of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., on the need for a National Development Bank. Mr. Dreyer pointed out the success of the Farm Credit System and the Rural Electrification Administration programs in rural areas and urged the consideration of a similar bank to provide credit in rural and urban areas which cannot be served by FCS or REA.

Mr. Dreyer describes the bank's functions this way:

A credit institution to provide loans not only for rural and small community social projects but also for the pressing capital needs for similar projects for low income urban dwellers clustered in the inner city. The housing, health, and mass transportation needs found in these areas could receive development loans that would not only make these facilities possible but—equally important—would allow control and ownership to remain in the hands of the people they serve, giving them the right to decide how and where they are to be used.

American society should face up to its problems. We are convinced that this (bank) will have a major positive impact on the economic health of this country.

I would like to commend Mr. Dreyer for his very thoughtful words. I feel that he points out very well that there are similar problems in rural and urban America and that these problems necessitate a strong, positive attack which would enable the people involved to help themselves. As an advocate of urban and rural cooperation, I hope that Mr. Drey-

er's proposal will receive the careful consideration that it deserves. I would also like to thank the Midland Cooperator for bringing these views to my attention.

LAIRD'S DEFENSE OF HIS BUDGET REBUTTED BY STATE DEPARTMENT

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, over the years we have witnessed a growing debate over the escalating military budget. Some would reduce the debate to the lowest common denominator of hawks versus doves. I submit that the issues are more complicated and should be looked at in terms of what we truly need for a strong defense posture, the efficient allocation of resources, and the excesses in the military budget which can be cut.

In considerable testimony given in both the House and Senate, we have seen the tremendous waste of taxpayers' dollars in the military budget. Adm. Hyman Rickover, the prominent nuclear scientist, has given us some keen insights on the application of Parkinson's law regarding an expanding nonessential bureaucracy under the guise of national defense.

Recently, the Secretary of Defense gave reasons why he did not believe our military spending was excessive.

In rebuttal, Dr. Nasrollah S. Fatemi, distinguished professor and director of the Graduate Institute of International Studies at Fairleigh Dickinson University in Teaneck, N.J., wrote an article which appeared in the Record newspaper of Bergen County.

Professor Fatemi compared the statements and statistics of the Defense Secretary with those of the State and Commerce Departments. His findings are most enlightening, and I would like to commend Professor Fatemi's excellent analysis to my colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, the article follows:

LAIRD'S DEFENSE OF HIS BUDGET REBUTTED BY STATE DEPARTMENT (By Nasrollah S. Fatemi)

On the same day last week two documents were released by two departments of the federal government. They contradict each other.

A State Department news release, under the heading "Peace, National Security, and the Salt Agreements," made the following points:

1. Since World War II more than \$2.3 trillion has been spent on defense by the United States and the Soviet Union. Approximately \$1.3 trillion of this was spent by the United States, the rest by the Soviet Union.

2. If the two societies continue to grow as projected, and if both continue to spend the same proportion of gross national product on defense, the two countries together, by the year 2000, would spend another \$5 trillion on armaments.

3. According to the "Statistics Abstracts," published by the Department of Commerce, the United States is spending 8.6 per cent of her GNP on armaments, the Soviet Union 8.5 per cent, Japan 2.9 per cent, West Ger-

many 3.5 per cent, France 4.4 per cent, the United Kingdom 5.1 per cent, and Italy 2.9 per cent.

4. The present trend is most disadvantageous to the United States and the Soviet Union, and considering other more pressing priorities, untenable. Since the two countries have reached a level where neither side can start a nuclear war without triggering its own destruction, both sides should avoid spending at current levels while negotiations are continued.

At the same time Secretary Laird released a long document aimed at critics who contend there is too much waste in the defense budget. He also made a few personal observations. In light of the figures published by the Department of Commerce, Secretary Laird's statements suffer from inaccuracy, misrepresentation, and insensitivity to facts.

1. Secretary Laird says the present defense budget is smaller than the Eisenhower budget. The last Eisenhower defense budget, for 1960-61, was \$45 billion. Since there has been a 33 per cent inflation, in terms of the current dollar it would be the equivalent of \$59.9 billion.

The proposed defense budget for the current year is \$86 billion. If we add to that a \$1.2 billion supplemental appropriation for bombing North Vietnam and \$2.1 billion for military aid to Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Korea, and Taiwan, the total present war budget is \$89.3 billion. How can \$89.3 billion be smaller than \$59.9 billion?

2. The Pentagon apologia also states that weapons procurement in 1972 is only \$300 million higher than it was eight years ago. The budget of 1965 was \$60 billion in 1972 dollars. Even if we allow for the present cost of the Vietnam war, the total would be no more than \$67.3 billion. What happened to the \$22.3 billion difference?

3. Mr. Laird's argument that our defense spending is insignificant is erroneous. At present the United States defense budget is 42.3 per cent of total, worldwide military expenditures, and 37 per cent of the Federal government's budget.

The defense document is unfortunately political propaganda, intended to deceive the public. It would have been a great service if Secretary Laird had given a few simple and frank answers to his critics' questions, and had promised to get our allies to accept their responsibilities to cut fat from the defense budget, and to reduce the burden of the taxpayers, who are supporting the most cumbersome, most expensive bureaucratic machine in the history of mankind.

POSTMASTER GENERAL E. T. KLASSEN

HON. FRANK M. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend Postmaster General E. T. Klassen on his recent announcement at Postal Forum VI that he will forgo \$450 million in postage increases that had been originally budgeted. This is a rare action for a Postmaster General.

In addition, Mr. Klassen's concern for good service, while admitting problem areas, is commendable.

The Postal Service should be given every chance to carry through on Mr. Klassen's efforts with economy and efficiency.

REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the problem of reverse discrimination is becoming increasingly serious.

This prejudice against persons who are not members of minority groups is growing because the various departments of the Government are enforcing what are supposed to be guidelines as quotas.

Programs designed to bring more members of minority groups into colleges and universities as students, faculty members, and administrators and into industry in executive positions are being used to shut out other persons who are qualified in all other ways. These programs were supposed to make additional positions available, not create quotas for existing positions.

At this time I enter into the RECORD a very clear statement on this problem by Benjamin R. Epstein, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

ADDRESS BY BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN

In 1949, more than 100 college and university presidents, deans, and admissions officers from 24 states, and representatives of 35 educational organizations gathered in Chicago's Palmer House to finally face what was then a 30-year-old problem—discrimination in college admissions. I find myself thinking of that meeting more and more these days.

Dr. Andrew C. Ivy, who was vice president of the University of Illinois and chairman of the conference, was the keynote speaker. He began by saying—"Discrimination against deserving students who want to get into college is evil. It causes great loss and damage to the United States. It violates the democratic credos which educators are presumed to hold sacred..."

Dr. Ivy was talking about a quota system, a device which limited the entrance of minority group students into colleges and universities, a device which barred certain youth from an equal chance to education through the setting up of fixed percentages of Jews, Negroes, and Catholics, who were to be admitted. Part and parcel of the device was the use of questions about religion, race, and nativity of parents on application blanks.

Now, 23 years later, the use of quota systems and other related devices not only in college admissions but in employment as well, are again of concern. This time, however, there is a certain amount of irony in the fact that they are being used in the name of affirmative action to bring in, or upgrade, minority group members—and—minority groups today are defined as being women, blacks, Puerto Ricans in some areas, Mexican Americans in others.

In other words, affirmative action programs aimed at bringing about equal opportunity for all Americans, are being distorted and turned with increasing rapidity into preferential treatment for some Americans on the basis of their race or sex. To put it another way, while the intent is eradication of the all too pervasive reality of unequal opportunity for oppressed minorities, the means constitutes discrimination in reverse.

Most of the organizations represented in this room have actively pressed for the establishment of affirmative action programs to end discrimination by public and private employers and educational institutions. We have applauded the fact that the federal

government has undertaken to sensitize its contractors to the need for such programs and that, in response to government prodding—particularly that of the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare—an ever-growing number of contractors have begun to recruit, train and upgrade minority group applicants and employees. The time has long passed for American society, and especially government, to tolerate the shameful practice of racial and religious discrimination or to approach its elimination in a less than wholehearted and vigorous manner.

The difficulty, however, is that there is considerable confusion over the difference between affirmative action and preferential treatment, between goals and quotas.

In essence, affirmative action connotes adding qualified minority group members to other qualified applicants for college admission, employment, etc. Preferential treatment, on the other hand, means to benefit some, without regard for qualifications, by excluding others.

There is enough of a pattern of episodes involving student admissions and faculty hiring to show that while the anti-discrimination laws and regulations under which HEW operates do not call for preferential treatment or quotas, HEW guidelines are being implemented as if they did call for such measures. In many cases, there is evidence that colleges and universities engaging in preferential treatment and quota systems on the basis of race and ethnicity, are doing so as the result of the position and prodding of HEW compliance officers. In addition, institutions which have adopted policies of preferential treatment on their own, without any HEW pressure, have been allowed to continue without any corrective action being taken by HEW's Office for Civil Rights.

Six of our groups—the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Jewish War Veterans, and Agudath Israel of America—went to Washington to meet with HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson and J. Stanley Pottinger, head of the Office for Civil Rights. We made clear our concern and gave specific examples of what in our view constituted an attempted remedial measure for past discrimination which is as deliberately and arbitrarily discriminatory against others as what it is supposed to rectify.

How does one define the difference between affirmative action and preferential treatment. Let me try through some examples.

In the area of employment recruiting, it is affirmative action for a company, government agency or university to add to its recruitment schedules colleges and universities at which substantial numbers of minority group students are to be found. But it would be giving preferential treatment if the usual recruiting schedules were abandoned and only those schools which had substantial numbers of minority group students were visited.

It is affirmative recruiting of previously underutilized groups as college students when high school counselors in schools with substantial minority group student bodies are urged to refer graduates to a particular college, or if recruiters address the senior class. But it would be preferential treatment if recruiting were limited to these schools. To go a step further, it would facilitate preferential treatment, not affirmative action, if college application forms include questions of race or ethnic background as a means of making a selection of who is to be admitted.

It is affirmative action for an employer or a university admissions office to provide compensatory training or counseling for persons viewed as potentially qualified—but it would be preferential treatment if such compensatory aid were limited only to minority group members.

Now, while HEW rules to implement "Non-

Discrimination in Federally Assisted Programs" do not specifically call for preferential treatment or quotas, but are being widely interpreted that way, the language of proposed new paragraphs to the federal regulations clearly seem to sanction both.

For example, a paragraph which begins: "This regulation does not prohibit the consideration of race, color or national origin if the purpose and effect are to remove or overcome the consequences of practices or impediments which have restricted . . . on the grounds of race, color, or national origin. . . ."

Or, another proposed paragraph which states that: "Even though an applicant or recipient has never used discriminatory policies, the services and benefits of the program or activity it administers may not in fact be equally available to some racial or national groups. In such circumstances," it goes on to say, "an applicant or recipient may properly give special consideration to race, color or national origin. . . ."

There are questions to be asked—and answered—before preferential treatment becomes institutionalized by default.

Is a non-minority individual to be required to give up his right to be judged on his own merit?

Is a non-minority individual to be required to accept discrimination against himself based solely on the color of his skin?

By what standard does one justify injustice against a non-minority individual today who has no personal responsibility for yesterday's wrongs?

Because society in general bears the responsibility for historical wrongs, society rightfully must, and indeed has begun to, undertake the job of righting them. This is the philosophy behind affirmative action programs designed to secure better employment and educational opportunities for members of minority groups. But the aim of affirmative action should be broad social progress in achieving racial equality, not the assignment of historical blame, and then the penalizing of specific individuals who happen to be members of the majority.

It would take me hours to give you all the specific instances of the kind of penalization I mean, penalization—and injustice—taking place right now across the country. In the interest of time, let me select a few illustrative cases.

There is the experience of Marco DeFunis, Jr., a Phi Beta Kappa Jewish applicant for admission to the law school of the University of Washington. He filed suit in the State Superior Court in Seattle, alleging that he had been discriminated against when he was refused admission, although he was better qualified than 30 of the 31 minority group members admitted. The University said it had rejected DeFunis in order to effectuate its policy that preference be given to blacks and members of other minority groups. The Court rendered a decision ordering the University of Washington to immediately admit DeFunis to classes in the law school—which it did, but the university is appealing the decision.

There is a form letter circulated by the president of Oberlin College advising alumni, students and faculty members of a new policy adopted to achieve, "a minority representation among Oberlin students, faculty and staff approximately equal to the percentage of minority group members in our national population as a whole." This is a "numerous clause."

There is the report that the New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry is imposing a 25% minimum quota for minority admissions.

There is the statement by the president of the State University of New York at Old Westbury that this new college is embarking upon quota-basis admissions which would result in its student body becoming

reflective of the racial composition of the greater New York City area's population.

There is the request for information concerning applicants' ethnic identification on the centralized application form for would-be medical students distributed under the sponsorship of the Association of American Medical Colleges.

There is the case of the head of the Department of Economics of New Mexico State University refusing to consider applicants for faculty posts because none belonged to one of the minority groups listed in the notice of vacancies.

There is the San Francisco Board of Education's endorsement of a program to demote 89 administrators because of budget reductions. The program called for demotion of white administrators with tenure, but not demotion of any black or other minority administrators, only two of whom had tenure.

There is the so-called affirmative action program developed by the State University of New York at Albany which requests deans and department heads to anticipate vacancies over a five-year period and indicate how many can be allocated to minority members, and also instructs hiring personnel that "the university will defer the filling of some positions until qualified minority members and women are added to the staff."

There is the proposal by the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin declaring that chancellors of individual campuses would be barred from using employee funds if they fail to hire minority group professors and administrators proportionate to their national availability, or staff members proportionate to their local availability.

The problem of goals vs. quotas is a difficult one. When goals are targets, toward which "good faith" efforts are made, HEW approves—but what happens when goals are reached, are they then frozen and do they become quotas?

But let me not leave the impression that there are no academic voices of concern. Perhaps the issue was commented on most succinctly by Robert M. O'Neill, Professor of Law at the University of California at Berkeley. Writing in the Yale Law Journal, Professor O'Neill gave what he called "substantial objections" to special admissions policies. "First," he said, "preferential admission standards depart sharply from traditional judgments based on academic ability and performance; second, the use of race and ethnicity as a factor in student selection violates the Constitution; and third, rapid expansion of minority enrollments may in various ways harm the majority students, the minority students, and the institutions. . . ."

Chancellor Robert Kibbee of the City University of New York set forth in a memorandum the differentiation between affirmative action and preferential treatment in employment.

"Our affirmative action policy," Chancellor Kibbee said, "requires the colleges and the central administration of the University to develop affirmative action plans that would overcome conditions of de facto discrimination in employment against women and minorities where those conditions exist. This does not mean that the plans or their implementation require preferential treatment in recruitment, hiring or promotion on the basis of criteria other than merit. It is our overall personnel policy, of which affirmative action is an important component, that the choice among candidates for hiring or promotion is to be that candidate demonstrating the maximum potential for meeting the job's requirements. Employment selection is to be based primarily upon vocational or professional competence within the board's by-laws and those professional standards duly established by constituent faculty."

But more voices of concern—and reason—

are needed to halt the imposition of new injustices as a remedy to those of the past.

The distortions of the affirmative action concept are of particularly serious concern to the Jewish community which is, despite new interpretations, still a vulnerable minority. Jewish youth seek higher education in far greater numbers than their proportional percentage of the entire population or that of particular geographic areas where they reside. Eighty percent of all Jewish youth go to college, approximately 400,000. Are they to be turned away, not on the basis of their qualifications, but solely because of the color of their skin?

Is a person who has devoted long years to preparation for a career on the faculty of a college to be turned away because preferential treatment dictates the employment of a woman or a member of a specified minority group—regardless of substantive qualifications?

Have we come this far in the long battle against inequality in opportunity only to substitute one form of discrimination for another? Surely, this is not the answer to society's shortcomings.

The answer lies in a combination of programs:

In true affirmative action, clearly enunciated, strongly supported by the government, and free of the divisive effects of preferential treatment;

In universities expanding their facilities, even if the expansion requires dipping into endowment funds or curtailing less essential activities;

In federal funding of additional education facilities.

An example of what can be accomplished in many graduate and professional schools is the Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971, which by providing financial help in creating new medical schools, additional facilities for schools presently in operation, and in rehabilitating existing unusable facilities, should do much to increase the number of places available—without resort to preferential treatment in admissions.

The only morally justifiable position is that those institutions of society that are responsible for past acts of discrimination should make the sacrifices. The fundamental wrong in preferential treatment is that individuals who have no responsibility for past discrimination are made to sacrifice their opportunities for self-fulfillment to pay the debt that society owes to those previously discriminated against.

Our posture in this problem troubles me when I see the rise in anti-black sentiment in the Jewish community. I hope we do not feed these racist views; we do not lose our sense of perspective. We must continue to work for the eradication of injustice for blacks and other minorities.

In our deep concern about reverse discrimination, we must not forget that society's debt is large and payment is long overdue. If society in general bears the responsibility, then as members of that society, we also have a role—to continue to press for equal rights and equal opportunity for all Americans.

HOUSE RESOLUTION 1106

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 6, 1972

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, all Americans are deeply saddened by the recent tragedy at the Olympic Games, and I wish to express my personal dismay and

indignation at this shocking event. The death of any human being is tragic, but when the dead are wholly innocent of wrongdoing, then the tragedy takes on greater dimension. Such is the case at Munich.

The arena of sports competition of the Olympics is quickly becoming a forum for political and ideological expression. The Olympic ideal was gravely compromised a few days earlier when the athletes of Rhodesia were not allowed to participate in the games due to the lack of sportsmanship of some of the African countries. Now, the very existence of the games themselves has been cast into doubt and athletes from all over the world find themselves cast as political pawns for a variety of causes and movements. It has cost the lives of 11 Israeli athletes who had trained for years for international competition.

By these acts the spirit of the Olympics has been threatened. Without this spirit, this intangible force, the Olympics are lost. We will all be diminished by it and mankind will be the poorer for it.

A great cancer of violence and destruction has gripped the world. Mr. Speaker, it is the responsibility of all nations to rid themselves of this disease of fear and lawlessness. Never has the crying need for international cooperation been more evident.

This senseless, depraved act by Arab outlaws in Munich casts a dark shadow over those nations that condone such activity and which serve as havens for their organizations. It is imperative that it be stopped, and we must now serve notice to all that such barbaric conduct will not be tolerated by the world community.

XX OLYMPIAD

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the XX Olympiad currently being held in Munich, Germany, has produced some outstanding personal achievements by American athletes. None has been as remarkable as the performances of America's premier swimmer Mark Spitz, winner of an unprecedented seven gold medals.

Mark Spitz at the age of 22 has emerged as one of the world's truly great athletes. Not only has he won the seven gold medals, but he has also been relentlessly shattering all existing world records in the process. His individual pursuit of excellence has propelled the American team to its present position as the leader in total medals.

Even more appropriate is the fact that Spitz, an American of Jewish faith, has achieved his unparalleled record in Germany, where only a quarter of a century ago it was unheard of for a Jew to be able to compete on German soil.

However, the tragic events which followed Spitz' achievements have taken away some of the glitter. The barbaric

acts of a small group of demented men against the Israelis caused Spitz to be flown on a military plane out of Munich heavily guarded, and bitter about the loss of 11 fellow Jews. How tragic it seems that a man who has reached the pinnacle of success of Spitz must be forced to leave the arena before the cheers have died down. The legend of Mark Spitz will continue to inspire the young of the world long after the pain of the tragedy of the XX Olympiad has left the hearts and minds of mankind. Despite the agony and the sorrows caused by these events, Mark Spitz deserves the commendation of all Americans.

SATURDAY NIGHT SPECIALS

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to register my strongest opposition to the new gun control bill passed by the Senate August 9 and now before our Judiciary Committee—S. 2507, by Senator BAYH. This bill would prohibit American citizens from buying any of a number of different kinds of small, inexpensive handguns which have suddenly acquired—at least in the news media, in the bill and in the speeches of its advocates—the sinister-sounding name of Saturday night specials.

Incidentally, it would be very interesting to know how many people during the past year have actually walked into their local gun shop or hardware store and asked for a Saturday night special. The name is brilliant press-agentry, but is it what these guns are really called?

How does S. 2507 define a Saturday night special—especially when it's not bought on Saturday night? It is defined by a point system that puts the scoring of the Olympics to shame. The bill sets forth point scores for 18 separate parts of a pistol, for example, to determine whether it is a Saturday night special. By quite little amendments decreasing the point totals for components that, as the bill is now written, would take a gun out of the prohibited category, more and more handguns could be classified as Saturday night specials and prohibited, until the purchase of almost any handgun by a private citizen became illegal.

And just this is the ultimate objective of the most vocal supporters of this bill, as some of them have openly revealed in saying that they are not pushing for outright prohibition of handguns now only because they believe this bill is the farthest Congress is likely to go in that direction this year.

But this bill is too far for Congress to go in any year. Because a gun is too small and inexpensive to be used for sporting purposes does not mean that it is wanted only by criminals or potential criminals. Gun controllers never seem to grasp the fact that millions of Americans want to be able to defend themselves effectively, with firearms, in our increasingly crime-ridden cities. The capability of self-

defense with a handgun should not be limited to those able to afford an expensive weapon.

To restrict the law-abiding citizen's right to keep and bear arms, or to require him to register his firearms, threatens the safety and liberties of every American.

TRIBUTE TO REPRESENTATIVE JON ROTENBERG

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, Representative Jon Rotenberg has served the people of Brookline for 2 years as a member of the Massachusetts Legislature. He has already established himself as a concerned and capable legislator, with an intense interest both in the community and the Commonwealth. His short tenure in the House has produced an outstanding record of achievements, and is evidence of both his dedication to and enthusiasm for the problems of the people whom he represents. Recently, Jon Rotenberg received the Advocate Carnation, an honor bestowed upon leading community figures in recognition of their exceptional work. I am today submitting for the Record the tribute to Representative Rotenberg which appeared in the Jewish Advocate of August 17, 1972:

ADVOCATE CARNATION TO REPRESENTATIVE JON
ROTENBERG

Representative Jon Rotenberg (D-Brookline) is presently serving his first term in the General Court of Massachusetts. The second youngest member of the Legislature, he already has a distinguished list of achievements to his credit. He sponsored resolutions last year and this calling attention to the plight of Soviet Jewry and asking for a strong commitment to the principles of religious freedom everywhere. He has also participated in demonstrations on behalf of Soviet Jewry and in the celebration of Israeli Independence. Further, he was instrumental in the passage of a bill permitting credit unions, cooperatives and savings banks to invest in Israel Bonds.

Recently, Rep. Rotenberg sponsored a resolution expressing sympathy and outrage over the massacre at Lod Airport. This resolution, the first such public statement by a Massachusetts official, calls on President Nixon to condemn all acts of terrorism, to urge Arab governments to abandon their support of Palestinian terrorist groups, and to demand that Arab leaders denounce all acts of violence against the Israelis.

In addition to his work on behalf of the Jewish community, Rep. Rotenberg has been active in several legislative areas. He was elected clerk of the Transportation Committee by his fellow committee members and has been active in efforts to improve public transportation in the Greater Boston area. His concern for elderly affairs is evidenced by his sponsorship of many bills providing special services and privileges to the elderly. He has also been appointed to the new Committee on Post-Audit and Oversight. Through his work on this committee, he hopes to be instrumental in the creation of a more economical and efficient state fiscal policy. Currently, Rep. Rotenberg is working for passage of a bill which would create a more favorable climate for industry in Massachusetts. This bill, which is coauthored by Speaker Bartley,

would establish an aggressive policy toward attracting industry to the state. Rep. Rotenberg feels that the best way to relieve the welfare costs and the tax rate in the Commonwealth is to attract more industry, which would mean the creation of more jobs.

Women's rights and those of 18-year-olds have received his strong support in the recent legislative session and he intends to work for more enlightened laws in these areas. Rep. Rotenberg was also responsible for the passage of a stronger anti-shopping law to safeguard the rights of merchants, and he introduced a bill to establish a Small Business Administration (SBA) within the state to provide assistance to small businesses.

Rep. Rotenberg was born in Brookline, attended its public schools, and is a cum laude graduate from Ohio University where he was elected to the "Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities."

Although he is very busy with his career in the Legislature, he also finds the time to stay active in a number of community organizations. He is a director of the Jewish Vocational Services and serves on its Small Business Committee. He is also a member of the American Jewish Committee, working on their Legislative Action Committee. He has done volunteer work for both the Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston and the Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Boston. He is on the board of governors of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and works with its Civil Rights Committee. The B'nai B'rith Luncheon Lodge and the Greater Boston Jewish Historical Society are other organizations which find time in Rep. Rotenberg's busy schedule. He believes that as a State Representative, he should spend considerable time working for organizations within his district as well as for state-wide groups. He served as Special Gifts Chairman for the 1971 Brookline Cancer Fund drive and was this year's chairman of the United Fund Drive in Brookline. He is also chairman of the Sagamore District of the Boy Scouts of America.

HAROLD HANDLEY: IN MEMORIAM

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the recent death of former Indiana Governor Harold Handley was mourned by all who knew him. An eloquent tribute to the man, his life and his work is contained in the following editorial, broadcast on August 31, 1972, over Indianapolis television station WISH-TV. I include it in the Record in memory of my great and good friend:

HAROLD HANDLEY

It's a rare individual who balances success in life with the proper perspective of life.

Harold Handley was one of those people who did.

The achievements he compiled . . . as Governor of Indiana . . . successful businessman . . . civic and community leader . . . can be enumerated at length. And they should be when you gauge a man's life work and look at what he left behind in the world he has worked to shape in a better way.

But if you've noticed those tributes . . . and this is one of them . . . that have seemed to spring up almost spontaneously following Governor Handley's death, you see that there's more behind his record of solid success.

Governor Handley put himself into life by making other people's lives count. The principles that he worked for were those that mattered for others. The decisions that he had to make were always tempered with a concern for their effects . . . not for the effect on himself or his career, but for all those who had to live with those decisions.

Governor Handley came out right on most of those decisions, as reflected by the memories of him as an individual of warmth and wit . . . of conscience and compassion.

Governor Handley's 62-years were full and vital ones. He made his mark on his city, his state, and his nation.

But what an achievement in life to be recognized not only for those milestones of success . . . but to be remembered for the real person you were.

And that's how Harold Handley will be remembered by those who knew him . . . and those whose lives he touched.

THE MUNICH HORROR IN PERSPECTIVE

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, certainly none of us anticipated the horrendous events which were to occur at the Olympics on Tuesday.

While I am a cosponsor of House Resolution 1106, expressing the sympathy of the House for the Israeli Olympic team, I was not in the Chamber to vote when the roll was called. Instead, I was honoring a prior commitment to a group of senior citizens in my district, who are, incidentally, primarily of the Jewish faith. This meeting was to have been a holiday celebration for these people, but this senseless tragedy marred the spirit of celebration.

All people with even an oblique claim to civilized behavior and individual maturity view these tragic events with horror. It is my belief that few note these happenings with much in-depth understanding. What is really behind this atrocious barbarism? Why did Arab terrorists seek out and brutally murder 11 unarmed men engaged in peaceful international athletic competition? The answer lies in history and in the Arab mentality. Both are worth public examination.

We must start with an understanding of this kind of persecution, placing it in proper context. Such Neanderthal behavior has been common throughout recorded history. Consistently it has been meted out to Jews, who, far more than any others, have been recipients of the rage of frustrated, limited people.

When one delves into the extent of such persecutions, a feeling of mingled disgust, indignation, and outrage becomes overwhelming. Since the Diaspora of the Jews began, they have been on the receiving end of this kind of violence on a sickeningly regular, almost annual basis. Banging on the door in the middle of the night is no novelty to Jews. Rather, it has become part of their collective heritage. Recent Munich events are mute evidence that nothing has changed.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Jewish communities existed in frightful climates of bigotry. They were blamed for everything that went awry, from failing harvests to the Black Death. Entire Jewish communities were wiped out as a result of officially instituted action.

During the Crusades, massive numbers of Jews were wiped out by armies of the faithful because of the deicide charge, which pursues them to this day, in spite of official church disavowals.

During the Inquisition, torture and public execution were favored instruments for enforcing religious conformity, at Jewish expense. Breasts were torn off living Jewish women because "they gave suck to unbaptized infants."

In France, where anti-Semitism has always flourished, the modern era was disgraced and shamed by the Dreyfus case. An innocent man was imprisoned for years on Devil's Island because he happened to be a Jew. The French Army General Staff was unwilling to admit its own guilt in a landmark espionage case which tore French society apart. In the process, anti-Semitism of the ugliest sort ran openly rampant for years through French life. Emile Zola and Jacques Clemenceau made possible the eventual vindication of Captain Dreyfus.

Would that France today were worthy of them. Instead, she sells weapons to Arabs, courts favor of oil states which have yet to cross the boundary of civilized behavior and harms Israel in any way she can. Almost everyone remembers how good France's word was on the Mirage planes she sold Israel, but never delivered.

In Russia, the Romanoffs, aided and abetted by Ukrainians, Poles, a Jew-hating aristocracy and native citizens of Baltic republics maintained a 300-year reign of terror over millions of poor Jews of Eastern Europe.

Jews were allowed the right to die and pay taxes, and little else. When Russia's serfs were freed in 1861, they found their freedom existed in name only. To drain off their frustrations, the Romanoff regime deliberately fostered and organized pogroms against helpless Jews. Some such resulted in deaths of hundreds of thousands of people. Often the myth of ritual murder was given official credence by authorities to spur anti-Semitic mobs to greater fury.

In World War II, the Jews became the very first people ever to become victims of mass genocide on an organized, assembly line basis. Six million totally harmless, innocent people were consumed in the holocaust of the Hitler era. Unspeakable tortures were visited upon them, as the world watched and looked the other way, closing its heart to their pleas and its doors to their refugees.

Medical experiments of the most grotesque sort were perpetrated upon them. Many of the worst offenders are still free today, as recent Austrian trials show. The world knew sooner rather than later, yet refused to aid them. Britain chose not to bomb the Auschwitz extermination camp, which was murdering thousands every day, for "technical reasons." The Polish underground watched passively as Jews of the Warsaw ghetto

fought against the Nazis, choosing to die on their feet like men rather than on their knees like dogs or cattle in gas chambers. In spite of Jewish pleas, the Poles did little to aid them, and in their turn were delivered to the Nazis in one of the spectacular ironies of history. As the Poles fought the Nazis in Warsaw a year after the ghetto was exterminated, the Red army sat quietly across the Vistula River, awaiting their finish before moving in. The Poles pleaded with the Russians as the Jews had pleaded previously, receiving the same answer they gave the Jews: silence, no aid, and eventual extermination.

In those closing days of the Second World War, Eichmann negotiated with Joel Brand, offering to trade Jewish prisoners for trucks: 100,000 Jews for 1,000 trucks, which he promised would only be used against the Soviets. Up to 1 million prisoners were offered. But the deal was not consummated, aborting that hope for saving some remnant of these agonized people.

We all know the story of Israel, whereby at last, after the world had done its worst for 20 centuries, these tattered refugees reclaimed their ancient home, which they had in fact never left. For Jewish settlement there had remained constant over the centuries.

The Arab refugee problem was created originally by Arabs themselves, then exploited and compounded by Arab regimes. The Mufti of Jerusalem, colleague of Hitler and Nazi collaborator, was religious leader of the Palestinian Moslem community. Everyone expected Israel to be wiped out in 1948. No sooner had the Jewish state been proclaimed officially under the U.N. agreement, when five Arab armies crashed across her new frontiers. To everyone's amazement, the Jews, fighting for their very existence, prevailed. In a panic, the Mufti and his agents spread the word throughout what was then Palestine that Jews would do to Arabs what Arabs had planned all along to do to Jews. Frightened, Arab populations fled, in spite of frantic pleas by Jews for them to stay. All this is historical record.

Since then, with Russian aid, Arabs have sought to destroy Israel twice more, each time sustaining a greater defeat than before. All the world, even Israel's nominal foes, thrilled to her stupendous ability to rise and prevail as a nation and people over seemingly insurmountable odds.

What we must understand and place in historical perspective, therefore, is that the Jewish people have faced such odds, foes and atrocities in every recorded era of history. There have always been butchering crusaders, fanatical inquisitors, bigoted generals, maniacal dictators, and psychotic assassins.

Odds have always been against the Jews. Decks have always been stacked against them, no matter what the game. Instead of Eichmann bargaining with Brand on Jewish prisoners for trucks, today the Russians, betraying their own revolutionary ideals as usual, offer exit permits to educated Jews for cash payments. Is the principle any different? Has

anything changed except a few specifics? I think not.

Foremost among Jewish enemies today is the United Nations, which could not have survived and gained significant acceptance without Jewish efforts. Today that organization stands totally discredited because it has consistently overlooked the justice of Israel's cause while eagerly seeking any fresh opportunity to censure Israel before the world. Insofar as the U.N. is concerned, what belongs to Arabs belongs to Arabs, and what belongs to Jews is always negotiable.

The U.N. totally overlooks the fact that every Arab state where refugees have congregated has discriminated against them in a far worse, arbitrary manner than any Arab has been treated in Israel. Egypt would not even allow Gaza refugees to enter its territory. Arab regimes found these conglomerations of refugees useful political foils in their international game of seek and destroy with Israel. Rather than seek to absorb, much less educate and aid these people, they used them as tools, exploiting their suffering for propaganda purposes. Meanwhile, Arabs within Israeli territory, after both 1948 and 1967, have fared excellently. If we seek terror, it is found where Arab terrorizes Arab rather than Arab being harmed by Jew.

Terrorist organizations, such as that which perpetrated the Munich horror, are composed of psychotic fanatics, whose nationalism has been exploited and fanned by those seeking to use them. Their arms are supplied by others hoping to gain by their nihilistic efforts.

We are witnessing nothing less than bloody public relations stunts at the expense of innocent Israeli nationals seeking merely to live and function peacefully.

The United Nations, as usual, will do nothing to prevent such atrocities. What is needed is a no-nonsense statement and agreement by every nation that it will not allow such murderers refuge and sanctuary. Airline pilots associations have been demanding this for years, in vain. Little aid has been rendered by some countries, and of course the so-called U.N. has been too busy passing resolutions condemning Israel to pursue such a constructive course of action.

In the end, therefore, Israel and the Jewish people stand largely alone. All they insist on are their rights as a sovereign nation with all privileges this entails for their citizens. If these rights are consistently considered negotiable, as Arab terrorists have sought to prove, and the world allows it, who can blame the Israelis for retaliating to preserve those dearly purchased liberties?

The world stood by when the Suez Canal and Gulf of Aqaba were arbitrarily and unilaterally closed to Israel, violating all international laws governing free passage of international waterways. Israel had to go to war to guarantee her rights there. Certainly the U.N. did all it could to smooth the way for the Arab thrust in 1967.

The world has stood by while assassins have sought to deny El Al planes their right to utilize international air space and landing privileges. Few have co-

operated with Israel, El Al, and airline pilots to put an end to these spectacles of pirates endangering lives of masses of totally innocent airline passengers.

This in turn has given such Arab murderers a feeling that they could, with impunity, violate the sanctity of Olympic Village, with the attendant incredible consequences.

Mankind, by turning a blind eye to ongoing persecution of Jews today in a dozen different ways, has allowed this to transpire. Now we are confronted with the spectacle of public figures and media types wringing their hands and bemoaning the tragedy of 11 innocent young Jewish athletes and their coaches murdered in cold blood. For once, let us look at the whys and wherefores. Let us admit that behavior and moral callousness of men and man's institutions have allowed anti-Semitism to poison a priceless patch of common ground upon which men and women of varying backgrounds and ideologies have at least been able to meet in athletic competition.

That is, as I see it, the underlying series of causes of this horror. Away with the "evenhandedness" argument so enamored of a few churchmen, diplomats, and commentators. Here is the result of 20 centuries of hate directed at a tiny handful of innocent people whose only crime is to want to live like everyone else. If mankind denies to the Jews that simple, elementary concession, then mankind seals its own fate. For if we refuse the most basic right to any among us, we in effect deny it to all, confessing our own moral degradation and inability to rise above the level of barbarism, where the Arabs, it seems, are permanently stationed.

THE OLYMPIC FLAME DAMAGED, NOT DOUSED BY LEFTWING TERRORISTS

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 6, 1972

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the vicious actions of Arab terrorists in Munich have shocked and horrified all civilized nations of the world.

The grief of the surviving Israeli athletes, as well as the loss to the victims' families, is a heavy burden the world cannot ignore. These repeated attempts of depraved leftwing fanatics trying to influence world opinion, or Israeli actions, must be halted.

The one glimmer of hope to emerge from the darkness that has engulfed Munich is that the Olympics are continuing. Perhaps through the example of the Olympians, who will face each other as athletes and not as animals with machineguns and hand grenades, we may gain the needed energies and perspectives to relieve world tensions.

The tragic loss of life was not in vain, for the Munich Olympic's short reign of terror served notice on all leftwing degenerates that they will no longer be tolerated. It is in this spirit that we shall remember the supreme sacrifice made by that brave band of Israeli Olympians.

BEVILL SPEAKS TO MOBILE HOME BUILDERS

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, last week, I had the opportunity to attend the annual Mobile Homes Festival held in Haleyville, Ala., in my congressional district. At that time, I was privileged to make a few remarks concerning this fast-growing industry. To acquaint my colleagues with some most interesting facts relating to this new industry, I insert in the RECORD some information I have gathered regarding the mobile home industry:

MOBILE HOME: THE HOUSING HERO MOBILE HOMES FILL A HOUSING PRODUCTION GAP

If there is a housing hero in this country, it is the mobile homes industry.

During the last three years of the decade that ended in 1970 the country was in a real housing production shortage situation. In those three years, there was a net increase of over 4 million households in the United States. An estimated 1.8 million housing units were removed from the supply over three years through demolitions and natural catastrophes. Additional housing requirements arise as units are absorbed for second homes and vacation homes, as households migrate from areas of population decline to areas of population increase and as units are abandoned. A conservative estimate of 150 thousand units per year for the latter three types of requirements, or 450 thousand over 3 years brought the total of estimated current requirements for 1968 through 1970 to 6.5 million housing units. It should be noted that the current requirements estimate makes no allowance for units to replace occupied substandard units.

Compared with total current requirements for about 6.5 million new housing units over the three years, only about 4.5 million new housing units were started. Most of the estimated deficiency of 2 million housing units was offset through shipments of between 1.1 and 1.2 million mobile homes. This still left a three year net deficiency of 8 to 9 hundred thousand units.

To compensate for the net housing deficiency, there was a decrease in the percentage of available units that are vacant. From the fourth quarter of 1967 to the fourth quarter of 1970, the national rental vacancy rate decreased from 7.0 percent to 4.8 percent, and homeowner vacancy rate fell from 1.2 to 1.0 percent. These are national averages and in many parts of the country the housing supply was tighter. In the face of this shortage, between the end of 1968 and the end of 1971, rents rose by about 13 percent and homeownership costs by about 27 percent. The inflationary impact of the housing production shortage and the hardships faced by families would have been much greater if the mobile homes industry had not produced more than one million units during 1968-69 and 70, and an additional one-half million units in the single year of 1971, to relieve the situation.

The heroic service that was rendered to the country by the mobile homes industry received recognition in Washington in an indirect manner. When the First Annual Report on National Housing Goals (which is prepared by the Department of Housing and Urban Development) was submitted to the Congress (by the President) early in 1969, there was no role indicated for mobile homes in meeting the 26-million-

unit, ten-year national housing goals that had been established by law in 1968. In the second report issued early in 1970, however, mobile home shipments had been given a role of providing 4 million of the 26 million units to be provided over the decade. This change in national housing policy was explained in two paragraphs of that 1970 report which I believe are worth quoting. They read as follows:

"The mobile home industry has now grown so large that it can no longer be ignored. In the early 1960's, mobile home shipments totaled only 100,000 units a year and many of those probably were used for vacation or second home purposes. By the mid-1960's shipments had increased to a volume of 200,000 a year, but it appeared to be largely a specialized, limited market that was being served. In recent years, however, as costs of conventional housing skyrocketed and availability of mortgage finance for such housing was severely curtailed, mobile home production has more than doubled to this fiscal year's estimated volume of 450,000 units.

"Some of this production undoubtedly is still only providing for second homes. But the bulk of the output is filling a very real need in the overall housing market. In 1969, less than 6 percent of all new conventionally built single-family homes sold for less than \$15,000. In many areas across the country, new housing is not available at a price of less than \$25,000. Many mobile homes, in contrast, sell for about \$6,000. Even after adding the rental payments of a moderate-priced site, the total monthly payments for mobile homes are still well below payments on most conventional homes. For many moderate income American families the mobile home is the only kind of housing they can reasonably afford."

USE OF MOBILE HOMES

The accelerated production and marketing of mobile homes in the late sixties was reflected in the 1970 Census of Housing figures. In that April 1970 Census it was found that 1,850,000 year-round occupied housing units, or approximately 3 percent of all housing units, were mobile homes or trailers. Trailers are, no doubt, a very minor part of the 1,850,000 year-round units.

A decade earlier, mobile home and trailer units totaled 767,000 and constituted less than 1½ percent of the total number of housing units. The fact that mobile home units in year-round use more than doubled in number and as a percentage of total housing units, is a mark of the greatly increased acceptability of mobile homes to fulfill housing needs among a significant proportion of the population.

That acceptability apparently has continued to increase in the more than two years since the 1970 Census. As a percentage of total new housing starts plus mobile home shipments, mobiles were about 25 percent in 1971 and about 20 percent in 1970. This year housing starts are at record levels, but mobile homes are still accounting for between 15 and 20 percent of the total of housing starts plus mobile home shipments.

Although a significant proportion of the approximately 1 million mobile homes shipped since the 1970 Census of housing have been probably put to use as vacation homes and for nonresidential purposes, it is quite likely that mobile homes used as year-round residences now account for 4 percent of such occupied units.

The mobile home continues to fill a gap in the homeownership market. About 84 percent of the mobile homes in year-round occupancy at the time of the 1970 Census were owner-occupied. Very few conventionally built homes can meet the economic demands for home ownership being accommodated by mobile homes. In 1970 only 3 percent of new conventionally built homes in the United States were sold for under

\$15,000. The overwhelming majority of mobile homes are, of course, sold for much lower prices. Even with more expensive, shorter term financing, the \$7,500 mobile home purchased with a \$1,500 downpayment will probably require monthly housing expenses that will be about \$65 less than for a conventional \$25,000 home purchased with a \$3,000 downpayment—including maintenance, utilities, taxes, and lot rental for the mobile home. There are millions of families whose incomes are too low to buy a conventionally built home (and too high to qualify for government subsidized home ownership). They continue to offer a broad market for mobile homes.

The largest use of mobile homes for residences, among the few major regions of the country, is in the South, which is also the low-income region of the country. In 1970, 42 percent of the year-round occupied mobile homes were in the South, although that region accounted for only 31 percent of all housing units in the country. Although California was the State with the greatest number of mobile homes in 1970, over 158,000, Florida was close behind with 152,000. In recent years, however, Florida has been the leading State into which mobile home units have been shipped, and Texas, Georgia and North Carolina have also been leading markets for mobile homes.

INCREASED MARKET APPEAL OF MOBILE HOMES

The marketability of the mobile home has improved not only because it fills a gap in the lower-cost segment of the housing market, but also because the changing nature of the product has increased its utility and appeal, both as a year-round residence and as a vacation home. Longer and wider units are accounting for an increasing proportion of mobile home units sold with each passing year. The 10-foot-wide unit was introduced in 1954 and by 1958 about 70 percent of the units shipped were in 10-foot widths. By 1960 about 98 percent were 10 feet wide. In the 1960's the 12-foot-wide unit was introduced, and the 12 x 60 foot model is still the leading one sold today, giving 720 square feet of space, about the same as a small apartment. In recent years, double-wides have been introduced, permitting two 12-foot-wide units at a 50 to 60 foot length, to provide about 1,400 to 1,500 sq. ft. of living space, which is more than in small conventionally built homes.

The mobile home industry has also done an engineering job which is generally acknowledged to be excellent in the built-in plumbing and furniture that it provides in its units. Larger, more expensive units have made it possible to include dishwashers, laundry units, air conditioners and other custom items which enhance the competitive position of mobile homes vis-a-vis conventionally built homes.

WHO ARE THE MOBILE HOME OWNERS?

What types of families buy mobile homes? A profile of the mobile home owners was provided by a 1970 survey of 1,280 owners conducted in four northern and four southern metropolitan areas. More than one-half of the owners were found to be under 35 years of age, including one-quarter that were under 25. Two-person households occupied 35 percent of the mobile homes and another 27 percent were occupied by three-person households. Only 25 percent consisted of four or more persons, and 9 percent of the units were occupied by one person. The average family income was about \$7,500. Only 3 percent had incomes below \$3,000 and 16 percent had incomes of over \$10,000.

This survey thus indicated that young families—who generally also have modest incomes—are the mainstay of the market for mobile homes. This segment of the household population, moreover, is the fastest growing. Between 1970 and 1980, the number of households headed by persons under 35

years of age is projected to increase from 16.6 to 25 million. A significant proportion of the 8 to 9 million new young families will be in the market for mobile homes. Furthermore, many of the present mobile home owners will be in the market for a newer mobile home. The 1970 survey showed that more than one-fifth of the mobile home owners had previously lived in a mobile home. To sum it up, a continued expansion of the mobile home market is indicated.

LAND AND ENVIRONMENT FOR MOBILE HOMES

There have been predictions that mobile home sales and production will have to level off because of a shortage of available sites for mobile homes. In many localities there are restrictions which preclude the establishment of mobile home parks. A good deal of such local resistance to mobile homes is linked to the image that was created years ago by older mobile home parks that were largely unplanned and unimproved.

The situation has been changing significantly, however, and the change should overcome much of the opposition to the establishment of mobile home parks that provide "pads." The Mobile Home Manufacturers Association is trying to encourage the design of adequate parks by providing a free consulting service and providing for architectural or engineering fees at cost. In some areas mobile home parks are being developed to provide planned communities. Such parks offer a "pad" or concrete patio for each mobile home owner, with hook-ups for water, sewer, gas or electricity. Better planned parks also have cable television, landscaping, recreational facilities, police and fire protection, laundromats and some shopping facilities. Such well-designed parks will help to make mobile home communities acceptable. They will also make mobile home living more attractive.

FINANCING

The growth of the mobile home market has been facilitated by the improving availability of financing for mobile home purchasers. Unlike conventionally built homes, which are financed with long-term mortgages, the mobile home is financed under a conditional sales contract originated by the dealer who sells the mobile home, and then sells the 5, 7 or 10 year installment loan, generally to a bank or finance company. The loans are generally of the add-on type, that is the amount represented by the "add-on" interest percentage is added to the purchase price to form the total repayable debt. Consequently a 6 percent add-on loan makes for a true annual interest rate of about 11 percent; a 6½ percent add-on means a true interest rate of about 12½ percent, etc. Although such true interest rates are much higher than mortgage interest rates, funds for such loans have generally been available even when funds for regular mortgage loans were tight.

As the volume of mobile home financing has grown, there has been increased competition from financial institutions to obtain the business. At the same time, the durability of mobile homes for upward for 10 years has become established. Consequently, the loan terms have been extended to longer maturities, reducing required monthly payments. Years ago, the standard mobile home loan was for 5 years. Today, 7 years loans are the common maturity, and there is an increasing number of 10 year mobile home loans.

The trend toward longer maturities for mobile home loans has been helped by Federal legislation which opened up new sources of financing. The Housing Act of 1968 empowered savings and loan associations to make mobile home loans. In late 1968, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board issued regulations to permit associations under its jurisdiction to invest up to 5 percent of their assets in mobile home loans of up to 12 years

for a new unit and up to 8 years for a used unit. Furthermore, such loans could cover close to the full cost of the unit.

In the Housing Act of 1969, the Federal Housing Administration was authorized to insure loans on mobile homes. The loans could be for an amount of up to \$10,000, with a 12-year maturity, and a true annual interest rate that could not exceed between about 8 and 10½ percent, depending upon the amount and maturity. Amendments in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970, designed to accommodate the financing of "doublewidth" mobile homes provided that insured loan amounts may be up to \$15,000 and maturities up to 15 years in the case of a double width home composed of two or more modules.

The limitations upon the interest rates for FHA-insured mobile homes kept that program from being effective when market interest rates were high in 1969 and 1970. The program began to pick up in 1971-72, however, as the level of other interest rates declined. By the end of the first quarter of 1972 a total of 7,300 mobile home loans had been insured by FHA.

The pending Housing and Urban Development Act of 1972, passed by the Senate on March 2, would also permit the insured loans to cover the additional cost of site preparation, and allow up to \$5,000 of the loan for an undeveloped lot or up to \$7,500 for a developed lot. (A companion bill now being considered by the House Banking and Currency Committee does not contain such modifications of existing authority, but there should be little, if any, objection to adoption of the Senate liberalizations before the bill is enacted.)

Under an Act approved October 23, 1970, the Veterans Administration is authorized to guarantee a loan up to \$10,000, repayable over 12 years to an eligible veteran. The loan may include an additional \$5,000 for the purchase and preparation of a mobile home site. The VA is also authorized to make direct loans. The Administrator of Veterans Affairs was authorized to establish a maximum interest rate that he deemed necessary to assure a reasonable supply of mobile home financing. The rate established is 10.75 percent for that part of the loan to finance the mobile home purchase and 7.0 percent for that part used to finance the purchase and preparation of the lot. The latter interest rate is the same as the maximum interest rate on VA-guaranteed regular home loans and would change as that rate changes. More than 7,000 applications for mobile home loan guarantees have been received by the VA and they have been coming in at the rate of more than 600 per month in 1972.

The FHA (HUD) has for a number of years had authority to insure mortgages on mobile home courts under Section 207 of the National Housing Act. The loans must be for the purpose of financing construction or rehabilitation of mobile home courts. The maximum loan amount for a mortgage is \$1 million, but not to exceed \$2,500 per mobile home space. The latter amount may be increased by up to 45 percent in high cost areas. Loan amounts may not exceed 90 percent of the estimated value of land plus improvements after completion of construction or rehabilitation. Maximum loan maturity is 20 years or three-fourths of the remaining economic life of the property whichever is less. The maximum interest rate is the same as for FHA multifamily project mortgages, currently 7.0 percent. The borrower must also pay a mortgage insurance premium of one half of one percent which goes into the FHA insurance fund. Activity under the program has been limited, but it should be increasingly helpful in financing the development of mobile home parks to provide sites.

MOBILE HOMES IN THE ECONOMY

Mobile home sales are now running at an annual rate roughly \$4 billion. Since they

are meeting market demands which cannot be met by the regular home building industry, the production and sale of mobile homes is an addition to the economy which has been added only by virtue of this industry. In addition to the hundreds of thousands employed in the direct production of mobile homes, there are also many thousands employed in the production of materials and components that go into the homes, in the sales, financing and transportation of the homes. It is a major American industry which will continue to grow because it is meeting a need of the American people at a price they can afford to pay.

CHIEF CHARLES F. PEGG RETIRES

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, every day brings someone's retirement from a long and successful career. Each such occasion reminds us of the inexorable passing of time, but during an era when the role of the law enforcement officer has become much more important in all our communities, the retirement of a person who has devoted an entire career to the service of a single community during these troubled years is worthy of more than local notice.

This month marks the retirement of Charles F. Pegg as chief of police of the city of East Lansing after 33 years of service. Chief Pegg has been a pioneer in modern police methods. He was one of the early students at the Police Administration School at then Michigan State College, and he joined the East Lansing Police Department while still a student. He also worked with the Michigan State Police, and later earned a master's degree in his field. He has been chief of the East Lansing police for the past 26 years.

In these days when we have too often seen our police and segments of the population arrayed against each other, Chief Pegg and his associates can take real satisfaction in the support they have enjoyed and earned from virtually the entire East Lansing community. Such a uniformly good police-community relationship deserves commendation at any time, but especially when it includes a 40,000 member university student body. It is directly attributable, I believe, to the high standards of professionalism which Chief Pegg has helped develop and insisted upon. It is also attributable to his friendly and understanding nature.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I take special pleasure in saluting this dedicated public official, and I am pleased that he will be teaching at Lansing Community College where young people will have the benefit of his vast store of knowledge and experience. I should like to include as a part of my remarks the news story concerning the announcement of his retirement, which appeared in the State Journal of Lansing, Mich., on August 29, 1972, and the editorial recognition accorded his years of service by the same publication on the following day:

EAST LANSING POLICE CHIEF PEGG RETIRES

(By Helen Clegg and Millicent Lane)

Charles F. Pegg, who started out as a patrolman in a five-man force and became head of East Lansing's 54-man department, has resigned as chief of police.

He will take his 33 years police work into the classroom at Lansing Community College to benefit those who would enter law enforcement.

Pegg, 57, submitted his resignation Monday to City Manager John M. Patriarche who accepted it with regret. Patriarche has sole responsibility for naming a new police chief.

Pegg's resignation becomes effective Sept. 15. He marks his 26th year as police chief Friday. He is eligible for retirement benefits from the city of East Lansing.

Patriarche said he had great respect and admiration for Pegg as an individual and a police officer.

"It's pretty hard to have part of the team break up when both of us have been here 33 years," the city manager said.

"Pegg has done a tremendous and effective job, much more than many people in this community realize. There is no way the city can ever repay him for the many hours he has spent in service to the community."

Pegg joined the East Lansing police force in 1939, but police work was not new to him. He was reared with a police background.

He was the son of the chief clerk of the municipal court in Lansing and his uncle was a municipal judge. He was one of the first 10 men to major in a new Police Administration School at the then Michigan State College.

While in college, he worked as a clerk with the East Lansing Police Department. During his last year-and-one-half of college, he worked with the Michigan State Police for further education and practical experience.

Somewhat ahead of him in the same group was Arthur F. Brandstatter, who today heads the School of Criminal Justice at Michigan State University and whom Pegg credits with much of the emphasis on education for Michigan policemen today.

In his early years as a policeman, Pegg also was a reserve officer in the Army ROTC and in April, 1941, he went into active duty with the corrections and rehabilitation program.

He rejoined the East Lansing police in December, 1945, and became a lieutenant a month later. The following September, he became chief.

When Pegg had been on the job as chief 25 years, he reflected in an interview on the changes he has seen in police work.

"The big change that has come about in police work is the emphasis on individual rights in a stronger sense than we have ever had before," he said.

"A lot of people lay the new emphasis on liberties of the individual at the doorstep of the (Chief Justice Earl) Warren (U.S. Supreme) Court. But, I think it started ahead of that even back in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's time, when some of the social needs of people began to be emphasized. I think we became involved with people ahead of institutions then."

Now, Pegg believes, closer attention is paid by law enforcement officers and courts to assure that constitutional guarantees for individuals are carried out.

Police also can no longer arrest a person for a misdemeanor without a warrant or unless they have witnessed the offense.

"Otherwise," said Pegg, "we would be violating the guy's rights as well as being technically in error."

The new restraints and changes in ways of law enforcement have forced police "to do a total, complete job of investigation," Pegg opined.

For the most part, he added, police departments are now completing their investigation, seeking warrants for arrests, then actually making the arrests.

Changes in law enforcement also have made procedures clearer, technically, he said.

Pegg believes California and Michigan have the highest levels of law enforcement in the United States, largely because of advance training and education requirements for their police.

"There has to be an improvement in the minimum education standard for police," Pegg said, "because the whole educational level of the population is increasing. That is just a fact of life."

"Political boundaries are imaginary lines and crime doesn't happen by boundaries," he said.

Pegg himself has earned a master's degree at MSU during the years he has been a policeman. He has been teaching at Lansing Community College, also.

Beginning Sept. 18, he goes to work full time at LCC as an assistant professor in the Department of Management and Marketing to teach courses in law enforcement.

He probably will tell his classes some philosophical views he aired in his interview last year on his 25th anniversary as chief. He spoke then of the advantages and disadvantages of police work:

"I think one of the big disadvantages is seeing a bunch of college kids get a record for some damn fool shoplifting charge and other charges which result in their being arrested, held in jail, and appearing in court. If they would use their darned heads, it would never happen."

"It bothers me because they don't know what they're getting into. For a 29-cent pen, they face a lousy life."

But of the disadvantages, Pegg then also said:

"One of my lousy attitudes is that I didn't get drafted, and if I don't like it I can get out any time."

CHARLES F. PEGG

The resignation of Police Chief Charles E. Pegg Monday marks the end of a long and outstanding career in law enforcement and is a loss for the citizens of East Lansing. Chief Pegg, who has served in that post for 33 years, has earned a deserved reputation for calm and efficient leadership in his field and gained the admiration of many throughout the state of Michigan.

But it can be added that East Lansing's loss will also be a gain for the entire area. Chief Pegg has announced that he expects to join the staff of Lansing Community College this fall as an instructor in classes designed for those entering the law enforcement field. We offer our congratulations to Chief Pegg for his long and outstanding service to his community.

THE MASSACRE AT MUNICH

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 6, 1972

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the world recently witnessed one of the most brutal spectacles in recent memory, the killing of 11 members of the Israeli Olympic team participating in the XX Olympiad at Munich.

Words cannot describe the senseless murder of these Israelis by Arab terrorists, and people everywhere are shocked by this barbarism.

At Dachau there is a memorial to those Jews who lost their lives during World War II at the hands of Hitler barbarism. The memorial states "Never again."

We should do everything possible to insure that never again will we allow such acts of brutality to occur.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend my sympathy to the families of the slain Israelis and to the people of Israel on their tragic loss.

Tomorrow at sunset will be Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year. I join with my Jewish friends in prayer and pray that this year will bring peace to Israel and that we will never again see such a tragic and sorrowful event occur.

NORTH VIETNAMESE DIKES

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, during the recent congressional recess, newspaper articles in the Montreal Star and the French periodical Le Monde of August 18, 1972 discussed eyewitness accounts of the results of the American bombing of North Vietnamese dikes. A copy of the Montreal Star article and a rough translation of the Le Monde article follow:

[From the Montreal Star, Aug. 17, 1972]

GEOGRAPHERS RAP DIKE BLASTS

(By Norman Pascoe)

Bombing of dikes in North Vietnam was deplored here yesterday by a group of geographers attending the 22nd International Geographical Congress.

The group described the environmental damage resulting from destruction of the dikes and pleaded for it to be stopped "in the name of humanity."

Baruch Boxer of Rutgers University, a specialist in the agricultural landscapes of China, said the American people were being deceived about the effects and extent of destruction caused by bombs dropped from U.S. aircraft.

"I believe that if the American people knew the full story most of them could not sanction or tolerate such destruction," Prof. Boxer said.

He explained that he was sensitive to the necessity of maintaining a delicate balance in water management in Southeast Asia. A dike system is crucial to the maintenance of this balance.

"I am fearful of the long-term effects of destructive activity in both North and South Vietnam and I am disturbed about what further destructive steps may be taken to further political ends," Prof. Boxer said.

"It appears that what little is left to our society's moral restraints is rapidly disappearing," he commented.

Prof. Benjamin Garnier, a climatologist at McGill University, explained that North Vietnam gets 50 per cent of its total annual rainfall in October and November. While Montreal will get an inch of rain over a 24-hour period, that much will fall in less than an hour in Vietnam.

"This is the prime reason for setting up a network of control dikes," Prof. Garnier said. "The dikes retain the water for the protection and irrigation of agricultural land."

Prof. F. R. Garry, of the University of Montreal, is a specialist in the geography of Southeast Asia and has visited Indo-China.

He said that direct bomb-hits on the dikes were not necessary to breach them. Near misses weaken the structure so that they are unable to withstand the pressure during high-water periods.

When the dikes are ruptured a flood is released, wiping out hundreds of square miles of living space for man and animals.

"There is a systematic destruction of soil, drinking water, vegetation, transportation facilities and power sources," he said. "This is a form of genocide."

Prof. Jean Dresch, of France, newly-elected president of the International Geographical Union, said it had taken generations of human labor to modify the forces of nature and achieve control of the delicate water balance.

Bombing the dikes, he said, would have long-term effects on the environment due to the erosion and runing of soil by immersing it in sea water.

Prof. J. I. S. Zonneveld, of The Netherlands, said a section of southwest Holland flooded by the sea in 1422 when the dikes collapsed had never recovered.

Deliberate breaching of dikes due to military action in the Second World War had caused soil damage that "we have not yet been able to repair," Prof. Zonneveld said.

"Periodic dike damage, whether by nature or by humans, has been a sad experience for us. Please don't hurt the dikes," he pleaded, referring to those in North Vietnam.

Dr. Enrid Alae, of the U.S.S.R., said that all destructive "side" effects—homocide, genocide, ecocide—can be expected to result from war and that all would stop with peace.

[From Le Monde, Aug. 18, 1972]

HANOI MAKES CONSIDERABLE EFFORTS TO REPAIR THE DIKES

The 2 French members of the International Commission of Inquiry into American War Crimes, returned last Sunday from a two-week trip to the DRV, gave, Aug. 16, a press conference in Paris. Mr. Yves Lacoste, professor of geography at the University of Paris VIII (see his article in Le Monde, Aug. 16) and Mandelbaum, mining engineer, specializing in problems of soil mechanics and dike construction presented the first conclusions which the Commission reached and which were supported by several precision techniques.

Professor Lacoste claimed it was impossible to deny the materiality of the bombings. He had seen their effects at 10 sites distributed in the 3 regions hit the most: Nam Sach district, the south of Thal Binh and provinces Nam Dinh and Ninh Dinh.

He added that the bombings were taken against critical points well-known since the publication in 1936 of the work of the French geographer Pierre Gourou, Les Paysans du Delta Tonkinois, translated in 1955 by the American administration.

Mr. Mandelbaum denied the American claims according to which the dikes were imperfectly and poorly maintained. On the contrary, he insisted on the efforts made by the North Vietnamese to repair the dikes and on precautions taken with a view to floods or bombing contingencies. Moreover, he added, "The best proof is the river," and the dikes resisted 5 bad years and catastrophic floods in 1971. For Mr. Mandelbaum, the bombs which fall on the side of the dikes are more dangerous than those which hit directly the damage caused (shock to the foundations, dangers of seepage, etc) are often undetectable. He also claimed that with the exception of certain dikes of prime importance in the Hanoi region which have only been bombed in 2 spots—the dikes were unfit for automobile traffic; besides, the presence of AA batteries on the dikes seemed improbable to him (he did not see any in the course of his visit) because the vibrations caused by the firing would risk producing dangerous shocks.

To conclude, the 2 French specialists emphasized the direct menace which confronts 1½ million North Vietnamese by damage already caused. The bombings continue now, even as the waters of the Tonkin rivers continue to rise.

INTERNATIONAL FIREARMS CONTROLS

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, September 5, 1972, the depraved action of the Arab guerrillas which has taken the lives of 11 Israelis and a West German police officer left the world in a profound state of shock.

Although the world capitals have almost uniformly deplored the senseless violence in Munich, the toll taken by this act of horror may become far greater in the near future. The most immediate result is that the spirit of the XX Olympiad is practically dead; the ten thousand athletes in the Olympic Village are so stunned and angered by this tragedy that the quest for Olympic gold has lost all its meaning. Also, the future of the Olympics, which have become increasingly tainted by political overtones, has now been seriously jeopardized by political terrorism. Sadly, this result has been unconsciously fostered by those nations which seek to use the games as a political arena.

In the recent past, the most sensational political deaths have occurred in the United States. Now, however, political terrorism has moved to center stage on the international scene. If it is possible that anything constructive can come from such senseless tragedy, then maybe now is the time to bring world attention to the need for international firearms controls. Maybe those governments which have misguidedly used the Olympics for political purposes have now realized the ultimate folly of their actions. Maybe now those same governments will take the lead in calling for a world conference on firearms and violent weapons.

Possible plans for international controls have been suggested in the past. I would like to include in my remarks one such plan discussed in an excellent article by James Reston in the September 6, 1972, New York Times.

Unfortunately, no conference can bring back those 11 Israelis who lost their lives, but possibly a concerted international effort can help prevent such a tragedy from happening again.

The article follows:

SCIENCE AND CRIME

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 5.—The tragedy at the Olympic Games is just the latest reminder that there is now a kind of madness in the world, a lunatic strain of anarchy that hinders the peace and order of mankind.

The paradox of contemporary history is fairly plain: at one and the same time, there are hopeful signs that the majority of the human race is just beginning to see that the progress of man requires the cooperation of men and women of all nations, but still the majority exists with the tyranny of the minority.

The present history of American Presidential politics has been influenced, if not determined, by deranged minds. One man takes the life of John Kennedy, another the life of his brother, Robert, a third silences the voice of Martin Luther King, a fourth changes the course of the 1972 American

election by putting a bullet in the spine of George Wallace, and every commercial airplane is at the mercy, if that is the word, of any tormented skyjacker across the aisle.

The problem is not that mankind is incorrigibly villainous, or that it is indifferent to this slaughtering and murdering, but that the majority has not been able to devise ways of controlling the maniacal acts of deranged agitators and dunderheads.

The philosophers, politicians and statesmen have all tried to deal with what is obviously an iniquitous and ruinous problem, without success. Even the Soviet Union, which puts more stress on order than any other society in the world, has just refused to go along with an international convention that would require all signatory nations to suspend their service with any nation that did not punish or extradite hijackers or saboteurs.

So maybe we have to turn to the scientists for relief, or at least for some help, in minimizing the power of the mad minority. Shortly after the murder of President Kennedy, a few scientists did come forward and suggest to the Government in Washington that the problem of protecting Presidents, spotting guns and bombs at airports or in political rallies or any other politically sensitive area—such as the Olympic Games—could be helped by seeding ammunition and explosive detonation caps and guns with radioactive tracers such as cobalt 60, which could easily be picked up by portable detectors in the crowd or even trigger an alarm system in banks, airport baggage areas or post offices.

This idea was proposed during the Warren Commission inquiry into the Kennedy assassination. Later, the Rand Corporation urged experimentation with this notion on May 5, 1966. It has repeatedly been brought up during the Congressional hearings on gun-control since then, but very little has been done to bring the ammunition seeding proposal into operation.

There are obvious difficulties. There are now over ninety million firearms in this country—over one and a half per family. The number of handguns was increasing, until the recent legislation against "Saturday night specials," at the rate of over 2.5 million a year.

Vast quantities of nonseeded ammunition and explosive detonating caps are on hand in this country, and without an international agreement to seed ammunition with radioactive tracers, foreign ammunition could obviously be purchased. Also, handling radioactive ammunition could be an expensive business, dangerous to the health of ammunition workers unless special precautions were taken.

Nevertheless, any preventive innovation, no matter how imperfect, is worth trying to deal with the political anarchy that killed the Kennedys, Martin Luther King, and the Israelis at the Olympic Games. The seeding of ammunition with radioactive isotopes would probably not have picked up Jack Kennedy's assassin with his long-range gun, but it would have spotted Robert Kennedy's assassin in the Los Angeles hotel, and the man who shot Governor Wallace.

There is very little evidence that any of these potential assassins is especially intelligent. They buy their guns and ammunition where they can get them, which is usually at local sporting goods or hardware store, and even the knowledge that radioactive ammunition could be quickly detected by a Geiger counter or some other detection device could be an important restraint.

In any event, it is fairly clear that the need for control of violence against the normal political, transportation and business activities of the nation is urgent, and should be pursued with all the knowledge available, and this is not being done.

After all, the Israelis in the Olympic compound, like Robert Kennedy and George Wal-

lace, were operating in a limited area where detectors could easily and quickly spot radioactive guns and ammunition. Even if the United States were to put the radioactive system into operation, and even with the cooperation of other nations, it would still not be foolproof and one of its greatest dangers would be over-reliance on it.

But it is one limited way in which the present anarchy might be curbed, and the surprising thing is that it has not been tried at home or proposed to the other nations that are the major sources of guns and ammunition.

A POSTAL SUCCESS STORY

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, while it is no doubt a truism to say we live in a world of change, the fact remains that rapidly changing conditions are continually in evidence around us.

Perhaps the most tragic victims of these circumstances are workers whose skills become superfluous. To prevent this from happening, and to assure a continuing supply of well trained labor, many employers have been offering and encouraging training programs.

An account of a particularly successful example of employee training in the U.S. Postal Service has recently come to my attention. It outlines the progress of a postal clerk in making himself eligible over a period of time as an electronic technician six pay levels higher than his entry level as a clerk.

I would like to bring this postal employee's experience of progress through training to my colleagues' attention, and include "A Postal Success Story" at the conclusion of my remarks:

A POSTAL SUCCESS STORY

Take talent and hard work, add USPS training, and you have an unfailing formula for success. James Buckley, 31-year-old maintenance technician at the Boston, Massachusetts Post Office, is a vivid example. Mr. Buckley completed a series of electronics courses at the Oklahoma Postal Training Operations (OPTO) that can affect his career advancement by four levels.

Mr. Buckley began his career in the USPS in 1961 as a Temporary Mail Handler, PS-4, working nights so he could attend the Massachusetts Radio School's two-year electronics course. In 1965 he became a Regular Mail Handler, still a PS-4. In 1967 he passed the MPE examination and transferred from mail processing to maintenance as an MPE Mechanic, PS-6. Then, in 1969, with the opening of the Oklahoma Postal Training Operations training facility, Mr. Buckley started on the path that led him to his present assignment as an upper-level technician.

Then, as now, a highly motivated individual, Mr. Buckley applied for a government tuition aid to assist him in attaining an Associate Degree at Boston's Wentworth Technical Institute. Instead of the above plan, his post office suggested that he take advantage of the training opportunities offered through OPTO. He accepted the opportunity and enrolled in the OPTO-NMTC two-week Mark II Facer-Canceler course. He successfully completed this course and returned to OPTO a year later, in 1970, to master what was then the three-week Basic Electronics course.

Some months later, he returned to OPTO

to come to grips with the formerly six-week Advanced Electronics course. Again emerging victorious, he moved on to the eleven-week OCR course and succeeded in it. This allowed him to enter the most advanced of all OPTO electronics courses, the eight-week PDP-8L course. With the completion of the OCR course, Mr. Buckley elevated his eligibility status from a PS-6 to a PS-8; and with the completion of the PDP-8L course and the succeeding 180 hours of the normal OPTO-managed on-the-job training program, he achieved a PS-10 eligibility.

When interviewed concerning his rather amazing success in the field of postal electronics training, Mr. Buckley was exceedingly modest about his own contribution and most grateful about OPTO's. "I was shooting for an upper-level technician's job when I had hoped to enroll in Wentworth Institute," he said. "But now I realize that my 30 weeks' instruction at OPTO has accomplished more for me than what would have otherwise taken four years. I would advise other people beginning careers in maintenance to take all the postal training offered to them. It will certainly benefit them later on."

It is obvious that Mr. Buckley's career advancement offers as much to him in the way of challenge as it does in the way of salary increase. While in resident training, he was extremely eager to get back to Boston to start working as one of the five men qualified to perform maintenance on the OCR-I. He hopes to get involved eventually on the newer model OCR's as well as on any other new equipment that might be developed.

Mr. Buckley exemplifies the type of employee who appraises his own capabilities, establishes definite goals for self-development, and then exerts the self-discipline necessary to achievement. Happily, OPTO has been able to provide the training vehicle ideally suited to his talents. The results of such efforts toward self-development and available USPS training are, of course, mutually beneficial. The USPS has gained a highly competent and valuable technicians, while Mr. Buckley himself has made steps toward a challenging and rewarding career.

DENOUNCING EMIGRATION TAX ON SOVIET JEWS

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, the latest move of the Soviet Union to "tax" Russian Jews who wish to emigrate to Israel can only be regarded as the product of a mentality that debases human dignity and casts contempt upon fundamental human rights.

It is indeed a paradox that the Russian Government, which despises its Jewish citizens, should adopt an official policy that prevents all but the wealthy from leaving the country. Such a policy is truly uncivilized and should be condemned by freedom-loving people throughout the world.

In this context, I am pleased to join with my colleague JOSHUA EILBERG in sponsoring a resolution to express the sense of Congress "That the government and leaders of the Soviet Union should be condemned for creating a class of slaves in the 20th century by forcing thousands of people to live and work in a country which they want to leave, because they do not have the money to ransom themselves into freedom."

ZAMBIA: ANOTHER BLUNDER OF LIBERALISM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, while the world continues to evaluate Africa progress based upon outmoded cliches and the promises of distorted rhetoric so abundant in much of the world's news media, other reports by those who have experienced the breakdown of responsible government and multiracial societies on the continent of Africa are more forthright in forecasting the true environment and the coming change in crisis on that continent.

As Uganda moves toward "one race" supremacy, similar to that found in Liberia, another exodus is occurring in the nation of Zambia. I include the article "Zambia: The Road to Chaos" by Mr. Gordon Ross, which appeared in *Illustrated Life Rhodesia*, April 6, 1972, along with James J. Kilpatrick's column, "Rhodesia's Foes Win Gold Medal in Hypocrisy":

ZAMBIA: THE ROAD TO CHAOS

(By Gordon Ross)

"If there isn't a coup, a civil war or a total economic collapse in Zambia in the next year, it will be a flaming miracle. . . ."

The speaker was a Zambian. A white Zambian, admittedly, but nevertheless a man born and raised in Zambia; a one-time admirer of Kenneth Kaunda; a man who had chosen—despite everything—to throw in his lot with the African in independent Zambia.

He was in Salisbury last month to make arrangements for something that a few years ago he would have considered out of the question—the impending flight of himself, his wife and his family to "white" Africa.

Unlike many refugees from Zambia—most of them comparatively recent arrivals from England with no roots in the country, no interest in it or love for it—he spoke without contempt or hate. There was bitterness in his voice, but above all there was sadness; the sadness of a man who has to watch a cherished dream fade and die.

Mr. X.—he is still for the time being living in K.K.'s unhappy land—is by his own definition a white liberal. But events in the country of his birth in the past few years have shattered his liberalism, perhaps permanently.

He sat in the garden of a plush Salisbury hotel and gestured at the waiters, bowing and scraping around the tables of the European guests.

"Maybe ten years here will help me restore my liberal sense of values," he commented wryly. "But I don't think they can ever restore my belief in the ability of the black man to run his own affairs. . . ."

Ironically, it was a comparatively trivial incident that finally convinced Mr. X. that he could no longer live in Zambia—the sight of a notice in his local supermarket indicating that a well-known brand of baked beans were now classed as a luxury, and consequently in short supply.

"I mean, that was it," he said. "What more can you say about a country where baked beans are a luxury?"

Or a country where it is common knowledge that prominent cabinet ministers live lives of flagrant corruption and dishonesty; where the President's wife spends thousands of dollars decorating just one of the President's opulent residences—then decides that

she does not, after all, like the decor, and orders it all to be ripped out, and done again; where a "trade delegation" can run up enormous bills on a mission to Europe and return with lavish orders for left-hand-drive buses; where leading politicians can rape their secretaries safe in the knowledge that they will not appear before any court.

STAGGERING WASTE

Zambia—where there is an average of one railway derailment a day (and where incredible as it may seem, a rescue crane on its way to the scene of one crash was itself derailed twice); where a major animal welfare society and a motorists' association have gone out of business because someone made off with all the cash; where the Government-supervised newspapers dare not print the report of the Auditor-General—because he criticized a staggering waste of public money in the country's United Nations Mission; where a multi-million dollar village built especially for the so-called non-aligned nations conference rots in the sun, while thousands of ordinary, unsophisticated Zambians eke out a living on a few dollars a month; worse off than they ever were in the bad old days of white rule.

Zambia—where a man not yet in his thirties who cannot read and can barely write his name is a Government Minister; where the head of state, once an avowed disciple of democracy, has virtually abolished the opposition by the simple means of jail without trial, and now proposes to set the official seal on his supremacy by steamrolling a one-party state through a subservient parliament.

Zambia—where the lofty ideal of one man, one vote, looks like changing, as it has changed throughout black Africa, to one man, one vote—once.

Although she has had more than her share of troubles since independence, Zambia has never looked to be in a position quite so bad as that in which she finds herself in 1972.

In eight years of escalating disaster, a tremendous fund of goodwill, both in black and white Africa and throughout the world at large, has evaporated like ice in the central African sun.

Admirers of President Kaunda, once held up as a model of decency, common-sense and integrity, can now scarcely recognize their former idol as he rants and raves and blusters his way towards oblivion.

The quiet humanist; the moderate, the man who was to weld together all the divisive forces which curse African society; the respected leader who was to talk tribalism into its grave; has turned into a frightened little demagogue; a power-hungry, hysterical, mad-deningly inconsistent tyrant.

K.K., who not so long ago was being compared to Gandhi (even to Christ!), seems now to be treading in the footsteps of Nkrumah—or of Hitler.

CROCODILE TEARS

Always an emotional man—his publicly-turned-on tears are famous throughout the diplomatic and political worlds—he now indulges in increasingly frequent and heated outbursts of rage and ill-temper that would have done credit to the leader of the Third Reich.

Journalists of the normally-compliant Zambian Press are regularly summoned to State House and treated to angry lectures on real or imagined sins, invariably accompanied by violent displays of table-thumping and tear-shedding.

"Who is the traitor in our midst? Who is the traitor in our midst?" Kaunda bellowed into the face of one journalist recently.

The man's crime? He had written an article of a mildly critical tone, suggesting that all aspects of Government policy were not quite as suited to the good of Zambia as they might be.

By the freedom-loving President's standards, Rhodesian newspaper editors could ex-

pected to be summarily arrested and shot at dawn!

Kaunda's deterioration is only symptomatic of the sickness that is creeping over the country, as a whole. In the last year or two, a situation about which experts have warned ever since "Uhuru" has become a frightened reality.

Corruption at all levels in Government, inefficiency in business, chaos and apathy at the top, ignorance and unproductivity at the bottom have combined to form a burden which has driven a potentially rich country to its knees.

It would be foolish to lay the blame for this state of affairs at Kaunda's door.

In fact, he has probably done quite a bit to stave off, even to slow down, the rate of collapse. Without a man of his considerable strength and admitted good qualities at the top, Zambia would no doubt have disintegrated into a stated of declared bankruptcy, even civil war, long before now.

Mr. Boniface Zulu, Kitwe's District Governor, put his finger on the issue when he said recently that if Kaunda resigned there would be a "holocaust and street fighting."

For the fact is that there is not a single man in the ranks of the ruling UNIP party who looks even remotely like a possible successor to K.K. His personal power and prestige, so steadfastly built up and so ruthlessly maintained, have left no room for any second fiddles. As in Kenya, as, perhaps, in Malawi—both countries run by monolithic, larger-than-life personalities—one can only shudder at the prospect of the sudden removal of the head of state.

TRAPPINGS OF POPULARITY

Ironically, Mr. Zulu also put his finger on part of the reason for Kaunda's almost certainly impending downfall, (though—even more ironically—he was seeking to discredit the Great Man's opponents). He accused opposition politicians in Zambia of "underestimating the intelligence of the electorate."

He declared: "A politician may be given the impression by the masses that he is popular. He goes abroad, and there he addresses the United Nations."

But, Mr. Zulu concluded, such a man was only being seduced by the trappings of popularity. In fact, he was totally out of touch with the views of the ordinary people.

This, most observers agree, is exactly what has caused so much resentment of the Kaunda regime. The enormous gulf—both materially and ideologically—between the Government and the people and the way this gulf has been either papered over or ignored contains the seeds of disaster for K.K. and his clan; seeds which, in their pursuit of power and popularity, they themselves have sown.

How else can one account for the considerable anti-UNIP vote in last December's Parliamentary by-elections?

For a start, Zambia's arch-baddie, Simon Kapwepwe, on whose head UNIP politicians from K.K. down had heaped every possible abuse, managed nevertheless to cruise home by a respectable margin. But even more significantly, Mr. Richard Farmer, a white man and former Welensky MP, representing the dwindling, opposition ANC, romped home thanks to an almost exclusively black electorate of more than 4,000.

It is difficult to interpret Farmer's victory in any way other than as a massive anti-Kaunda protest vote.

Only a few weeks after his election win, Farmer stood up in the Zambian Parliament and said the un-sayable.

He urged closer ties between Zambia and the "white South." He described Zambia's reluctance to trade openly with Rhodesia and South Africa as "cutting off our nose to spite our face."

He also touched on the heart of the "one party state" row when he commented: "I

cannot understand this obsession with the one-party state, unless it is because UNIP is not as confident as it would like to be about the outcome of the next general election."

THE FEAR OF DEFEAT

It would be uncharitable to suggest that the only reason Kaunda has pressed ahead with his plans to abolish all official opposition parties is because he fears a democratic defeat of UNIP at the polls, though obviously the growing likelihood of such a reversal must weigh heavily in his mind.

No doubt he genuinely believes that his old dream of One Zambia, One Nation must be kept alive, if necessary by coercion, and that Parliamentary opposition, and the tribal divisions which inevitably follow it, has revealed itself as a stumbling block to that dream—so therefore it is a luxury that must be sacrificed.

But a genuine, deep-seated desire on the part of the Zambian people to subjugate their narrow tribal and political differences for the good of a united Zambia is a far cry from what Kaunda has in mind.

Kaunda's plan is to impose a one-party state on the people, willy-nilly. Instead of acceding to their wishes for unity, he will only be forcibly papering over the cracks that already exist, without either consideration or consultation.

On the surface, Zambia will be a united, undivided nation. But deep down, all the old rivalries and factions will live on. The cracks, having been papered over, will not disappear. Instead, they will widen into canyons, ravines into which the country will eventually tumble—all the more dangerous because the powers-that-be will by then have succeeded in kidding themselves that they no longer exist.

The main obstacle to the achievement of this short-sighted and explosive plan is, of course, Kapwepwe, so it came as no surprise when he and 95 of his party's leaders were summarily rounded up, and the party banned earlier this year.

Kapwepwe, one of the great enigmas of African politics—(no one can be quite sure of exactly what he stands for, though it is plainly obvious what he stands against) is a threat of massive proportions to the Kaunda regime.

His frugal life-style, his asceticism, his razor-sharp mind, his gift for expressing the feelings of the common people, have captured the imagination of thousands of Zambians, in just the same way that the ideals of the young Kaunda did, ten years ago.

And the support which the one-time boyhood friend of the President enjoys—even now, after his disappearance from the political stage—is by no means purely tribal or party political.

A submerged iceberg of support for Kapwepwe exists in the very ranks of UNIP, right up to cabinet level. It is particularly strong, as Kaunda is well aware, among the ranks of the young intellectuals, especially in the civil service. Educated, idealistic civil servants, as opposed to the party linetowers, the UNIP Old Guard, who earned their positions of responsibility thanks to the Old Pals Act after independence, are becoming increasingly resentful and ashamed of corruption, the racketeering and the nest-feathering which they see above them.

Their unease is shared by many of Kaunda's junior ministers. In Kapwepwe they see the man who could give Zambia back her self-respect.

For the time being, they are keeping their hands close to their chests. They have already seen what happened to the few rash UNIP men who stuck their necks out and went over to Kapwepwe when he first declared his stand. At present, they have no desire to end up—perhaps for good—in one of Zambia's grim prisons.

But when the straws in the wind indicate exactly which way the gale is about to blow, they will come out into the open.

By comparison, Harry Nkumbula is no more than an irritating thorn in UNIP's flesh. The ANC he leads is discredited, and has little genuine grass-roots support. No-one could consider the party, or any of its officials, as a potential future Government, and the only purpose it appears to serve at present is as a repository for all the negative, anti-Kaunda votes at local and parliamentary elections.

ARMY: THE UNKNOWN FACTOR

Whatever may be brewing under the surface, nothing is likely to happen until Kaunda, Life-President-elect, tries to implement his plan for the one-party state.

And what happens then is anybody's guess. The army occupies a mysterious role downstage at the moment. Their loyalty can hardly be described as unquestioned, and Kaunda's bold move in appointing young, inexperienced Kingsley Chingull officer-commanding may yet prove to play an important part in his downfall.

Certainly, like Milton Obote in Uganda, K.K. can hardly leave Zambia, even for a few days, and sleep with anything like comfort in his foreign bed—as the hysterically tight security precautions instituted during his absence at the time of the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference proved.

Deep down, Kaunda appears to know that he is running head-first towards a crisis which could prove catastrophic for himself and his country; witness his ever more frantic outbursts of rage and his ever more pathetic ventures into self-delusion.

Yet he still presses ahead, from lunacy to new lunacy.

Already he owns two enormously luxurious private residences in Zambia, to say nothing of his retreat—a saving for retirement if ever there was one—on the remote shores of Lake Geneva.

Recently he threw a birthday party for one of his children at State House at the taxpayers' expense—and treated more than 400 guests to an evening of sumptuous festivities.

Yet the same man can say, apparently with all honesty, that he is "horrified" to find people living in cardboard and oil-drum shanty towns outside Ndola.

All that he has yet to do, in order to make the coming of Zambia's "second revolution" inevitable, is to proclaim: "Let them eat cake" when a new maize shortage is announced.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Aug. 29, 1972]

RHODESIA'S FOES WIN GOLD MEDAL IN HYPOCRISY

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

WASHINGTON.—It was, indeed, as the Associated Press man in Munich observed, the practical thing to do. This was the Tuesday before the Olympics were to begin, and a dozen African nations were threatening to summon their athletes home. They would not participate if Rhodesia were permitted to remain.

So the International Olympic Committee, composed of men who are nothing if not practical, did the practical thing. They gave the boot to Rhodesia.

Thus the games proceed, and for the next week or so we will be surfeited with runners, jumpers, and hurdlers competing for the gold medals that mark supremacy in track and field. Sad to say, the most interesting competition will not be held.

There will be no hypocrisy contest, and more's the pity—for some of the greatest hypocrites in the human race are represented on the playing fields of Munich.

The cardinal sin of Rhodesia, it will be recalled, the sin that caused the United Nations to hurl her into ostracism like some branded heroine out of Hawthorne, was that

Rhodesia was anti-democratic. Her rebel government was engaged in oppression.

Rhodesia had stifled civil liberties and denied her people the priceless benefit of one man, one vote. No such nation, thus tainted could be permitted to participate at Munich.

It was Ethiopia who led the objectors—Ethiopia, mind you, where the emperor, Haile Selassie, rules in utter disdain of anything approaching democracy.

Zambia, once a co-member with Rhodesia in the old federation, refused to be tainted by playing on the same fields with her sinful former sister.

Virtuous Zambia!

Her virtue was especially marked in February, when Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, a true friend of civil liberties, jailed his opposition. More than 200 non-believers, including the former vice president, Simon Kapwepwe, still are absorbing their lessons in democracy.

Tanzania joined the list of those who would recall their teams if hateful Rhodesia were permitted to compete. It might be useful to offer a short course in the history of free elections in Tanzania; but it would be an exceedingly short course. There are no free elections in Tanzania.

We heard from Ghana. The very idea of oppression is intolerable to Ghana, where an Army junta in January seized the government, abolished the National Assembly, banned all political parties, and withdrew the constitution.

Sierra Leone announced that she, too, would summon her athletes home—home, that is, to a land battered by repeated coups, jailings and detentions, a land in which democracy is unknown.

Kenya was the foremost objector. And what an irony it was to hear from Jomo Kenyatta that a rebel government, guilty of intolerable practices, could not field a team at the Olympics. Memories are short. But are memories so short that the Mau Mau are forgotten?

There was also Uganda, which demonstrates its hatred of racism by expelling Asians. And there were half a dozen others whose horror at Rhodesia's electoral plan is exceeded only by the pleasure they find in their own one-party states.

Rhodesia, let it be noted, had complied meticulously with every stipulation laid down by the International Olympic Committee. These were not easy stipulations:

Her athletes were to appear as British subjects, honoring the British flag and anthem. Rhodesia swallowed her pride, agreed to the requirements, and sent a team of both black and white athletes to Munich. And there, because the IOC is composed of practical men, they got the boot.

This was a surrender to blackmail, a yielding to extortion. The decision may save the Olympics of 1972. It is bound to invite new blackmail in the future. But perhaps the committee members, adding ingenuity to practicality, will come up with a hypocrisy contest in the fashion of that wonderland caucus race. Every nation will win, and when the gold medals are passed out, all must have prizes.

CONGRESSMAN ED ROYBAL'S STATEMENT ON THE TRAGEDY AT MUNICH

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, the massacre of 11 members of the Israeli team has shattered the Olympic spirit of

brotherhood among all nations and people. We mourn the loss of these athletes who had dedicated themselves to the pursuit of excellence in friendship with other competitors.

In the wake of this tragedy, I urge all of us to repudiate the fanatics who adopt violence to sway public opinion and attempt to destroy diplomatic efforts toward lasting peace. Every nation should reevaluate its assistance and diplomatic relations with any country who gives sanctuary, support or sympathy to those who commit acts of murder and barbarism as we have just witnessed at Munich.

The tragedy of this event is in man's inability and yet desire to live in peace and harmony with his fellowman. In their decision to resume the Olympics the athletes have shown their courage not to allow violence to destroy its international spirit but to dedicate the games as a unifying symbol and memorial to the 11 who died in Munich.

I extend my deep sympathy to the families who have suffered such a profound personal loss.

THE HONORABLE RICHARD H. POFF

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentleman from Virginia, and a man for whom I have long held the highest regard, Richard H. Poff, recently left the House of Representatives to become a member of the Virginia Supreme Court.

It has been an honor to have served alongside Dick Poff on the House Judiciary Committee, and his knowledgeability and sense of the fairness of issues well qualifies him to serve on his State's highest court.

Lawyers in Congress are hardly a rarity, but a lawyer who combines the qualities of Dick Poff is indeed one whose departure will be missed. His keen analytical mind, his judicial temperament, his grasp of legislative matters, coupled with personal integrity, served us well through the time he spent with us in the Congress.

I have been impressed by his performance as the ranking Republican member of the Judiciary Committee, and I am sure that the people of Virginia's Sixth District have been equally impressed by their Representative in the Congress, for he continued to win the support of the voters ever since he first came to Capitol Hill with the 83d Congress in 1953.

His record has stood the test of time as a legislator—now the Commonwealth of Virginia will gain the benefit of his superb abilities as a judicial scholar.

I congratulate Hon. Richard H. Poff, former U.S. Representative and new Virginia Supreme Court Justice, and I know that my colleagues on the House Judiciary Committee, as well as my fellow Members of Congress, wish him well in his new and challenging appointment.

FATHER EUGENE P. MCAULIFFE

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, on September 12, 1972, the Spanish-speaking community of San Francisco will honor Father Eugene P. McAuliffe for his outstanding contribution to that community and to the well-being of the residents of San Francisco's mission district.

Father Eugene McAuliffe, associate pastor of St. Paul's Catholic Church in San Francisco, in the past few months has helped secure jobs for 46 mission district residents, most of them minority group members and most of them teenagers.

Using his wide knowledge of private community organizations and public agencies, Father McAuliffe developed 13 job placements through the Catholic Council for the Spanish-speaking, 10 placements through the Mission Coalition Organization, six placements through the mayor's office, two placements through St. Luke's Hospital.

He secured 15 more placements through personal contacts with private business.

Father McAuliffe's extraordinary private, nonprofit, unfunded employment service was simply one of many facets of his pastoral work at St. Paul's. After he was assigned to St. Paul's in September of 1970, the 33-year-old priest quickly assessed the needs of the neighborhood youth. He made job hunting for young people one of his highest ministerial priorities.

His success was not just a happy accident. Father McAuliffe had served the people of the mission district and outer mission since 1964, the year of his ordination. Since that time he has been active in community affairs, working quietly and effectively in a variety of community projects.

While assistant pastor at Mission Dolores Church from 1964 to 1966, Father McAuliffe used his fluency in Spanish and his understanding of the variety of cultures among the Spanish-speaking of the mission district to organize and promote a day of unity that brought together some 2,000 Spanish-speaking people at St. Paul's Church.

The Dia de la Unidad was the high point of a series of services in Spanish which he initiated for his Spanish-speaking parishioners.

Assigned to St. John the Evangelist Church in the outer mission in 1966, he worked with the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and joined Cesar Chavez and the procession of migrant workers on their Lenten walk from Delano to Sacramento. During the same period he worked with Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co. to bring job interviews into the mission district community.

He was also active in efforts to assure community participation in redevelopment plans for the mission. He worked with Mr. Michael Miller to build the Mission Coalition Organization which now represents some 100 groups pro-

moting the interest of Spanish-speaking San Franciscans.

The roots of his interest in the welfare of Spanish-speaking San Franciscans and other minority group members reach back to the summer of 1960. At that time, Father McAuliffe spent his vacation time in Ciudad Valles, Mexico, doing religious education and social welfare work among the poor. From 1960 to 1963, he worked during the school year counseling delinquent and dependent youth at Hillcrest Juvenile Hall in Redwood City and at Hanna Boy's Center, Sonoma, Calif. He spent the summer of 1963 providing medical and educational services for the poor of Mexicali.

The success of his present nonprofit, self-initiated employment project is the result of a long tradition of personal service to the Spanish-speaking and to the poor of all races.

He moves with ease and effectiveness within the mission district community because of the confidence people have in this intelligent, earnest, and knowledgeable citizen and servant of the people.

I am pleased to join in this tribute to Father McAuliffe and to share with my colleagues in the House his record of accomplishment and service.

ONE MAN'S OPINION

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1972

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, in July of this year I received a letter from John T. Lawrence, 876 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., in which he enclosed a letter which he had sent to the Democratic candidate for President. So that others might have the benefit of Mr. Lawrence's thinking, I insert it in the RECORD. I consider Mr. Lawrence's letter most timely. The letter follows:

NEW YORK, N.Y., July 24, 1972.

HON. GEORGE MCGOVERN,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MCGOVERN: I feel sorry for you because in my opinion and I am sure in the opinion of millions of good Americans you must have at least some responsibility and a guilty conscience about thousands of American boys that have been killed recently in Vietnam, because of your and some few others of your political friends' outspoken encouragement to Hanoi and the Vietcong. As you must know, the North Vietnamese are troops well indoctrinated, well-trained, well-disciplined, well-equipped by the Chinese and Russians with the single purpose of overrunning and taking over by outright power and aggression the much weaker South Vietnamese and eventually all of South East Asia.

When President John Kennedy committed the U.S.A. to defend South Vietnam against this ruthless aggression, he did so because the U.S.A. had a definite commitment to do so. The U.S.A. has never wavered on its commitments, whether to South Vietnam or to Israel, which country I understand now you would support in case of Egyptian aggression. But of course there are more Jewish people in this country than South Vietnamese.

President John Kennedy had the courage

to face up to the Russians when they threatened to put missiles in Cuba and made them back out. Unfortunately President Johnson did not have that kind of guts and after sending 550,000 American troops into Vietnam and with no bombing of supply lines or of supporting vessels from Russia, he accomplished nothing and worse than nothing!

President Nixon knew that the risk of serious confrontation was small and that all sources of these supplies had to be stopped, while at the same time he was bringing 500,000 of the 550,000 troops sent there by President Johnson, back to the States. This action on the President's part has been so effective that I am convinced and again, also millions of other Americans, that the present negotiations in Paris for an honorable peace would have been already successful if you had not sabotaged this meeting by offering to *crawl* to Hanoi and *beg* for the release of our prisoners of war, and to bring all American troops, etc., out in 90 days.

Although I have the greatest sympathy for the prisoners of war, this is a risk of war which they fully realize and I don't think many of them would subscribe to your suggestion which is a disgrace to the country and to thousands of men in many wars who have died for it.

In regard to the rest of your program. I

don't think anything of it and I am very sure under that program you could never have won the Democratic nomination if it had not been for the Kennedy family and their intelligent, well-oiled political organization built up over the years. I think when they supported you they felt Ted Kennedy would be the eventual candidate.

Of course the kids and women don't like war, but who ever did? Those who were drafted felt they had honorable responsibilities to their country to serve. As it was, to give amnesty and receive back into the country, honorably, those who ran away and let others *serve in their place*, is really a shocking suggestion.

Your principal appeal, besides Vietnam, to youth seems to be to legalize pot and abortion so they can have fun and do "their thing" and wait for hand-outs from the government to support these pleasures with no responsibilities to the country or to others. Manson is an example of what can happen when this selfish philosophy is condoned. I assume he is now being comfortably supported in jail—perhaps surrounded by his girl friends—as are many other murderers who will go on strike if the food and recreation aren't appealing!

Did you know from the News Media that in 1969 alone, more Americans were killed in this country or attacked than have been

killed or wounded in all the years of the Vietnam war up to that date—specifically, 14,500 murders, 36,500 rapes and 306,000 cases of aggravated assault by single individuals and it is worse today. Yet the "do-gooders" are concerned about the comfort of the prisoners—never mind the victims—so that at present the fear of prison or any inconveniences that might befall them there, are no deterrent to crime. They will be well fed, courteously treated and entertained so that prison is better than home.

Now to your economic program. Tax the hell out of the so-called Rich and Middle Class and hand it to the so-called Poor. I am all for helping the really destitute but not to feed out of *my fifty years* of hard work the insatiable appetite of your constituents whose battle cry is "We want more, more, more!" When the money is all pumped out of these who have managed to save anything. I suppose those "Gimmee Boys" will have to go to work. I want you to know I am not rich or even *middle class rich* I could easily be on your side for selfish reasons! I am a veteran of seventeen months with Rainbow Division in the first World War and proud of my country! I don't like hand-outs and welfare but you have expressed your ideas, so, best of luck.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN LAWRENCE.

SENATE—Friday, September 8, 1972

The Senate met at 9 a.m. and was called to order by Hon. HARRY F. BYRD, Jr., a Senator from the State of Virginia.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O God, our Father, whose we are and whom we serve, grant unto us all through this day to do not what we like but what we ought. Grant us the courage to do not our own will but Thy will as we understand it. Help us to do the right things even though we do not want to do them and are disadvantaged in doing them. Help us to set duty above pleasure and honor above expediency. Give us a good conscience and inner lives unafraid of Thy searching eyes. Grant us to labor with joyous hearts, never evading work we ought to do, never avoiding decisions we ought to make or shirking the responsibilities we ought to carry. So wilt Thou guide us through this day and at evening time may we know the deep contentment of work completed and duty done, through Him whose name is above every name. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. EASTLAND):

The second assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,

Washington, D.C., September 8, 1972.
To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. HARRY F. BYRD, Jr., a Senator from the State of Virginia, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
President pro tempore.

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR., thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, September 7, 1972, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs of the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs; the Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; a special subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary; the Committee on the Judiciary; and the Committee on Commerce may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider nominations on the Executive Calendar.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

UNITED NATIONS

The second assistant legislative clerk read the nominations in the United Nations as follows:

Gale W. McGee, U.S. Senator from the State of Wyoming, to be a representative of the United States of America to the 27th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

James B. Pearson, U.S. Senator from the State of Kansas, to be a representative of the United States of America to the 27th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

AMBASSADORS

The second assistant legislative clerk read the nominations of Ambassadors, as follows:

Hermann F. Elts, of Pennsylvania, a Foreign Service officer of the class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Viron P. Vaky, of Texas, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Costa Rica.

Frederick Irving, of Rhode Island, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Iceland.

George W. Landau, of Maryland, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Paraguay.

Adm. Horacio Rivero, U.S. Navy, retired, of California, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Spain.

Frank T. Bow, of Ohio, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Panama.

Joseph A. Mendenhall, of Virginia, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Malagasy Republic.