

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

LOYALTY DAY RESOLUTION

HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, Sunday, September 17, was observed in the United Methodist Church as Loyalty Day. It was a day in which the church expressed its loyalty to country, God and self.

I commend Methodists everywhere for their expressions of loyalty made during the services conducted on Loyalty Day for certainly this country—through the grace of God—has received so many wonderful blessings for which we should all be thankful.

Mr. Speaker, like many church members throughout America I have become concerned over the recent trends which would seem to indicate the decline of our moral values in America. I am likewise concerned that we often become lax in our expressions of loyalty to these United States.

In connection with Loyalty Day at the First United Methodist Church in my hometown of Sylacauga, Ala., the administrative board, sharing the concern of many Americans, has expressed their concern in the form of a resolution. I believe the contents of this resolution to be worthy of reading by Americans everywhere and I am inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD,
FIRST UNITED METHODIST CHURCH

Whereas the Administrative Board of the First United Methodist Church of Sylacauga, Alabama is deeply concerned about the moral laxity which prevades our country, and deplores the increasing evidence of lack of faith in God, Church and Country; and

Whereas we condemn the actions of those who show disloyalty to their country by draft card burning, destruction of public and private property, illegal use of drugs, disrespect to the American Flag, the flagrant disregard for law, order and the rights of others and the condoning of such actions; and

Whereas we feel that the moral disintegration of this Nation has been brought about by a combination of concepts stemming from rationalism for selfish purposes and misguided liberalistic idealism, instigated by calculated disruption from external sources, which have moved into the vacuum of non belief in a Supreme Being; and

Whereas the strength, character and spirit of a people are best tested in adversity and best sustained by a faith in God, in one's self and in his fellow man; and

Whereas we are well aware that the future of this Nation always rests with our young people, most of whom are persons of high principles, strong character and dedicated Christian spirit, with a zest for living the full life, and we regret the waste generated by the unused potential of the small minority who expend their energies in fruitless or undesirable pursuits; now therefore,

Be it resolved by the administrative board of the First United Methodist Church of Sylacauga, Alabama, That we do hereby reaffirm our faith in God, the Creator and Sustainer of Life; in Jesus Christ, His only Begotten Son, our sole salvation; in the Holy

Spirit, our ever-present Comforter; and in the Holy Bible as the divinely inspired Word of God;

Be it further resolved that, we do hereby reaffirm our faith in the Constitution of the United States and in our democratic way of life, and that we do again pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all;

And be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this meeting of the Administrative Board; that at the next regular meeting of this Church that the congregation be asked to concur in this Resolution; and that a copy be sent to the President of the United States, both Houses of Congress, the Bishop of the North Alabama Conference of The United Methodist Church, and the Superintendent of the Sylacauga District.

Passed by unanimous vote of The Administrative Board in its regular meeting on September 11, 1972.

LUFTWAFFE TRAINEES AT LUKE
AIR FORCE BASE, ARIZ.

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, for many years, now, the Luftwaffe has been sending young men to Luke Air Force Base, in Arizona, for training. During these years the people of the area have enjoyed a warm relationship with the Germans.

The Luftwaffe pilots and ground crews have given generously of their time and talents to help in civic activities. Their work in helping the Glendale Boys' Club has been especially noteworthy.

I am most pleased that an article giving richly deserved credit to these young Germans appeared in the most recent issue of a magazine published in Holland—NATO's Fifteen Nations. The excellent article was written by retired U.S. Air Force Col. Barney Oldfield, who now lives in California.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD as testimony to the fine work by Luftwaffe personnel in Arizona.

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

LUFTWAFFE: CACTUS COUNTRY GOOD CITIZENS
(By Col. Barney Oldfield)

In the late Spring of any year, particularly in a geographic area as continually sunny as America's state of Arizona, it may seem a little strange that the spirit of giving which is traditional to Christmas persists so long. This urge to make a gift to young people is far from an any-day-a-year thing, but goes on in one manifestation or another the whole year around. This compulsion is nowhere more evident than among the young pilot trainees of Germany's Luftwaffe at Luke Air Force Base, and for that reason, they are giving their "all" in an annual soccer game which has literally been "kicked together" for an act of International Good

Samaritanism. It may all sound complicated, and perhaps it is, but it is only an extension of the great complications of the human spirit, what motivates it, and how this can be compounded in men who are required by the needs of their country's national security to spend long periods away from their homes and homeland. These Luftwaffe pilots and ground crews give of themselves at and off the flightline in order to fly better from early morning until sunset, but between the departure of the sun and the time of its return and on their weekends, they go about totally different chores and errands of a personal nature.

In nearby Glendale, Arizona, a suburb of Phoenix, there is a small but thriving Boys' Club. People who drive by or visit it find about an equal mix of Mexican-American (Chicano) and white (Anglo) boys playing there. It would be most unlikely in any other locales in the American Southwest that one would get any answer at all if a question was put as to what the Luftwaffe's "Cactus Starfighter Squadron" is, but not at this Club. There the explanation comes quickly and from the heart, and it would be to the effect that those German Luftwaffe pilots are "our friends."

Fighter pilots, the world over, are known for being imaginative, quick and ingenious people. They have been the leading edge in attack in war, have supported infantry close-up on the battlefield, have interdicted supply lines, and protected big bomber formations. But they are not widely known as or thought to be a diplomatic and cultural force. That's not what they are for, although the Luftwaffe in Arizona has demonstrated via a diplomacy of deeds that it is a factor of German-American relations hard to overlook. These Luftwaffe members have shown an ability and considerable delight in coming to the rescue of many disadvantaged and underprivileged boys which cuts a cultural swathe for Germany in the United States, which gives the German Ambassador in far off Washington an extra dimension in the goodwill business.¹

Such is the niche of respect attained by these young Germans that the very first of their succession of Luftwaffe detachment commanders at Luke—then Colonel Hans Wolf—was described as politically potent by no less than the Mayor of Phoenix himself. He said he dared not leave town for any length of time, as it might give the local citizenry the idea to elect this popular German commander as burgomeister in his absence. And this would mean he would have no job to come home to, as a result of this miscalculation of the acceptance locally and the effect of the wide-ranging and constructive community activities with which the Luftwaffe was so well identified.

The Luftwaffe action is backed up in a

¹ Before he left his post as Luftwaffe head to become Chairman of the Military Committee of NATO, Lt. Gen. Johannes Steinhoff visited Luke and was told by the Wing Commander, USAF—Col. Arthur Small—that he could not have performed his community relations function in the cities and towns around that big airbase had it not been for the dedication and devotion for this kind of activity which had been exhibited by the men of the Luftwaffe. Other Luftwaffe high rankers, the present Chief, Lt. Gen. Guenther Rall, then commander of the Luftwaffe's Second Air Division, and Maj. Gen. Walther Krupinski, then head of the U.S. German Training Command, have attended the charity soccer games with the Air Force Academy.

maintenance way by the members of what is called the Starfighter Management Club. This organization rosters those companies which have technical representation contracts for Luftwaffe training support, and they include: The Lockheed Aircraft Service Company (Lockheed is the builder of the NATO F-104G Starfighters long in wide use in the Federal Republic, and other NATO Air Forces); the General Electric Company, Autonetics, and the Litton Systems, Inc. element of Litton Industries, Inc.

While a so-called management club is not new where a military activity seeks complementary contractual ties with industrial firms which are most knowledgeable about their highly technical equipment, this Starfighter Management Club was coaxed into a new magnitude of relationship by Litton's Tom Rhone.² He came to Litton on his retirement from the USAF in 1964, but while in the Air Force he was their first NCO to win their new super grades of Senior Master Sergeant and then Chief Master Sergeant in the information-public relations-community relations career field where he had served in the U.S., in Europe and in the Far East. When asked, he offered advice and gave recommendations and how-to-do-it counsel for the Luftwaffe, and successive Luftwaffe commanders and pilots caught on fast. And he worked to set up what has become the promotional high-mark each year, which is sponsored by the Starfighter Management Club—the annual soccer clash to raise charity money which is a hard fought game between the Luftwaffe of Luke Air Force Base and the Cadet Wing of the United States Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colorado.

The Air Force Academy enjoys this comradely and good-natured confrontation, and appreciates the identification it gives that glamorous edifice of higher learning with the humane and sociological purposes served by the game's proceeds. Both the Air Force and the Luftwaffe, knowing that some of their professional service careers are bound to bring them together on joint and allied staffs, think the reference point of these yearly joustings will be important ingredients in establishing a kind of "international old boy network" among them as professional airmen.

While that may take a much longer time to develop, the immediate effects have been on the Boys' Club of Glendale, Arizona. Although soccer has never been a big-audience sport in the U.S., from a scratch start in 1967 up to the present time, it has produced about \$15,000, after all expenses were deducted, for the Boys' Club. The ramshackle old building which once housed it and used to repel more than it attracted youngsters has now been replaced by a new one, in a better neighborhood, and this has given the better racial balance to the young people who use it. Any positive factor added in any American community in the matter of race relations is welcome, indeed.

The Germans may ruefully regard their athletic record, (they were defeated by the Academy 3-1 in 1967, 6-2 in 1968, and 5-1 in 1970, and only won once, 4-2, in 1969), but they gloat over the other results. They were desolate in 1971 when the Academy was unable to squeeze them into its schedule, but through the great interest in renewal as reflected by Lt. Gen. A. P. Clarke, Superintendent of the Academy, and recently retired Luftwaffe Brig. Gen. Hanns Heise, who headed the U.S. German Training Command until the fall of 1971, the game is on again

for 1972. Gen. Heise thought so much of its worth to the welcome which has been traditional of the American Southwest, he made almost a noble cause of getting the soccer game rescheduled right up to the end of his active military life—and retired happy in the assurance that it is back to stay.

Soccer is not really the sole involvement of the Luftwaffe in the community and state life, even though it is the moneymaker. In the year-end holiday season, the Luftwaffe assembles its own choral group made up of the pilots, which tours homes of the aged and hospitals in the Luke vicinity. They do a rainbow of songs, English and German, and as they have excellent voices they are strongly applauded and always welcomed back. They put on Christmas parties for poor children and orphans, and become very competitive about who will be an occasion's Santa Claus, or St. Nicholas, or Father Christmas, or Kris Kringle, or whatever name and motif is required for the time of year. They serve as judges in model airplane contests, and even help some youngsters build their entries.

But the Boys' Club of Glendale is an all-year around interest. Each year, as many as forty of the pilots show up on some weekend in coveralls, and paint the place so it shines. They add to the fun by painting each other a little, too, just to keep from boredom.

There is reverence added to the Boys' Club of Glendale. It all came about through the tragedy which followed the presence of a very popular Luftwaffe Major Peter Hell. He was not only good at everything he tried to do, he was superlatively so as a pilot who was sent to Luke after having logged more than 1,900 flying hours in an assortment of T-33's, RF-84s, and F-104Gs. His mission: Instructor Pilot, to train other German pilots. He added another 1,500 hours to his log in that role. Even with the exactness and dedication this called for, he sought his relaxation and outlet for his plentiful energies through hunting, fishing, and a variety of charity and community works.

This led him to becoming the player-coach for the first four of the Academy-Luftwaffe soccer matches, and he was in the choral group which toured the hospitals. Major Hell, with his wife, Annamarie, and two children, Michael and Sabine, was slated to return to Germany in the summer of 1970. On May 8th, while instructing a student, he was killed in an aircraft crash.

A great shock went through the Luftwaffe, through the Phoenix community, and tearfully among the regulars at the Boys' Club of Glendale. There good friends are not easy to come by, and Peter Hell was a good friend of theirs.

Almost a year after Major Hell's death, a movement began. A decision was made that there would be a "Major Peter Hell Room" in the Boys' Club of Glendale, and there would be a fitting ceremonial dedication. When word of this got back to Germany, the Luftwaffe flew Peter's widow, Annamarie, back to the United States to take part in the tribute. All the Luftwaffe pilots came from Luke with their wives and children. Brig. Gen. Heise, of the U.S. German Training Command came in from Fort Bliss, Texas, and Major Gen. Karl-Heinz Greve, of the First German Air Division, came from Germany. Mayor Max Klass of Glendale joined them. The large Luftwaffe turnout was explained to the Chicano and Anglo boys as being because Major Peter Hell was "one of their own."

One of the Chicano boys said: "He was one of our own, too."

Of all the measurements which might have been made about the quality of Luftwaffe cactus country good citizenship that day, perhaps Major Hell would have liked that quote best.

NEWS BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD the September 18 edition of the news bulletin of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission—ARBC. I take this action to help my colleagues be informed of developments across the country planning for the Nation's 200th anniversary in 1976. The bulletin is compiled and written by the staff of the ARBC Communications Committee. The bulletin follows:

BICENTENNIAL BULLETIN

Congressman Emanuel Celler, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, announced on September 12 that he would submit amendments recommending the authorization of ARBC legislation for six months and reducing the amount of funds authorized, as well as calling for a Judiciary Staff Study of the operations and functions of the Commission. In a statement Chairman Mahoney stated, "The actions of Congressman Celler are gratifying." The Chairman further stated he feels this is a positive step forward and welcomes the opportunity to provide current information to the Judiciary Committee. "An all-out effort is needed to proceed with the important planning and implementation of the Nation's 200th Anniversary."

Meeting in Washington last week the Commission adopted several internal resolutions which added two additional Congressional members, one from each party, to the Executive Committee; increased the number of Commission meetings from four to six per year; vested total policy power in the full Commission membership; increased the public representation on the Commission's Executive Committee by the addition of three more public members from minority groups (a Black, a Mexican-American and an Indian); raised the number of Executive members from 10 to 16, including a representative of the Interior Department (in addition to the above).

The Commission also officially recognized as Bicentennial activities the 1975 World Congress on the Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy and the proposed Hall of Maritime Enterprise at the Smithsonian Institute.

A resolution was adopted to endorse the New York Floating Theatre, the Showboat, as a Bicentennial project. A national model for water cities, Showboat is conceived by the Eugene O'Neill Memorial Theatre Center, Inc. as a multi-faceted Children's theatre center for New York City. The O'Neill Center has formed a three-way partnership with the New York City Center and the South Street Seaport to bring the project to fruition. Festival USA Chairman George Lang said the project is a perfect Bicentennial program that will bring the arts to the people.

The Commission also adopted six major travel and hospitality action areas to insure that millions of Americans and foreigners alike will have the opportunity to see and visit America for the Bicentennial. The six proposals were endorsed by the Invitation to the World Panel and submitted by the Festival USA Committee.

As reported in the current monthly ARBC Newsletter, the Commission also granted formal recognition to three major projects (Foxfire, South Street Seaport and the Bicenten-

²So popular with Luftwaffe has Tom Rhone become, he has been godfather to eight children born to German pilots, and is referred to in Bonn and wherever the Luftwaffe may be as "Unser mann in Arizona" (our man in Arizona). A mark of honor, he cherishes, by the way.

nial Exhibit of the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry), as well as designated twenty Revolutionary War locations that were submitted by the Heritage '76 Committee as Bicentennial sites.

It was announced at the full Commission meeting that ARBC member Nancy Porter has been appointed Chairperson of the Horizons '76 Committee. Ms. Porter, National Representative of the Girl Scouts of the USA, replaces Erik Jonsson, who will supervise the "Call for Achievement" program of the ARBC. Chairwoman Porter in accepting the position stated, "My first and chief goal is to meet the tremendous challenge of making the Horizons' potential known to the American people. There is a place for each and every citizen in Horizons."

Lieutenant Governor James H. Brickley announced on August 31 that Howard Lancour, a television newscaster, has been appointed Executive Director of the Michigan Bicentennial Commission.

The Montana Historical Society is beginning a "Montana Hunt for Historical Records and Photographs," a project financed by the federal grant presented to the Montana ARBC. The Society plans a statewide search for materials relating to Montana history that may be in the hands of private citizens. Jeff Cunniff, an Assistant Archivist who is in charge of the "Hunt," is interested in business or family records and correspondence, scrapbooks, photographs and diaries—anything that could be used for research. The materials gathered will be included in the Society's library in Helena.

Our Lady of the Lake College in San Antonio, Texas will dedicate as its part of the Texas Colleges and Universities Bicentennial Program a 1972-73 Cultural Entertainment Series to the Bicentennial theme "The American Democratic Experience: Achievements, Lessons and Goals." Student leaders and faculty at OLL planned the nine-month program of lectures, workshops, concerts, films and festivals which concern American lifestyles, their development and their ever-changing nature. Through the series, OLL will offer a representation of many of the unique cultures of the U.S. including those of the Mexican-American, Black, American Indian, and Anglo (Appalachian and urban). Scheduled "experiences" include: Dr. Uvaldo Palomares, a Chicano educator and psychologist; Wilebaldo Lopez, award-winning Mexican actor director-playwright; Alex Haley, Black author of "The Autobiography of Malcolm X;" and the North American Indian communications group, the White Roots of Peace.

The New Mexico ARBC selected Edward H. Pond of Santa Fe from a group of 63 applicants as the new director of the Commission. Pond said the goal of the Bicentennial should not only be to celebrate the nation's birthday, but also to unite the four cultures in New Mexico to work toward a common purpose. "We will have failed if we don't involve every individual in the state who wishes to be involved."

Mrs. Jean Helleisen, Chairman of the Wisconsin ARBC, recently announced that the Commission has endorsed "Old World Wisconsin" an "outdoor museum" composed of more than 75 buildings reflecting Wisconsin's diverse ethnic background. The museum is being developed in the Kettle Moraine State Forest by the Wisconsin State Historical Society and the State Department of Natural Resources. The Commission also recommended that the National Bicentennial Park proposal be broad enough to include coordination of Wisconsin participation in the Parks plan with the existing state plan for Old World Wisconsin.

A student operated project at Rutgers University in New Jersey, has been submit-

ted for consideration as an official Bicentennial program. The proposal is for a Bicentennial Canal Park to be built along the Raritan Canal, the Delaware River and surrounding historic sites. The park and structures would remain as permanent residuals to the state, and it is estimated that the income from the sale of potable water from a reservoir to be built will provide the funds required to maintain the Canal Park after 1976. The study for the park was initiated in January 1971, and it is hoped that it may serve as a model for other states in assisting them in the establishment of a Bicentennial program.

MORE GOVERNMENT SPENDING

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, the Senate has just passed the new spending program by a vote of 61 to 14, authorizing the expenditure of \$5.1 billion over a 3-year period.

Last week the Senate approved another new spending program, calling for the expenditure of \$30 billion over the next 5 years.

Mr. President, in both of these programs there is much that is desirable. I found it necessary, however, to vote against both of them. The Nation is in a very difficult financial situation. We are running smashing deficits. In the 3-year period, fiscal 1971, fiscal 1972, and fiscal 1973, the deficits will total \$100 billion, and yet Congress continues to add new spending programs on top of all the other programs.

I noted yesterday, Mr. President, that the Secretary of the Treasury, in testifying before the Ways and Means Committee in the House of Representatives, warned that a tax increase will be forthcoming if spending climbs.

I noted too, that the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Office of Management and Budget testified yesterday for the need to increase the debt ceiling. The ceiling is now \$450 billion and the administration wants this increased to \$465 billion.

Mr. President, I have prepared a table for the 20-year period, 1954 through 1973, setting forth receipts, outlays, the deficits, or in the case of 3 years in that 20 years, the surplus and the interest on the national debt.

Mr. President, it will be noted that in the current fiscal year the interest on the national debt was \$22.7 billion. To phrase this another way, of every personal and corporate income tax paid into the Federal Government, 17 cents goes for the one purpose of paying the interest on the national debt.

I ask unanimous consent that the remarks I have just made and the table which I have mentioned be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

DEFICITS IN FEDERAL FUNDS AND INTEREST ON THE NATIONAL DEBT, 1954-73 INCLUSIVE

(In billions of dollars)

	Receipts	Outlays	Surplus (+) or deficit (-)	Debt interest
1954	62.8	65.9	-3.1	6.4
1955	58.1	62.3	-4.2	6.4
1956	65.4	63.8	+1.6	6.8
1957	68.8	67.1	+1.7	7.2
1958	66.6	69.7	-3.1	7.6
1959	65.8	77.0	-11.2	7.6
1960	75.7	74.9	+0.8	9.2
1961	75.2	79.3	-4.1	9.0
1962	79.7	86.6	-6.9	9.1
1963	83.6	90.1	-6.5	9.9
1964	87.2	95.8	-8.6	10.7
1965	90.9	94.8	-3.9	11.4
1966	101.4	106.5	-5.1	12.0
1967	111.8	126.8	-15.0	13.4
1968	114.7	143.1	-28.4	14.6
1969	143.3	148.8	-5.5	16.6
1970	143.2	156.3	-13.1	19.3
1971	133.7	163.7	-30.0	20.8
1972	148.8	177.7	-28.9	21.2
1973 ¹	152.6	190.4	-37.8	22.7
20-year plan	1,929.3	2,140.6	211.3	241.9

¹ Estimated figures.

Source: Office of Management and Budget and Treasury Department.

ROBERT YESH NAMED OUTSTANDING DOORMAN OF THE YEAR FOR THE HOUSE FLOOR

HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, a young man from my congressional district was recently given the honor of being selected Doorman of the Year on the House floor by the U.S. House of Representatives doorman's society.

Robert's personal qualities of leadership, adaptability, and initiative have afforded him quick success in whatever task he undertakes.

He was born on May 29, 1943, at Uniontown, Pa., and is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Roman Yesh. He graduated from Uniontown Senior High School, Uniontown, Pa., in 1961. He entered the U.S. Army and served with the 505th Airborne 101st and later transferred to the 9th Infantry, 2d Infantry Division, Fort Benning, Ga. He was awarded a medal for expert in marksmanship.

Later, received a diploma from Nationwide Semi-Division in Kentucky and owned and operated his own business before moving to Washington, D.C. Married on August 1, 1969.

Bob has been a doorman on the House floor under the Doorkeeper of the U.S. House of Representatives since May of 1970 and was just recently promoted to a supervisory position in the Democratic Cloakroom.

He is a member of the Myron M. Parker Grand Lodge of F.A.A.M., Washington, D.C., member of the Polish Club, Uniontown, Pa., member of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Uniontown, Pa. His hobbies are hunting, fishing, boating,

swimming, tennis, and building stock cars.

I am proud of Robert's accomplishment and take this opportunity to relate this information to my colleagues. I congratulate Robert on his outstanding work in the House of Representatives.

CHRISTIAN SERVICE AT LENINGRAD

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the Soviet Union is in the process of opening a consulate in San Francisco. Under a reciprocal agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union, we have the right to open a consulate in Leningrad.

On June 5, holy communion was celebrated at the residence of the American Consul General in Leningrad to consecrate the residence. Mrs. Springer and I were fortunate to be in Leningrad on that day and were invited to attend by the Consul General, Mr. Culver Gleysteen. As far as the records show, this religious service is the first one conducted by an American bishop in Leningrad since the Bolshevik revolution.

The right of American citizens to hold such services was guaranteed in the agreements which led to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1933. Bishop Hines, presiding bishop of the American Episcopal Church, celebrated holy communion. I asked him to send me an account in his own language of the Christian service at Leningrad which he has done as of August 25, and I am inserting it into the RECORD.

The account follows:

CHRISTIAN SERVICE AT LENINGRAD CONSULATE BUILDING

On June 5, 1972, Bishop Hines, Presiding Bishop of the American Episcopal Church, celebrated Holy Communion at the residence of the American Consulate General in Leningrad at Grodnenskiy Pereulok 4. There were 18 Americans present, including Congressman and Mrs. William L. Springer of Illinois, Consul General Designate and Mrs. Culver Gleysteen, members of the Bishop's party and a handful of Americans who work in the Consulate General Designate and their children.

Secretary of State Rogers inspected the residence during President Nixon's visit to Leningrad on May 27. The service conducted by Bishop Hines was the next formal event which took place in the house. It doubtlessly is the first time an American Bishop has conducted a service in Leningrad since the Bolshevik Revolution. Possibly it is the first time an American Bishop has celebrated a service in Petersburg-Petrograd-Leningrad.

The holding of religious services of different denominations in American official premises in the Soviet Union is a practise which flows from the absence of other available premises. The right of American citizens to hold such services was guaranteed in the agreements which led to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1933.

THE FUTURE OF AUTOMOBILES

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, Bill Ruckelshaus, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, recently put into perspective the environmental consequences of our almost exclusive dependence on the automobile for urban transportation.

In a speech before the American Automobile Association, Mr. Ruckelshaus points out that while the automobile is here to stay, unless we "broaden the modalities of movement," we cannot hope to overcome the present crises in energy, pollution, and urban design.

A study at Carnegie-Mellon shows that buses are five times more efficient than the automobile in the use of gasoline equivalents. With the automobile currently consuming 20 percent of all energy used in the Nation, the immediate need to develop more efficient means of transportation seems self-evident. It is also clear these transit alternatives will have to include the more desirable features of the automobile, if they are to win public acceptance. Current transit systems have failed miserably in the marketplace. Our best hope for turning this dismal picture around is to develop transit systems which people will want to use.

I am hopeful that through the increased funding for transit R. & D. which this Congress has approved, we can rapidly develop and test more attractive transit options. At this point, I insert Mr. Ruckelshaus' speech in the RECORD:

THE FUTURE OF THE AUTOMOBILE

(By William D. Ruckelshaus)

I've been looking forward to meeting with members of the American Automobile Association for a long time. With the possible exception of the makers of automobiles themselves, no private organization has done more than Triple-A in the last 70 years to make driving enjoyable. Your name is synonymous with service and in this age of impersonality service is more important than ever.

When Triple-A was founded there were only 23,000 cars in the entire country, but motorists were hemmed in by all kinds of bizarre restrictions. In some towns you weren't allowed to go more than 10 miles per hour. In one place you couldn't drive down the street unless you were preceded by a man waving a red flag. In another you had to empty your gas tank before using the ferry boat. When you crossed a county or state border you might have to buy new license plates.

For those who believe history never repeats itself, there were even communities which outlawed the use of self-propelled vehicles altogether. So that idea is not new.

Thanks in considerable measure to the dedicated work of AAA Clubs, the machine that had been merely a rich man's toy or a bachelor's runabout was eventually accepted as a normal part of the American scene. The automobile provided fast access to jobs, schools and stores. It enabled us to get away from things on weekends. We gained a mobility that was the envy and wonder of the world.

Can you ever forget that scene in *The Wind in The Willows* where Mr. Toad and

his companions are bowled over by a speeding roadster on a country lane? My kids always enjoyed that part best.

When the dust lifted they found poor Toad "in a sort of trance, a happy smile on his face, his eyes still fixed on the dusty wake of their destroyer."

"Glorious . . . sight" murmured Toad. "Poetry in motion!" "The real way to travel! The only way . . ."

"What are we to do with him?" asked the Mole. "Nothing" . . . replied the Rat firmly . . . "He is . . . possessed."

Well, I'm sure you recognize the syndrome; it affects every growing boy and some grown long ago. Americans all want cars and one of the problems is that 75% of us get them. The very popularity of the automobile now seriously threatens its usefulness. In many of our cities we are confronted by pollution, congestion, noise, delay, ugliness and urban breakdown on a scale that has not been seen since the last days of imperial Rome.

It seems clear that we will have to be more imaginative in our use and even design of the automobile if we are to ensure the amenities of civilized living and keep that instant mobility we all want.

It is significant that your organization recognizes the importance of controlling exhaust emissions and the importance of searching out alternatives to the internal combustion engine. Until an alternative is found, we should make certain that control devices work and continue to work throughout the life of the car. That means not only that we provide incentives for quality equipment in the first place, but that we train good men to service it and keep it operating at maximum efficiency.

Given present power systems, exhaust emission controls cannot do the job by themselves where traffic volumes are too great or atmospheric conditions are unfavorable. In such cities as Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Denver, Los Angeles, Cincinnati and Washington the public must gird itself for the possibility of substantial changes in commutation habits.

As we head toward the air quality deadlines under the Clean Air Act in 1975, these cities—and others—will be considering their options. We will be hearing more about metered traffic, exclusive bus lanes, staggered working hours, restricted parking, dispersed employment, and sanctions against the man who drives his 6-passenger car to work with no one else in it.

Statistics now show that the rate of occupancy of cars during peak load periods is down to 1.2 persons per vehicle, and at the present rate of passenger decline by 1980 one out of every three cars will be tooling along without a driver. That wouldn't be much more absurd than the present practice of encasing one man in 5,000 pounds of steel, adding 400 horsepower and then making him creep along at five miles per hour breathing a combination of synergistic poisons.

The sheer aggravation that was once the curse only of downtown commercial districts is now spreading to suburban shopping and work places as well. Even the national parks are so burdened with cars as to jeopardize the very serenity our people desperately seek.

Some say the answer is simply to build better highways; others that the automobile should be eliminated in our more congested areas and replaced by mass transit. My profound belief is that attempting to solve the problems of modern living by attacking a piece of that complex is wrong because it's shortsighted. The automobile is part of the larger mosaic of American life. If an understandable picture is to emerge from the pieces, we must comprehend how they all fit.

We desperately need a broad systems approach integrating emissions control of motor vehicles with highway planning, land and energy use, resource conservation, demo-

graphic factors, economic growth, and the protection of wilderness and countryside. We need transportation that is fast, safe, reliable and ecologically responsible.

If we limit our attention to the problem of pollution pure and simple—or perhaps I should say impure and simple—then we will fail. We will fail for the reason that in the total world environment, everything is connected to everything else.

Consider, for example, the contribution of the automobile to costly suburban sprawl and the waste of urban land. It requires a highway network of enormous expense when tax dollars are needed to address other social problems. The automobile kills over 50,000 Americans every year. It is expensive to service and repair.

You have all heard talk about an energy crisis in the United States. We have not yet reached the crisis point and we may never do so. As the cost of energy rises, we will have to cut the present waste of our fuel resources. There may even be temporary shortages of one fuel or another. Patterns of consumption in industry, in domestic heating and cooling, and in transportation could change greatly over the next decade.

Traditionally, we are prone to think of efficiency as mere speed: jet planes and gleaming new automobiles seem almost by definition to be highly efficient. Actually it isn't so. A research team at Carnegie-Mellon has compared the transport modes in terms of passenger- and ton-miles per gallon of gasoline equivalents. They found to no one's great surprise that you get 200 passenger miles per gallon out of a double-decker suburban train but only 22 passenger miles per gallon from a 747 jumbo jet or from the family automobile carrying the standard load of 1.2 people. Even buses are five times as efficient as cars. So considering that gasoline used in private cars represents one-fifth of all energy used in the nation, and that vehicle miles are rising 4-5% annually, we must strive to use this fuel with maximum efficiency.

How then can we get around the energy—resources—pollution—urban design impasse? How can we broaden the modalities of movement?

One answer that obviously needs much more attention is mass transit. It should be deliberately employed—like housing and the utility infrastructure—as a major element in the design of more efficient cities. Air conditioning, express service, attractive interiors, quiet low-emission engines, flexible routes, courteous service, seating arrangements which recognize the importance of "personal space"—these features might lure the suburbanites back to town, where their financial presence, moral commitment and political leadership is vitally needed. Fast and reliable public transportation would certainly open up suburban light-industrial jobs to inner city residents. Jobs which today go unfilled could be filled by those who need them.

We should realize that not everyone can afford a car, not everyone wants to drive, and that nobody really wants to drive everywhere all the time. We need more flexibility of choice; we need means of transportation that bring people into contact with each other and not just with machines.

A safe, efficient transportation system might do a lot to stem the tide of loneliness, fear and alienation which threaten city life today.

As a matter of social justice, we should restore decent public transportation for the 25% of our citizens who are old, poor, handicapped or under 16. Physical isolation—inability to get to a doctor, a shop, a job or even to a movie house—has been suggested as a major cause of urban unrest.

If necessary, fares should be subsidized or abolished. No one expects the police or the schools to make a profit, yet transit has been so obligated in most metropolitan areas.

Winston Churchill once said in a characteristic fit of hyperbole that the worst disaster in the history of mankind was the invention of the automobile. The people do not seem to agree.

A questionnaire was circulated a few years ago noting the air pollution, noise and congestion caused by the automobile, the displacement of tens of thousands of homeowners and small businessmen by highways, the destruction of natural beauty, the tens of millions of injuries and the almost 2 million deaths during this century and so forth—and people were asked "Is it worth it?"

Eighty-five percent responded with an enthusiastic and unqualified "yes." I think that tells us how strongly Americans feel the need for the sense of autonomy and freedom provided by the automobile. So I hope nothing I have said today will be taken as an attack on this venerable and necessary American institution, which is so much more than a way to get from one place to another.

The automobile is indeed here to stay. It will continue to have a dominant role in the exurbs, on the farm, between cities over short distances and as an alternate mode of transportation everywhere. But we must supplement it if we are to get the most efficient service out of it. Henry Ford himself has said so.

Downtown, for example, the worker or shopper should be able to get around in automated, low speed, easy access people movers of one kind or another, like the one linking the campuses of the University of West Virginia at Morgantown.

In the suburbs we should modify the system which has made countless wives into chauffeurs for their children, trapped in an endless round of ferrying the kids back and forth to school, to the dentists, to the scouts and to friends. Perhaps we can look to dial-a-bus, which has already been tried in Haddonfield, New Jersey or other methods to provide alternatives to those who want them.

As for transportation to the airport, the air-cushion train powered by a linear-induction motor could be an answer during the late 70's. It could also make a real dent in medium-haul travel times from one urban nucleus to another, especially along the Atlantic, Pacific and Great Lakes corridors.

Overall, according to the Department of Transportation, the revolution in mobility will require as much as \$33 billion in the next 10 to 20 years. Some of this money may be diverted from the highway trust fund; whatever its origins it will be well spent. We don't have to go from one place to another in ways that are time-consuming, wasteful of fuel, nerve-wracking or socially destructive.

But in broader context, we must question whether we need to do so much moving about the landscape in the first place. The 4-day week would eliminate up to 20% of rush hour pollution weekly. Maybe people could even do more of their work at home. Modern telecommunications could replace a lot of hours wasted in traffic and in the office, where one's physical presence not only is unnecessary but often impedes the transaction of business.

Above all, in discussing the future of the private car we must not fall into the trap of being mere participants in endless pro-versus anti-automobile debate. We need not be either to be pro-humanity.

In retrospect, then, we would acknowledge that Kenneth Grahame's Toad was mesmerized and so were we all—for a time. The open road is no longer simply an invitation to adventure but also a problem and a challenge. We have it within our power to create a kind of mobility which transcends movement for its own sake or movement compelled by circumstances. We can formulate a life style which guarantees the variable mobility a complex society requires.

PLANNING, PROGRAMING, AND BUDGETING SYSTEM

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, for some time, my office has been receiving a number of letters concerning the planning, programing, and budgeting system. Recently, the letters have contained a note of urgency and concern. The PPBS, as it is called, seems to be spreading through all the States, some education systems, and some local governments, with little awareness for the most part, by either the public or their elected representatives, of exactly what it is, why it is being promoted, or what the long-term effect will be.

I have felt it necessary to look into the matter, and what I have learned about the PPBS makes me wonder whether my colleagues might not find food for thought in some of this information.

Although usually advanced as an improved method for budgeting and accounting, there is much more to the PPBS than is generally recognized or acknowledged. A former colleague of mine, Assemblyman Robert Burke, of the California State Legislature, wrote of the PPB in education:

All the elements necessary for the implementation of a plan for the management of society through the public schools of the United States are now functioning.

In 1966, Dan Smoot, one of the ablest researchers in the country, stated in his newsletter:

This is government by computers: the people are ruled by machines, which are manipulated by an elite of bureaucrats.

He was referring to the use of PPB in government. When two men as competent as these reach such conclusions, one after the fact, one before, it is reason enough for a closer look at the situation. For that reason, I would like to give at this time a brief history and assessment of the PPBS.

One of the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission was to institute a new method of accounting in the Federal departments, which was followed in due course by a bill in Congress to approve such a move. Neither of these steps gave any indication of the potential they carried for extension to such an instrument of control as has developed in the planning, programing and budgeting system.

Under Robert Strange McNamara, the PPBS was installed in the Defense Department, and the military was the first to feel the pinch of the computerized straitjacket of the PPBS. Seasoned officers reported that decisionmaking was removed from their control, and placed in the hands of scientists and technicians—and computers. Despite the failure of the PPBS in solving the problems of the Pentagon, in 1965 President Johnson announced his decision to introduce a very new and very revolutionary system of planning, programing, and budg-

eting throughout the vast Federal Government. As Dan Smoot put it:

Computers, manned by a "very special staff of experts" will decide what is the finer life for all Americans; will postulate the decisions as national goals; will determine what action is needed by Congress and executive agencies to achieve those goals; and will designate how much tax money is required.

He also cited the house organ of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR):

The system is a management method . . . The key questions are . . . what do we want from our technology? . . . Who will make the . . . decisions . . . ? How is (sic) the data to be weighted . . . ? What should have access to the information . . . ?

To the best of my knowledge, these questions have never been asked of the Congress, whose duty it is to be the voice of the people. It is evident that they have not been answered for the people. It has come as a great surprise to them, and to me as a Representative, to find that this program has been developed and is being implemented without their knowledge and consent. Perhaps the CFR supplied their own answers to their own questions.

From all indications, there are, within the planning, programing, and budgeting system, the seeds of tyranny. Not only is it a management and control system, requiring a huge reservoir of information of every imaginable kind, it is also an evaluating and measuring instrument. A proposal for a Federal data bank was resoundingly defeated by the Congress some years ago, but indications are that such a data bank is being built to accommodate the needs of the PPBS. The government of the State of California was used as a test operation in project 5-5-5, starting in 1966. Four other States were also used as pilots, as well as five cities and five counties scattered across the Nation. Los Angeles City and San Diego County were also involved. How many State legislators knew that it was occurring in their States? Title III funds of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 were used in California to develop and prepare for statewide implementation of the PPBS in our education system. Was it the intent of Congress to provide funds for such a purpose? Does this sound like the functioning of our constitutional form of government?

In an article in the Public Administration Review, Robert McNamara is quoted on the importance of management, which is an integral element of the PPBS:

Its medium is human capacity, and its most fundamental task is to deal with change. It is the gate through which social, political, economic and technological change in every dimension is rationally spread through society.

As the main sponsor of the PPBS, his evaluation must be given proper attention. "Human capacity?" Does he mean management of society through managed use of "human resources?" Is this what this Nation has come to? My contact with citizens of this country has revealed a mounting indignation at the indications in recent legislation that they have been reduced to "human resources."

They are fed up with "experts" playing games with their lives, their fortunes, and most of all their children. PPBS is evidently more of the same.

STERLING HEIGHTS, MICH., MAN SPARKS A MAJOR CAMPAIGN TO AID THE PEOPLE OF ALASKAN COMMUNITY

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, thanks to the generosity of the people of America, the citizens of the town of Delta Junction, Alaska, soon are going to have their own fire truck to help them save lives and protect their precious property.

Many people responded to the needs of Delta Junction by collecting coupons issued by a national food company, and all of them deserve recognition for their efforts in this noble undertaking. I would like, however, to pay tribute to one man—Bernard B. Calka of Sterling Heights, Mich.—who worked for nearly a year and a half to make this project a success.

Barney Calka is the assistant fire chief of Sterling Heights. He helped collect a staggering number of the coupons in his community and throughout Macomb County, Mich. In addition, he helped publicize the campaign throughout the entire United States. Literally thousands of hours of Barney Calka's leisure time went into this project—time that could just as easily have been spent with his family or on his favorite sport of fishing. Instead, Barney Calka gave freely of himself to help people in a far off community who were in need.

The actions of Barney Calka, and of all the people who took part in this endeavor, help to show that the word "neighbor" has taken on a new meaning in today's society—that it applies to the person in need, whether that person is just around the corner in our hometown, or half a world away.

I would like to take this opportunity to pay deserved tribute to Bernard B. Calka for a job well done, and to express the hope that more and more, we Americans will reach out a helping hand to those in need.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include along with my remarks an article from the Macomb Daily concerning the contribution made by Barney Calka, the people of Sterling Heights, the people of Michigan, and all of the others across the land who helped bring this project to its successful completion.

COUNTY HELPS ALASKA TOWN TO GET FIRETRUCK

(By Ken Kish)

STERLING HEIGHTS.—It took 25 months of collecting nearly seven million Betty Crocker coupons, but the small town of Delta Junction, Alaska—thanks to Macomb County residents—is getting a \$34,000 firetruck.

More than 160,000 coupons donated by county residents and collected by Sterling Heights Assistant Fire Chief Barney Calka

pushed the drive past its 6,960,000 goal.

Mrs. Hanna Heineman, a 70-year-old grandmother from Delta Junction and co-chairman of the national drive, said the generosity of Michigan residents "brought tears into my eyes."

"You helped us at the time we needed it most," Mrs. Heineman said in a letter to Calka. "Your contribution put us over our goal and I doubt if we will ever be able to really express our thanks."

The coupon drive was started in June 1970, when the General Mills Corporation agreed to buy the firetruck if the 917 residents in Delta Junction could collect \$34,000 worth of coupons.

The national food corporation made the offer after hearing that Delta Junction did not have the money to purchase a firetruck but had been the scene of numerous fires.

The plight of Delta Junction gained national recognition following an article in the New York Times about the seemingly impossible attempt to collect the coupons.

News media across the country quickly picked up the story and a number of local drives were started to aid the Alaskan residents.

Calka, who has long been a leader of goodwill endeavors in the area, joined the drive in March, 1971.

Calka, who helped publicize the drive throughout the U.S., said that Michigan residents have donated more than 500,000 coupons and \$200 in cash to the drive.

The majority of the state donations were made by Macomb County residents, Calka said.

"It's wonderful to know that the drive was a success," Calka said. "I'm relieved that it is over. A lot of people deserve thanks for working in the drive, but those who should really get the credit are the ones that simply took the time to save a few coupons and mail them in."

The Michigan State Firemen's Association has been awarded a proclamation by the state legislature for its work in the drive. Calka is the vice-president of the association.

The 6,977,306 coupons collected have been turned over to the General Mills Corporation and the firetruck has been ordered, Calka said.

In addition, cash donations totalling more than \$5,000 will be used to build a garage for the new firetruck, which is expected to arrive in Delta Junction this December.

"It's going to be a nice Christmas present," Calka said.

FRANK A. BRACKEN LEAVES WASHINGTON

HON. JOHN KYL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, I bring to the attention of my colleagues the recent departure from public service of Frank A. Bracken, an Indianan who has served for nearly 4 years as legislative counsel to the Department of the Interior.

In his period of service to Secretaries Hickel and Morton, Frank Bracken has compiled a distinguished record. Those of us with whom he worked came to recognize not only his competence as a lawyer, but his earnest commitment to Government in the public interest. During his tenure at the Department, Frank Bracken exercised the responsibility for its legislative program with such skill

and perseverance that much important legislation bore the mark of his craftsmanship. He made a contributor, as well, in other areas of concern to the Department, often serving as a personal representative of the Secretary.

It is not difficult to understand why Frank Bracken was reluctant to leave Washington. His performance here augurs well for the successful continuation of a career in the practice of law, but he leaves in Washington a wide circle of friends who are members of the Congress, members of committee staffs, and colleagues in the executive branch.

Mr. Speaker, I endorse wholeheartedly the President's expression of appreciation for the service performed by Frank Bracken on behalf of the American people, and I insert it at this point in the RECORD.

The expression of appreciation from the President follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., September 14, 1972.

Mr. FRANK A. BRACKEN,
Legislative Counsel, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BRACKEN: As you prepare to leave Washington and the Department you have served so well, I want to take this occasion to express my admiration and appreciation for all that you have done on behalf of the American people. Your efforts in framing innovative measures to protect the environment have significantly contributed to what I believe is an outstanding Administration record. Your diligence and sheer hard work have won you not only the esteem of your colleagues in government but, even more importantly, the gratitude of every American who shares our concern for the environment.

With my best wishes for continued success in the years ahead,
Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON.

THE PROPOSED STUB END CANAL

HON. FRANK M. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, during the 1960's, when our neighbors in the Youngstown, Ohio, area were making an all-out effort to have Congress authorize the construction of a canal between Lake Erie and the Ohio River, my initial position was one of neutrality as between the procanal and anticanal forces. With a substantial portion of the proposed canal to be located within my district, I withheld all public comment on the project until I had the opportunity to study fully the canal's possible effects upon the industries, local communities, and private individuals in my district.

After giving careful study to all sides of the very controversial project, I called a press conference on August 27, 1965, to announce my opposition to the proposed canal. The importance I attached to this measure is evident from the fact that although then in my sixth term in Congress, it was the first press conference I had ever held.

My principal reasons for opposing the canal were: First, enormous costs that would have to be borne by local interests in my district; second, worsening of the pollution problem at a time when earnest efforts were being made to improve a dangerous and troublesome condition; third, serious doubts that the steel companies would actually use the canal to the extent claimed in the Corps of Engineers report; fourth, disadvantage to steel plants in my district, if the canal were to confer benefits on steel industries in the Youngstown area; and fifth, potential loss of thousands of jobs in the steel and railroad industries located in my district.

A new campaign is now underway, sparked by the same Youngstown interests that previously promoted the effort for a full canal, for a so-called stub end canal between Beaver, Pa., and Warren, Ohio, following the Beaver and Mahoning Rivers. As over half of the length of the proposed stub end canal would be in my district—Beaver and Lawrence Counties—the revival of the canal project has again become a matter of great importance. Of particular concern to me are the continuing references to statements by various canal proponents in the Youngstown area to the fact that the stub end canal is a "first step" or "phase one" in opening a through waterway connecting Lake Erie and the Ohio River. There is no doubt in my mind that this is the present intent of the canal proponents and, consequently, I am unalterably opposed now for the very same reasons I stated 7 years ago.

I will not at this time oppose the efforts of my congressional colleague, Representative CHARLES J. CARNEY, of Youngstown, to have a study made of the proposed stub end canal. However, I must state in my opinion such a study would show the limited traffic available to a stub end canal would not lead to a favorable recommendation by the Corps of Engineers. Further, if the project somehow were to be recommended, most of the same objections I raised in 1965 to a full canal would apply equally to the shorter version.

Additionally, I believe the vast sums to be expended for the construction of a canal would better serve the needs of the people of my district for the construction of public housing, medical and educational facilities. Finally, I see no possible benefits to the 25th Pennsylvania Congressional District, or to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in the current stub end canal proposal.

PREADJOURNMENT POLL

HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I have prepared a special preadjournment questionnaire to send to the people of the 23d District of

Pennsylvania. For the information of the Members, and in order to make the questionnaire a part of the official record of this session, I am presenting my questionnaire in detail, which will soon be mailed into the district. The questionnaire on its face will have a picture of myself in front of the Capitol. On the back of the questionnaire is a picture of the Capitol Building. The inside of the questionnaire has a picture of myself at the telephone, wherein I state that I am calling to ask the people for their views. The remainder of the questionnaire is as follows:

SEPTEMBER 1972.

DEAR FRIENDS: As we approach the end of the 92nd Session of Congress, many national questions remain unresolved. Many new ones have arisen.

To ascertain the opinions of the people of the District on some of these issues, I am issuing this special preadjournment poll.

Will you please take a minute or two and give me your views? The card is detachable for return mailing to me, and I welcome having your opinions.

As usual, the results will be tabulated and made known to you, the Congress, and the President.

Sincerely yours,

ALBERT W. JOHNSON.

CONGRESSIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE

(Answer Yes or No. On multiple question No. 2, indicate your opinion by inserting a, b, c, or d in the space provided.)

1. Would you favor voting to sustain a Presidential veto on bills which substantially exceed the Federal budget?

2. With respect to Wage and Price Controls, do you favor:

a. immediately terminating controls,
b. continuing controls until inflation is ended,

c. continuing controls indefinitely,
d. going to a fully controlled economy, including an OPA type local office and enforcement.

3. Do you favor a continued effort to achieve voluntary prayer and Bible reading in our schools?

4. There is a bill in Congress which would grant nationwide collective bargaining for teachers with the right to strike. Would you vote for this proposal?

5. Do you favor making the interest on bonds of municipalities subject to the Federal income tax?

6. There is a bill in Congress which would permit Federal employees to retire at age 50 after 30 years of service. Do you favor this proposal?

7. Do you favor an income tax credit to parents who have students in private elementary and secondary schools?

8. Do you favor eliminating the interest paid on a home mortgage as an income tax deduction?

9. Do you favor cuts in defense spending?

10. Do you favor Federal financing of public broadcasting on a long range (five year) basis?

11. Do you feel that we should expand agricultural and non-strategic trade with the Communist nations?

12. Do you feel that busing is a legitimate means to achieve racial balance in the public schools?

13. Do you favor diverting some of the highway user taxes now used to build roads to help finance urban mass transit systems?

14. Would you be willing to pay more for products and services if their manufacture and use could be made virtually pollution free?

Comments:

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES IN THE
92D CONGRESS

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, in accord with the custom I have followed throughout my service in the House of Representatives I wish to include, at this time, a summary report on the major issues with which this 92d Congress has been concerned and an account of my own convictions and legislative actions in connection with these issues.

Limitations of space and time will, of course, restrict any attempt to present a review of all the activities of this 92d Congress but I shall try to include as many as possible of the more important subjects upon which some action was taken.

UNEMPLOYMENT

It is a very sad but unfortunately true fact that this country, because of a prolonged economic recession, has been and is now suffering from an exceedingly high rate of unemployment. This catastrophe has generated widespread demoralization of spirit and material distress among great numbers of American workers and their families.

Accepting their national responsibility in such a disastrous situation affecting so many millions of Americans the Members of the 92d Congress approved several legislative actions, all of which I advocated and supported, designed to create productive jobs for our people who are out of work.

Chief among our legislative actions in this area were the Emergency Employment Act, Public Law 92-54; the Public Works and Economic Development Act, Public Law 92-65; expanded Manpower Development and Training Act, Public Law 92-277, and the act to extend the benefits of the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act, Public Law 329 of the 92d Congress.

In addition to these and some other measures I have introduced legislation to create 500,000 more essential public service jobs, to further extend unemployment compensation benefits to qualified workers who cannot find jobs through no fault of their own, to project more equitable adjustments in our foreign trade agreements to preserve the jobs of American workers and find new ways to more substantially assist our American people and businesses who are suffering severe economic hardships because of excessive imports and to provide encouragement to business firms that establish work programs for the hard-core unemployed.

It is axiomatic that there can be no stable economy in this country until the very great majority of able American workers are gainfully employed and I shall continue to do everything within my individual and cooperative power to hasten the accomplishment of this wholesome national objective.

INFLATION CONTROL IS IMPERATIVE

It is obvious that the inflation plague visits its worst hardships upon the impoverished, those trying to live decently on fixed incomes, such as our elderly citizens on social security benefits and the great majority of middle-income families who must pay the largest share of the Nation's taxes. The 92d Congress recognized the imperative urgency of initiating action to more effectively and speedily control inflation. In acting to meet their responsibility in this emergency the Congress recognized, like most other people, that the President, with his tremendous executive power, has a unique capacity to obtain the pertinent economic information from and act through the various Federal Government agencies to lessen and remove the distressing economic effects being inflicted upon the American people by rising inflation.

Therefore, this Congress, early in 1971, adopted legislation, Public Law 92-8, giving the President the authority to impose regulatory controls upon wages, prices, and interest rates. Later on in 1971 the Congress approved amendments to the Economic Stabilization Act to extend and amend the President's power to impose emergency regulations upon the economy for the benefit of all the American people.

Unfortunately, the President did not choose to use his authority in this area until inflation had risen to a pretty perilous point and a good many experts have registered their fears that White House projections came too late with too little and contained too many discouraging inequities.

While some rather extravagant claims are being currently made that the present system of executive controls now appear to be working fairly well the testimony of those who regularly shop in the marketplaces serves to cast substantial doubt about such claims. It seems most unfortunately true that our desired control of inflation has not yet been accomplished. Therefore, many economic authorities suggest a careful review of existing controls and the exploration of other possibilities with more enforceable restrictions and perhaps the institution of voluntary guidelines to stop the continuing ravishing effects of the inflation spiral upon our people.

On this score I most earnestly believe that whatever revised or new control policy may be imposed, in this emergency period, it must, in order to be successful be placed with absolute equality and fairness upon the affected segments of our economy and my efforts will continue to be perseveringly directed toward that achievement.

A PRIORITY OBJECTIVE—ENDING THE
VIETNAM WAR

In my opinion the quickest possible ending of the Vietnam war must remain a priority objective of the Congress and the country until it becomes a reality. There is no doubt whatever that the prolongation of this tragic conflict continues to stifle domestic progress, stir up the

fires of inflation and promote dangerous disunity throughout the Nation.

Without considering the continuing invaluable loss of American lives, it has been reliably estimated that the material cost of carrying on this unfortunate military venture, just during fiscal 1972, amounts to some \$7 billion and this estimate was made before the new air offense against North Vietnam was initiated. As a result of this accelerated air activity it has been further estimated that the cost of the war to the United States, on a month-by-month basis, has nearly doubled.

At the same time it has become discouragingly clear that currently this Nation will not be able to adequately fund programs deemed essential to our domestic rehabilitation or make any real reduction in our national debt of more than \$425 billion until this disastrous war is over.

That is why, in these past 3 years, I consistently voted in favor of all six of the legislative efforts that were made in the House of Representatives to end this fruitless war, and it is why, over these past several years, I have repeatedly initiated and cosponsored bills and resolutions to hasten the war's conclusion, subject only to the return of American war prisoners, an account of those missing in action and the safe withdrawal of American military personnel.

That is why I shall continue to appeal to the President of the United States to unceasingly exercise his fullest executive resources to expedite a peaceful settlement of the war and persevere in my own support of all further legislative measures designed to speed the end of this haunting Vietnam tragedy.

TAX REFORM

It has long been my firm belief that very little if any further progress can be made in this country toward the establishment of a "more perfect union" unless and until we remove the deplorable inequities in our present tax system and reinstitute our traditional fair standard of "taxation in accord with the ability to pay."

We cannot revive and strengthen the peoples' trust in Government until we repair and improve a faltering tax system under which the low-income and great majority of middle-income people continue to suffer constantly increasing tax levies while those who are best able to pay are given the unfair advantage of technical loopholes and other evasion opportunities permitting them to escape their just share of the overall tax burden.

That is why I advocated and supported, in the Congress, the Tax Reform Act of 1970, Public Law 91-172 and the Revenue Act of 1971, Public Law 92-178, designed to eliminate some of the special interest tax favoritism and extend limited tax relief to the vast majority of Americans who need it the most. These well intended and right direction measures did not, however, accomplish the complete purpose, by any means, and much more must still be done.

Therefore, I shall continue to advocate and support pending proposals to provide a more realistic increase in personal exemptions; to greatly reduce the oil depletion allowance; to further eliminate loopholes that still favor giant corporations and financial enterprises; to make certain that some taxes are imposed on all substantial incomes; to grant tax exemptions on the first \$5,000 of retirement income; to permit income tax splitting; to extend encouraging assistances to qualified small businesses and to simplify the frustratingly complex tax form.

STRENGTHENING SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. Speaker, some 20 million Americans, 65 years of age or over, are almost totally dependent upon the income they receive from their social security benefits to live in minimal decency and dignity. This nearly forgotten group of diligent and loyal Americans have suffered the most from the ever rising inflationary costs of even basic necessities of life itself. In my opinion it is only through a strengthened social security system that these older Americans could and can be assisted in overcoming the frightening specters of abject poverty and hunger, sickness, and despair.

This 92d Congress recognized and responded to the desperate plight of this neglected group of Americans and enacted several measures, which I urged and supported, to help alleviate their hardships and enable them to try to live in reasonable security and dignity. The principal congressional action to assist our aged citizens was the approval of a 20 percent social security increase, the largest adjustment ever funded by one Congress.

Among other measures adopted to encourage our retired citizens were those designed to originate a program of nutrition for the elderly, extend the Older Americans Act, expand employment opportunities, establish senior citizens community centers, provide low-cost transportation and create a National Institute of Aging to study and develop appropriate treatment for the health problems of the elderly.

Mr. Speaker, although we have enacted some programs of assistance to our older people in this Congress, I wish to emphasize that they will not accomplish the full intent of the Congress unless we take further legislative steps to make certain that the additional benefits we have granted them will not result in an unwitting reduction in the total sum of the overall allowances that they receive. I shall continue to advocate the earliest possible adoption of this necessary legislation and I shall continually urge the Congress not to adjourn until such legislation has been approved. Any other course would tend to amount to a near betrayal of the needs of our older Americans.

Because I am convinced that the strengthening of our social security system also strengthens the fundamental fabric of our civilized society, I shall persist in my individual and cooperative efforts to bring our social security system into more realistic accord with the prices and costs of our modern economy and to insure that it does effectively op-

erate to improve the quality of life for the elderly in this country for which and to which they sacrificed and contributed so much in their prime years.

ELIMINATING DRUG ABUSE

Unquestionably the frightening growth in drug abuse among young Americans in our schools, colleges, and military service and increases in violent crimes are two of the greatest plagues affecting our modern society. Authoritative studies have revealed that three-fourths of all those arrested on drug charges are under 25 years of age. In continuing effort to contain and eliminate this terrible affliction upon our youth, this current Congress enacted, and I supported, Public Law 92-13, increasing the authorized funds for the Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse Prevention and Treatment.

Other drug control measures that passed the House and which I advocated and supported would include H.R. 15670, to modernize judicial procedures; H.R. 12846, providing treatment programs for drug afflicted servicemen and veterans; H.R. 9323, to increase available treatment options, and H.R. 9936, requiring manufacturers to provide the Government with up-to-date information on commercially distributed drugs and initiate the prosecution of violators.

I shall continue to support every legislative effort designed to remove the curse of drug abuse from American life.

CRIME CONTROL

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion a primary obligation of our Government is the establishment and maintenance of law and order, with justice, to keep our citizens safe in the streets of our communities and in their homes throughout this country. In response to the alarming increase in recent years, in crimes of violence, I have constantly urged and voted, in the past several Congresses, for greater Federal assistance to our cities and towns to provide better local police training, to strengthen our courts, to impose more severe sentences for violent crimes, to sensibly regulate the interstate sale of firearms, to expand juvenile correction facilities and to educate our young people to the dangers of drug abuse.

The 92d Congress mainly acted to generally implement and strengthen existing overall crime reduction programs and additionally approved Public Law 92-31, extending the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act. The House passed other measures, that I also supported, to amend the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act to include drug treatment for inmates in State and Federal prisons and to establish an Institute to collect data and train personnel in the field of juvenile justice.

The increasing fears of organized crime and criminal violence are of immense concern to all the people of this country and Members of Congress and I shall continue to support every Federal measure that is necessary to reduce and remove these frightening and illegal dangers to the lives and the property of all law-abiding American citizens.

REVENUE SHARING

One of the most important measures ever passed by this or any other Congress is the so-called Revenue Sharing Act of 1972. This legislation, which I have advocated since 1965, is intended to provide payments to our distressed cities and towns for high priority expenditures over a 5-year period and extend urgently needed relief to our overburdened property taxpayers.

Today it is unfortunately very clear that a great many of our cities and towns are right on the edge of financial disaster. It is equally obvious that if property tax increases are permitted to continue unchecked many people will be unable to maintain their present home and a great many others will never be in a financial position to purchase a home. Although legislative action on this bill has not been completed at this time, U.S. Treasury officials have estimated that its final approval will bring substantial Federal funds into our Commonwealth and to all of our cities and towns and such Federal assistance will unquestionably serve to help stabilize property tax rates.

It is anticipated that local government will use this Federal aid for operating expenses in providing public safety through better police, fire, and environmental protection, and capital expenditures for desperately needed refuse disposal systems, sewage treatment facilities, and improved public transportation.

While we all recognize that this revenue sharing measure is not, by any means, a perfect instrument that is going to meet and cure all the urgent problems existing in every State and local community, most authorities are in full agreement that it is undoubtedly a substantial first step in responding to a growing crisis in the financial affairs of all our States and local governmental units in the Nation.

FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY—BUDGET REFORM

Mr. Speaker, in order to regain and maintain our national financial integrity, it is absolutely necessary that Federal spending be kept to a positive minimum and that all extravagant, wasteful, and unnecessary programs be eliminated. Every Federal agency budget must, therefore, be thoroughly scrutinized for appropriate reductions and, on this score, a great many military and financial experts have emphasized the fact that the Federal Defense Department budget, over these past several years has grown to the staggering amount of more than \$77 billion. While everyone acknowledges the practical necessity of maintaining adequate military security in the present world situation, a good many of us still earnestly think, in the light of authoritative testimony, that such necessity does not excuse the Congress from its high obligation to conduct the most careful review of the annual Defense Department budget.

Because of our persistent urging of such rigid review of defense spending, Congress has, in recent years, finally come to devoting several days, in place of the former and customary several minutes, to an itemized examination of the overall military budget request. In the last Congress the resultant savings

was authoritatively estimated to be some several billion dollars, and this year Congress again reduced the defense budget by more than \$4 billion.

These taxpayer savings can and should be used to meet such priority domestic needs as additional job opportunities, unemployment compensation extension, social security benefits expansion, health, hunger, housing, education, old-age assistance, manpower training, mass transportation, crime, and pollution control and a host of others.

This sharpened "watchdog" attitude, over the military and other Federal department appropriations, is one of the most important modern achievements of the Congress and its continuation holds forth a solid promise of additional tremendous savings. I shall continue to support this reassuring and encouraging intention of the Congress to insist upon fiscal responsibility in the conduct of its own affairs and in the financial operations of every agency within the National Government. In my opinion this is the only way in which our threatened national bankruptcy can be avoided.

HUMAN RESOURCES AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Within these general categories, Mr. Speaker, a great many bills were considered and passed in both the House and Senate and I think that those that follow, all of which I supported, should be listed among the more important ones.

The Higher Education Act of 1971, Public Law 92-318, was approved to provide some urgently needed fiscal assistance to our higher learning institutions and needy students. Although I urged and will continue to support a more expansive measure, to include increased amounts of student financial assistance and enlarge the participation eligibility of students in so-called higher middle-income families, I am hopeful that this particular measure will offer some meaningful help to qualified students in underwriting the increasing tuition costs and enable our area educational institutions to meet the ever rising burden of maintaining quality education.

Both Houses of the Congress approved the Equal Opportunity Act Amendments of 1971, to provide continuation of the existing programs on the declared "war on poverty" as well as to establish new and expanded programs of education, health and nutritional services to preschool children, but the President vetoed the bill. However, a compromise bill, with many of the original objectives, is currently waiting upon further congressional action which is expected to be completed and submitted to the President in the near future.

Accelerated advances in national health improvement will be made possible by passage of the Comprehensive Health Manpower and Training Act, Public Law 92-157; the Nurse Training Act of 1971, Public Law 92-158; and the Conquest of Cancer Act, Public Law 92-218, which initiates a bold new national crusade to hasten the discovery of the cause and project the cure for this terrifying disease.

Although the Office of Management and Budget stymied the efforts of many of us in the Congress to more fully meet

our national moral obligation to adequately provide for our war veterans and their dependents we were successful in obtaining approval of several measures of real significance to a great many veterans and their families, which I supported.

Among them were Public Law 92-198, to liberalize death allowances and disability compensation; Public Law 92-193, providing a new modified plan of National Service Life Insurance; Public Law 92-69, to strengthen cooperation between the U.S. Veterans' Administration and new State medical schools for improved medical services to veterans and their dependents and other bills to extend hospital and medical care benefits to qualified veterans dependents, to grant a limited increase in educational allowances and to expand the veterans drug treatment and rehabilitation programs.

Mr. Speaker, this country and the Congress must never neglect its acknowledged duty to constantly and adequately meet the needs of our war veterans by providing the best possible hospital and medical care, modernizing the GI education and training bill, granting more realistic pension benefits and continuously strengthening vocational assistance programs, particularly for our Vietnam veterans. These are the substantive goals which I shall continue to legislatively support on behalf of all our veterans and their families.

Among other measures, a Consumer Protection Act was approved to give additional help and guidance to the consumer by establishing an Office of Consumer Affairs within the Executive Office of the President and an independent Consumer Protection Agency to set up more stringent regulations and represent the consumer in certain court actions. Also, the Flammable Fabrics Act to continue and strengthen the enforcement of the original legislation was adopted.

In the physical environment field, a number of very significant measures were approved, such as the Water Resources Planning Act, the Federal Environmental Pesticide Control Act, the extension of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, the Marine Protection, Research and Sanctuaries Act and approved resolutions to establish a Joint Committee on the Environment and a National Advisory Committee on the Oceans and Atmosphere.

Other measures that I supported and I think deserve mention here would include: Granting voting rights to our younger citizens, 18 years of age and older, in all elections; the more equitable revision and extension of the military draft law, pending the establishment of an all-volunteer Army; the equal rights amendment; campaign election reform; the initiation of recorded teller votes in the House for the first time, which has resulted in a substantial increase in Chamber voting participation; also two bills of particular interest to small business, to expand present and to establish some new programs of assistance to these smaller private enterprises and to increase the amount of available loans and guarantees through the Small Business Administration; repeal of the Emer-

gency Detention Act of 1950; and a wholesome and sensible beginning of the separation and reduction of foreign military and development assistance.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Mr. Speaker, space herein does not permit a full recital of the more than 150 bills I individually and cooperatively sponsored, but the following are some of the bills I introduced that were passed into law and others whose provisions were partially included in other bills that were approved:

H.R. 7183: To provide public service employment programs during times of high unemployment. Public Law 92-54.

H.R. 10322: To establish a temporary Emergency Guidance Board to facilitate economic recovery with minimum inflation by price and wage guidelines. Public Law 92-210.

H.R. 15443. To extend emergency unemployment compensation programs. Public Law 92-329.

House Joint Resolution 18: To designate a "National Week of Concern for Prisoners of War/Missing in Action." Public Law 92-6.

H.R. 14944. To increase social security benefits 20 percent. Public Law 92-336.

H.R. 5018. To expand low cost meal, nutrition training and education programs for the elderly. Public Law 92-258.

H.R. 6731: To establish an Office of Drug Abuse Control. Public Law 92-255.

H.R. 3656: Conquest of Cancer Act. Public Law 92-218.

H.R. 6486: To extend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. Public Law 92-137.

H.R. 15743: To provide Federal assistance for victims of tropical storm Agnes. Public Law 92-137.

H.R. 15766. To provide flood insurance for Federal insured or guaranteed mortgage property. Public Law 92-337.

House Joint Resolution 565: Authorizing additional research and development in the field of high-speed ground transportation. Public Law 92-316.

H.R. 12446: To amend tariff and trade laws to promote full employment and restore a diversified production base.

H.R. 4122: To conduct programs to prepare country for conversion from defense to civilian, socially oriented activities.

H.R. 12599: To promote peaceful resolution of international conflicts.

House Concurrent Resolution 637: Calling on all parties of Geneva Convention to insure humane treatment of prisoners of war held in North Vietnam.

H.R. 4550: To provide for procurement of voluntary military manpower.

H.R. 2355: To expand the list of certified drugs covered under social security hospital insurance programs.

House Resolution 120: To create a select committee on aging.

H.R. 14118: To establish an older worker community service program.

H.R. 9105: To authorize reduced transportation rates for persons 65 years of age or older.

H.R. 851: To extend income tax splitting benefits to single individuals.

H.R. 3610: To allow a tax credit for certain education costs.

H.R. 6917: To provide income tax de-

duction for an individual who sets up a higher education fund for dependents.

H.R. 8242: To permit full deductions of medical expenses for persons 65 years of age or older.

H.R. 10013: To increase personal exemption based on the consumer price index.

H.R. 11788: To allow tax credits for expenses of repairing and improving a personal residence.

H.R. 13964: To provide income tax simplification relief and reform for small businesses.

House Concurrent Resolution 361: To control production and traffic of illegal drugs.

House Resolution 875: To suspend aid to countries for failure to take adequate steps to control traffic of opium through its borders.

H.R. 4135: To make it a Federal crime to kill or assault a fireman or law enforcement officer engaged in the performance of duty.

H.R. 7105: To expand and improve Federal, State, and local correctional facilities.

H.R. 7107: To strengthen controls over dangerous defendants on bail and require speedy trials for Federal law violators.

H.R. 10896: To establish a Commission on Penal Reform.

H.R. 4124: To create a national system of health security.

H.R. 14677: To establish a commission to find a cure for multiple sclerosis.

H.R. 4217: To prevent the discharge of waste into United States or international waters.

House Joint Resolution 4: To establish a Joint Commission on the Environment.

H.R. 4572: To provide for the abatement of air pollution through control of vehicle emissions.

H.R. 12862: To provide appropriations for urban renewal, low-income home ownership and rental housing programs.

H.R. 4430: To establish an Office of Consumer Affairs in the Executive Office of the President and a Consumer Protection Agency.

H.R. 8438: To require labeling to assist consumers in purchases of packaged perishables and semiperishables.

H.R. 10248: To encourage licensing by States of automobile mechanics.

H.R. 11583: To amend and expand the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act.

H.R. 3652: To create a Department of Youth Affairs.

H.R. 13545: To improve urban mass transportation systems.

H.R. 4933: To terminate the oil import control program.

House Resolution 1015: To empower the President to impose export controls on cattle hides.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I wish to state that I have the special duty and privilege of presiding as chairman of the No. 2 House Judiciary Subcommittee on Claims and more than 550 bills were referred to our subcommittee in this Congress. Thus far, some 209 bills were procedurally considered by our subcommittee during more than 65 meetings and 20 hearings. As the result of these meetings and hearings more than 83 of these bills were tabled, more than 126 were reported,

approximately 109 were passed by the House, 72 by the Senate and 64 became law. These actions represent, I think, quite an impressive committee accomplishment and I am pleased to observe that it also reflects the exceptional competence, diligence and cooperation of my subcommittee colleagues in both parties.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Speaker, without any further and unnecessary prolongation of this summary report, I earnestly believe that the legislative actions I have already outlined above, together with a host of other and perhaps less important matters that were considered, constitute a substantial record of accomplishment by the 92d Congress in the various legislative fields of economic stability, health improvement, human needs and social development, law enforcement, environmental and consumer protection, governmental reform and fiscal integrity. Although a good deal has been achieved, much, of course, remains to be done by the next, 93d Congress, to more completely solve the great problems of our time.

I am confident these problems can and will be solved. However, I wish to emphasize my long-standing conviction that in order to do so it is basically and absolutely essential to seek and accomplish nonpartisan cooperation between the President and the Congress. That cooperation, with the good-will understanding of the great majority of the American public, is the only way in which we can really overcome our modern national challenges to increase employment opportunities, halt inflation, end the Vietnam war, establish firm priorities for Federal funding, substantially reduce nonessential military and other Government expenditures, stabilize the level of Federal spending, restore fiscal integrity, and accelerate our united efforts to control crime and eliminate pollution.

If we do not move steadily forward, together, toward the realization of these and other primary national goals, our representative type of democratic government will be in grave danger of failing, we will be perilously threatened with financial instability and loss of world prestige, and eventually we will be either poisoned or suffocated in an overwhelmingly polluted environment.

I very deeply believe the one most important fundamental thing a Member of Congress can personally do to contribute the utmost to the success of these national goals is to conscientiously work and vote without regard to partisan politics and that is what I shall continue to do so long as I have this high responsibility and great privilege.

JOE LOUIS—A GREAT AMERICAN

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, a long-overdue tribute to Joe Louis will take place

this Saturday night in Chicago when he is honored as "Athlete of the Century."

He has given much to his country, this outstanding example of a man, whose simple, genuine code of honesty and decency has meant so much to so many.

The following story from the Washington Evening Star and Daily News of September 20, 1972, is only one of the many tributes Joe Louis so richly deserves:

TRIBUTE TO LOUIS RICHLY DESERVED

(By Wendell Smith)

CHICAGO.—They're bringing Joe Louis back here Saturday night to honor him as the "Athlete of the Century" between halves of the football game at Soldier Field between Tennessee State and Alcorn A&M.

It's a fine gesture and one of which the former heavyweight champion is most deserving.

The football game between these two black college teams should be exciting. But the return of Joe Louis to the scene of his most exciting days carries even more significance.

It was in Chicago, on the balmy night of June 22, 1937, that Louis won the heavyweight championship of the world by knocking out James J. Braddock at Comiskey Park in seven rounds.

That triumph was more than just a victory in the ring. It opened the doors for black athletes in practically every major sport.

Louis, by virtue of his innate modesty and excellent deportment, changed the attitude of millions in this country toward the black athlete.

Before Joe Louis won the championship of the world most black athletes were restricted in the world of professional sports.

They did play college football and ran on track teams but there were no doors opened to them in baseball and basketball and other major sports areas.

Then Louis came along, fighting out of the Golden Gloves tournaments as a youngster eventually to become the heavyweight champion.

The only black champion before him had been Jack Johnson, whose flamboyant conduct had created a barrier that no black fighter was able to overcome.

Louis was handled perfectly on the way to the top by his managers, John Roxborough and Julian Black.

When he reached the pinnacle the barriers began to fall and people started asking: "Why aren't there any blacks in major league baseball and football, and other major professional sports?"

The question persisted, of course, until the Jackie Robinson, Kenny Washingtons and others arrived on the scene and were accepted.

Some were accepted ever so reluctantly at first (Robinson in baseball) but since the barriers came crashing down there is hardly an area in sports now where they are not received warmly.

Louis changed public opinion with his iron fists and his great dignity. He made Americans proud that he was an American and he paved the way for those who were to follow him.

He was charitable with his success, giving money to the Army and Navy Relief Funds while risking his valuable crown against the best fighters available.

He joined the Army and entertained servicemen of World War II all over the world.

Those are just some of the reasons why Louis' return here Saturday night is highly significant and worthwhile. People must be reminded to remember this man.

Time has a tendency to blot out the con-

tributions of those who did, and do, humane things on a voluntary basis.

And Louis' contributions to his country were strictly voluntary.

Life has not been easy for him in recent years due to financial adversities and poor health.

The time has come to salute him.

THE CONSULATES SHOULD BE GUARDED BY THE EXECUTIVE PROTECTION SERVICE

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, the President recently sent forth members of the Executive Protection Service to New York City to help the local police provide security for the opening of the 27th session of the U.N. General Assembly. These men were assigned in recognition of the brutal terrorism which is rampant in the world today and which poses a threat to the operation of the U.N. itself.

But while the assignment of the Executive Protection officers is only temporary there are no temporal limitations on the mad acts of murder that terrorists have recently perpetrated. And so when the Executive Protection Service is called back from New York, the entire burden of guarding not only the U.N. but all the foreign missions and consulates—of which there are over 200 in New York City, most in my congressional district—will fall again on the New York City Police Force.

New York City Police have been protecting all the foreign diplomatic properties in the city at a cost to local taxpayers in excess of \$2 million annually. In the 17th police precinct where the U.N. is located, over 10 percent of the local force is assigned on a daily basis to guard foreign properties, and this percentage surely increases during special U.N. functions. In the 19th precinct almost 20 percent of the force guards foreign missions and consulates daily.

This allocation of manpower occurs at a time when our police force is already undermanned and at a time when street crime is a growing menace. The cost to New Yorkers in both financial and social terms is unfair.

I have introduced a bill, H.R. 839, which would require the Executive Protection Service to protect all foreign missions and consulates throughout the country. This is truly a Federal responsibility; and it is one which the Federal Government must assume immediately given the wave of international terrorism.

The President, by assigning 40 members of the EPS to New York, has recognized the problem on a temporary basis. But the problem is permanent and must be countered with a permanent solution.

The passage of H.R. 839 legally mandating the EPS to guard foreign diplomatic facilities is such a solution.

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION FUND DEFENSE STATEMENT

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting into the RECORD today the fourth and final portion of the Congressional Action Fund report on defense. This final portion discusses the fiscal implications of the SALT agreements, the cost of the war, the cost of a volunteer army, and an explanation of cost overruns.

I recommend this study to my colleagues for their consideration.

Part IV follows:

FISCAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE SALT AGREEMENTS

The direct budgetary impact of the SALT agreements is relatively small; they could however, have major fiscal consequences depending upon the interpretation accorded to the treaties, and to what they reveal regarding the nature of U.S.-Soviet strategic relations now and in the future.

Administration officials, notably Secretary of Defense Laird, have stated that the negotiations resulted in agreement because the United States maintained a vigorous strategic weapons modernization program. He argues that the SAFEGUARD program, for example, for which the U.S. obligated more than \$5 billion since 1968, was instrumental in encouraging the Soviet Union to agree to limits its own anti-ballistic missiles, as well as its offensive weapons. Such considerations have become known as the "bargaining chip theory." Based on this theory, in part, and on postulated requirements to develop hedges against Soviet cheating or sudden abrogation of the treaties, the administration advocates vigorous modernization programs in almost all aspects of strategic weaponry not precluded by the existing agreements themselves. Such programs, it is claimed, will help ensure the sufficiency of America's strategic forces, and provide incentives for Soviet agreement to more comprehensive forms of arms limitation during future negotiations.

Others argue precisely the opposite. First, noting that despite its modernization programs the United States exercised restraint in not matching the Soviets one-for-one in new missile deployments during the course of the negotiations, these observers disparage the value of "bargaining chips." Second, in view of the technological superiority usually granted to the United States (multiple warheads, more accurate missiles, quieter submarines, etc.), they deny the requirement for accelerated research and development programs as hedges. It is claimed that the agreements signed in May foretell the possibility of the establishment of a new and more stable strategic relationship between the two superpowers, based on the mutual acceptance of nuclear parity and of deterrence through the maintenance of secure retaliatory capabilities. To this end, they urge the retardation of weapons development programs as to not destroy the new atmosphere of mutual understanding which had appeared to emerge. They feel that the linkage of new spending programs with the existing treaties would destroy this atmosphere and reduce the possibilities for follow-on agreements.

Specific spending issues related to these very different viewpoints may be catalogued as follows:

Safeguard System.—The treaty on anti-ballistic missiles limits each signatory to

two operational sites (each with no more than 100 launchers and specified radars). Previously, the U.S. envisioned a 12-site Safeguard system. The reduction amounts to savings of \$650 million in fiscal 1973 and, on average, \$1.4 billion per year over the duration of the 1970's. Moreover, should the U.S. decide not to deploy an ABM site at Washington (the so-called National Command Authority site), for which no funds have been allocated as yet, even though it is permitted under the terms of the treaty, additional savings on the order of \$200 million per year can be expected.

Additional research and development.—The Administration has requested that \$110 million of the \$650 million reduction in the SAFEGUARD request this year be reallocated for new or accelerated research projects. These items are described as necessary hedges against Soviet cheating or sudden abrogation of the treaties. According to a recent article in the *Washington Post* (June 30, 1972), the funding breakdown would be: \$60 million for advanced anti-ballistic missile research to assure the survivability of Minuteman missiles; \$20 million for research related to the development of a new strategic weapon—the submarine launched cruise missile; \$20 million for advanced warhead technology; \$10 million for military communications and research on surveillance systems.

Major bargaining chips.—The largest programs being linked to the SALT accords are those developing follow-on systems for strategic submarines and bombers. In fiscal 1972, the proposed strategic submarine (TRIDENT) was funded at a modest \$140 million, as part of a program designed to deploy the first new submarines in the early 1980's. This year, the administration has requested more than \$900 million for TRIDENT, as part of a revised program designed to deploy the first new submarines in 1978. This sharp acceleration is justified, primarily, on the basis of the bargaining chip theory previously described. Additionally, \$450 million has been requested for fiscal 1973, for continued development of the B-1 strategic bomber. While this is not an acceleration of the program outlined last year, Secretary Laird has linked continuation of the program at high funding levels to future SALT negotiations, pointing toward possible mutual limitation of strategic aircraft.

Air Defenses.—The administration has outlined an ambitious air defense modernization program (including new interceptor aircraft, surface-to-air missiles, and the airborne warning and control systems) to be implemented during the balance of the decade. Some have argued that such measures are not consistent with the SALT accords. They argue that since the U.S. has forewarned deploying large-scale population defenses against missile attacks in the ABM treaty, it makes little sense to spend billions of dollars to defend the population from the much less serious threat of bomber attack. Savings resulting from abandoning the air defense modernization program and reducing present force levels have been estimated at \$2.2 billion per year during the balance of the decade.

*Incremental costs are those beyond what would have been required to finance our military forces in peacetime. For example, the incremental cost of the air war includes combat pay, aircraft losses greater than the peacetime accident rate, and so forth. It does not include the cost of procuring the aircraft (unless the squadrons would not have been in the baseline force structure), basic salaries (again, unless the battalions would not have been in the baseline force structure), other peacetime operating costs, etc.

DOLLAR COST OF THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The war is no longer an item of major budgetary consequence. In fiscal 1973, the incremental cost* of the war is unlikely to exceed \$5 billion, or roughly 6 percent of total Defense Department expenditures. At its peak, in fiscal 1969, the war required nearly \$22 billion, more than one-fourth of that year's defense outlays. The table below summarizes the cost of the war, by year.

At present, roughly half of U.S. incremental expenditures are used for military aid to South Vietnam and associated states. The Vietnam and Laos aid is not part of the regular military assistance program (MAP), but funded within the regular service budgets. Additionally, MAP funds for Cambodia are considered part of the incremental war expenses. Military assistance will probably account for close to \$3 billion in fiscal 1973.

The balance of the incremental cost of the war goes for expenses associated with the air war and, to an increasingly lesser extent, to maintain U.S. ground forces in Southeast Asia. As of September 1, 1972, there will be some 40,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam, and 40-50,000 in Thailand. Most of the latter, of course, are included in the cost of the air war.

COST OF THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

[Outlays in billions of dollars; in fiscal years]

	In current dollars	In constant fiscal 1973 dollars
Incremental cost:		
1965	0.1	0.1
1966	5.8	8.1
1967	18.4	24.6
1968	20.0	26.2
1969	21.5	27.0
1970	17.4	20.8
1971	11.5	13.0
1972	7.3	7.7
Total, 1965-72	102.0	127.5
1973	5.8	5.8
Full cost:		
1965	.1	.1
1966	5.8	8.1
1967	20.1	25.7
1968	26.5	34.2
1969	28.8	35.5
1970	23.1	27.2
1971	14.7	16.5
1972	9.3	9.5
Total, 1965-72	128.4	158.0
1973	7.1	7.1

* Figures for 1965 through 1972 are official Defense Department estimates. The 1972 figure does not include the supplemental request following the North Vietnamese offensive in April; but this amount should not be significant. The 1973 figures are rough estimates. Comparisons across years should use the constant dollar figures, as these discount the effect of inflation.

DOLLAR COST OF THE VOLUNTEER ARMY

In April 1970, the administration announced it would attempt to eliminate the draft by July 1, 1973, the beginning of fiscal year 1974. In conformance with this goal, special military payraises have been proposed and enacted by Congress. In fact, the Congress accelerated the proposed pace of increases, so as to provide additional incentives to aid attainment of the enlistment rate consistent with the President's goal. Draft calls have declined considerably during this time; it may be noted, however, that manpower levels in the armed forces have also been dropping sharply, as a result of the withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

The effect of the payraise program has been to transform a cost of the U.S. military establishment long hidden from view into an explicit addition to the defense budget; additionally, the portion of American society which must bear this cost has been transformed. Through the vehicle of the draft, the government had been able to pay young

men far less than prevailing market rates for their services. Thus, a specific segment of society, males between the ages of 19 and 26 (and primarily those from lower economic strata) were being taxed in kind, incrementally—for two years they earned less than they would have been able to earn in the civilian sector.

As we move toward the all-volunteer armed force, this special tax is being redistributed to the population at large (or at least to the distribution generally contributing to the government revenues). In order to obtain volunteers, the government must pay prevailing market rates. The cost of payraises designed to obtain this "comparability," and associated programs such as barracks improvements and accelerated recruiting, is estimated as \$1.9 billion in fiscal 1972, and \$3.1 billion in fiscal 1973.

Moreover, it is not yet clear that these expenditures will be sufficient to achieve the President's goal. Military spokesmen have indicated that enlistment rates, particularly for certain types of units, have not yet reached levels that would be sufficient to meet manpower requirements, at presently contemplated force levels. Should this enlistment rate continue, decision-makers will have to choose from a number of alternatives that would be available.

(a) Drop the objective of abolishing the draft—some would say, a most unlikely option.

(b) Reduce force levels; thereby decreasing enlistment requirements.

(c) Increase military pay further or provide additional funds for re-enlistment bonuses, differential pay for certain branches of the military, etc.

(d) Reduce intelligence and physical standards for volunteers; these standards have been increased within the past several years.

(e) Amplify the role of women in the armed forces, thereby increasing the potential base from which volunteers may come.

(f) Replace some positions presently occupied by uniformed personnel with civil service ratings.

COST OVERRUNS: AN EXPLANATION

No aspect of military spending receives as much attention in the public media as the sometimes spectacular increases in the cost of major weapon systems. The General Accounting Office now reports regularly on this topic. In 1971 it reported that 61 major weapon systems then under development had already experienced, on average, an increase of 26 percent (\$24 billion) in their expected total cost, from the cost estimates made at the time preliminary engineering studies had been completed. In 1972, the comparable figure for 77 major systems then under development was 19 percent (\$21 billion).

Costs increase for a number of reasons—inflation, of course, being an obvious example. It is the cost growth beyond that which would be expected due to inflation, however, so-called "real cost growth", that is most worrisome. Reasons for these real increases include:

(a) Quantity changes—Alterations in the number of units of particular weapons which are procured tends to increase the unit cost of each system. Contracts are usually based on the planned procurement of a certain number of weapons. Penalty clauses are invoked when this number is reduced.

(b) Technical uncertainties—In some cases there is simply a lack of knowledge as to what will be required to obtain certain capabilities, at the time the preliminary cost estimates are made. For this reason, new systems incorporating the largest technological advances usually also exhibit the largest cost growth.

(c) Changes to operating requirements or delivery schedules—Some studies have indicated that changes to the parameters of the

system being developed are the greatest single cause of cost growth. These changes, made at various points in the development cycle, are generally service-directed and reflect new information concerning opposing capabilities, or rethinking of operational needs.

(d) Estimating Procedures—Simply, pressures do exist, within the individual services and within the Defense Department as a whole, to minimize the expected cost of new systems at the time they are first being proposed.

While measures are being taken to reduce the magnitude of the cost overrun problem, there can be little doubt that the problem will persist for the indefinite future. A recent RAND Corporation report¹ indicated that an empirical study of weapons procurement in the 1950's and 1960's suggests, on average, a real increase of 40 percent in the cost of new weapons from the original estimate to the final actual price. Based on factors developed in this study, the Brookings Institution has projected that the acquisition programs described by Administration officials for the period fiscal 1973-1979 are likely to lead to real cost growth on the order of \$25-35 million. These cost increases will be borne in the defense budgets between fiscal 1974 and 1983, but peak, at \$4-5 billion per year, during the fiscal 1977 to 1979 period.

SOURCES OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON DEFENSE SPENDING ISSUES

Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, 201 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002, Att. Ron Tammen. (202-544-4250).

Center for Defense Information, 201 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002, Att. David Johnson, Sally Anderson. (202-543-0400).

Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy, 413 E. Capitol St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003, Att. Reuben McCormack. (202-546-7000).

Citizens' Organization for a SANE World, 318 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002, Att. Sandy Gottlieb, Tom Kiddell. (202-546-4388).

Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C., Att. Richard Barnett, Leonard Rodberg. (202-234-9382).

Friends' Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second St., NE, Washington, D.C. 20002, Att. Ed Snyder, Diana Bird. (202-547-4343).

Federation of American Scientists, 203 C St., NE, Washington, D.C. 20002, Atty. Jeremy Stone. (202-546-3300).

Student (Advisory) Committee on International Affairs, Suite 503—1717 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20036, Att. Michael Krepon. (202-667-1874).

THE EAST SIDE STORY

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, with officials of the Nixon administration talking about cutting back on federally aided job

¹ Robert Perry et al. *System Acquisition Strategies* (Santa Monica: RAND, R-733-PR/ARPA: 1971).

² Charles Schultze, et al. *Setting National Priorities: The 1973 Budget*. (Washington: Brookings, 1972), p. 80.

training programs, a frank appraisal of such operations is in order. I am placing in the RECORD excerpts from just such an appraisal of the 10 years during which the Mobilization for Youth has worked in Manhattan's Lower East Side, part of which is in my congressional district.

Five articles, by New York Post reporter Robert Garrett reveal the problems and disappointments of MFY. They also reveal its indisputable success. Here is a job training program that works. MFY trains over 1,000 youths annually, and places them in full-time jobs with almost all the workers staying on in their employment. For the Nixon administration, which has placed so much rhetorical stress on what it calls "workfare," to end programs such as the MFY program would be cruel and tragic irony.

In addition to my belief in MFY, I know its director, Jack Agueros; he is a conscientious and energetic administrator. He was one of the first to come and see me when part of the Lower East Side was added to my district to acquaint me with its problems.

I have walked through the Lower East Side and talked to the people there many times. It is hard no doubt for many of my colleagues to imagine the despair which some of the residents of this area feel, faced with a jobless future. MFY can bring to many of these people not only a job but the self-confidence and hope that goes with it. One girl, an MFY graduate, put it best when asked in one of these articles what she thought about MFY: "I got a job, and so did lots of other people. Now I am a person."

Programs like this must not be terminated, and I am sure our colleagues will agree after reading the excerpts from the five stories entitled, "East Side Story, Mobilization for Youth—10 Years Later," which appeared in the New York Post in August. They follow:

EAST SIDE STORY, MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH—10 YEARS LATER

A vicious street fight a few blocks away drew crowds of onlookers, taking sides and cheering—or booing—as each forceful blow was landed.

A boy of about 15 struggled for nearly an hour to break through a barred entrance to a closed-for-lunch shop, while passersby walked quickly past turning their heads away or muttering "Never a cop when you need one . . ."

A young boy and girl, nodding in a narcotic haze, occupied the door-stoop of a run-down apartment house.

But on E. 4th St., on one floor of an abandoned school building, a dozen girls and boys in Mobilization for Youth's industrial sewing class sat temporarily oblivious to the disasters of their neighborhood, three Spanish-speaking instructors scrutinizing their every stitch.

While comprising only a handful of the 1000-plus youngsters trained yearly by the Lower East Side anti-poverty, anti-delinquency organization, the sewing class nevertheless typifies the style, the method, of MFY's programs.

Five days a week, the 16 to 21-year-olds punch in at 9 a.m. on an ancient time clock mounted on a fourth-floor wall, then chatter happily among themselves as they find seats before the same kind of sewing machines found in many industrial shops throughout Manhattan's garment district. Sometimes they chatter too much, ignoring the cloth

and thread around them. The instructors step in, and with a few sharp words the youngsters are again at work.

A casual observer might liken the class to the sweat shops prevalent in the garment industry before unions fought for and won higher wages and improved conditions for young workers.

But the comparison would be short-lived if he saw production stop 30 minutes for a mini-lesson in arithmetic, or a Friday morning group-counseling session, or if he noticed the constant attention of the instructors.

Organized in 1963 as one of the first training facilities of the federally-funded Mobilization, the industrial sewing classes have trained and placed in jobs throughout the city hundreds of youngsters over the past nine years, while serving as an experimental workshop for teaching and counseling procedures.

The students are paid, as are all MFY trainees, and often take home their families only wages. In many cases, the weekly \$50 compares favorably with their mothers' welfare benefits, and is used for clothes, food and an occasional ice cream cone for younger brothers and sisters. Their training is open-ended, lasting usually about three months, but sometimes cut short by demonstrated versatility with the machines after two months, or occasionally extending to six months if more than average difficulty is experienced.

Such differences are unimportant to Josephine Falzone, who has headed the sewing class since its inception. "A lot of them are treated like children by their families," she said recently. "They're usually just very afraid of the world."

"But after we've proven to them that they can learn, they get a different concept of themselves, and the training starts going quickly."

The children of one of New York's poorest areas hear of Mobilization's programs through word of mouth, for the most part, and consider the training more as a job in itself than a way to higher pay. But once Miss Falzone takes them in hand, they begin to understand the program's purposes.

"We've got to go through everything they might come across outside," she says. "Everything we do is a learning process." Like requiring the youths to be on time every day, or telling them to have a friend phone when they are sick. If they are late, or unacceptably absent, their pay is docked."

John F. Kennedy was President. Idealistic youth throughout the country, including Manhattan's dismally poor Lower East Side, saw in the President a hope that the problems of juvenile delinquency and drug abuse could be eliminated.

On May 31, ten years ago, Kennedy, his brother Robert, Mayor Wagner with a host of other dignitaries at his side, announced the beginning of a new type of anti-delinquency program, aimed at keeping youngsters out of trouble by paying them to learn trades. By October, 1962, Mobilization for Youth opened its doors on E. 2d St. and, after the ribbon was cut and the celebration had ended, settled down for a decade of trying to end crimes committed by youngsters.

Among the first projects undertaken by MFY was a food shop, designed to train teenagers in the techniques of small business. Serving about 2500 customers weekly, the shop was robbed of \$80 the day after it opened. It has since closed completely—the result of an experiment that produced many experienced youngsters, but had no control over a shrinking number of available jobs in the city.

Neighborhood "service centers" were established, too, that would help impoverished families establish contact with private or city agencies against whom they had com-

plaints. Peeling paint in hallways, bafflement over tax forms, or anger about garbage collection were typical of the problems. The centers still operate, but are no longer a part of MFY. They became private corporations four years ago, employing local residents who had "been through the mill" already.

Other innovations included a narcotics information center, home tutoring programs, and a gas station controlled by Shell but operated by the youngsters. All have passed into oblivion as unworkable the way they were organized. If conditions change, or if newly designed programs smooth over the problems of the past, they may be back. Otherwise, according to one MFY official, there are "about 15" projects, never before tested, that are waiting for final planning or funding.

In mid-1970, a new director replaced Beck. East Harlem-born Jack Agueros, a 37-year-old veteran of several other anti-poverty programs and social agencies, entered the office with a \$1 million budget and 103 staff members, heading an organization that was only one-fourth its original size, but now dedicated primarily to research and development.

"If you judge us now in relation to the entire community problem," says Agueros, "we're a drop in the bucket. There are thousands of kids out there that we just don't reach. But when a boy or girl drops out of school at 16, that means the Board of Education has wasted their time and money on him. We try to pick up some of them from there."

Which is more important, though, training individual youths for jobs, or establishing methods that other organizations can use?

"It has to be a mixture," Agueros claims. "For the kids, their own futures are most important, and we have to look after that. We analyze the job market and go into training where we can get big employment."

In addition to the various training programs for youngsters, handled by the Experimental Manpower Laboratory, MFY's executive department is testing new methods of providing jobs for the disadvantaged "immediately."

"There are some fields where no long-range training is needed," Agueros explains. "We started a private company called Lunasol, a cooperative. It's a simple thing, really; they clean offices. It stems from a feasibility study we did years ago on ways to offer jobs to local groups of unemployed men."

"Although the company is operating in the black now, it's still subsidized by Mobilization, and will be for a little longer. The important thing, though, is that it gave jobs to 30 people right away, with only a little training."

Another trial program of economic assistance is a cooperative coin-operated laundry, "almost at the break-even point now," said Agueros, "and about to become independent."

For the future, Agueros and his staff are studying the possibility of opening a chain of "convenience" stores in the neighborhood which would train youngsters and adults alike in selling, buying, stocking store shelves and other related jobs.

"That's really where our concentration is," Agueros said. "Most of the problems center on people not having enough money. But we can't just give it to them. We have to provide jobs, jobs, jobs."

Are jobs available for every MFY graduate, as they are led to believe? Al Winfield, one of the three job-developers at Mobilization, thinks so.

"We have established such a backlog of employers," he said, "that we have no trouble

filling our needs. Even if people drift in off the streets and want a job, I usually have one available."

Not that MFY is an employment office, he hastens to add, "but after we place a few kids in a company, and they work out, word gets around. One firm tells another firm, and one day we get a call that a bank, or department store, is looking for young trainees."

What do Gonzales' students think of their instructor, and the MFY program generally? Of 11 jewelry shop graduates contacted, only one was unemployed last month, "because of my family," he explained. "I can't say anything against Mobilization at all, and I learned a lot in the jewelry shop. I got paid, more than anyone else in my apartment. But there was nobody else to look after my brothers." Peter has three younger brothers living together in a two-room E. Seventh St. apartment with an alcoholic mother, who "doesn't even go on welfare."

A pretty Dominican girl, Delores, who still lives with her family on Av. B near Sixth St., agrees that MFY has something the public schools lack.

"Mostly, it's that they speak Spanish. In school, everybody thought I was dumb because I couldn't even do homework. But in the shop, I learned whatever I had to. It was kind of easy." Delores has been working 15 months now, and contributes to the cost of food and rent at home. Her father, a construction worker "when they hire him," has told her it's "time to get married." But she laughs, answering that she doesn't have to, now that she can support herself.

Past and present MFY students almost uniformly say, when asked why they joined Mobilization, that both money and training motivated them. Although aware that their training is part of a vast experiment to discover what types of instruction can effectively encourage learning and help them land, and hold, jobs, they appear unconcerned about MFY's overall purpose.

Not only in the jewelry shop, but in sewing, clerical, computer punch-card and other fields, many students show a unique understanding of the MFY experiment, yet insist they only care about learning and earning.

"Sure, I know" it's an experiment, is a typical statement. "But it helps me make money, so I don't care."

How successful, though, has the over-all anti-delinquency, anti-poverty program been? In purely statistical terms, it is difficult to assess.

In early 1963, almost 7,000 youths between 16 and 21, the very ages MFY would work with, lived in the Lower East Side. Delinquency had been increasing by about 25 per cent annually, and was commonly called an "epidemic."

Recent figures put the youth population at close to 10,000, and the Police Dept. says delinquency continues to be a growing problem in the area.

Superficially, this would indicate that MFY has had no major effect on the delinquency problem in the neighborhood. Yet Mobilization trains over 1000 youths annually, placing them in full-time jobs. Investigation shows that the vast majority continue to earn wages in their field of MFY training years after they leave the program. Only about 20 per cent actually quit the field; many of these, it is known, return to their homes in the Caribbean, so are no longer part of the Lower East Side's poverty or delinquency problem.

Some Mobilization workers suspect that youths untouched by MFY's programs commit more "per capita" crimes than previously, possibly due to higher drug prices brought on by increased police arrests of major pushers over the past 10 years. Others

believe that more juvenile crimes are caused by youths from outside the neighborhood, and that Lower East Side youngsters are "definitely less responsible for the known cases of delinquency here."

Whatever the real reason for still increasing delinquency, it seems sure that if Mobilization wasn't there, the problems would be much greater.

Indeed, training programs based on MFY's results have sprung up in Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and a host of other American cities troubled by juvenile delinquency in impoverished neighborhoods. Some European capitals have asked to be included on Mobilization's mailing lists, and the Lower East Side sees a constant parade of youth workers from as far away as Japan.

Even on the South Pacific's remote Fiji Islands, MFY has had a direct effect. The director of program operations, Elmyria Hull, recently spent 12 months there advising YWCA workers on Mobilization's methods. The result: a training program in office work, household help, child care, cooking, and guiding tourists, all jobs requiring hundreds of workers annually.

Much like youngsters new to New York's bustling and often confusing life, villagers throughout Fiji were coming to the cities in mass, searching for opportunity but unable to cope with a metropolis. The MFY methods, as directed by Mrs. Hull, soon had instructors teaching window-washing and broom-sweeping, both tasks unknown among villagers, but necessary for employment as domestics.

Closer to home, Mobilization for Youth has been granted the first New York State certificate as a non-profit trade school. While such licensing will not alter the training aspect of MFY, it will undoubtedly open new paths of funding, in addition to the Labor Dept's grants. Private trade schools, the Veterans Administration and the State Welfare Dept. will now be permitted to support particular schooling programs within the Mobilization concepts.

Despite the apparent success of MFY's various programs, the agency is not about to stand still. Community representatives, professionals, researchers and theoreticians from city universities and industry pour suggestions into Mobilization's offices. So many ideas are presented and discussed during weekly, sometimes daily, staff meetings that the originator is often forgotten.

Most suggestions, of course, are rejected either because they would cost more than the budget allows, or because after discussion unforeseen major problems are discovered. Those ideas that pass this initial discussion are submitted to the Labor Dept.'s Office of Research and Development for review and, if approved, are undertaken within the framework of some 15-20 projects engaged in at any given time. The projects follow guidelines established in accordance with MFY's mandate as the first of three nation-wide Experimental Manpower Laboratories, designated by the Labor Dept.

One recent proposal that passed the test of close scrutiny seems simple on the surface, but required careful coordination with the Board of Education. The Manpower Laboratory developed an "alternate high school senior year" program for potential drop-outs. The students would attend MFY classes, receiving both job training and high school diploma equivalency training.

The youths then return to their neighborhood schools for graduation day to receive a standard diploma, but now have the added option of securing a job because of their MFY training. The underlying principle, says Feifer, is to direct "government manpower programs toward the viable pre-

vention of dropping out," rather than to focus exclusively on providing job training to the youths once they have dropped out.

The open admissions program at City University offers these students an additional opportunity to continue their formal schooling—a far cry from merely training a youngster and sending him to a job interview. The agency is exploring the feasibility of using the CU policy by incorporating their results directly into the school system.

Another project under study is to provide training in New York labor market skills to recent Hispanic arrivals prior to leaving their points of origin. The goal, according to MFY officials, would be that rather than add to welfare rolls for lack of a "match" between their "native skills" and the city's job market, a job opportunity could be awaiting for the trained youngsters when they arrive in the city.

SOVIET CROP FAILURE AND U.S. GRAIN DEAL

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, there is much talk during these preelection days about the promise to American agriculture from the United States-Soviet grain deals.

If the Soviet Union is truly looking to the U.S. farmers as a regular source of grain to feed her people, rather than to temporary bail the Soviet hierarchy out of a food shortage, because of the inefficiency of their system, bungling, and act of God—then the worth of these historic sales could be said to be true, provided the Soviets improve their credit rating by paying their bills.

An interesting report from Moscow tells us that the much-lauded \$750 million grain deal with the United States has never been mentioned in the Russian news media. The report also suggests that the Soviets are desperate to obtain food imports, because their food supplies are critically low as a result of nature, bad management, and even thievery. The Communist leaders obviously fear a food panic. This being so, it appears that they would have paid full price, including gold, on what will probably end up being a one-shot deal.

I am inserting a related newsclipping in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington Post, September 20, 1972]

BAD HARVEST THREATENS SOVIET ECONOMY—CROP SABOTAGED BY NATURE, BUNGLING, INEFFICIENCY

(By Robert G. Kaiser)

"This summer has been capricious and difficult."

Moscow, September 19.—For millions of Russians, from Leonid Brezhnev to a Muscovite with a few apple trees around his suburban dacha, this has been a lousy month. The fall harvest, one of the biggest events in the year for the Soviet Union, has been poor. The consequences of its failures will be felt all year.

It is difficult for Americans to imagine the significance of the harvest in Soviet life. Judging by the press, it has been the principal preoccupation of the nation's leaders for some time.

The front pages of virtually all Soviet newspapers have been filled for weeks with exhortations to bring in a good crop. Television repeats the message. "Don't lose a single stalk, a single grain! Pravda's main headline urged the other day.

Tens of thousands of ordinary citizens are pressed into duty to help with the harvest. Thousands of trucks and boxcars are diverted from their normal work to help move the crop from the fields.

The exhortations are serious. So is the extensive reporting in the Soviet press about mistakes, bad management and even thievery that have hindered the harvest. But the major problem this year was not mismanagement or inefficient workers, important as these may have been. This year nature sabotaged the Soviet harvest, long before the reaping and threshing began a few weeks ago.

The ramifications of an inadequate harvest are vast. They begin with the gloomy look on the face of a Saturday gardener in a village near Moscow who dug up his potato patch last weekend. He found that a stingy mother nature had given him a small harvest of shrunken, unappetizing spuds.

In Moscow's Central Market, where farmers sell the produce from their private plots of land, prices have shot up. Cauliflower that cost about 90 cents a pound (at the inflated official exchange rate) a year ago now costs \$1.80. The price of apples has also doubled. Lettuce is rare and selling at winter prices of \$1.80 a pound.

In state shops, some limits have been imposed on the quantity of potatoes each customer can buy at one time. Lines for potatoes—a staple in the starchy Russian diet—are common, and the potatoes themselves are small.

The situation in the provinces is undoubtedly worse, because Moscow has the highest priority in the country for consumer goods of all kinds. For example, Moscow's butcher shops always have meat to sell, but the state stores in some small towns haven't sold fresh meat for five years. (Such towns get their meat from farmers' markets. Private plots produce more than a third of the food eaten in the Soviet Union.)

BREAD WASTE

Officials have assured the public several times that there is no cause to fear a bread shortage, but the press has also carried articles criticizing people who waste bread.

The government has already taken steps to assure the bread supply by contracting for vast quantities of foreign wheat, mostly American and Canadian. By Western estimate, the Soviet Union will spend \$1.5 billion or more on foreign grain purchases. At this level, the poor harvest becomes an important factor for the entire Soviet economy.

The Soviet Union operates on a five-year plan whose parts are all interconnected. The plan for this year foresaw production of about 190 million tons of grain. Western experts here predict the harvest will be 20 to 30 million tons short of that goal.

Western scholars assume that the five-year plan does not allow much margin for error. When a crucial factor like the harvest falls so far below expectations, adjustments throughout the economy are probably inevitable.

The first of these may come in the hard currency budget. If the Soviets do spend more than \$1.5 billion for grain this year, far more than they had planned, they will have to cut back other purchases of foreign goods, or perhaps sell off some of their vast gold reserves.

(The Soviet ruble is a "soft" currency—it isn't traded on international money markets, and Western businessmen won't accept it.)

The principal product the Soviet Union now seeks abroad is modern technology. So a bad harvest can hinder the modernization of this country's enormous but uncompetitive

economy, though this may be the single most important goal that the Soviet leaders have set for themselves.

Brezhnev and his colleagues may well feel that this is an undeserved trick of fate. Their plan was not unreasonable, assuming relatively normal weather. But the weather here has been wildly abnormal since last winter, and it has frustrated the country's farmers in almost every imaginable way.

First the weather was dry and extremely cold. The winter wheat harvest was unsuccessful. The ground was dry when planted, and got drier as July and August became months of drought. Then, when the harvest began, heavy rains in many sections ruined much of the crop.

LEAP YEAR

Even relatively carefree crops, like apples, did poorly this year. One Muscovite reports that his friend's little orchard in the country "didn't produce a single apple, not one." This same man explained the bad weather with a typical piece of Russian folk wisdom: "It's a leap year—leap years are always bad."

If nature was the principal cause of the poor harvest, it was not alone. The Soviet press has provided abundant, vivid examples of agricultural mismanagement and malfeasance in recent weeks.

The reports detail cases of bad maintenance of machinery, inefficient allocation of resources, lack of official foresight and imagination. "In the Sverdlovsk administrative district," Pravda reported, "There is a good crop of potatoes, but they can't be harvested properly—there aren't enough sacks to hold them. The district needs three million sacks, but has been promised only 900,000."

In another report, Pravda disclosed: "In the Ukraine, grain elevators' capacities are smaller than the amount of grain harvested in some districts. . . . Thousands of railroad freight cars are not fit for the transportation of grain. . . ." In one section of wheat-growing Kazakhstan, the newspaper "Rural Life" reported, "more than 500 trucks have not been repaired on local farms. The local repair shop has not yet fixed 70 truck engines sent to it last June. . . ."

At the same time, motor pools in big cities including Moscow, were depleted to a fraction of their normal size, and thousands of trucks were shipped by rail to help with the harvest—especially in that same area of Kazakhstan.

One of the biggest scandals of the harvest season was reported by Komosomolskaya Pravda, whose correspondent in Kazakhstan saw dozens of new, 11.5-ton trucks parked on a road and decided to find out why they were not in use.

SPARE PARTS

The trucks, he learned, had been shipped from the factory that made them on flat cars. They arrived to cheers from the local population, and men got into them to drive them off the train. The first one would not start. Neither would the second, third, fourth—or any of them; apparently, there were more than 60 trucks, and important parts had been stolen from every one, the paper reported, although the shipment was supposed to be guarded the entire way.

A local official told the journalist that the trucks could not be repaired, because the stolen parts were simply not available in that part of the country.

The press has also reported special incentives for farmers and local trading officials to get more potatoes into the state warehouses this year. Farmers are being offered 5 per cent higher prices for all potatoes they deliver above plan, and purchasing agents are being tempted to find more potatoes to buy with bonuses of a full month's salary or more.

One subject that the press has not mentioned is the Soviet government's extensive purchases of foreign grain. Nikita Khrushchev, Moscow taxi drivers will tell you, squandered Soviet gold on Canadian wheat. Perhaps Khrushchev's successors don't want to be remembered similarly. Whatever the reason, the Soviet news media have never reported the \$750 million grain deal with the United States, or Moscow's other grain purchases.

THE PRESIDENCY: THE POWER AND THE GLORY—AND THE MISERY

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the American Republic is now in the middle of a presidential campaign. It will not really culminate until noon, January 20, 1973, Inauguration Day when, on the steps of the U.S. Capitol, the full might and majesty of our Republic's executive, legislative and judicial power assembles, along with thousands of individual citizens, to witness the beginning of another presidential term.

This quadrennial ceremony is probably the most solemn and moving of any scheduled event in our national life. There is either a peaceful and orderly transition of power, if a new administration is succeeding an old one, or it is a continuation, by mandate of the American people, of the previous 4 years. Regardless of who places his hand on the Bible, and raises the other, to take the oath of office, in doing so he is carrying on, unbroken, a custom that goes back almost 200 years. He is spiritual and lineal descendant of the men chosen over the years to carry the burdens of the American Presidency: the power, and the glory—and the misery.

The American Presidency is totally unlike any other chief executive office anywhere in the world. We Americans, whether we realize it or not at times, are thoroughly political in nature and make-up; by that I mean we tend to pay more attention to and speculate upon our political institutions to a degree not found elsewhere. And, of course, this begins with the President.

We crucify them; we deify them. We poke fun at them; and, in more sober moments, we realize the tremendous burden of power and authority that we have vested in them. Not a man has ever escaped this; none ever will. Examples of these things fill the history books and columns of the daily papers, but some in particular come to mind and are worth mentioning here.

When we wish to abuse our Presidents, we do so with all the savagery of a trapped and wounded tiger. During the campaign of 1828, Gen. Andrew Jackson and his wife had been the subject of charges that they were living in adultery, which they were not. Rachel Jackson died during the campaign, of a broken heart, it was said, and Jackson himself never ceased grieving. On his way to Washington early in 1829, he was subjected to a particularly vicious encounter at one of his stops by an individual described as "a bulking boy from a keel-

boat." The conversation went like this—it is from a contemporary account:

"General Jackson, I guess?"

The General bowed assent.

"Why, they told me you was dead."

"No! Providence has hitherto preserved my life."

"And is your wife alive, too?"

The General, apparently much hurt, signified the contrary, upon which the courier concluded his harangue, by saying,

"Aye, I thought it was the one or the t'other of ye."

And we deify them. Probably the most magnificent example of this is the striking Brumidi fresco in the canopy of the dome of the Capitol Building, entitled "Apotheosis of Washington." To be sure, George Washington deserves every honor and tribute the country can bestow upon him; of all the tributes, however, I have always felt this awe-inspiring painting was best.

The figures are 15 feet high, but from 180-feet below, on the floor of the Rotunda, they appear life-size. Washington is in the center; on his right is the Goddess of Liberty; on his left a figure representing Victory and Fame. Surrounding him are 13 maidens, for the Thirteen Original States, with a banner with the motto "E Pluribus Unum." Six allegorical groupings border the figures. Below Washington is War, with Freedom as the central figure. Clockwise, the next group is Arts and Sciences, with Minerva; Marine, with Neptune; Commerce, with Mercury; Mechanics, with Vulcan; and Agriculture, with Ceres.

We poke fun at the office; Ambrose Bierce called the Presidency "The greased pig in the field game of American politics," then turned his scalpel on the term of President itself:

A temporary chief, elected by the leaders of a party of political bandits, for the purpose of dividing the spoils amongst them. The leading figure in a small group of men of whom—and of whom only—it is positively known that immense numbers of their countrymen did not want any of them for President.

And there are sober moments of realization what the office truly is. Don Marquis spelled it out in a few lines, and also drew the sharp distinction between the American President, and a dictator:

There is bound to be a certain amount of trouble running any country if you are president: the trouble happens to you but if you are a tyrant you can arrange things so that most of the trouble happens to other people.

Gouverneur Morris, at the Constitutional Convention, commenting on the office of President, said:

Our country is an extensive one. We must either then renounce the blessings of the Union, or provide an Executive with sufficient vigor to pervade every part of it.

Let us consider what the Presidents themselves have had to say about the office. How about the Power of the Presidency?

Grover Cleveland:

Sir, it is a solemn thing to be President of the United States.

William McKinley:

What an impressive thing it is to assume tremendous responsibilities!

Theodore Roosevelt:

A President has a great chance; his position is almost that of a king and a prime minister rolled into one; once he has left office he cannot do very much; and he is a fool if he fails to realize it all and to be profoundly thankful for having had the great chance.

Woodrow Wilson:

I cannot choose as an individual what I shall do; I must choose always as a President, ready to guard at every turn and in every way possible, the success of what I have to do for the people. . . . The President is a superior kind of slave, and must content himself with the reflection that the kind is superior.

Calvin Coolidge:

The President gets the best advice he can find, uses the best judgment at his command, and leaves the event in the hands of Providence.

John F. Kennedy:

There's such a difference between those who advise or speak, or legislate, and between the man who must make—select from the various alternatives proposed and say that this shall be the policy of the United States. . . . If you take the wrong course, and on occasion I have, the President bears the burden, responsibility, quite rightly. The advisers may move on to new advice.

And what have they had to say about the glory of the Presidency?

George Washington:

So strongly had the citizens of this place imbibed an idea of the impropriety of my accepting invitations to dinner that I have not received one from any family (though they are remarkable for hospitality, and though I have received every civility and attention possible from them) since I came to the city except dining with the Governor on the day of my arrival, so that, if this should be adduced as an article of impeachment there can be at least one good reason adduced for my not dining out: to wit, never having been asked to do so.

John Adams:

If I could have my wish, there should never be a show or a feast made for the President while I hold the office.

James K. Polk:

In truth, though I occupy a very high position, I am the hardest working man in this country.

Chester A. Arthur:

I believe that I am permitted to dine with Cabinet officers, Justices of the Supreme Court, the Vice President, and Mr. George Bancroft. (Bancroft was an elderly historian, who had been Polk's Secretary of the Navy.)

William Howard Taft:

I have come to the conclusion that the major part of the work of a President is to increase the gate receipts of expositions and fairs and bring tourists into the town.

I'll be damned if I am not getting tired of this. It seems to be the profession of a President simply to hear other people talk.

Warren G. Harding:

In this job I am not worried about my enemies. I can take care of them. It is my friends who are giving me trouble.

Herbert Hoover:

Many years ago I concluded that a few hair shirts were part of the mental wardrobe of every man. The President differs only from other men in that he has a more extensive wardrobe.

There are some valuable privileges attached to being President—among them the duty and right to terminate all interviews, conferences, social parties and receptions. Therefore, he can go to bed whenever he likes.

And the misery of the Presidency?

John Quincy Adams:

The four most miserable years of my life were my four years in the Presidency.

Andrew Jackson:

I can with truth say mine is a situation of dignified slavery.

James Garfield:

My God. What is there in this place that a man should ever want to get in it?

William Howard Taft:

One trouble is no sooner over in this office than another arises.

Franklin D. Roosevelt:

Presidential plans for future engagements are, I find to my sorrow, more susceptible to change than the plans of any private citizen.

Harry S. Truman:

There is no exaltation in the office of President of the United States—sorrow is the proper word.

Their comments on the personal attacks levied against them—as every President, and indeed every public officeholder has at one time or another—show a stoic acceptance of the slings and arrow:

George Washington:

I suffered every attack that was made upon my Executive conduct . . . to pass unnoticed while I remained in public office, well knowing that if the general tenor of it would not stand the test of investigation, a newspaper vindication would be of little avail.

John Quincy Adams:

I can never be sure of writing a line that will not some day be published by friend or foe. Nor can I write a sentence susceptible of an odious misconstruction but it will be seized upon and bandied about like a watchword for hatred and derision. This condition of things gives style the cramp.

Harry S. Truman:

The President of the United States, of course, cannot spend his time replying to personal attacks and insinuations. If he did, his time would be fully occupied with nothing else.

John F. Kennedy:

I know that when things don't go well, they like to blame the President, and that is one of the things Presidents are paid for.

And some of them have made it abundantly clear that they were more than glad to leave the job:

John Adams:

I feel my shoulders relieved from a burden.

James Buchanan:

When I parted from President Lincoln, on introducing him to the Executive Mansion, according to custom. I said to him: "If you are as happy, my dear sir, on entering this house as I am in leaving it and returning home, you are the happiest man in the country."

Rutherford Hayes:

It is no doubt well to leave the high place now. Those who are in such a place cannot escape the important influence on habit, disposition and character. In that envied position of honor and distinction they are deferred to, flattered and supported under all

circumstances, whether right or wrong, by shrewd and designing men and women who surround them. Human nature cannot stand this too long.

William Howard Taft:

I am glad to be going—this is the loneliest place in the world.

Grover Cleveland:

You cannot imagine the relief which has come to me with the termination of my official term. There is a good deal yet which seems to result from the Presidency and the kindness of people in a social way which keeps me in remembrance of Washington life, but I feel that I am fast taking the place which I desire to reach—the place of a respectable private citizen.

The true meaning of the office can only be felt and appreciated and accurately commented upon by the men our Republic has at various times chosen to fill it. The above comments are but a random selection from their extensive writings, and, after all, the Presidents should speak for themselves.

I sometimes think, however, that perhaps the meaning of the office was best summed up 300 years before we were even a Nation. In his "Henry V," William Shakespeare has Henry muse, alone, on the night before the Battle of Agincourt, upon the burdens he, Henry, bears. True, the speech is written for a King, but I believe Henry's monolog, one of the most masterful and dramatic in all English literature, portray for all time what surely must be and always will be, part and parcel of the lot of the American President:

Upon the king!—let us our lives, our souls, Our debts, our careful wives, our children, and

Our sins lay on the king? We must bear all. O hard condition, twin-born with greatness, Subject to the breath of every fool, Whose sense no more can feel but his own wringing!

What infinite heart's ease must kings neglect That private men enjoy! . . .

Canst thou, when thou command'st the beggar's knee,

Command the health of it? No, thou proud dream,

That playst so subtly with a king's repose: I am a king that find thee; and I know 'Tis not the balm, the sceptre, and the ball, The sword, the mace, the crown imperial, The intertissued robe of gold and pearl, The farced title running 'fore the king, The throne he sits on, nor the tide of pomp That beats upon the high shore of this world,—

No, not all these, thrice gorgeous ceremony, Not all these, laid in bed majestical, Can sleep so soundly as the wretched slave . . . The slave, a member of the country's peace, Enjoy it; but in gross brain little wots What watch the king keeps to maintain the peace

Whose hours the peasant best advantages.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 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?

STANLEY J. PREEBE, MULTIMILLION SALESMAN

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, one of Parma, Ohio, and northern Ohio's most distinguished citizens is a remarkable gentleman I am proud to call my friend, Stanley J. Preebe.

This immensely likeable man has a story Horatio Alger might envy. His outstanding career proves that with brains, grit, integrity and hard work a man can still reach for the stars in this great country of ours—and touch them.

I was particularly impressed with his statement that his parents taught their family that one can achieve his objectives by being industrious. Stan Preebe certainly heeded their advice.

I am very pleased to see that the Cleveland Press of September 15, 1972, has paid well-earned tribute to this splendid citizen, and I would like to share the article with my colleagues in the House:

MULTIMILLION SALESMAN

Poverty, hardship and frustration dogged the youth of Stanley J. Preebe, oldest of five children of Polish immigrant parents. Compulsively, he developed an affinity for hard work that has become his dominant characteristic.

Born at Forman Ave. and Broadway, he sold The Press and the Plain Dealer in his teens at three Southeast intersections. He employed three other youths, and had the attributes of a crack salesman.

Orphaned at 17, he graduated from South High School. He attended Cleveland College and Fenn College at night, majoring in marketing, and worked days as a laborer in a foundry, a steel mill, and in construction.

Today, he is president of S. J. Preebe & Associates at 3540 Ridge Rd., Brooklyn, and vice president of Wahl Refractory Products Co. of Fremont in charge of national sales. He is strictly on a commission basis, and his sales are multimillion dollars annually. On Jan. 1, he will have charge of sales throughout the North America continent. He also will move to larger quarters.

Wahl Refractory makes refractories for all types of industrial furnaces. Preebe has been in industrial sales since 1946, after serving three years as a staff sergeant in reconnaissance with the Army Tank Corps. He also served a year in the Civilian Conservation Corps.

In 1946, Preebe married Ursula Biegacki. She has been secretary to the principal of Schaaf Junior High School in Parma for the past 15 years. After eight years in sales for Kaiser Refractories and four years as district manager Preebe resigned to establish his firm in 1960. He was promoted to vice president in 1965.

Preebe tripled national sales in six years. In 1964, he had been given a five-year contract. He doubled his sales, and was given a 10-year contract in 1968. Again, he doubled

his sales, and received another 10-year contract.

"My parents met in Cleveland, and were ghettoized by language, customs and group. They worked hard, and died young, but they taught us that one can achieve his objectives by being industrious," Preebe said.

In 1954, Preebe received the Top Hat Award of the Sales & Marketing Executives of Cleveland for distinguished industrial selling. A former star softball pitcher in Class A and at Ft. Riley and Camp Polk, Preebe underwent major heart surgery in 1963 by Dr. John J. Kralik at Marymount Hospital.

"This had a tremendous influence on me," Preebe said. "I developed more enthusiasm for life and the impulse to do good for people. My ambition is to establish a scholarship at South High School for needy students. The class and staff paid for my clothes, prom and commencement in 1937, and I want to reciprocate by helping others."

Preebe, 53, robust, gregarious and sartorially elegant, has found summer employment for 50 high school and college students in recent years.

He is a charter member of the First Friday Club, a member of the City Club, Cleveland Council of the Knights of Columbus, the Holy Name Society, and the Citizens Finance Advisory Committee of the Parma School Board. He is a golf and bowling buff and an avid reader of history. The Preebes live at 10204 Keswick, Dr., Parma Heights.

SUPPORT FOR ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK FUNDS

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my strong support for a U.S. contribution of \$100 million to the consolidated special funds of the Asian Development Bank. This Bank is an increasingly effective development lending institution, with sound financial management. It enjoys a high degree of confidence and trust in the private capital markets of the world. I therefore regard the Appropriations Committee's action in denying any funds at all for the administration's request for the Asian Bank as shockingly shortsighted.

And I regard the committee report's explanation of its action as both inadequate and misleading. The report disallows any funding on the grounds that there was no multilaterally negotiated agreement to contribute to the Asian Bank's special funds—although the committee did not hesitate to disallow funds for the Inter-American Bank where there was just such a multilaterally agreed formula. But the issue in the Asian Bank's case is not whether we are legally obligated or not. It is whether we should in the exercise of our free judgment, join in contributing to soft loan funds for use in Asia under responsible administration by the Asian Bank. I contend we should.

I find the committee report misleading because it never mentions that more than 10 other contributors are already making roughly \$200 million available for special funds—so that even the full \$100 million appropriation request could

not represent more than a one-third U.S. share. Nor does it mention that these other countries have put up their money while we have merely talked about our contribution for a full 5 years.

Mr. Speaker, the committee report speaks of congressional control of U.S. contributions to international financial institutions, but evidently it means committee elimination of such contributions. It speaks of determining amounts, but evidently the amount the committee typically has in mind is zero. I do not believe our interests in Asia are served by such a heavyhanded approach. I do not believe this is what the Congress itself had in mind when it authorized this multilateral program last February. Certainly Southeast Asia is one area where a multilateral rather than a bilateral United States presence would be desirable. I urge that we restore the \$100 million that the committee has disallowed, and thereby help to restore some of the faith of the nations of Asia that we share their hopes for a peaceful, better future.

THE HIGHWAY TRUST FUND—ABDICATION OF RESPONSIBILITY

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply disappointed by the decision of the other body to permit the highway trust fund to be tapped for nonhighway related expenditures.

The highway trust fund was established in 1956 to finance the construction of the Interstate Highway System and to modernize the Nation's secondary road network. The financing of this tremendous operation has been through a user tax on gasoline and other automobile-related products deposited in the trust fund until expended for the purposes authorized by law. The success of this program is without parallel. Not one cent of general revenue funds has been required for this extremely expensive undertaking.

Now, it appears, this very success is to be reason for destroying a program that has efficiently and equitably delivered a necessary government service. Rather than come to grips with the complex problem of financing a mass transportation system, we are being asked to simply dip into the other fellow's pocket for the necessary funds. We are not being asked, as in the case of the airport development fund, to emulate a proven method of revenue raising, nor are we being asked to investigate the possibility of expanding both these funds—and their supporting user taxes—into a general transportation trust fund. No, we are simply being asked to rob Peter to pay Paul.

More importantly, we are being asked to ignore our responsibilities as legislators. Because the problem of financing an adequate mass transportation system is difficult of solution is no reason for

failing to come to grips with it. By sticking our heads in the sand we will not only fail to eventually solve the mass transportation problem, but will destroy an example of enlightened Federal assistance in the process.

I urge my colleagues to reject this attempt to break faith with those who have footed the bill for a modern national highway transportation system.

OIL IMPORT QUOTAS

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's decision to increase oil import quotas is a cheering sign for New England. Long the principal victim of this quota system, New England must dig deeper and deeper into its financial resources each year to heat its homes and fuel its industries. The modest increase President Nixon has just ordained—9,500 barrels daily until the end of the year, but fully 4,500 of these against the 1973 quotas—may not be enough to ward off another oil shortage this winter. Certainly, Mr. Speaker, this increase will not lower the almost extortionate oil prices now exacted from New Englanders.

The oil import quotas, barring all but a trickle of inexpensive foreign oil from entering the United States, has given the domestic oil industry what is kindred to absolute dominion over the New England marketplace, investing that industry with the power to raise prices or diminish supplies at whim.

President Nixon's quota increase is a step in the right direction, but it does not go far enough.

I will continue to press for major revisions in the quota systems—a doubling, at the very least—and for the ultimate abolition of the quota system itself.

Here are two editorials, one from the Springfield, Mass., Union, the other from the Hartford, Conn., Courant—that discuss New England's plight:

[From the Springfield, Mass., Union, Sept. 19, 1972]

NOT A SOLUTION

The temporary relaxing of heating oil import quotas which President Nixon announced Monday may help ease a shortage, but it won't bring the Northeast's highest-in-the-nation fuel prices down. At least an administration spokesman declined to forecast any price drop.

Similar moves have been made in other years to help this region fill its special need for fuel oil in the winter. This year the nation's existing import quota of 45,000 barrels could go to 83,000 if importers request that much in excess allocations. In addition, the basic annual allowance for imports would be raised by 5,000 barrels a day.

As for the temporary increase, it is important to note that the excess allocations requested by importers would be deducted from their 1973 allocations, which are yet to be set. Thus, how much more heating oil flows into New England this winter will depend largely on how the importers feel about having it taken out of their 1973 allocations.

To help the Northeast the fuel import

quota system ought to be scrapped. The administration has toyed with that idea, but never followed through. Instability in the Middle East, the source of most foreign oil, raised a question of this nation's "security," according to both the Johnson and Nixon administrations. And the domestic suppliers have held their grip on the U.S. market.

Not until the import quota system is dropped will the problems of high fuel oil prices and the annual threat of shortages be solved for the Northeast. Relaxing the quotas temporarily is a delaying action, not a solution.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, Sept. 19, 1972]

EASING THE OIL QUOTA

While its immediate effect is likely to be small, the President's proclamation increasing by a third the annual quota of foreign oil that can be imported into the United States is cause for real satisfaction, particularly in New England which has been the chief victim of the oil quota system. Since the entire annual increase will be telescoped into the last three months of the calendar year, the order could mean that as much as 85 percent more cheap foreign oil than had been scheduled, will be brought into East Coast ports by the end of the year.

Particularly gratifying is the fact that the quota on No. 2 heating oil, which is New England's standard home heating fuel, has been more than doubled. While it will take some time to get more foreign oil into the domestic market, the order's effect on New England's winter oil supply—and its price—should be noticeable.

The increase in the quota of petroleum products that hits New England, New York and New Jersey hardest is useful. But the indefensible quota system remains. Under the basic system, to which presumably the quota will return after the end of the year, the importation of foreign oil into the East Coast is arbitrarily limited to 12.2 per cent of the domestic production east of the Rocky Mountains, which in effect sets the price of oil in the east at the price of domestic production. While both the price of foreign oil in the world market and the cost of transporting it have increased substantially in recent months, foreign oil can still be laid down in Boston or New York for substantially less than the price of domestic oil of the same quality. The difference between the two costs is a windfall for the importer.

Last winter, after 13 years of futile effort to get the quota system abolished, the New England states joined in a legal attack on the constitutionality of the system. They contended that the quota system violates the constitutional requirement that "all duties, imports and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States". The Supreme Court has yet to rule in the case, although at least superficially the differential treatment of East and West Coast oil imports by the quota system would seem clear.

Figures are tricky. But the extra cost of the basic oil quota to New England has been set at \$175 million a year. A two-year old study of the industry made for a cabinet committee named to review the quotas set the cost to the whole nation in the 13 years it has been in force at \$5 billion. That committee, incidentally, recommended abolition of quotas, with their replacement by traditional tariffs if the protection of the domestic oil industry were deemed necessary to the national defense, which many authorities dispute. The recommendation has been ignored.

The easing of the quota system should relieve the northeastern states of the perennial threat of a winter oil shortage. It could even produce some price relief. But the real end that ought to be sought is the abolition of a system that discriminates heavily against one section of the country, the northeast, as against most of the rest of the states.

BIAGGI ATTACKS AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PLAN

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York, Representative MARIO BIAGGI, has been in the forefront of the fight for equal rights and justice for all Americans. His efforts to provide equal rights for police officers and servicemen have won him national acclaim. More recently his fight for proper care and treatment of the mentally retarded has resulted in numerous proposals to improve the conditions in State mental institutions and in a landmark case against the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene that is currently being tried in State court.

In the last several months, he has been in the forefront of the attack on the affirmative action plan of the Federal Government. This program has led to a deterioration in the civil service system which in the past made merit and ability the sole criterion of advancement.

While the objective of creating greater opportunity for minority groups is an essential element of governmental policy, it cannot be done by relaxing the standards of excellence and merit that have made the civil service system in this country one of the most outstanding and envied in the world.

Congressman BIAGGI sets forth quite succinctly his arguments against the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's affirmative action plan in the following article taken from this month's Jewish Teachers Association Newsletter. I commend our colleague's views and hope we may all benefit from them:

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY THROUGH MERIT

(By Congressman MARIO BIAGGI)

The establishment of equality of opportunity and the elimination of discrimination have always been the cardinal goals of the Jewish community. As an Italo-American from a poor but proud family and a member of a minority group as well, I too have experienced the evils of discriminatory acts. But, despite it all, this country with its basic creed of tolerance and equality gave me the opportunity to become—first a postal employee, then a police officer, and then enabled me to attend New York Law School and finally rise to the position of a United States Congressman.

This opportunity to compete on an equal basis according to my ability and my ability alone is the very heart of an issue which now threatens to destroy, not only our educational institutions, but the very fabric of American life and justice as we have come to expect it to be. That opportunity also instilled in me long ago the resolution that at all costs the attitude of equal opportunity within a merit system must be preserved in this country.

In 1949, educators from all over the United States gathered together in Chicago to face what was then already a 30-year-old problem—the quota system—discrimination in college admissions.

In those days such discrimination was termed "evil"—that it violated the credos which educators held most sacred and that ethnic quota systems, the device which limited the entrance of minority group stu-

dents into colleges, was counter to all they believed.

All of us in those days were aware of such quota systems. But because they were considered "unethical" to say nothing of being "unAmerican", they were vigorously opposed.

However, during the past 23 years since that meeting in Chicago, a strange phenomenon has been occurring. Now we find that the very ethnic quota system you and I fought then has become an accepted policy of government, not only in college admissions—but in employment as well.

Out of HEW's Office of Civil Rights have come directives urging "excess zeal" in the implementation of Affirmative Action Programs, which have unfortunately resulted in a kind of reverse discrimination and the establishment of job quotas in our schools, colleges and universities throughout the country.

Affirmative action programs were originally intended to bring about equal opportunity for all Americans. It was, according to Chancellor Kibbee of the City University of New York, an effort to overcome de facto discrimination in employment against women and minorities where those conditions existed. But this did not mean that the new policy or its implementation required preferential treatment in recruitment, hiring or promotion on the basis of any criteria other than merit.

Now it appears that the affirmative action concept has been completely distorted to the point where it constitutes preferential treatment to such an extent as to be totally discriminatory. It discriminates against one minority group in favor of another. It pits one ethnic group against another and has become of serious concern, not only to the Jewish community which seems most significantly affected, but to all who have always held to the belief that discrimination in any guise must be fought where and whenever it appears and who believe firmly in the merit system.

The principle of an ethnic quota system which has now become a fait accompli throughout the country, whether it be in student admissions or in the hiring of faculty members, is one which has long been held as absolutely counter to our American way of life. But, most significantly—it serves to foster not only further discrimination—but a deep seated antagonism between the ethnic groups.

Today, the specter of anti-Semitism has raised its ugly head again and we are beginning to find a wide gulf yawning between minority groups—all of whom basically desire the same things out of life—a fair and equal chance for education, and equal opportunity for employment according to ability.

In our schools, colleges and universities fully qualified teachers are being replaced by those less qualified in order to bring more minority group members in to the faculty. In some instances, we have even witnessed totally unqualified applicants placed in high educational positions merely because they were members of a particular ethnic group. Often qualified applicants are denied even so much as an interview, and recent hiring practices and statistics strongly indicate that the affirmative action policy has indeed been carried to the extreme.

You, who are teachers and live with this problem daily understand its ramifications. The intimidation with which some of you have been threatened is a new element we are witnessing, and it grows out of the disaffection and hostility that is growing because of the implementation of what can only be viewed as undemocratic and inflammatory processes. As a United States Congressman, or in whatever public position I may be, my strength will be pitted against such intimidation, against quota systems against discrimination no matter what form it takes and no matter where it appears.

AN ADDRESS TO THE FACULTY

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on August 31, Dr. Willard Boyd, president of the University of Iowa, gave an address to his faculty.

Dr. Boyd's remarks reflect on the challenges many of our great universities are facing. They also demonstrate the great leadership through difficult times which Dr. Boyd is providing. He is a distinguished educator. He makes the hard decisions in a realistic way. He has set his priorities.

His example is one many educators can follow:

AN ADDRESS TO THE FACULTY

(By President Willard L. Boyd)

The 70s have brought to American higher education decreasing growth of financial support coupled with accelerating demand for more varied and expanded educational programs and services. No amount of imagination and efficiency can reconcile this contradiction. Choices will have to be made. In making these choices, we must retain that which is sound in our present programs. We must not blindly respond to the slogans of the moment. Nevertheless, we must actively seek new and better ways within the limit of our financial means. Searching is the essence of the University.

Our continued ability to meet educational needs of the present and future depends on both increased funds and increased efficiency. As a public university we rely principally upon public funds. More and more colleges and universities are coming to rely to some extent on public funds; while the citizenry also is demanding more tax supported services of all kinds from all levels of government. Increasing requests for tax support together with a slower economic growth pose serious priority problems for public funds. Recognizing this, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has predicted that the rate of increase in public support for higher education will be slower in the 70s than in the 60s. Even so, this will result in a greater share of the Gross National Product being devoted to higher education in the years ahead. Therefore, the Commission contemplates that public support for higher education will continue to grow but at a slower rate. Accordingly, the Commission has advocated numerous ways of economizing to meet the educational needs of this decade.

In reducing institutional requests, the Board of Regents stressed the problem of state priorities and financial resources in its 1973-75 legislative askings. The Governor seeks to deal with this problem by his requirement that all state agencies are to prepare their 1973-75 requests by starting with a base budget in which the appropriation would be reduced by 10% from the 1972-73 appropriation level. He stresses that his purposes in asking that budgets be prepared on this basis are to help determine program priorities and to find funds for new and expanded public services. This process—universal reduction of base budgets, followed by re-allocation of funds derived by this reduction—is well known to this University, for we have had to utilize this process to build the 1971-73 budgets, and we are experiencing its consequences.

In addition to our internal re-allocation plan which has been specifically mentioned by the Carnegie Commission, we have effected other economies and we are actively pursuing the suggestions of that Commis-

sion and others, both on and off the campus, to reduce costs further. But neither the public nor the campus should be misled as to the ultimate outcome. The most efficient education in terms of operating costs and quality can be provided to students in residence on the campus where faculty, staff, libraries, computers, and laboratories can be assembled most economically. Efficiency and economy will require an emphasis on campus-based educational programs and a reduction in services and off campus instruction at the very time when people are clamoring for university outreach.

The 1973-75 budgetary priorities of this University are twofold: First, increased compensation for faculty and staff; second, increased enrollment in the health colleges. It is also our objective to maintain the accessibility of the University through a policy of low tuitions. A tuition increase was avoided in the current biennium because of the funds provided by the legislature and our internal re-allocation program. Nevertheless, we were unable to provide the compensation increases which we felt necessary for faculty and staff. Indeed, in the case of the faculty, no general salary increase was possible for this year. Percentage increases to salary budgets in this biennium on an annualized basis are 1.75% for the administrative group, 1.87% for the faculty group, and 5.25% for the general service group.

By giving first priority to increased faculty and staff compensation in 1973-75, we continue a policy we pursued throughout the 1960s. Underlying this policy is the recognition that the quality of the University depends on the quality of its faculty and staff. During the 1960s we emphasized competitive compensation over other important needs. Consequently, we added faculty sparingly to meet increasing enrollments and we were reluctant to develop new programs. Unlike many American universities—exotic language programs, research institutes, and graduate studies did not proliferate at Iowa. While our graduate enrollment grew like our undergraduate and professional enrollments, the percentage of the University's enrollment at the graduate level has remained constant during the last twenty years. By limiting program and personnel expansion, we were able in the 1960s to become more competitive with other universities in terms of salaries. However, our fiscal circumstances do not permit us to advance competitively with other universities during the current biennium.

Our secondary budgetary priority for the next biennium is the expansion of the health college enrollments. The decision to expand these programs was taken in the early 1960s in response to the health needs of the state and the nation. While a portion of this expansion cost during the present biennium was borne by our general internal re-allocation process, the costs of these enlarged programs must be borne more widely than by this University alone. The health colleges must not be expanded to the detriment of the other missions of the University. Recognizing this, the Board of Regents is specifically requesting special state funds for the health colleges and the hospitals. In addition to state funds and tuition, federal capitation grants will be made to each of the health colleges. At the present time more than forty percent of the College of Medicine budget comes from federal and foundation sources. The earnings of the clinical faculty in medicine and dentistry also are utilized. In the case of the medical clinical faculty somewhat less than one-third of their fees are paid back to the physicians who earn them as part of their salaries and the remainder of the fee income is channeled into the College budget and represents 24 percent of that budget.

The Regents are also requesting special state funds to permit University Hospitals to aid in the preparation of more health person-

nel and to enable the University Health Center to become the apex of a well integrated health care system in Iowa. However, it must be remembered that earnings are the principal means of financing University Hospitals and that the Hospital appropriation must be earned by providing care to indigent patients.

Because we were conservative in program and personnel expansion in the 1960s, because we have been systematically trying to reduce costs, because we have engaged in our own internal re-allocation program during the present biennium, because the Regents have adopted an asking which gives greater recognition to the condition of the state than to the needs of the institutions, and because of the uncertainty of federal funding for education including the Higher Education Act of 1972, any reduction in the Regents' askings or the present level of state appropriations through re-allocation would endanger the University as we know it today.

In assessing and meeting educational needs, American colleges and universities have traditionally enjoyed considerable autonomy to assure unfettered teaching and research. Nowadays, however, the assertion is made that higher education is not responsive enough to the needs of society. The call for "educational accounting" comes from every quarter. It relates to "effectiveness" as well as "efficiency", to public means as well as public ends. No one denies our accountability for the stewardship of this institution. However, the term "educational accounting" has been adopted before any valid method of measurement has been developed. Its objective is to standardize and quantify the highly individualistic and complex process of teaching.

When "educational accounting" pertains to "efficiency", the University can respond in terms of student-teacher ratios, class sizes, number of courses taught, number of students graduated, length of time required for degrees, distribution of the efforts of faculty, staff and administration, costs of programs—to mention only a few of the overt facts which can be gathered. Yet "efficiency" cannot be measured by these facts alone since educational methods and objectives vary from field to field and even within fields. There is no single best curriculum or instructional method. Variety not homogeneity is needed for diverse students with diverse needs and aspirations.

We also are being asked to account for or measure the "effectiveness" of education. The plain truth of the matter is that we cannot. This is true of all fields but has been particularly well stated in the case of the humanities by James Moffitt's assertion that:

"This trend (toward the use of behavioral objectives in evaluating school performance) will most likely have disastrous effects on the teaching of English and other subjects in the humanities, for many goals in the humanities either do not naturally result in overt behaviors or result in overt behaviors occurring so far away in time and space from the stimulus presentation that for all practical purposes they are lost to evaluation and will never be counted."

I report this statement not to avoid accountability, but rather to state honestly that we cannot quantify all of education any more than we can quantify all of life. This University continually strives to make "efficient" uses of the resources made available to it by the public. It must also be allowed to continue to make "effective" use of these resources even though the proof is elusive. Continuous self-study will provide the best vehicle for accountability. This will require us to be open-minded and amenable to change.

We have embarked on self-study through the system of periodic departmental and college reviews which seek to evaluate our

programs. All significant aspects of these programs should be evaluated, including faculty, students, staff, administration, teaching, and research. Such evaluations are essential to comprehensive university-wide budgeting and planning. To be of maximum use these reviews must not only involve people within the unit subject to review but also other knowledgeable people within and outside the University.

An undertaking of academic program review of each department and college every five years requires coordination and definition of content because this is an enormous task. Since our principal task is teaching and research rather than reporting, we must be careful in the expenditure of funds, time, and energy to be assured that these reviews do not detract from the work we are doing. Therefore, the reviews should relate to essential issues and should strive for brevity and clarity. It is important to have comparability in these reviews throughout the University if they are to be useful in assessing the total efforts of the University.

At the request of the Board of Regents, the University has developed a document entitled, "Report on Academic Planning." This document is an abbreviated compilation of factors now included in reviews occurring within the colleges of Medicine and Liberal Arts and contained in the Statement on Academic Review of the University Faculty Senate. Regental requirements make it necessary to prepare this report on academic planning every two years in relationship to biennial legislative askings. A portion of the information required in this report will be furnished at the outset by the University administration as a result of information now being gathered at the request of the Regents. In order to conserve time, energy and funds and to assure comparability and simplicity, the five-year annual reviews might build on this biennial report so that the five-year reviews will be comparable and easier to prepare.

Seven of the colleges of the University are departmentalized and will require reviews by department in addition to review of the college as a whole in a five-year period of time. Since the responsibilities of the deans of the several colleges and the dean of the Graduate College overlap with respect to these departments and because it would be unnecessarily burdensome if there were two separate departmental reviews, it will be advantageous for a departmentalized college and the Graduate College to develop a single joint program of review which will cover all significant aspects of the educational program. Therefore, I have requested that the dean of the Graduate College meet with the dean of Education, the dean of Engineering, the dean of Liberal Arts, the dean of Medicine, the dean of Dentistry, and the dean of Business Administration to develop a joint system of review of departments or divisions for the two colleges. The two deans should have appropriate consultation with the dean of Extension. The two deans then should report to the Provost the proposal for a method of joint review.

Upon completion of departmental reviews, these should be forwarded to the Provost for review by the University administration and the Faculty Senate Budget Review Committee and the Committee on the Future of the University.

The Provost should also in consultation with the dean of a particular college and the Graduate dean develop a plan for review of colleges over a five-year period of time.

Since we have limited resources, we will have to limit the use of examiners outside the University to a very select few and rely chiefly upon persons from other programs within the University to maintain the objectivity of these reviews. The reviews should be incisive and brief in order to be useful. By this means of internal self-study and re-

view the University can maintain its autonomy, demonstrate its ability to assess programs and make changes, and discharge its responsibility to account for its actions.

Institutional autonomy coupled with reasoned accountability will best assure quality education in the future. Implicit in this assertion is the desirability of decentralization. It is the curse of American higher education that there is so little diversity. Too many colleges and universities are built on the same model. The pressure is great for us to comply with the standardizations set for us by the scholarly, professional, accrediting, governmental, and other external groups which consist of academicians as well as lay people.

Of special concern are the growing number of federal directives which are attached to federal funds. Some are sound; some are unsound. Objectionable provisions exist in the recently enacted Higher Education Act of 1972. These provisions require and admonish state and institutional action with respect to coordination and governance of post high school educational institutions. Federal funds should not bring federal intervention. Governance and coordination should remain state and institutional prerogatives if diversity is to be encouraged.

An essential aspect of diversity is the elimination of improper discrimination and the greater participation of women and minorities in this University and throughout higher education. Affirmative action is essential. This is a joint concern of The University of Iowa and the state and federal governments. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare requires the University to establish and implement an affirmative action program. The purpose of the plan is to establish goals for increased participation by under-represented groups. The University must then make a good faith effort to achieve these goals. The federal policy places the responsibility for adoption and implementation of the plan on the President of the University. In the case of Iowa, however, internal and state policies do not vest the final or exclusive responsibility and authority for these matters in the President. Generally, the final responsibility and authority reside with the Board of Regents. More specifically, I have previously taken the personal position that the faculty has the primary responsibility for the appointment, retention, and promotion of the faculty. The adoption of the Regents Merit System now involves the Regents Merit Coordinator and the State Merit Commission in the establishment of employment policies for the members of the general services staff of this University. In the case of the professional and administrative staff, we have retained a consulting firm to assist us in the development of a classification plan which will encompass both affirmative action and good employment practices.

I cite these differences with the federal government over definition of responsibilities as the basis for urging that all of us in Iowa who do share these responsibilities work actively and effectively to formulate and implement an affirmative action program during the coming year.

Because the present University budget and the Regents askings for 1973-75 do not contemplate expanded employment opportunities outside of the health areas and because we have an obligation to our present employees, the employment goals will of necessity relate primarily to the refilling of existing positions which become vacant because of resignation, retirement, or death. Since "good faith" requires extensive searches, there will be delays experienced in filling these positions. Although there may be differences of opinion on the campus as to the methods, I am confident that we are united in the goal of affirmative action.

Through program reviews and affirmative action the vitality of the University can be

enhanced. There is much academic ferment on this campus. We are actively seeking new and better ways within the limits of our financial means. In doing so we must be mindful of the future as well as the present. Although it is impossible to forecast the university of tomorrow in detail, it is possible to outline the perimeters. One essential vehicle for accomplishing this is physical campus planning which deals with general assumptions and which requires that the specific dilemmas of the moment be solved in a broader context. The nature of the physical environment is just as critical for a university as it is for a city. Both the availability and utilization of space will influence this University's programs substantially, now and in the future.

Iowa is unique among universities. It remains a university, not a multiversity, not a campus in a system. We are unique because we are not only present physically in one place but also because we are intellectually present in one place. The core of the University is arts and sciences surrounded by well integrated professional colleges. This uniqueness is educationally sound. We must maintain this intellectual integration in the future. There must not be an east campus and a west campus; there must be a single campus. Because the city has grown up around us, we are severely limited in space. Within this limited space, we seek to have both a great University and a great health center. Therefore, over time we must reduce the physical barriers within our limited space which encourage fragmentation and stifle future development. This is why campus traffic must be reduced. This is why we must experiment with Campus, and this is why the river must be our mall.

The University of Iowa has had a continuing struggle with its physical planning. Insufficient capital funds from the 1930s through the 1950s resulted in expedient solutions with unsatisfactory long-term consequences. Expanded state and federal funds for major building projects during the 1960s helped to overcome many of these problems. However, limited Regental askings for capital in 1971 and 1973, limited legislative appropriations in 1971, and substantial reductions in federal construction funds place us once more in the pressure cooker of expediency. No matter how small, every immediate physical decision has a long-term implication which cannot be ignored. An appropriate period of evaluation of the future implications of every building decision must be a mandatory part of planning, no matter how great a nuisance it might seem, no matter how great a problem it might seem.

Because the future is unknown, it is essential to be flexible in academic planning. Moreover, the whole purpose of education is to enhance the individual's flexibility in coping with the future. In the last few years educational discussions have been cast in terms of "relevancy". Relevancy means different things to different people. Now the term "relevancy" is being specifically equated with "career education". Such education is said to be primarily the task of elementary and secondary schools and community colleges. Four-year colleges and universities are charged with having failed to provide career education. Its purposes are to dignify the work of all and to provide jobs for all. No one should object to the first purpose, but the second purpose can be misleading. America's colleges and universities deplore the pressures on everyone to seek bachelors, masters, and doctors degrees. Instead we believe there should be a variety of educational opportunities available in a variety of educational institutions. On the other hand, it is misleading to indicate that a job awaits at the end of any given curriculum. Availability of jobs is determined in large measure by the state of the economy. The prosperity of the

economy in general or any portion of it in particular defies accurate prediction. It vacillates and if, for example, construction decreases, everyone in that industry is adversely affected regardless of educational preparation. No educational program can honestly guarantee initial or continued employment for its students.

Discussions about "career education" tend to oversimplify life. Of course, we need vocational, technical, and professional education, but we also need general education. Until recently many who are advocating "career education" have been advocating education for leisure and before that education for citizenship. We are still faced with leisure and unsolved problems of a social nature as well as an uncertain job market. And we shall continue to be faced by all of these problems.

The need for general education is inherent in the philosophy of community colleges. Strangely enough, general education has been emphasized relatively more in community colleges than in universities where it has been caught in the vise between career oriented students and specialty minded faculty. I continue to reassert that excessive vocationalism is highly impractical because it restricts the student's long range flexibility. The purpose of education should be to develop analytical ability. By stressing the analytical process the student is more able to generalize, transfer, and apply the problem solving process to changes in work and life. New information and techniques can be secured through on-the-job training and continuing education programs. Many professional fields wisely are beginning to de-emphasize specialization and course sequences. The shift is from training to analysis to permit greater career flexibility both within and without the field. With the expansion of the life span and the quickening pace of life, we must be mobile. We will shift not only from place to place, but from job to job. We expect our education to provide us with that mobility so that we will not be outmoded by the time we are forty, fifty, or sixty. By stressing analysis and the problems students will face in their careers and lives, we best prepare them to cope with change.

To provide both flexible and economic education, we must continually review our curriculum. The overall time required for medical and dental education is being reduced. Through credit by examination, it is now possible to earn a bachelor's degree at Iowa in three academic years. On June 10, 1972, more than 600 entering students took these examinations which permit them to satisfy course requirements and earn credits. Moreover, by year-round operation the Law School has increased its enrollment and also enables a law student to finish more rapidly.

The professional curricula are being broadened to include courses which deal with issues confronting the professions. Courses are also being developed for non-professional students which relate the work of the profession to the problems of society. Virtually every professional program seeks to provide some clinical education. Well planned and supervised field experiences can be worthwhile, but the costs of clinical instruction far exceed the costs of classroom instruction. If clinical education is to be expanded, the costs must be borne principally by the professions and the private and public businesses and agencies which will ultimately benefit.

In addition to collegiate and departmental curricular review, university-wide committees are considering a human biology core program, environmental teaching and research, women studies, a combined administrative science program for non-profit and governmental organizations, external degrees and a University college. This curricular concern throughout the University reflects the necessity for institutional vitality at all times and

in all circumstances. The need to be imaginative and venturesome in economic adversity as well as prosperity is recognized by every educator and every commission studying the current financial crisis of American higher education.

The University of Iowa is in its 125th year. Now, as throughout its history, this University has before it great challenges and great opportunities. Some say that because we are beset by so many problems, especially fiscal ones, we must, therefore, retrench intellectually as well as financially. To take this view is to stifle the future of the institution. Standing still is not standing for quality. The University of Iowa cannot ignore the contemporary and future needs of teaching and scholarship. This is neither the time nor the place for intellectual timidity. Venture we must. Venture we shall!

TIMBER SUPPLY REQUIRES INTENSIVE MANAGEMENT

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, a short time ago several of us, representing the timber growing areas of the Nation had an opportunity to meet with Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, the Forest Service Chief John McGuire, and representatives of their respective agencies. The basic purpose for this meeting, which was also attended by industry representatives, was to discuss with the departmental officials the very grave situation which exists in areas heavily dependent upon federally grown timber to meet the supply of wood products required by a growing population and the related increased demand for housing.

We have many problems, some of which can be solved through the start now of a program of intensive management of our woodlands. During the discussion, one of California's outstanding foresters, Mr. Howard Blagen, vice president of American Forest Products Corp. in San Francisco, gave this evaluation of the situation as he saw it in California.

So that I may share these views with my colleagues, I insert Mr. Blagen's remarks in the RECORD at this point:

REMARKS BY MR. HOWARD BLAGEN

My primary purpose today is to represent Western Timber Association, a California group covering the great majority of California timber operators dependent upon National Forest public timber. Public timber sustains almost half of the current total California timber harvest.

During recent years the public timber harvest of California mills has closely approached the allowable cut level. Very substantial plant investments, payrolls, expanded dependent communities and a great contribution to the nation's shelter needs have been the result.

An efficient and responsive industry is essential to the best interests of all citizens in converting the sustained growth of our commercial forests to needed products, particularly housing. We have that kind of industry in California, which has functioned well, but present uncertainties in future timber supply may well lead us to chaos. Current trends and U.S. Forest Service an-

nouncements indicate a future reduction of 25 to 30% and more, from previous sale levels. This is primarily due to ever increasing preservationist constraints. This potential reduction in public timber supply, right or wrong, is already seriously affecting basic economic balance within our industry.

The media tells us of the public outcry over rising lumber and plywood prices but much faster rising timber prices should be cause for far greater concern. In a nut shell, the economics of our forest industry cannot be stabilized until there is evidence of stability in raw material timber supply. How much timber will regularly be available for commercial operation is the critical question.

It is our conviction that the U.S. Forest Service, as the skilled and disciplined administrator of our National Forest public timber should exercise firm professional judgment in the determination of just how much national forest timber will be sold. Public meetings packed with emotionally charged laymen will not assure the right answer. Carefully exercised professional judgment, weighing economic, as well as aesthetic and other factors relating to the greatest good for the greatest number in the long pull, will provide a logical and proper determination.

I would therefore, most strongly urge that this administration and the Congress give the U.S. Forest Service positive and immediate support in promptly reaching the objective of offering a regular and reasonably assured volume of national forest timber for future sale.

U.N. EFFECTIVENESS UNDER QUESTION

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor is recognized as one of the Nation's great newspapers. It continues to be one of the few major publications that attempt to give both sides to a question. When it leans, it leans to the side of liberal causes, but the newspaper accomplishes this in an idealistic, not an offensive, manner. Consequently, when the Christian Science Monitor seriously questions the effectiveness of the United Nations, it is time to take note. This the Christian Science Monitor has done recently in two instances. Once was on Monday, September 18, in an article entitled "U.N. Effectiveness Under Question," and again in an editorial on Tuesday, September 19, entitled, "The U.N. Is In Question." I submit them for reprinting in the RECORD.

U.N. EFFECTIVENESS UNDER QUESTION (By David Winder)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—The strong winds that frequently rattle against the tall exposed United Nations building on the East River, whipping its flagpoles, and swirling around the beautifully simple freeform Barbara Hepworth sculpture are symbolic of political winds buffeting the UN these days.

The world body's effectiveness has never been challenged as it is today—following its inability last year to stop the India-Pakistan war.

U.N. prestige is at stake. And the Secretary-General's public remarks about restoring international credibility in the UN show that the problem is acknowledged.

Those at UN headquarters hope the lack of credibility is only a passing phenomenon. Reassuring them is the hope that the world is entering a new era in which the UN must play an enlarged role.

Exploration of the moon, protection of ocean resources, control of environmental degradation—all these point to the need for a global organization that can formulate an international code of behavior.

PRISONER ON PLANET

As Ambassador Christopher Phillips, the United States' No. 2 man here, says, "The notion that the astronauts brought back a planetary society is absolutely relevant to us. We are increasingly prisoners on this small planet."

For the moment, though, disenchantment with the United Nations runs deep in Western Europe, and even deeper in the United States.

Gallup Polls indicate how far the UN has fallen in its appeal to Americans. The U.S. public overwhelmingly supported the world body in 1945, but only 35 percent of the population believed the UN was doing a good job in 1971.

Several factors account for Americans' disenchantment:

A. Initial overselling of the United Nations as an organization that could wave a magic wand over the world problems and summarily remove them.

B. The evolution of the UN from a small and fairly homogeneous group of nations with built-in, pro-Western bias to a much larger organization in which the U.S. can no longer push through decisions.

C. The U.S. experience in Vietnam which has resulted in Americans looking inward toward themselves and their problems at home.

But a purely West European or American assessment of the UN is necessarily a one-sided view. It doesn't take into account the fact that for countless millions of Latin Americans, Africans, Asians, and Middle Easterners, the UN is a necessity.

For these countries, the United Nations is the international forum where they can prick rich nations' consciences. It is their means of winning trade concessions and getting aid, economic assistance, and emergency relief. In the UN they can make big powers more responsive to the problems of disarmament and racial discrimination. Above all, for the small and weak the UN is a safety valve.

As one delegate of a prominent third-world country puts it: "We have no napalm. No tanks. No platform. The UN is the only place where we can talk about our problems to reach agreement."

UN CALLED INDISPENSABLE

For an ambassador from a small African nation the UN is indispensable: "They talk about downgrading the UN, but we wouldn't know what to do without it."

Is the UN, then, vital only to the underdeveloped world, and irrelevant or of limited value for big-power nations?

That question was underscored by one American who said she could sum up U.S. reaction to the UN thus: "I am bored with the UN. It's all right for that half of the world that is underdeveloped and illiterate. But what's in it for me?"

Andrew W. Cordier, an executive assistant to two former secretaries-general and an American himself, believes the value of the UN to the U.S. is very clear cut.

For him, whenever tensions in the world are alleviated at the UN through worldwide discussions—to that extent is the U.S. saved from military and diplomatic involvement that could lead to further aid and expenditure.

Secondly, says Dr. Cordier, "We gain as people in the broader fields of improving standards of living of the peoples of the world. We cannot forever expect as a rich

nation to live in a world of splendid isolation while the rest live in poverty."

ECONOMIC FREEDOM NEEDED

On this economic and social front, the UN has scored outstanding successes that are not generally appreciated by the public.

Says Ambassador Mooki Molapo of Lesotho, "We are heavily dependent on the UN. Its assistance is vital and indispensable to the government's development policies."

The point UN officials make is that political independence for emerging countries is worthless unless accompanied by economic independence.

Beyond these economic benefits are larger questions of international security not necessarily expressed in political conflicts between nations.

Without the preparatory work that went into UN disarmament debates, it is doubted here whether there would have been such accomplishments as the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty or the progress recorded in previous SALT talks.

Despite all these gains a certain exasperation exists at UN headquarters because the public—as UN officials see it—overestimates the power of the organization.

True, the UN has some of the attributes of a world government in embryo. But it has no prime minister, cannot levy taxes, and cannot raise an army without its members volunteering the troops.

In a word, the UN has no executive powers—it has only moral authority.

Very often problems come to the UN precisely because all other efforts at mediation have been exhausted.

As Sir Colin Crowe, Britain's permanent representative to the UN points out, "We get stuck with all the horrors—Middle East, Korea, and Cyprus—the ones that defy bilateral settlement."

This is not to suggest that the UN is free of imperfections. Far from it.

Critics feel that the UN gives itself a bad name by responding sluggishly or by not responding at all to gross violations of human rights—either for reasons of political expediency, or because members find it convenient to hide behind Article 2.7 of the UN Charter which upholds national sovereignty.

Reformers would like to see the UN place more stress on peacemaking rather than peacekeeping; on establishing research centers throughout the world that could quickly pinpoint trouble and find ways of resolving it; and on establishing within the Security Council small conciliation groups that could work out solutions for major world problems, out of the harsh glare of the public eye.

The UN, it is said, can go only as far as its members will let it—consensus not majority decisions being the rule.

Until countries can subordinate selfish national interests for international good, the UN will be stuck with its obvious limitations. But, say observers here, to declare it irrelevant or of minimal worth is not only unfair, but also a distortion of its record.

THE UN IS IN QUESTION

The foreign ministers of many, not all, governments are gathering in New York again this week for the annual fall meeting of the General Assembly of an organization which calls itself the United Nations.

The arrival of many of them proves that in the opinion of most governments it continues to be unwise to be not represented at this annual occasion although positive reasons for being there are harder than ever to identify.

The sad fact is that the organization which inhabits the familiar glass building on the East River in New York City is at an all-time low in prestige, provable usefulness and in ability to influence the course of events. No foreign minister is in New York this week because he thinks he will take part in or witness a historic occasion. He is there to con-

duct the routine business of diplomacy in a convenient setting. It is the only place and time when most of the world's foreign ministers are in one place.

History is not being made at the UN these days. It has become a sort of trade association of governments which are concerned primarily in individual self-serving. Nobel Prize winner Alexander Solzhenitsyn was perhaps brutally accurate when he wrote the following:

"Relying on the mercenary partiality of the majority, the UN jealously guards the freedom of some nations and neglects the freedom of others. As a result of an obedient vote, it declines to undertake the investigation of private appeals—the groans, screams, and beseechings of humble individual plain people—not large enough a catch for such a great organization. The UN made no effort to make the Declaration of Human Rights, its best document in 25 years, into an obligatory condition of membership confronting the governments. Thus it betrayed those humble people into the will of the governments which they had not chosen."

This is fair comment. The UN has ceased to be concerned effectively with moral standards, with justice, with humane causes, with the advancement of the principles of self-government. It is doing nothing to liberate people from tyrannical governments. It is ineffective as an instrument for shortening the war in Vietnam. It had no influence on the massacres and wars which brought misery to the peoples of Nigeria and of Bangladesh. It ignored years of the most brutal civil war in the Sudan. It is incompetent today in the troubles in Uganda. It is not a world government. It is not, in fact, anything more than a forum where delegates from some but not all of the governments of the world gather together on occasion, but particularly in September.

And yet the foreign ministers keep on coming. They come for the same simple reason which in the old days of horses and wagons brought the farmers into town on Saturday night. They come partly to do their shopping and partly also just to talk and gossip and exchange ideas. The UN is not a gathering of nations. Calling it the United Nations was a mistake. It is neither a gathering of nations nor is it united. It is a marketplace for diplomats—no more and no less.

But back in the days before railways, electricity, and automobiles life on the farm would have been intolerable without the market town. People must come together to do their business and exchange ideas.

They are not doing much business in those big buildings on the East River in New York these days. But the diplomats do come together. They do exchange a few ideas.

This condition is a bitter disappointment to the idealists who hoped for so much more. It should be comforting to those who feared that it would become a world government. It survives, because it is a marketplace. A marketplace is a human necessity.

DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as part of my continuing effort to keep the residents of northwest Texas informed about my activities in the Congress, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time, the text of the Washington Report for August 7 and September 7 and the text of my latest news report:

DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS

The favorable action on the 75 billion dollar Defense Appropriation bill for 1973 was essential. A strong defense is the only way to guarantee world peace.

The current Soviet strategic arms build-up continues to gain momentum, and their lead in military defense critically affects the world balance of power. We must maintain defense parity between the United States and Russia.

Currently the Russians are spending 25% of their Gross National Product on defense as compared with 7% in this country. More importantly, the Russians are spending 75% of their defense dollar on equipment and research, while in the current appropriations bill, the U.S. will be spending only 33%.

The majority party-controlled Appropriations Committee struck 2.8 billion dollars from the Administration's request for funds to purchase new ships, planes, weapons and equipment. However, the most vital slash in the bill was one billion dollars cut from funds requested for research and development.

We are spending two-thirds of our defense appropriation on manpower—salaries, food and housing. Our priority should shift to money for equipment and technology.

An extravagance that was added into the budget against the Committee recommendation is the turning of KP and housekeeping duties over to civilians. The Committee had recommended that the military do its own housekeeping chores.

NIX RECOMMENDS ZUCKERMAN ARTICLES

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, at this time, I would like to have entered into the RECORD the first of a series of articles which discusses the serious situation in the new Postal Service as uncovered by my Subcommittee on Postal Facilities and Mail.

This article and three others appeared in the following newspapers: The St. Paul Pioneer Press & Dispatch, Duluth Herald, Long Beach Independent, San Jose Mercury & News, Pasadena Star-News, Grand Forks, N. Dak., Herald, Aberdeen, S. Dak., American-News, Garden Grove, Calif. News, Gary, Ind., Post-Tribune, Boulder, Colo., Daily Camera, and Niles, Mich., Star.

I want to congratulate Ed Zuckerman on a job well done. He has taken a mass of material and organized it into a coherent story. I recommend that the Members of the House read these articles which discuss the state of the Postal Service:

HIGHER COSTS SEEN—CRITICS TYPE AT NEW POSTAL IDEAS

(By Ed Zuckerman)

WASHINGTON.—The U.S. Postal Service, enjoying new freedoms as a quasi-private corporation, has begun a \$4.95 billion construction project which it claims will result in cheaper, speedier mail service.

But some congressional critics of the independent agency believe the massive project will cost much more than anticipated and that the end result will bring poorer—not better—mail delivery.

The critics, to their glee, are also finding that the postal service is unwittingly providing the best arguments against itself—primarily because of its refusal to answer in-

quiries from the press and Congress and secondarily by growing reports that postal authorities are conducting their financial affairs in a spendthrift manner.

The plan to revamp the mail distribution method calls for the establishment of separate networks for handling preferential (first class) mail and the bulk mail which consists of advertising circulars, mail order catalogs, newspapers and magazines and parcels.

The preferential mail system will require a network of 177 buildings costing \$4 billion which are to be operational by 1978. The network is expected to save about \$1 billion annually in handling costs.

The bulk mail processing system calls for 21 major and 12 satellite handling centers, costing an estimated \$950 million. Expected to be operational in 1975, its annual savings is to be around \$300 million.

One feature of the future bulk mail process will eliminate the sorting of parcels in local post offices. Instead, all bulk mail—except for that marked for delivery in the same post office service area—will be shipped to one of the 33 processing buildings for sorting and distribution.

Critics of the plan are enjoying themselves these days, trying to come up with the most ludicrous examples to demonstrate a serious drawback in the plans.

One of the prize examples traces the delivery route of a parcel that could be sent from Marfa to Fort Davis—two Texas towns which are only 21 miles apart but are situated within different bulk mail processing zones.

Theoretically, a package mailed from the Marfa post office would be shipped to the processing center which serves its zone—in this case, a satellite center in Albuquerque, N.M. From there it would go to the major processing center in Denver for routing to the small Texas town. It would first be sent to the bulk mail processing center in Dallas which serves the zone in which Fort Davis is located.

Thus, what could be a short 21-mile delivery becomes a journey of about 2,200 miles requiring many days, many sortings and an untold number of damaging jolts to the parcel.

"I want you to think about a package of cookies," laughed the critic who discovered the example.

While the proposed system is being subjected to ridicule, it doesn't begin to compare with the criticisms being lodged against the postal service's spending practices. In its haste to get the huge construction projects started, the postal service has committed several apparent blunders.

For example, in mid-1970, the postal service (which was not yet an independent agency) cancelled the design contract for 20 buildings when new studies suggested major changes to the mail-handling process. The cost of the scrapped designs was slightly more than \$8 million. According to the critics, postal authorities knew the study might cause radical changes but they went ahead with the design projects hoping the study would require minor adjustments.

In another case, the bulk mail processing center under construction in Jersey City, N.J., will end up costing \$130 million—a figure that is more than double the original \$62 million estimate. The new cost figure eclipses the price tag for the much-maligned Rayburn House Office Building which, until now, had been the "Taj Mahal of government buildings."

There are numerous errors involved in the Jersey City project—beginning with the belated discovery of methane gas under its swamp location after much of the 25-acre concrete floor was poured and ending with serious conflict of interest charges against a postal service employee who previously worked for the company that was awarded a multi-million dollar contract to develop and manu-

facture the equipment that will go into the building.

A great deal of the testy relationship between the postal service and its congressional critics is grounded in the agency's refusal to respond to inquiries.

An example was offered by Rep. William Alexander, D-Ark., who told a House post office and civil service subcommittee:

"Getting information has been more difficult for me to receive than top secret information dealing with the military operations of this nation in Indochina."

Alexander's bitterness was generated by the selection of a site in Memphis, Tenn., for one of the 21 major bulk mail processing centers. He had sought to locate the installation in West Memphis, Ark., about 10 miles from the Tennessee metropolis but within his own congressional district.

"One night I was riding on a plane between Washington and my district and I was seated by a man from Tennessee who identified himself as a building contractor," the Arkansas Democrat said.

"We discussed various problems with the government in one way or another and I brought up the subject of the Memphis bulk mail center. I was complaining somewhat because I had not been able to receive the information that we needed in Arkansas in order to be competitive in the site selection process."

"This man said: 'Well, I can get you that information.'"

"I said: 'You can? How can you do that?' He said: 'Well, I am in pretty good with some people in the federal government.'"

"So, the next day he called me and gave me this information that I could not receive from the postal service," Alexander recounted.

The Arkansas Democrat's difficulty in obtaining information from the independent agency isn't an isolated example.

When the House subcommittee was quizzing a top Army Corps of Engineers official about cost overruns and the discovery of methane gas at the Jersey City installation, Rep. H. R. Gross, R-Iowa, posed a direct question and got a rather evasive answer.

"Do you have an agreement reached with the postal service that forbids you to answer questions from the press or public about this project?" asked the conservative Iowa Republican who enjoys exposing wasteful government spending as much as a bear enjoys eating honey.

"Not when I am here before this subcommittee, but if members of the press or—let's divide it into two areas," Brig. Gen. George Rebh haltingly responded.

"If members of Congress were to address a letter to me, I would have to forward it to the postal service for answer because this falls under the agreement between the secretary of the Army and the postmaster general signed Nov. 9, 1971," Rebh went on.

"As far as the press, official announcements, anything having to do with the program before the construction actually started, those announcements are made by the postal service. However, on day-to-day operations, the district engineer can make announcements after having coordinated them with the local postmaster... the purpose being to keep the local postmaster informed as he has a real interest in the project."

Joining in the chorus of anti-postal service criticism is Morris Biller, president of the 27,000-member Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union, AFL-CIO. Biller would rather see money spent on improving working conditions instead of for new buildings.

Biller has experienced problems with postal authorities for many years and, judging from his comments before the house subcommittee, he is beginning to detect a method in what he perceives as madness.

"Former Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield, under President Eisenhower, set out

to modernize the post office through the use of trucks galore," Biller lamented. "Republican Summerfield set up highway post offices and began to buy trucks to carry the mails the way you and I buy postage stamps. He did away with the far-reaching, high-speed underground pneumatic tube system that used to speed the mails through much of New York City and clogged the streets with even more trucks. Mr. Summerfield was a former top official of General Motors and the Chevrolet Corporation."

"Former Assistant Postmaster General Hartigan worshipped the idea of modernizing the post office through the unlimited use of airplanes. Mr. Hartigan, a Democrat under the late President Kennedy, stepped up airline subsidies to new heights as the post office soared into the skies. Mr. Hartigan had formerly been closely allied with the airline industry."

"As for Winton Blount (who resigned as postmaster general last year to seek a Senate seat from Alabama), construction is the magic word. Build in the swamps, build in the suburbs and be exceedingly cautious of spending what could be good construction money on such minor maintenance items as air conditioning for the workers, or clean windows, or sound-absorbing material. Who cares if we underestimate by more than 100 per cent as long as we keep building? Mr. Blount, a Republican, was formerly—you guessed it—one of the country's biggest contractors."

Next—The \$8 million decision to abort design projects for 20 postal buildings—was it a boon or a boondoggle?

RECYCLING OF AUTOMOBILES

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, my sponsorship of legislation to encourage the recycling of abandoned automobiles expresses my deep interest in restoring the beauty of America's landscape and in achieving the reuse of her precious resources. In conjunction with that legislation, in which approximately 80 Members have joined, I wish to call to the House's attention a report on a junk car removal and disposal project in Benzie County, Mich. The report was published by the Cooperative Extension Service of Michigan State University.

"Operation Scrap," unique in that all manpower, equipment, and finances were donated, resulted in the processing of more than 5,000 junk cars in that one county. The project's success indicated the dedication of the area's residents toward environmental enhancement. It reminds us of the tremendous contribution that abandoned automobile collection and recycling would make upon the conservation of America's vital natural resources.

I commend everyone who was involved in this project for their vision and their efforts. They have made a valuable contribution to their community and to the Nation's environment.

The report follows:

JUNK CAR REMOVAL AND DISPOSAL

(By Cherry Frostic and Norman J. Brown)

The removal and disposal of junk cars involves three major problems: finances, man-

power and equipment. Few units of government have the resources necessary to supply all these needs without outside assistance.

Most junk car cleanup programs are launched on either a citywide or countywide level, and most experience severe difficulties because they lack the required resources to complete the job successfully.

An exception is "Operation Scrap," a junk car harvesting program carried out in north-west Michigan's Benzie County. Operation Scrap was unique in that all manpower, equipment and finances were donated. Operation Scrap was also successful. This bulletin outlines the steps that led to that success in the hope that other counties and municipalities may benefit from the experiences of Benzie.

LEADERSHIP ORGANIZED

The cleanup movement was initiated when a group of local women organized a working committee and incorporated under the title "Keep Benzie Beautiful" (KBB). Once this step was taken, it wasn't long before a countywide meeting was held with all government officials, club representatives and general citizens invited. At the meeting, the proposed "Operation Scrap" project was explained and those willing to help were asked to sign a project roster.

The next move by the KBB committee was to canvass the county to locate the largest concentrations of junk cars in order to establish the most efficient crushing sites possible.

A minimum of one acre of land was required for each of the crushing sites. The ground had to be flat, hard packed and easily accessible. Four such sites were finally located and established on state-owned land at convenient locations around the county.

CONSENT FORMS

Once the junk cars were located and collection sites established, consent forms had to be signed by the car owners releasing their vehicles to Operation Scrap. These forms, and accompanying flyers explaining the project and its purposes, were printed free-of-charge at the Benzie County Extension Office. On Earth Day, local high school students delivered the consent forms and flyers throughout the county. The students were driven by members of a local women's club.

In the meantime, KBB presented a program to local school assemblies in order to bring about an awareness of the magnitude of the junk car problem and incite a concern for action.

A second push was then made to secure releases for the junkers. A meeting was held at which the county was divided into sections and a volunteer assigned to canvass each section for signed releases. This method helped, but there were still some releases left unsigned.

CRUSHER CHOSEN

Several crushing firms were investigated and a reliable one selected to do the work. When a total of 1,000 cars had been released to the project, a written agreement was contracted between the crusher and the State of Michigan to assure suitable cleanup of the state-owned sites after the crushing was completed.

Flyers soliciting donations to finance the project (Mainly to supply gasoline for the hauling vehicles) were printed at a discount by a local newspaper and sent out with the weekly edition. News releases emphasized that the services of Operation Scrap were to be free to all citizens owning junk cars.

All cars that had been released to the project were tagged with surveyor's tape and their locations marked on mailboxes or trees on the owner's property. Then convenient hauling routes were selected and a schedule designed for efficient pick-up so that project resources could be concentrated on cleaning up one area at a time, each in its turn.

GUARD HELPS

The Michigan National Guard was contacted and agreed to supply men and equipment from its armored division for three weekends of concentrated hauling. The Guard supplied over 20 men, 2 flat-bed trucks, 2 hydraulic lifts, and a pickup truck. The Benzie County Sheriff's Department assisted the operation by setting up radio communications for the Guardsmen and by providing volunteer escort service through traffic during actual towing and hauling.

National Guard efforts were facilitated by the local Farm Bureau which used its farm equipment to tow derelict cars out to the side of the road for pickup. In areas where farm equipment was not available, local wreckers and industry donated men and machines to either haul junkers to the side of the road or directly to the crushing sites. These volunteers also furnished their own gas.

The added publicity gained by the National Guard working on the project produced yet another response from local residents. A whole new wave of junk car releases came in to the committee. Newspaper and TV coverage kept local interest at a high level.

When the National Guard was no longer available for service, the County Road Commission took over hauling. The Commission supplied a driver and a helper for a period of 30 days—long enough to finish cleaning up the county.

General Motors Corporation became involved in Operation Scrap by donating the use of a flat-bed, tilt-bed truck with hydraulic lift and winch. The truck had been used on GM's proving grounds for hauling away wrecked cars.

Others gave whatever they could. Local oil and gas distributors, for instance, donated more than 800 gallons of gasoline for use by the towing and hauling vehicles. Additional gasoline provisions were taken care of through financial donations.

WHERE TO NOW?

When the project was completed, more than 5,000 junk cars had been processed and Benzie County became a more attractive place to work, live and vacation. A permanent dumping site for the derelict cars has been established at the county landfill, and as this area becomes filled, a crusher will be contacted to process all the cars on the site.

Despite a difficult job well done, Benzie County residents are not resting on their laurels. They are actively campaigning to establish a suitable junk car ordinance for their county. Past experience in other Michigan counties has shown that an enforceable ordinance prohibiting owners from abandoning non-operating motor vehicles on their property is absolutely necessary to prevent a cleaned-up area from again becoming cluttered with unused vehicles.

A NEW TRADE POLICY TOWARD COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, recently the Committee for Economic Development issued a statement which called for a worldwide economic panel to formulate ground rules to govern East-West trade. The CED's multinational statement appears as an appendix to its report "A New Trade Policy Toward Communist Countries."

The CED, a group of high-level U.S.

businessmen, supports increased East-West trade as a means of stimulating a less hostile relationship that can become the basis of a more peaceful world. The CED urges that the United States remove all restrictions on exports, except on military items, to most Communist countries, and change its trade policies to equalize Communist countries with other industrialized nations.

CED also believes that the United States should extend longer term credit to Communist block nations so that we would be competitive with other Western countries who trade with the Communist bloc. However, CED's recommendations do not apply to North Vietnam, North Korea, or Cuba.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that it is time for this country to begin negotiating for greater trade on a country-by-country basis with the Communist nations, eventually offering most-favored-nation status in return for fair trade guarantees.

A NATIONAL HISTORIC SHRINE:
THE THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO
HOME—A BICENTENNIAL COM-
MEMORATION TO POLISH-AMERI-
CAN HERITAGE HONORING GEN-
ERAL KOSCIUSZKO, AN OUT-
STANDING POLISH AMERICAN
PATRIOT

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, historically speaking, the strength of America lies in her representative democracy richly endowed with the traditions and achievements of our forebearers who came to America from all nations of the world. I know you and our colleagues here in the Congress will agree that the preservation and enhancement of America's democracy has been nourished and secured by the cultural standards of excellence that all nationalities have contributed to her greatness. Truly the deeds, courage, and fidelity to freedom of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko will be forever etched in the historical journals of America personifying the outstanding contributions that all of those of Polish heritage have so long contributed to the strength of our representative democracy.

The story of the men who rise above all others and excel in heroic deeds, statesmanship, dedication, devotion, courage, fortitude, compassion, and service to their fellowman continues to inspire each generation in man's constant quest for quality in our way of life. With the ever-increasing competition for the use of our land and escalating intrusions upon our environment, we sometimes forget the cultural needs of our people for a place to remember and reflect, separate the fiction from the nonfiction, and gain strength and inspiration in seeing, visiting, and touching the tangible evidence of the existence of these men of destiny.

The House Committee on Interior and

Insular Affairs has just concluded hearings on my bill H.R. 13457 and other similar measures sponsored by many of our colleagues calling for the establishment of the Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Historic Site in Philadelphia, Pa., where the renowned Polish engineer Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who played a decisive role in the American revolution for independence, resided during his historic, eventful days in America.

The history books are replete with the story of General Kosciuszko's meritorious contributions to America's beginning during the American Revolution as a Polish patriot who arrived in Philadelphia in August 1776 and quickly volunteered his extraordinary technical engineering expertise to the American colonies.

Mr. Speaker, this young Polish engineer's technical skills in choosing battlefields, erecting fortifications, surveying fields of operations, pointing out strategic areas, determining potential sources of food and water, and devising means for rapid transportation of troops and provisions during the American Revolution deserves, as it did then, the national recognition and esteem of all Americans. I am pleased to call to the attention of you and our colleagues here in the House my statement to the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Congressman WAYNE N. ASPINALL, in support of pending legislation to have General Kosciuszko's home in Philadelphia preserved as a national historic site. My endorsement to the committee reads as follows:

Mr. Chairman, as we approach the 200th anniversary celebration of America's Declaration of Independence, it is important that we seek to memorialize and remain steadfast in our national resolve to provide an historic preservation program that will properly honor and adequately portray the pioneering spirit, courage and heroic deeds of our forebearers—the peoples of all nations—who have made our United States of America the great country it is today through active participation in our country's history.

It gives me great pleasure to submit this written statement to you and the members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in support of my bill H.R. 13457 to provide for the establishment of the Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Historic Site in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Your committee's action in conducting public hearings on this legislation is most timely and sincerely appreciated by myself and other Members of the House who have sponsored similar measures seeking the preservation of this historic site which served as a home for the universally famed Polish patriot, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who arrived in Philadelphia in August 1776 and immediately volunteered his services in support of America's noble cause for independence.

The value of his rare extraordinary expertise in engineering to the American colonies during this revolution is clearly manifested by his meteoric rise to fame in America's army: He was commissioned a Colonel in the Northern Army by the Continental Congress in the Spring of 1777, appointed Chief Engineer of the Army of the South in 1780, and at war's end had earned the distinguished appointment of Brigadier General. It is also significant to note that, after America's victory, his return to Poland where he spent his remaining years fighting for the independence of Poland has further endeared him to all freedom-loving peoples of the world.

In measuring a normal lifespan of an individual, we are all agreed that General Kosciuszko's stay in America was brief in time but his heroic deeds and accomplishments as a member of America's pioneering fighting men of valor and acclaim are monumental and most deserving of a place in America's history and America's historic preservation program. As a "charter sponsor" of subject legislation, I respectfully seek your committee's favorable consideration of this measure which will establish the Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home in Philadelphia as a national historic site to be preserved and set aside in public ownership as an historically significant property associated with the life of the renowned Polish engineer and American General for the benefit and inspiration of the people of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I trust that this most important legislation will secure early approval of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs so that it can be scheduled on our congressional calendar for consideration by the full House in the near future so that we can move with dispatch in having this historic site included in the bicentennial preservation and restoration program for America's 200th anniversary celebration in 1976.

ON HONORING OUR INDIAN HERITAGE

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, September 22, we honor the American Indian, the native American whose heritage and culture has been a major, though little recognized, influence upon our society. For many years, society has systematically eradicated, neglected, and assimilated the American Indian in a misguided and largely unsuccessful attempt to erase his identity. In spite of attacks upon his lands, his culture, his language, his children and his religion, the American Indian has managed to survive and now is a vital part of the ongoing struggle of many minorities to achieve their rightful place in the political, economic, and social life of the system. And he has done so while maintaining a remarkable diversity of traditions with an extraordinary capacity for adaptation and innovation.

Although many Americans think of Indians only in terms of past glories, dead heroes, and lost territory, the first Americans possess a dynamic strength that manifests itself in their daily lives now as in the past. In addition, it offers us an invaluable model of the meaning of reverence for life. American Indians have a deep-seated sense of generosity and loyalty toward their families and friends. Their sense of pride, autonomy, and individual freedom is an ideal that has been directly adopted into the mainstream of American culture. The Indian appreciation of nature without exploitation or destruction is a way of life that we have only recently come to understand and emulate. Some of the best examples of democratic political systems

are found in the organizational structures of American Indian groups.

Throughout the United States, Indians are drawing on the strength of their traditions and organizing projects in an effort to preserve their heritage and to make it applicable to present situations. In California, the California rural Indian land project is attempting to increase the Indian land base and to retard the tendency for land to leave Indian ownership. I have cosponsored a bill to provide funds for the establishment of Denganawidah-Quetzacoatl University, a school dedicated to the progress of Native-American and Chicano people. The San Jose Indian Center, Incorporated acts as a clearinghouse and community resource, providing Indians and others with information about programs, meetings, and organizations that are working for and with Indians. Last summer, the Indians of all tribes proposed that Alcatraz Island be returned to the Indians to be used as a place of retreat, for ceremonies of earth renewal and purification, rededicating it to the healing power of nature in time for the 200th anniversary of the United States. There are only a few, localized examples of what Indians are doing, not only for themselves, but for the Nation as a whole.

Unfortunately, rather than recognizing and paying tribute to the contributions Indians have made to our society, the Federal Government is still operating, to a large extent, on the prejudices and stereotypes of the past. Paternalism and patronization continue to exist in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Despite a wealth of programs aimed at educational, nutritional, housing, and income improvement, the situation of the Indian has not materially improved. Economically and socially the American Indian still remains outside the mainstream of American life, unable to join the tide without sacrificing his identity. It should be our goal, by providing him with financial independence and allowing him to speak for himself, to enable the American Indian to achieve the status he has so long deserved as the proud and noble bearer of a rich, meaningful cultural heritage.

1972 OREGON FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, the 1972 Oregon Fourth Congressional District questionnaire, which is being sent this week throughout Oregon's Fourth Congressional District, includes questions covering issues such as busing, welfare reform, the sale of handguns known as Saturday night specials, the war in Vietnam, and the economic stabilization program. These are all issues about which Oregonians have expressed particular concern through correspondence or personal contacts.

The last question asking respondents

to choose what they consider to be the five most critical problem areas facing the Nation today and number them in order of importance is one which I ask each year. It not only indicates what problems are highest in concern on the minds of Fourth District residents, but it also helps point up the vast number of complex issues before Congress and the Nation.

The 1972 Oregon Fourth Congressional District questionnaire follows:

QUESTIONNAIRE

SEPTEMBER 1972.

DEAR FELLOW OREGONIAN, the returns of the questionnaire which I send annually throughout the Fourth District have been consistently helpful. This year the questions included cover issues which Oregonians have expressed particular concern about through correspondence and personal contacts.

In order to get an accurate assessment of the views of Fourth District residents, I need wide participation. I hope you will take the brief time necessary to look over these questions and let me know your opinions.

When you have completed the questionnaire, simply detach at the fold, place an eight-cent stamp on it and return it to me.

I will report the results of this year's opinion poll just as soon as they are tabulated. Thank you once again for your help.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN DELLENBACK,
Fourth District Congressman.

QUESTIONS

[Answers from two respondents]

1. What action, if any, should Congress take regarding the use of busing to end school segregation? (check one)

A. Leave responsibility with states and courts under guidelines of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

B. Legislatively set restrictions on busing.

C. Approve a Constitutional Amendment prohibiting the use of busing for school desegregation.

D. Other.

2. Do you favor a Federal law prohibiting the sale of handguns unsuitable for sporting use ("Saturday night specials")?

A. Yes. B. No. C. Undecided.

3. Which of the following steps do you think should be part of welfare reform? (check one or more)

A. Set a minimum benefit level for all recipients.

B. Have the Federal government take over from the states a greater share of welfare costs.

C. Require each recipient able to work to accept training or employment, or lose benefits.

D. Other.

4. A U.S. agreement to withdraw from Vietnam should include: (check one or more)

A. Return of POWs; accounting for MIAs.

B. Ceasefire under international supervision.

C. Replacement of Thieu government.

D. Withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam.

E. No conditions.

F. Other.

5. When Phase II of the economic stabilization program ends, what should the federal government do? (Check one)

A. Establish voluntary wage-price guidelines.

B. Establish mandatory wage-price controls.

C. Take no further action.

6. Which five of the following do you consider to be the most critical problem areas facing the nation today? Please number 1 through 5 in order of their importance.

Aid to agriculture, aid for elderly, anti-strike laws, campaign spending, consumer protection, crime, drug abuse, economy, edu-

cation, environment, foreign relations, government credibility;

Gun control, health care, housing, national defense, population control, poverty, race relations, sex discrimination, tax reform, unemployment, Vietnam, welfare, and others.

Age—Respondent No. 1: Under 21, 21-30, 31-45, 46-65, over 65.

Respondent No. 2: Under 21, 21-30, 31-45, 46-65, over 65.

GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE IN EDUCATION

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, our society today faces a serious challenge to traditional concepts of academic freedom and the integrity of the university.

One aspect of that challenge relates to the hiring of faculty members at the Nation's colleges and universities. Universities have been told, in effect, that their faculties must include a specific percentage of women, blacks, and members of other minorities. If they do not, all Federal aid and assistance will be shut off to them.

It is proper to ask where the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare receives the authority for the imposition of racial, ethnic, and sexual quotas? The answer is, it does not get this authority from any act of Congress, for the elected representatives of the people have never sanctioned this policy. The policy is a creation of the bureaucrats in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare themselves.

Prof. Paul Seabury expressed the view that Government agencies are not fighting discrimination in their interference in the academic world, but are calling for it. He wrote in *Commentary* magazine:

A striking contradiction exists between HEW's insistence that faculties prove that they do not discriminate and its demand for goals and timetables which require discrimination to occur. For there is no reason to suppose that equitable processes in individual cases will automatically produce results which are set in the timetables and statistical goals universities are now required to develop. If all that HEW wishes is evidence that universities are bending over backward to be fair, why should it require them to have statistical goals at all?

The danger we face is that a new Government-imposed racism is threatening the independence of our institutions of higher learning. At the August 3, 1972, meeting of the directors of the American Association of Presidents of Independent Colleges and Universities a resolution was passed which discussed this and related problems.

The group deplored "the increasing tendency of Federal and State governmental bodies to interfere with the governance and operation of independent institutions of higher education."

Among the actions which prompted the resolution were:

1. Government requirements affecting student admissions and college employment

policies, which force educational institutions to subordinate academic quality to other considerations.

2. Governmental intrusion into institutional policies affecting dormitory life and other aspects of campus living.

Dr. John Howard, president of Rockford College and head of the college presidents' association, declared that—

We cannot believe that it is the wish of the citizens that all higher education should be homogenized to conform to the ebb and flow of social theory . . . We call upon all thoughtful citizens to assist in sustaining the independence of the independent colleges and universities.

I wish to share with my colleagues the following memorandum to AAPICU members and education media from John T. McCarty, assistant to the president of Rockford College. This memorandum, which includes the resolution passed by the group and Dr. Howard's remarks, follows:

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF PRESIDENTS OF INDEPENDENT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

AUGUST 8, 1972.

To: AAPICU Members and Education Media
From: John T. McCarty

The following resolution was passed at the August 3, 1972 meeting of the Directors of the American Association of Presidents of Independent Colleges and Universities:

"RESOLUTION

"The Board of Directors of the American Association of Presidents of Independent Colleges and Universities deploras the increasing tendency of federal and state governmental bodies to interfere with the governance and operation of independent institutions of higher education.

"Prominent among the actions which prompt this resolution are:

"1. Government requirements affecting student admissions and college employment policies, which force the educational institution to subordinate academic quality to other considerations.

"2. Governmental intrusion into institutional policies affecting dormitory life and other aspects of campus living.

"We call upon our member presidents and all other citizens who recognize the importance of striving for intellectual excellence and who acknowledge the right of an independent college to engage in character education to join in appropriate action to resist the governmental regulation of independent higher education."

Dr. John A. Howard, president of Rockford College and head of the college presidents' association, in making public this Resolution, cited a recent memorandum of the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission as an illustration of inappropriate governmental intrusion into college policy. A letter from that Commission informed Pennsylvania college presidents that the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission Act "requires that all housing regulations, housing rules, or services facilities, advantages or privileges in connection with that housing be equal for male or female students". That interpretation would seem to prevent a college in an urban area from controlling nightly access to the women's dormitory as a safety precaution without doing the same for men's dormitories. It also would seem to prohibit the establishment of "late hours" for women and not for men students, in accord with a generations-long practice of many colleges, a practice that has reflected the judgment and the wish of the parents of many students as well as the judgment of the college.

"We cannot believe," said Dr. Howard, "that it is the wish of the citizens that all of higher education should be homogenized to con-

form to the ebb and flow of social theory. One of the great strengths of this nation has been a system of higher education characterized by a very great diversity, with different colleges operating on different assumptions and serving different objectives. Such a system not only supports and enhances a pluralistic society, but provides protection against over-response to the clamors of the day. We call upon all thoughtful citizens to assist in sustaining the independence of the independent colleges and universities."

EMERGENCY MEDICAL SERVICES

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, on September 6, 1972, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported H.R. 15859, the "Emergency Medical Services Act of 1972." While I recognize it is late in the session, I am hopeful that my colleagues will have the opportunity to vote on this vital bill this year. After 3 days of hearings, our Subcommittee on Public Health and Environment became convinced that much of the appalling loss of life and disability due to sudden catastrophic illness or accidents is unnecessary and can be prevented through implementation of proper emergency medical services systems. H.R. 15859 will support development of these vital programs.

Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, the Palm Beach Post-Times carried the following article describing the tragic quality of emergency medical care in this country. A similar article appeared in the New York Times on September 10. I include the Palm Beach Post-Times article in the RECORD at this point:

HEALTH SERVICES BLASTED: RESEARCHERS REPORT THOUSANDS DIE, BECAUSE OF DEFECTIVE EMERGENCY CARE

NEW YORK.—The National Academy of Sciences has charged that thousands of Americans die needlessly each year because of inadequate emergency health services.

In a report that sharply criticized the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the office of the President, the National Research Council, which is the operating arm of the academy, said emergency services represented "one of the weakest links in the delivery of health care in the nation."

Accidental injuries impose "a staggering demand" on the nation's health services, the report said, and it termed such injuries, the leading killer of Americans aged 1 through 38.

"Thousands of lives are lost through lack of systematic application of established principles of emergency care," the academy charged.

The report said many attendants who treated accident victims did not know even the basics of first aid. Other scientists have concluded from studies that as many as 18 per cent of automobile fatalities could have been averted if the victims had received proper emergency treatment.

The urgency expressed in the National Research Council's criticisms reflects growing efforts that private organizations like the American College of Surgeons are taking to try to improve the effectiveness of emergency health care services.

By stimulating better community plan-

ning, these organizations hope to raise the level of emergency care in this country to that existing in eastern Europe, where such training and care are regarded as the most sophisticated in the world. The council said in the report, written last March but released by the academy just this month:

"Federal agencies have not kept pace with the efforts of professional and allied health organizations to upgrade emergency health services."

A spokesman for the National Academy of Sciences in Washington said an early draft of the report had been sent to the White House before President Nixon delivered his State of the Union address before Congress last January. In that message, Mr. Nixon expressed concern about the lag in American emergency medical care.

As a result, the academy spokesman said, administration officials have begun to take steps to develop in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare more effective leadership in emergency medicine.

The release now of the academy's report coincides with publicity and legislative proposals by other organizations to dramatize the need for better emergency care.

The American Medical Association pointed out in an editorial in its journal that the association had sponsored legislation that asks for a new department of emergency medicine in HEW headed by a qualified health care professional appointed by the President. The proposed legislation also calls for measures recommended by the National Academy of Sciences to upgrade emergency care by improving the quality of ambulance vehicles and of the first-aid administered by drivers.

Meanwhile, more doctors are taking time to attend symposia on emergency medicine.

Doctors attending such meetings are among the increasing number of American physicians who are specializing fulltime in emergency medicine.

The four-year-old American College of Emergency Physicians, an organization of such specialists based in East Lansing, Mich., estimates that 15,000 doctors now qualify as emergency physicians. They are working fulltime in hospital emergency rooms, clinics, factories and part-time wherever large crowds gather, such as in sports and civic stadiums. Though comparative figures are not available, officials of the organization say they believe the present total of such specialists is considerably larger than it was a decade ago.

The common aim of such meetings and organizations is to focus on the magnitude of the problem of emergency care for the 52 million Americans who are injured each year.

Some 110,000 Americans die and 11 million must remain in bed at least one day each year from such injuries. It costs at least \$10 billion a year for the permanent disability that 400,000 injured Americans suffer, the council's report said.

Under an improved national arrangement, the council urged, life-saving measures such as the following should be taken:

Establishing a "911" emergency telephone reporting system on a nationwide basis (911 is the number that anyone can dial on a telephone in several cities such as New York for emergency assistance).

Upgrading the quality of ambulances to replace 80 per cent of the 25,000 ambulances in the country, which are hearses, limousines or station wagons and "inadequate in space and equipment."

Setting up urban and regional emergency communication centers that use radio-frequencies compatible for cross-communication. Operators should know medical terms to avoid confusion in conversations.

Creating a nationwide corps of properly trained emergency medical technicians assigned to ambulances fit to carry out measures now applied by personnel in hospitals,

emergency departments and by medical corpsmen in combat areas.

CONGRESSMAN WALDIE'S VIEWS ON REGIONAL CENTERS

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, the September 1972 issue of Regional Center Newsletter, published from the Children's Hospital of Los Angeles, had a lead article based on an interview with our colleague JERRY WALDIE regarding his thoughts on the regional center concept of aiding the mentally retarded.

Congressman WALDIE is uniquely qualified to discuss this issue, as he was California's leading legislative figure in the field of mental health care and treatment during his years in the California State Legislature.

Mr. Speaker, JERRY WALDIE continues to have a keen interest in this area, and has received much recognition from organizations devoted to assisting the mentally retarded.

The article follows:

"I think regional centers have helped to change people's attitudes toward the mentally retarded—for one thing, people now are beginning to realize that the MR individual is simply another individual in our society who has special problems." The man uttering these words can do so with authority for he is one of the VIP's in RC history.

Jerome Waldie, U.S. Congressman from Contra Costa County, the 14th Congressional District, served on the original fact-finding committee surveying alternatives to state hospitalization of the retarded and later introduced the legislation (AB 691) which established the regional center concept.

Recalling those days, Congressman Waldie explained that the central theme was to provide an alternative of keeping the individual in the community or in a facility other than a state institution if that facility would serve the MR individual best. Congressman Waldie believes that society has the obligation of providing each individual member an opportunity to develop his fullest potential regardless of how that potential is measured. "The fact that a child has been, in the past, categorized as 'MR' is perhaps just a cruel manner of describing the extent of that child's measured potential at that particular moment in time."

Although Congressman Waldie explained that there are no general plans for a federal education program on public awareness of MR, he heartily agrees that such a program would be worthwhile. He believes that there is in the community as well as in the state and nation a latent, but enormous sympathy for the problems of the retarded. "There is an enormous willingness to find solutions to these problems if only they can be presented in a manner that can bring this latent understanding and sympathy to the surface."

Continuing in this vein, he added, "I can think of no group in California that is more equipped to express its concerns with the directions these MR programs are going or its concerns over the lack of attention and priorities given to these programs than the families who have utilized the services of the regional centers."

Congressman Waldie would like to see Regional Center families organized throughout the state with a newsletter that would

not only be informative in terms of how the programs are developing in the various areas of the state, but also be action oriented—suggesting ways families could increase support for the RC concept. He also envisions having political candidates examined with reference to their commitments to the program. "I believe that there would be few candidates in the state that would not recognize the potential influence that such a state-wide organization would possess," he emphasized.

A native of Antioch, Congressman Waldie was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1966, after serving two terms in the state legislature. He is married and has three children, Jill, Jonathon and Jeffrey. A cum laude graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, he received his L.L.B. from the University of California School of Law in 1953.

FROM GARBAGE TO GREENS

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. CASEY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my fellow Members a couple of newspaper clippings concerning a proposed environmental project in Houston of which we are very proud.

The Holmes Road landfill in my district was, as projects of this nature tend to be, an eyesore in the midst of one of the fastest growing areas of Houston, which we all know is one of the greatest, most beautiful and dynamic cities in our country.

The landfill was closed approximately 2 years ago and has been unused since. It was a source of criticism and detracted from the Astroworld complex nearby and seen by so many tourists.

On August 29, the Houston City Council took steps to make this dump into a 27-hole golf course, to be designed with the aid of Houston golfer Jimmy Demaret. The council's action was, I feel, a wise and much-needed step toward local concern over the environment. As the Houston Chronicle's editorial writer said:

The project should make Houston into a shrine for the ecologists, because turning a 180-plus acre garbage dump into a 27-hole golf course has got to be one of the biggest recycling jobs in history.

I would like to share with you two clippings from our Houston newspaper—the first written by Clark Nealon, the Houston Post's sports director, and the other an editorial from the Houston Chronicle.

[From the Houston Post, Aug. 31, 1972]

A HOUSTON SHOWPLACE COULD BE RISING OUT OF A GARBAGE DUMP

(By Clark Nealon)

It's been a long time since an idea rang our bell like the one given the go-ahead by City Council in Tuesday's meeting.

Actually it isn't new because Councilman Johnny Goyen first proposed it in 1964, but Tuesday's action put the show on the road for what we think can become one of Houston's showplaces, a facility needed and long deserved by the legion of many golfers, a future site for the Houston Classic in an intelligent union between the City and the

Houston Golf Association in the interests of a progressive national image and marked for a practical piece of well located land.

Tuesday council, on recommendation of Parks and Recreation Director Bill Scheibe, gave the go-ahead for starting the planning of a golf complex on the 180-plus acres of the old Holmes Road garbage landfill, across Loop 610 south and west of the Astrodome.

The idea has unlimited, sound possibilities, including Scheibe's points Tuesday that this will be the first golf course Houston has built on revenue from fees paid by golfers on many courses and that there is the already investigated possibility of obtaining a matching federal grant.

We'd say the report that Council's decision was influenced by the enthusiasm and interest of Jimmy Demaret is correct, for rarely have we heard James Newton as keen for an idea on which he has pledged his work, his knowledge and his tremendous image in golf, gratis.

"I have told Bill Scheibe that I can't think of a better idea for the City and I have promised to work with the City and the other golf professionals of Houston on the project," Demaret said Wednesday.

"It's in an area that needs it, it's on land that's of practical value that is being used for nothing, it will be of service to golfers and the game of golf and it can be made into one of the most beautifully landscaped areas in Houston.

"Houston and golf have been good to me," continued Demaret, who with Jack Burke, already directs one of the nation's golf showplaces in Champions Golf Club on the other side of Houston. "I'm delighted to work with the city in any way they want me to work.

"I've looked at this site and the topography lends itself to a golf course. There's room for 27 holes, and the project can pay its way through fees.

Land values and use prevent building of many golf courses but this will be reclaiming land that is not being used.

The longer you've been around Houston the better you know that Demaret, the ex-caddy and muny golf course phenom, has been a great image of the game of golf and the City of Houston for nigh these 40 years. And if you're only a recent golf-oriented resident, certainly you have been conscious of the symbol of the game and the city that Demaret has been.

It's warming here that his enthusiasm for a project and its potential has had some influence on the go-ahead at last. He's known the pinnacle, Golf's Hall of Fame; the plush club life, three Masters' titles, worldwide touring as host of Shell's Wonderful World of Golf.

Yet at heart he's a muny golfer with a strong and unsophisticated pride and interest in Houston. Any Sunday morning he's in town, and despite his interest in Champions and now a new project in Onion Creek near Austin, you can find Demaret in the pro's shop at Memorial Park, in a bull session with muny golfers.

Demaret, like other veterans of a long, hard fight for muny golfers of Houston, enjoys the thought that finally the City plans to build a course from the revenue produced by the fees the muny golfers pay. Key to the argument over the years has been that the golf fees so often went into the general fund. And they're considerable. James keenly feels the problems of the muny golfer and welcomes this as a way to do right by his boys and get a job done in a facility of which Houston can be proud.

Hidebound, perhaps, but we're long been an advocate of open tournaments of muny courses. The thought is that an open golf tournament, in fundamental essence, is a clambake at which every fan should feel at home, a part of it all. Few, if any, muny courses can match the plush accommodations of the club courses but we cling to the

thought that they can be far closer to club accommodations, modern, neat and clean and more than adequate, and we hope that this new idea for Houston can be an illustration of the point.

And we've dared to hope that such advancement could be the theme of a union, certainly co-operation, between the City of Houston and the Houston Golf Association through the Houston Classic. An agreement with which both parties could live and work together to improve the lot of the muny golfer, the image of the game and the city, as a common, beneficial cause to both parties. Yes, an aid to tourism, the attractiveness of the city to visitors and planned trips here. And one more point to reflect it all in national television of the Classic as well as other national telecasts.

The HGA has shown repeatedly over the years that its a great example of everyday guys with a dedicated interest in the game and the city. It helped pioneer the sale of sponsorships that has utterly amazed a veteran like us, time and again.

The city's new project and the enthusiasm of the HGA, to us, meshes, seems to be directed at many of the same fundamental goals. And co-operation would hasten realization.

In any event, Tuesday's action by City Council is one more long-awaited municipal step. Enthusiastically welcomed here.

And a more genuine deynoter than J. Demaret couldn't have been found.

Fore, please! Get the show down the middle of the fairway.

[From the Houston Chronicle, Sept. 5, 1972]

FROM GARBAGE TO GREENS

The conversion of the Holmes Road landfill into a city golf course is the kind of project that's got everything going for it. It will please the sportsmen, it will enrich the neighborhood esthetically and it will bring some revenue to the city.

The project should make Houston into a shrine for the ecologists, because turning a 180-plus acre garbage dump into a 27 hole golf course has got to be one of the biggest recycling jobs in history.

The construction of the course will be getting the attention of a master; Houston golfer Jimmy Demaret will be advising, which should assure the complete metamorphosis of dump site to showcase.

The city deserves credit for imagination and foresight.

THE POW-MIA'S—REWARD FOR BETRAYAL

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, the following item appeared in the Washington Evening Star on April 18, 1966:

And boring directly in on Lyndon Johnson's trade and aid policies, New York attorney Richard M. Nixon declared that U.S. foreign aid should be cut off to any country helping the enemy in Vietnam.

Just a few months ago, the Economic Pressure Committee of the National League of Families of POW-MIA's in Southeast Asia called on all presidential and congressional candidates to pledge, if elected, to "actively support a trade embargo against all countries that supply goods or services to North Vietnam."

I made that promise in writing and have

in fact advocated cutting off all aid and trade with Communist nations throughout my public life—and before it as well.

Senator McGovern seems elated to receive a \$25 check at the direction of a prisoner of war incarcerated in North Vietnam, while "attorney Richard M. Nixon" as President has changed his tune and gives computer technology to the Soviet Union through aid and trade, enabling North Vietnam to computerize its anti-aircraft guns shooting down our planes and thereby adding more American prisoners of war to the dungeons in Hanoi. By what moral standard can this possibly be justified?

You do not have to dig very far to find out how disillusioned the families of these POW-MIA's are becoming. What is happening goes deeper than politics. It goes to the inner core of the soul of America. The soldier-statesman and our greatest military leader since Robert E. Lee, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, in his farewell speech at West Point summed up that inner core as "Duty—Honor—Country." Our soldiers, sailors and airmen who were taught that in their homes, churches and schools, and are now prisoners, are being asked to forget it and actually encouraged to collaborate with the enemy to gain their freedom.

Now the newspapers present to us the spectacle of three American prisoners about to be freed giving statements on behalf of the enemy, while their families will accompany self-confessed Communist Dave Dellinger and his hatchet-woman, Cora Weiss, to Hanoi. Cora was an organizer of the disruption of the 1968 Democratic National Convention and has been active in the New Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. She and Dellinger are cofounders of the Committee of Liaison with Families Detained in North Vietnam, through which Hanoi intends to deal as part of its strategy to induce many of the families of the POW-MIA's to join the antiwar movement and become tools of the enemy. The mother of one of the three men about to be released, Minnie Lee Garty, has participated in two major Communist-inspired antiwar demonstrations in New York and Washington.

Americans in the North Vietnamese prisons who do not cooperate will be dealt with by Cora's husband Peter Weiss, a member of the official legal bulwark of the Communist Party, the National Lawyers Guild. Peter, working on behalf of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, has been engaged for the past 2 years in gathering evidence to prosecute those POW-MIA's who do not kiss the boots of their brutal tormentors who hold them captive.

One POW wife asked me some time ago what I would do about all this if I were President. I told her that every day I had the chance I swam half a mile, but neither in the swimming pool nor anywhere else did I practice the Hanoi crawl. If I were President, there would very soon be a full Green Beret group and a Marine division knocking on their prison doors to bring all our POW-MIA's home, leaving not one unaccounted for. North Vietnam has committed all its combat divisions to the invasion of the South. They have none left to stop such an operation.

I want to see, as much as their families do, the tears of joy and relief when their men come home, having kept faith with the soul of America: Duty—Honor—Country.

SOVIET TRADE, YES—RHODESIAN TRADE, NO

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as the American people learn that our politico-economic leaders seek to make political hay out of trading with the Soviet Union, Red China, and apparently every Communist country but North Vietnam and Cuba, it is only right to question why they continue to prohibit trade under any conditions with Rhodesia.

The cynical war on Rhodesia ignores the truth and is dishonest.

A majority of the opinion molders of the United States continues to grind out the U.N. fabrication that Rhodesia is somehow a threat to world peace because the liberated government of that nation is said not to base its principles on self-determination and majority rule.

The same test is never applied to the masters of the Soviet Union or the unelected hierarchy of Red China and was conveniently forgotten to the peoples of Hungary and Poland when their countries were invaded and the democratic-leaning leaders overthrown because they may have constituted a threat of independence from the Soviet bloc. Trading with Communists but not with Rhodesia is ideological discrimination.

An interesting editorial appeared recently in Barron's Financial Weekly which follows my remarks:

LEFTIST OUTCRIES AGAINST RHODESIA IGNORE THE TRUTH

(By Robert M. Bleiberg)

Annual meeting time has come and nearly gone, bringing its customary quota of criticism from the floor and leaving its fair share of bruised executive egos. In sharp contrast to last year or the one before, this season in the main has been a relatively tranquil affair, with confrontations few and far between, riot and civil commotion conspicuously absent. Here and there, however, estimates of sales and earnings, no matter how rosy, have taken second place to angry protests. Thus, as the annual meeting of Union Carbide Corp., Chairman F. Perry Wilson disclosed that profits in the first quarter had increased 14 percent, and voiced confidence that the company "will make solid progress in 1972."

Nonetheless, dissident stockholders took management to task for "corporate offenses ranging from its activities in southern Africa to executive campaign contributions," while "a group of about 30 chanting demonstrators marched in front of company headquarters, protesting Union Carbide's recent importation of 26,000 tons of Rhodesian chrome." Mr. Wilson got off easier than his opposite number at Foote Mineral Co., whose annual meeting at the Barclay Hotel in Philadelphia drew a contingent of 50 pickets, which, in between denunciations of the company for dealing with white supremacists, "danced and sang to the sound of African bongo drums."

On Capitol Hill, which usually marches to a different drum, both Congressmen and Senators lately have taken up the beat. Negro members of the House of Representatives, organized into a so-called Black Caucus, have publicly called for the destruction of American property in Rhodesia and South Africa and the violent overthrow of their racist regimes.

Pending that happy outcome, together with various church groups and the outlawed Zimbabwe African National Union—have brought suit in U.S. District Court seeking an injunction against the use of chrome ore shipped from Rhodesia to these shores by Foote Mineral and Union Carbide.

Meanwhile, in the upper chamber, with the blessings of the State Department, are pushing the repeal of last year's Byrd Amendment, which made such imports legal.

Fanaticism, said George Santayana, is redoubling one's effort while losing sight of one's aim, but the radical left is something else. For nearly half a century, despite compelling evidence to the contrary, it has proclaimed the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti, anarchists and convicted killers, and, with equally ruthless disregard of proven fact, has launched a campaign to whitewash the Rosenbergs and Alger Hiss.

TRUTH IGNORED

By the same token, the fanatical war on Rhodesia is longer on ideology than on respect for truth. By trading with Rhodesia, charged the leader of the demonstration against Foote Mineral, the U.S. "has saved Ian Smith's government from economic disaster." In truth, thanks to the widespread flouting of United Nations sanctions, notably by neighboring Zambia and other black African states, Rhodesia for the past half-decade has flourished.

More to the point, by repealing the Byrd Amendment, Congress would deliberately reimpose a financial burden on both procedures and consumers of stainless steel (which requires chrome, and once again make this country heavily dependent upon the Soviet Union for a vital raw material.)

Finally, while boycotting Rhodesia—only strategic products are free of the general ban—for its repugnant form of government (which, in U.N. eyes, at any rate, constitutes a "threat to peace"), the U.S. is briskly extending the hand of friendship, not to mention offers of tangible financial aid, to two of the bloodiest tyrannies in the history of mankind. You can't do business with Smith, but you can subsidize Kosygin, Brezhnev and Mao.

ECONOMIC WAR

Armed with this double standard, the U.S. for years has been waging economic warfare on Rhodesia. Pursuant to a resolution of the U.N. Security Council in December 1966 (reaffirmed and strengthened in May 1968), President Lyndon Johnson by Executive Order imposed sanctions on that country, violations of which are punishable by fines of \$10,000 and prison sentences up to 10 years. (In first case of the kind, five defendants recently pleaded guilty to violating the embargo by supplying ammonia to a Rhodesian fertilizer plant—some crime against humanity.)

Under the Nixon Administration, things continued in the ugly vein until last fall, when Senator Harry F. Byrd Jr. (D., Va.) succeeded in amending the military procurement authorization bill, to permit, in effect, the importation of Rhodesian chrome and other "strategic and critical raw materials." Since then, to the outrage of the Black Caucus and corporate pickets, shipments totaling fifty thousand tons have landed in the U.S., and efforts to repeal the Byrd Amendment have redoubled. Last week's collapse of the tentative agreement between Her Majesty's Government and Salisbury, based on findings that the black majority disapproved of its terms, doubtless will intensify the drive.

As an economic weapon—her Satayana's definition applies—the international embargo has been a joke. Since Rhodesia's Declaration of Independence in 1965, production and trade have risen by 10 per cent per year.

This is how Salisbury looked a few months ago to Ray Vicker, chief European correspondent of *The Wall Street Journal*: "Japanese, French, German and Italian businessmen are encountered in hotel lobbies here. Hertz' Rhodesian outlets offer Japanese-made Toyotas for rent, while Avis competes with German-made BMWs. Liquor stores carry stocks of British gin and choice Scotch. Italian shoes are popular with Rhodesian women, while French wines are found at top hosteleries. . . .

Rhodesia's manufacturing industries have expanded to provide many products that were formerly imported. Manufacturing expanded 12.5 per cent in 1970 from 1969, and probably will show an increase of around 8 per cent this year. "We can continue to get by indefinitely, if we have to," says one Rhodesian sanctions buster, who travels the world negotiating agreements for Rhodesian exports and imports.

JOKE ON U.S.A.

Until last fall, moreover, the joke was on this country, which wound up paying an exorbitant price for chrome mined in the Soviet Union (or, there is reason to suspect, merely transshipped via Moscow from Rhodesian mines).

After the imposition of U.N. sanctions, the price of imported chromite soared from \$33 a ton to \$72, to the pleasure and profit of the Kremlin, which, like the most rapacious capitalist, charged whatever the traffic would bear.

—to judge by results of sophisticated analysis performed by Crucible Steel, which found that the Soviet Union differed markedly from that of Rhodesia—probably had its origins in racist mines. According to one State Department spokesman: "Occasionally we have heard of Russian ships docked in Africa to pick up Rhodesian chromite, but verification has proved this not to be the case." Trust Foggy Bottom to try to prove a negative.

LEGAL VIEW

So much for the dollars and sense. As to the legality of the Byrd Amendment, the controversy, as noted, has landed in the courts, where a U.S. District Court judge has refused to issue a preliminary injunction against Foote Mineral and Union Carbide.

Plaintiffs doubtless will appeal to higher authority. However, at least one eminent lawyer, the late Dean Acheson, had no doubts as to the illegality of the embargo. In a memorable address before the American Bar Association in 1968, he stated: "It would surprise some of our fellow citizens, though hardly anyone here, to learn that the United States is engaged in an international conspiracy, instigated by Britain and blessed by the United Nations, to overthrow the government of a country that has done us no harm and threatens no one . . . (this is) barefaced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle."

Why was Rhodesia, alone among nations, singled out as a threat to world peace? The State Department in 1969 offered a reason: "American policy on Rhodesia rests on the basic principles of self-determination and majority rule."

The explanation must have impressed billions of disenfranchised, hopeless people throughout Latin America, Asia and Africa, not to mention the Soviet Union, upon which the Nixon Administration is eagerly preparing to lavish most-favored-nation treatment and subsidized credits. What a shame!

WHY ROOSEVELT IS SUPPORTING NIXON

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, many of us who are now in the House remember when Jimmie Roosevelt was a colleague of ours in this body. Although it is admitted that many of us may have disagreed with Jimmie on many of the matters which he presented the House, we never doubted his sincerity or his integrity.

He was one who came carefully prepared with facts and figures to support his position and it greatly upset him to hear people debating on the floor who had neither the facts nor the figures or were fully informed on the issue. He was a stickler for accuracy and knowledge on the particular subject which was under debate.

Jimmie Roosevelt was probably closest to his father of all the Roosevelt children while FDR was President. In the early days, he helped his father in getting about and always seemed to be at the President's elbow. In short, Jimmie was a self-indoctrinated New Dealer and an enthusiastic Democrat. For him to make a change in even one election to support a Republican President certainly takes a lot of courage on his part.

I am sure he has come to this conclusion only after the most careful consideration and that he believes conscientiously that he ought to support President Nixon under all the circumstances of this period in history.

In an excellent article by him in the *Los Angeles Times* of September 8, James Roosevelt sets out why he believes he will vote for Richard Nixon in November. In view of the fact that Jimmie Roosevelt was a prominent member of this body and such a strong Democrat, I am sure all of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will want to read Jimmie Roosevelt's reasons for supporting Richard Nixon in 1972.

The article follows:

WHY A ROOSEVELT IS SUPPORTING NIXON

(By James Roosevelt)

All Democrats and citizens in general have a right to ask for the reasons why certain Democrats in this coming election will vote for a Republican, Richard M. Nixon. Here are some of them in necessarily abbreviated form.

We believe the powers and opportunities of the office of the President are so vast that the country should not deny the incumbent a second term unless the alternative candidate is clearly a better prospective user of those powers and opportunities or unless the incumbent has notably failed in his leadership of the country.

President Nixon, from any objective viewpoint, has opened doors and initiated new sources of trade, disarmament and overall avenues for the peaceful solution of some of the world's most pressing problems by his courageous visits to Peking and Moscow. His handling of Middle Eastern problems has lessened tensions and he has given aid to Israel, our best ally in that area, in a manner

which has evoked their outspoken appreciation.

Contrast this with the statement of Sen. George S. McGovern that he would give up American naval bases in Greece because we don't like the nondemocratic Greek government. Is that enough reason to give the Russians complete control of the eastern Mediterranean and expose Israel to indefensible pressure from hostile naval forces?

The Nixon handling of the Vietnam war is more open to contention. On one hand he has withdrawn American ground forces from the combat area in an orderly and rapid program. He has offered a peace plan, obviously more than just and fair, and received until now no response showing any real desire for a ceasefire from the dictatorship of North Vietnam. One must wonder, if North Vietnam is sincere in not wanting to impose control on South Vietnam, why it has not made some sort of cease-fire offer, while political matters are negotiated.

On the other hand, the continued bombing and the precise manner of its renewal are certainly open to criticism from a moral standpoint. But what does the President's opponent offer? An abject pullout of all U.S. military forces after which he would go to Hanoi "to beg" for the release of our prisoners of war. This would save a few American lives, many North Vietnamese lives, and assure a blood-bath of South Vietnamese lives. Not exactly a glorious chapter for American history.

On top of this, for anyone to say, as McGovern has said, that begging will assure the return of the prisoners within 90 days is just plain demagogic. This is particularly so when most knowledgeable people foresee as a bargaining ploy a heavy demand, if not blackmail, for an American dollar rehabilitation plan. But no beggar has yet won a fair deal, or any deal, except captivity from a dictatorship. Everybody wants peace. Some want peace at any price to America's future. I want peace and badly, but not at any price nor at a dishonorable price.

On the domestic side the issues are even more clearly drawn. In four years the Nixon Administration has halved the rate of inflation; there has been no decrease in unemployment but over 2½ million more people are on jobs; business activity is steadily increasing; Social Security benefits have been increased substantially and a good start made on reducing the chaos of the welfare problem.

Contrast this with the almost unbelievable inconsistency of McGovern's position on taxes and welfare. Four differing solutions on welfare and taxes since 1970 forced by the exposure of the faulty mathematics and the patently unsound basis behind them. When the heat was on the "bold new proposals," McGovern melted them. Everyone is entitled to some mistakes but not to such a continuing and backward stretching series.

President Nixon isn't perfect either. Democrats, including myself, are not happy with his Supreme Court appointments, but he didn't veer from 1,000% support to zero. What kind of appointments can the country expect after the Eagleton, Salinger and O'Brien fiascos?

There isn't much change in this from the man who as a delegate in 1948 left the Democratic Party to vote for the nomination of Henry Wallace at the Progressive Party convention. But the campaign heat brought a return to Harry S. Truman before November. There is no growth from the man who voted on both sides of the issues in the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin legislation of 1959, who in 1964 voted against labor in the efforts in the Senate to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act and cast a vote at the behest of the special interest wheat exporting companies.

There are also inconsistencies in the McGovern record on civil rights. McGovern co-sponsored some but initiated no civil rights legislation on his own and all eight bills he cosponsored never left the committee stage.

To be President a man must have achieved a certain toughness of spirit and soul. It usually comes from some searing incident, personal or political. For my father it was a nearly fatal illness, for Mr. Nixon it was his despair after losing to Gov. Brown for governor of California in 1962. Men of sufficient timbre to be President recover. It took Mr. Nixon six years of dogged effort. In McGovern, I hear the crusading voice, but week by week, I see the same inept changing, the inability to break away from poor advisers and perhaps even from those to whom he has given control of his campaign. These seem to be those for whom power for the so-called New Democrats is more important than the best interests of the country.

We need change, but in my belief the whole system is not ready for the junk yard.

Finally, do I now love the "old Nixon"? Have I forgotten Jerry Voorhis or Helen Gahagan Douglas? Flatly, No. But a man is entitled to grow. I believe I have seen Richard Nixon grow. The office of the President has done it for most men. At this point in our country's history, the Democratic Party has not nominated a man of sufficient stature, proven record or future promise to deny Richard Nixon reelection as President. We Democrats for Nixon support him and at the same time urge election of a Democratic Congress to guarantee there will be no turning backward. We wish to prevent a wild, ill considered leadership coming from a McGovern controlled White House.

WHY SOME DEMS WILL SUPPORT NIXON

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 20, 1972

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, although this political year should have taught me

by now to expect the unexpected, I was still pleasantly surprised to read in the September 12, 1972, Saint Paul Pioneer Press a reasoned and glowing endorsement of President Nixon by FDR's eldest son and former Congressman, James Roosevelt. I could not have made the case better myself.

The article follows:

WHY SOME DEMS WILL SUPPORT NIXON

(By James Roosevelt)

(NOTE.—James Roosevelt, eldest son of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was elected to six terms in Congress as a Democrat and ran unsuccessfully for governor of California (1950) and mayor of Los Angeles (1965)).

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On the other hand, the continued bombing and the precise manner of its renewal are certainly open to criticism from a moral standpoint. But what does the President's opponent offer? An abject pullout of U.S. military forces after which he would go to Hanoi "to beg" for the release of our prisoners of war.

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We need change, but in my belief the whole system is not ready for the junk yard.

SENATE—Thursday, September 21, 1972

The Senate met at 9 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. EASTLAND).

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, amid the bustle and busyness of these days, we pause with quiet and reverent hearts, seeking the peace, the poise, and the power which comes from Thee. Give Thy servants ears to hear and hearts to obey the still small voice from within. Shed Thy light upon our daily work investing even the smallest duty and the humblest task with divine approbation. Help us to give primacy to the things which matter most. Lead us step by step to the completion of the work and fulfillment of the public trust. Make us partners with Thee in making ready the coming of the day when Thy will is done on earth as it is in heaven.

We pray in His name who first fulfilled Thy kingdom. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, September 20, 1972, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the calendar beginning with Calendar No. 1122.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF DICKINSON COLLEGE

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 90) commemorating the 200th anniversary of Dickinson College, was considered and agreed to, as follows:

S. CON. RES. 90

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress of the United States extends its greetings and congratulations to Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, on the occasion of the observance and celebration by that institution of its two hundredth anniversary, and expresses its recognition of the contribution which Dickinson College has made to educational excellence, and its appreciation of the leadership role which many distinguished alumni of Dickinson have played in the life and affairs of this Nation.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill, H.R. 9135, to amend the act of August 19, 1964, to remove the limitation on the maximum number of members of the board of trustees on the Pacific Tropical Botanical Garden was announced as next in order.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Over, Mr. President. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.