

FRANCES G. KNIGHT—EXCELLENT ADMINISTRATOR

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I commend Frances G. Knight, Director of the Passport Office, on that Agency's highly successful year. I think few people realize the extent of the service offered by the Passport Office. This Office is responsible for many activities other than accepting passport applications and issuing passports. I was informed, and impressed by Mrs. Knight that once again the collections made by the Passport Office were in excess of direct operating funds, this year by \$14,570,000.

The following is a summary of the year-end report of the Passport Office for the fiscal year 1972:

In Fiscal Year 1972 the Passport Office issued a total of 2,605,321 passports. This volume of passports issued represents an increase in workload of 12.7% over the passports issued the previous year. Personnel utilization increased by 12.0% in FY 1972 from 702 man-years utilized in FY 1971 to 786 man-years utilized in FY 1972.

During FY 1972 the Passport Office collected an estimated \$25,955,783 in passport fees, an increase of 14.2% over FY 1971. Direct operating funds for FY 1972, including pay for permanent personnel for which funds are not allocated to the Passport Office, amounted to approximately \$11,389,000, resulting in a surplus of collections in excess of direct operating funds amounting to approximately \$14,570,000.

In addition to the basic workload of processing and issuing passports, the Passport Office also furnished numerous other services and performed many other significant and important work functions, studies and projects not directly related to the processing and issuance of passports. The Passport Office is composed of four divisions which carry out the various work function.

First, the Administrative Division is primarily responsible for providing personnel and administrative support, technical services, equipment and supplies to all the operating areas of the Passport Office. The Division's work functions are generally service oriented and, in the main, are not directly related to passport processing. In several significant functions, however, such as mail processing, filing of applications, accounting, and name clearances the workloads performed in this Division are closely associated with passport processing.

During Fiscal Year 1972 the Administrative Division experienced increases in all categories of support work, as well as increases in nonmeasured workloads involving budget submissions, data for other agencies of government, special studies, projects and services.

Secondly, the Domestic Operations Division is primarily responsible for the issuance of passports in the United States and for the operations of the ten Passport Field Agencies and the National Office in Washington, D.C.

In addition to its normal workload of issuing passports to the general public, the Division is also involved in numerous services and work functions, as well as staff and management duties which are not directly related to the processing and issuance of passports to the general public. Diplomatic and Official

passports are listed as additional workloads performed by the Domestic Operations Division since they are handled as a special service for other Government agencies. Other services handled by this division are as follows: post adjudication of Insular applications, review of Post Office applications (Washington Only), filing of Locator and Status Cards, and other services.

During FY 1972 the Foreign Operations Division received a total of 46,844 cases from the Foreign Service Posts and other areas throughout the world which required action or advisory opinion. This represents an increase of 12.4% over the 41,689 cases received from the same sources during FY 1971. In FY 1972, 45,965 cases were completed as compared to 40,208 in FY 1971, an increase of 14.3%.

The Foreign Operations Division performs a multitude of services and support activities which are both directly and indirectly involved in the processing and production of passports issued overseas.

The casework category of Foreign Operations Division consists of fraudulent naturalization, certificates of loss of nationality, registration application, passport application, consular reports of birth, correspondence and consular letters, advisory opinions, and lost and found.

The fourth division is the Legal Division which performs mainly service oriented work of a legal and quasi-legal nature. These activities and services are not directly related to the processing and issuance of passports.

During the FY 1972 the legal division completed 34,788 cases ranging from travel control cases to civil action. This represents a 16.3% increase over the 29,919 cases that were completed in FY 1971. The workload consisted of: discretionary actions, fraud cases, criminal prosecution, child custody cases, and circular outlooks.

address this afternoon before the National Federation of Republican Women, I accepted with alacrity and with much pleasure. Some years ago John Foster Dulles told me that in a free society, public attitudes could be crucial in forming public policy. He went on to say that those of us who have lived with foreign affairs should speak out and tell the story of our own experiences. So I am doubly pleased and honored to be here because I am well aware of the wide influence that you have in America. I also know that you are hardworking and dedicated Republicans.

I am very pleased to note in your calendar of events that you are having an opportunity to visit some of the historic places in and around Boston. After your Boston Tea Party is over Saturday, if your weekend remains open, I urge you to visit one or all three of the northern New England states, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, and witness the opening of the fall foliage season. If you do, you will see the forests coming alive in brilliant color. It could be an experience that you will never forget. Then you can return home refreshed and ready to rededicate yourselves to bring about an overwhelming Republican victory in November.

Since January 1969, President Nixon's foreign policy initiatives have electrified people all over the world. His critics, including certain members of the Democratic Party, have been mystified and confused. As a former Ambassador to four countries, who began in the Foreign Service as a Vice Consul in India many years ago, I have followed the President's initiatives with more than casual interest.

This morning I heard on NBC's Today Show that for the first time in seven long years seven days have gone by without a single American death in Vietnam. I hope the Democratic Party has taken note of this wonderful news.

What President in your memory has ever inherited such a mess as our President did in January, 1969? I am sick and tired, as I am sure you are, of the baleful hounds that try to sicken the minds of the people around the world by saying that our President has no plan to end the war. I do not like to use statistics to prove a point, but they are so impressive in this case. 547 thousand Americans were in Vietnam in 1969 and there are only 37 thousand there today. I recognize that there are several thousand military personnel in the surrounding area, helping to make it possible for the President to phase the United States out of the war, but all the same, what an accomplishment in four years?

I wish the entrepreneurs of doom, such as the candidate of the opposition party and his talkative seventh man, Mr. Shriver, and the self appointed Diplomatic Representative to the Paris Peace Talks, Mr. Salinger, would let the President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and Dr. Kissinger continue to work ourselves out of this mess that we inherited from the Democratic Administration. Unfortunately, this is expecting too much in a political year.

No well informed person in foreign affairs thinks for a moment that the rest of the long road out of Vietnam is not without problems and years of resolve on the part of the people of South Vietnam, if they are to remain free and survive as a nation, but there is another ingredient in Southeast Asia that should not be forgotten. The United States did not cut and run and leave this area to be overrun by the Communists to the north. Don't think other nations in the world have lost sight of this important fact.

President Nixon's handling of Vietnam is a perfect example of his wide experience in

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THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AND THE CANDIDATES—ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT C. HILL

HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, the Honorable Robert C. Hill hails from the State of New Hampshire and has had a distinguished career in the diplomatic service, having served as Ambassador to Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, and more recently, Spain.

Ambassador Hill recently delivered a speech before the National Federation of Republican Women Executive and Board Directors meeting in Boston, in which he expressed his views of the national campaign and of the candidates. By request, I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the RECORD.

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

ADDRESS BY FORMER U.S. AMBASSADOR ROBERT C. HILL BEFORE THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN EXECUTIVE AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

When your president, Mrs. Armitage, and my friend, Mrs. Mildred Tottman from New Hampshire, invited me to give the keynote

foreign affairs. He well knows that dealing with an enemy can only be done through strength.

How well I remember those lonely days after the California defeat when he practiced law in New York. During those years he studied, traveled, and worked to prepare himself for leadership, in the event he was called upon by his countrymen. He made many trips abroad during the 60's consulting with world leaders like DeGaulle, Adenauer, and His Holiness, and many others. How embarrassed a former Ambassador of France to the United States must be because he urged DeGaulle not to see Mr. Nixon in 1963, because he was a has-been politician. DeGaulle's alleged reply to his Ambassador was, "I shall see Mr. Nixon. I believe his future is ahead of him."

During these years I saw the President frequently. I continued to be amazed that at no time did he show discouragement. He just kept moving along and preparing himself to serve his country, if called upon.

As responsible ladies, I am sure you are following the dangerous and explosive developments in the Middle East. This is an area of world affairs where I have had no personal experience, except from the vantage point of Spain, which, geographically, rests on the other side of the Mediterranean. However, during my three years in Spain, we watched events in the Middle East carefully and reported our observations to Washington. Despite the serious situation today, Secretary Rogers and Assistant Secretary Sisco deserve great credit for the direction of U.S. policy in this area. They have not sought newspaper headlines, but have sought tangible solutions to historic problems that have existed for centuries. Their good judgment and advice has brought much praise from foreign officers of many countries in Europe.

In recent days we have read about a dangerous uprising in Uganda. My wife and I just returned from London where refugees and exiles are streaming in by the hundreds in an effort to find a new life. I trust you have noted that the United States has remained calm. To my knowledge, we have not tried to be the policemen of this tragic situation. At last that day is over, thanks to the President's foreign policy.

No doubt there are many in the audience who have questions and observations about the President's trips to China and Russia. These trips may be the most important foreign policy events in the second half of the Twentieth Century. No doubt you have noted the months of careful preparation that led up to these awesome state visits. Only time will tell if these foreign policy initiatives will bring the lessening of international tensions that people all over the world yearn for.

These are a few of the areas of the world that I thought you ladies might be interested in. Yet, there is one more, and it leaves me with a heavy heart in raising the subject. Yet, it is absolutely essential that you understand the purpose and meaning. I speak of terrorism. Recent events in Munich, London, Stockholm, and Madrid are only a few acts of violence that have again startled the world. Howard K. Smith, eminent newscaster for ABC, stated on his September 7, 1972 broadcast the following:

"A lot of study and thought has to be given to how we got into a situation in which tiny bands of ruthless terrorists can disrupt nations, as in Northern Ireland, or the world, as in Munich.

"Until a better analysis comes up, I propose this.

"In the year 1960, Khrushchev, the keynoter of a still monolithic Communist movement, made this speech, announcing a change in line.

"He said, in a nuclear world, big wars are no longer feasible. And he proposed co-existence.

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"But he supported what he called Wars of National Liberation. That is, small fanatical groups, heedless of life, well armed, who could so disrupt society as to give minorities control of whole nations.

"North Vietnam was the first success, nourishing such groups all over Southeast Asia, defying opposition even from the world's strongest nation, the United States.

"I suggest that from these two acts, Khrushchev's line and Hanoi's example, all the rest have been inspired to act—the Tupamaros, the IRA, for awhile the Panthers here, those guerrillas in Munich, and others.

"I don't mean Russia controls them; indeed she seems frightened at how far out of control Khrushchev's idea has gone. But she and Hanoi" (and I would add Castro of Cuba) "have created a new fashion in revolution, against the people, rather than for them.

"It is going to be unpleasant, but civilized people are going to have to accept much more police security, and put up much tougher resistance until the fashion dies, or is discredited by defeats."

So ladies of the National Federation of Republican Women, let's continue to look at life carefully and realistically, but let us not lose that great American ideal, Peace on Earth and good will toward mankind. God bless you ladies, and God bless the United States of America.

Thank you and good afternoon.

COMPLAINT AGAINST PRESIDENT NIXON

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested by my constituent, Mr. Anthony R. Martin-Trigona, to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD his complaint against President Nixon, which he has filed in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, in case No. 72C 2382. The complaint seeks to require the President to suspend military and economic aid to certain nations for their failure to comply with Public Law 92-226, requiring the suspension of such aid to any country which has failed to take adequate steps to prevent the flow of drugs.

The complaint follows:

[In the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, Civil Action No. 72C 2382]

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, EX REL. ANTHONY R. MARTIN-TRIGONA, ANTHONY R. MARTIN-TRIGONA, PLAINTIFFS, VS. RICHARD M. NIXON, DEFENDANT

COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY JUDGMENT AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF

The plaintiffs complain of the defendant and say:

1. *Jurisdiction.* This court has jurisdiction under, *inter alia*, 28 U.S.C. §§ 1331, 1331; 28 U.S.C. §§ 2201, 2202.

This is an action in the nature of mandamus to require the President of the United States to suspend military and economic aid to the following nations: Republic of Vietnam, Kingdom of Laos, Kingdom of Thailand, under the provisions of Public Law 92-226, 86 Stat. 24. This action also seeks a declaratory judgment that the President of the United States is "required" to suspend military and economic aid to the nations in ac-

cordance with Public Law 92-226 and that such a suspension is now "required" by the factual situation existing in the aforementioned nations of Southeast Asia.

2. *Parties.* Plaintiff Anthony R. Martin-Trigona is a citizen of the United States and a taxpayer of the United States.

Defendant Richard M. Nixon is President of the United States and is currently a candidate for reelection to that office.

3. *Statement of the Action.*

A. There is a nationwide epidemic of drug infestation in the United States which is injurious to the citizens of the United States.

B. The Congress of the United States, in enacting Public Law 92-226, found that effective international cooperation was essential to any successful effort at stemming the flow of dangerous drugs into the United States.

C. The Congress provided the President of the United States with two discretionary powers and one mandatory power, namely: (a) "The President is authorized to conclude agreements with other countries . . ."; ". . . the President is authorized to furnish assistance to any country . . ."; (b) "The President shall (emphasis added) suspend economic and military assistance . . . with respect to any country when . . . such country has failed to take adequate steps to prevent narcotic drugs . . ."

D. The President of the United States is under a statutory requirement to suspend aid when the facts and circumstances indicate that a nation has failed to comply with the purpose of Public Law 92-226.

E. The President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, agrees with this interpretation of the statute, to wit: On Monday, September 18, 1972, President Nixon stated and was quoted as follows (emphasis added): "The President of the United States is required by statute to suspend all American economic and military assistance. . . I shall not hesitate to comply with that law. I consider keeping dangerous drugs out of the United States just as important as keeping armed enemy forces from landing in the United States.

The language of the President clearly indicates in his own words that (a) he is under a statutory, non-discretionary requirement to suspend aid and (b) since he is required to "comply" with this statute, his executive discretion is circumscribed by that statute.

F. The President has within his possession documents, evidence and facts conclusively establishing violation and non-compliance with the statutory mandate of Public Law 92-226 and the attendant requirement on the President to suspend aid under the statute.

G. The President has failed to act and suspend aid in violation of his statutory obligation, acting in excess of and beyond and ignoring his statutory duty, and without justification in failing to take such required suspension action.

H. The President also has within and under his control and possession documents and other materials reposing in the executive agencies including, but not limited to, the Department of State, Department of Defense and Central Intelligence agency, all indicating that suspension is required under the terms of the applicable statute for the referenced nations.

I. The President can take official notice of the fact that at least one government does not even provide for criminal penalties for the control of some dangerous drugs and the President can and must take official notice of this failure to enact appropriate statutory remedies within and for the Kingdom and government of Laos.

J. The President can take as *prima facie* evidence of non compliance the large number of drug addicted American military personnel who have returned from The Repub-

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lic of Viet-Nam and the Kingdom of Thailand.

K. The President can take official notice of United States government testimony tending to show that the national traffic has grown from a trickle to a torrent during his administration.

L. The President has not requested any waiver or modification from the Congress of his clear (and understood by the President) statutory responsibility with respect to the suspension of aid for nations in Southeast Asia.

M. It is clear from the referenced statute that the duty to suspend aid is a mandatory one on the President and he has so interpreted it and stated his duty to comply thereunder.

N. That mandamus will lie to require an officer of the United States to perform an act which he is under a duty to perform and which he is "required" to perform to "comply" with a statutory responsibility.

O. That based on the facts and materials in the public record, matters of involvement in which the Central Intelligence Agency has stated a position, and matters of official record, the President must, on the basis of clear and convincing evidence, a preponderance and indeed, evidence which establishes the point to which it is directed beyond any reasonable doubt, suspend aid to the referenced nations.

P. That the President has made no finding against the weight of the public evidence indicating conclusively that the referenced nations have failed to take meaningful, severe and productive actions to stem the flow of dangerous drugs into the United States and to United States personnel and dependents.

WHEREFORE, THE PLAINTIFFS SUE AND DEMAND JUDGMENT AS FOLLOWS:

1. That the plaintiffs have and receive judgment that the President must comply with the clear statutory intent and suspend aid to the nations in question.

2. That the evidence available in the public domain establishes beyond any reasonable doubt, with a convincing weight of the evidence, and with a preponderance of the evidence, that the referenced nations have failed to take action contemplated under the statute and must have their aid suspended.

3. That the President is under a duty to "comply" with the statute, and must now so comply and suspend aid to the nations in question.

Respectfully submitted.

ANTHONY R. MARTIN-TRIGONA,
Relator and Individual Plaintiff.

EDUCATION THROUGH AVIATION

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, most Americans know Lloyd Haynes as Pete Dixon, a high school teacher on the ABC Television series "Room 222." Few know him as the prime mover behind an Education through Aviation program—ETA—in Santa Monica, Calif. The program embodies the concept of learning through aviation fostered by the Federal Aviation Administration.

From securing the use of ground school facilities, recruiting pilots as instructors, to arranging transportation for the young people involved, Lloyd Haynes—who happens to be a licensed pilot—has

almost single-handedly put the program together.

On weekends he devotes his free time to the program, which is patterned after a very successful similar program in Richmond, Calif.

Its purpose is threefold: First, motivate low and underachievers academically, second, elevate the level of self-esteem and aspiration of the participants, third, make the students aware of the many opportunities existing in aviation and aviation-related careers.

Some of the areas covered in the program are basic aeronautics, meteorology, and navigation.

The Richmond and ETA programs have demonstrated that they are significant motivating factors in stimulating poor students to improve their achievement levels significantly in their regular academic course, and in inducing potential "dropouts" to remain in school and complete their educations.

Aviation education is not only an effective and viable antidropout tool—it is also a highly motivating force that provides the kind of challenge that many young people desperately need early in life, especially during their school years.

It is noteworthy to observe that the ETA program is strictly a volunteer effort. Lloyd Haynes and his associates have given freely of their time to make the program work. They all have one thing in common—a deep commitment to helping young people.

That commitment is shared by Chuck Dobson and the other dedicated staff in the FAA's Aviation Education Division who have been instrumental in helping develop the ETA program. I hope the FAA will intensify their efforts in this area.

An example of the application of the learning through aviation concept can be seen on the October 27 "Room 222" series.

Through the efforts of Lloyd Haynes, the FAA, and William D'Angelo, executive producer of Twentieth Century Fox, the October 27 telecast, entitled "Lift, Thrust, and Drag," will be based on the concept. Hopefully, the telecast will go a long way toward stimulating nationwide interest in this very promising approach.

IN SUPPORT OF HUMANE TREATMENT OF FUR-BEARING ANIMALS

HON. WILLIAM J. KEATING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, today I became a sponsor of a bill originally introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman BROOMFIELD of Michigan, which would prohibit the shipment in interstate and foreign commerce of fur or leather from an animal trapped in any part of the United States or a foreign country which has not banned the manufacture, sale, or use of leghold or steel jaw traps.

This legislation would not interfere

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with the trappers right to capture and kill certain fur-bearing animals, it would merely set down standards for more humane treatment of these animals.

Other traps are available, some costing no more than the leg traps, and killing the animal instantly.

Another type of device traps the animal alive, after which it may be safely transported or killed humanely by the trapper.

The need for such legislation was brought to my attention by petitions bearing hundreds of signatures from concerned schoolchildren in Cincinnati area schools.

They recognized the inhumane way in which animals are abused for the sake of profit, and have taken the initiative to make themselves heard.

I urge my colleagues to draw their attention to this legislation. It would help to eliminate a problem for which the abused have no spokesman.

THE END OF YOUR NOSE

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, today I am inserting in the RECORD an editorial by George T. Nickolas, of Davenport, Iowa. Mr. Nickolas is a contract specialist with the Procurement and Production Directorate of the U.S. Army Weapons Command at Rock Island, Ill. He is a past State of Iowa commander of the Disabled American Veterans, a member of the Iowa Governor's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, and the current chairman of the Bi-State Committee on Employment and Services for the Handicapped.

Mr. Nickolas writes eloquently on the problems of the handicapped and I urge my colleagues and all who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to ponder on his remarks which follow:

THE END OF YOUR NOSE
(By George T. Nickolas)

Architectural barriers can be a problem to everyone during their lifetime and yet, few people are doing anything about removing these barriers. It is a problem which could be compared to a fly on the end of your nose which you have difficulty seeing.

The various Governor and local committees on Employment of the Handicapped conduct promotional programs to generate action to remove architectural barriers. They often meet with resistance from well-meaning businessmen who visualize only those handicapped in wheelchairs or those with visual leg disabilities. They don't, unless they are afflicted, see the man with a heart condition, the man with a lung problem, the elderly, or even the mother who wheels her baby in a stroller.

There are over 18 million handicapped Americans today who find themselves slaves to the architectural barrier master. Why does our society continue to build imposing flights of stairs, high street and parking lot curbs, narrow doorways and doors that are difficult to open?

Our society has done much to help bring

the handicapped out of their houses and many have been put to work to become productive citizens; but until we can remove the barriers to permit their free movement, they will remain shut out of the mainstream of living. They are precluded from just doing the simple things of life like shopping, enjoying the theater, and going to the supermarkets.

Maybe today you are able to walk around and not face these problems; but will you be in an accident, will you have a heart attack, will you suffer from cancer or some other disease which may cost you your total mobility? We all buy insurance to cover many problems; why should we not remove all architectural barriers as insurance in case we become one of those directly affected. Mister Businessman and Mister Politician, let us all look beyond the end of our noses—we have, with the architectural barriers we have built in our communities, created a nightmare for the handicapped.

DEADLY CURE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago area, and especially the south suburban area, is the location of a major railroad network. The continued economic growth of the area depends, in large part, on the effectiveness of the railroads in serving our Nation's transportation system.

The Star-Tribune Publications serving that area have been especially interested in the continued progress of the railroad industry and the individual railroads serving the area. In a very thoughtful editorial of Sunday, October 1, they reemphasized their support of the ASTRO report. I am a vigorous supporter of the ASTRO report and commend this editorial to the Members of Congress:

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In a day and age when it is all too popular to expect government to bail us out of almost any difficulty, those most familiar with transportation steadfastly oppose a government take-over of common carriers such as the railroads.

Some two years ago, America's Sound Transportation Review Organization released an exhaustive study entitled *The American Railroad Industry*. It became known as the ASTRO Report. On nationalization of the railroads, it said: "... nationalization would entail enormous cost to the taxpayer. . . . valuations have ranged as high as \$60 billion merely to acquire privately owned railroad facilities. . . . Further, just a transfer in ownership . . . would leave untouched the great capital needs of the industry. Required expenditures . . . would still have to be made in the same massive proportions. And the prospect of self-help, which can be realized if the industry remains in private hands, would be forfeited."

Not long ago, Mr. Robert C. Gresham, vice chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the nation's top transportation regulatory body, went on record in opposition to nationalization of the rails. He said, "Both philosophical beliefs and practical economic considerations underlie my opposition, which I feel is shared by the vast majority of Americans. Philosophically speaking, I adhere strongly to the principle of free enterprise.

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Practical considerations certainly militate unequivocally against nationalization."

Many of the recommendations of the ASTRO Report for rehabilitating U.S. railroads are included in the proposed Surface Transportation Act of 1971 now before Congress. Major elements of the surface transportation industry—the regulated motor, water and rail carriers—have joined in pressing for passage of the Act as have countless business leaders, representatives of labor and government spokesmen. The continuing delay is hard to understand.

COAL INDUSTRY VACILLATES ON ANTISTRIP MINE BILL—H.R. 6482

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, on September 29, an award-winning Scripps-Howard reporter, Bill Stief, quoted the coal industry's leading spokesman on antistrip mining legislation, Mr. Carl E. Bagge, as expressing the hope that H.R. 6482, as reported one day earlier by the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, will pass. Mr. Bagge is also president of the National Coal Association.

Suddenly, Mr. Bagge has changed his views. Over the last weekend he flooded the House with telegrams signed by him as NCA president and by the president of the American Mining Congress, Mr. J. Allen Overton, Jr., which states:

Coal industry strongly urges defeat of strip mine bill, H.R. 6482. This is a punitive, unrealistic bill which would summarily halt much of vital U.S. coal production.

Such vacillation and a general denunciation of the bill by the coal industry only reassures me that the House bill should be supported. Indeed, many environmentalists are supporting this regulatory bill, principally because its regulatory features are quite good and because the Senate bill—S. 630—which covers all minerals—is quite weak.

They are, however, concerned about several other very important nonregulatory features of the House bill.

I share their concern. H.R. 6482 does raise serious problems. If it was modified further in conference to bring it closer to the Senate bill, it would probably be unacceptable as an effective anti-strip mine bill.

I will briefly outline some of these problems.

First, the bill would be administered by the Secretary of the Interior.

The General Accounting Office recently investigated Interior's administration and enforcement of 1969 surface coal mining regulations governing surface exploration, mining, and reclamation of public and Indian lands for the House Committee on Government Operations' Subcommittee on Conservation and Natural Resources. The Interior regulations were issued to avoid, minimize, or correct damage to the environment and hazards to the public health and safety. They apply only to permits and leases issued after January 1969. They require technical examinations of the potential environmental effects of

surface mining, preparation and approval of mining plans designed to protect the environment, bonds to cover reclamation costs, and periodic inspections once a permit or lease is issued. More than 54 million acres of public and Indian lands—mostly in the West—have coal deposits.

In releasing the GAO report (B-148623) on this investigation, Congressmen REUSS and VANDER JAGT noted:

Interior is currently asking Congress to allow it to regulate strip mining across the Nation. But this 3-year record of inefficiency in the West, where strip mining is still in its infant stages, makes it doubtful that Interior will be any more efficient in the East, where strip mining is both more complex and widespread. Why not, instead, turn the Corps of Engineers or the Environmental Protection Agency loose on regulating strip mining and reclaiming strip-mined areas?

They made this suggestion because the GAO cited a number of deficiencies in Interior's administration of these regulations. The GAO found for example:

First. The Bureau of Land Management's—BLM—formal procedures for the preparation of environmental impact statements under provisions of the National Environmental Policy Act do not comply with the implementing guidelines of the Council on Environmental Quality—CEO;

Second. The Bureau of Indian Affairs—BIA—has not developed any procedures for the preparation of environmental impact statements;

Third. Even though the regulations require a technical examination of the effects of the proposed mining on the environment, 35 of the 65 permits and leases reviewed by GAO were issued, extended, or readjusted without such technical examinations;

Fourth. Even though the regulations require that the Geological Survey approve an exploration or mining plan before surface mining operations are commenced, many coal operators are operating without such approved plans or with plans approved without technical examinations;

Fifth. Some of the required compliance and performance bonds were not obtained and, in one case, the acreage under lease exceeded the acreage covered by a compliance bond by about 56 percent; and

Sixth. A 1970 Geological Survey instruction calling for inspection of active leases and permits three and two times a year, respectively, and inactive leases and permits once annually, was not being followed.

With this record, it is difficult to imagine that the Interior Department will do better in administering and enforcing the vastly expanded program called for in this bill.

Second, the bill limits the public's "right" to file written objections to a permit, and so forth, to any person who is a bona fide resident of the area having a valid legal interest which will be affected by the proposed mining. These limiting terms are not defined. They appear designed to prevent citizens from objecting to the issuance of a permit. Such a result is undesirable. Citizen par-

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ticipation should be encouraged, not discouraged.

Third, the citizen suit provisions of the bill are inadequate. They limit such suits to instances where the citizen can show that the law is willfully and deliberately not being enforced by a public official. Even where a citizen can show this, he must make this charge known to the Secretary of the Interior in a written statement under oath.

Quite obviously, this provision will discourage such suits.

Mr. Speaker, these are only some of the shortcomings of the bill. There are others, such as those related to enforcement. But they are not serious enough to warrant opposition to the bill.

Indeed the bill is vastly superior, even with these shortcomings, to the administration's bill and the Senate bill. It is not punitive. It is not unrealistic. It will not summarily halt much of U.S. coal production. It is, in many respects, a good bill and I intend to support it.

A digest of the GAO's findings of August 10, 1972, follows:

COMPTROLLER GENERAL'S REPORT TO THE CONSERVATION AND NATURAL RESOURCES SUBCOMMITTEE, COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WHY THE REVIEW WAS MADE

At the joint request of the Chairman and the ranking minority member of the Conservation and Natural Resources Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, the General Accounting Office (GAO) reviewed the Department of the Interior's administration of its regulations of January 18, 1969, concerning surface exploration, mining, and reclamation of public lands (43 CFR 23) and Indian lands (25 CFR 177).

GAO's review was limited to the administration of the regulations for coal resources. GAO also considered whether:

The Department was applying the regulations consistent with the mandates of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and

The regulations provided assurance that valuable resources were not being depleted without protection of environmental values.

GAO's review was made in Arizona, Colorado, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, and Wyoming and in the Department's headquarters office in Washington, D.C.

Background

In January 1972 the Department estimated that 41 million acres of the 825 million acres of public land had coal deposits. Of the 41 million acres, 1.6 million were covered by prospecting permits or mining leases. The Department also estimated that 13.5 million acres of the 50 million acres of Indian lands had coal deposits. Of the 13.5 million acres, 700,000 were covered by coal prospecting permits or mining leases.

The Department's January 18, 1969, regulations do not provide specific technical requirements for exploration, mining, or reclamation activities. Such requirements are based on examinations (called technical examinations) of the effects that the proposed mining operations will have upon the environment and are included as special stipulations in permits or leases granted by the Department to the mining operators.

Permits and leases on public and Indian lands are administered by the Department's Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), respectively. The Department's Geological Survey is responsible for providing scientific and technical advice to both BLM and BIA.

During the period January 18, 1969, to No-

ember 1, 1971, the Department issued 258 permits and 38 leases for coal exploration and mining on public and Indian lands. BLM had 529 permit and 115 lease applications pending at November 1, 1971; BIA had none.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Surface exploration, mining, and reclamation regulations

The Department's regulations, if properly implemented, should help in protecting environmental values.

Although the regulations have been established for more than 3 years, they were not being implemented effectively with regard to several significant areas. For the 65 permits and leases covered by its review (53 for BLM and 12 for BIA), GAO found that:

The required technical examinations had not been conducted for 35 of the permits and leases. The purpose of a technical examination is to determine the effects that the proposed exploration or mining would have on the environment and to serve as a basis for formulating appropriate reclamation requirements. (See p. 12.)

Some permittees were operating without approved exploration plans—an essential element of control in protecting the environment—and some plans had been approved without technical examinations. (See p. 14.)

Some compliance and performance bonds covering the requirements, including reclamation, of leases or permits had not been obtained from the operators. The amounts of some of those that had been obtained were not sufficient to cover the estimated cost of the reclamation requirements of the permits or leases. (See p. 16.)

Some of the reports required to be submitted by the operators to the Department at various stages of the operations on such matters as grading and backfilling, planting, and abandoning operations had not been submitted. (See p. 20.)

BLM has issued formal instructions to its field offices to implement the Department's regulations, but the Survey and BIA have not. GAO believes that the issuance of such instructions would assist field personnel in administering and implementing the regulations. (See p. 25.)

Documentation of the results of technical examinations, onsite visits, and other activities required by the regulations was not always prepared.

With regard to Indian lands, GAO believes that the Indian landowners were adequately consulted by BIA as to the actions proposed for permits or leases on their lands as required by the Department's regulations. (See p. 22.)

The Department requires an applicant to submit a \$10 fee with each permit and lease application for coal exploration or mining. The fee was to recover the cost of processing the applications. Because personnel costs have nearly doubled since the amount of the fee was established and because the regulations now require a more comprehensive evaluation of the application than previously required, GAO believes that the adequacy of the fee associated with processing an application for a coal permit or lease should be appraised. (See p. 24.)

Implementation of National Environmental Policy Act of 1969

The Department's regulations require consideration of the ecological factors for coal permits and leases issued on public and Indian lands. To implement the environmental Act, the Council on Environmental Quality requires that each Federal agency prepare formal procedures for the preparation of environmental impact statements.

BLM's procedures do not comply with the Council's implementing guidelines because they do not outline the criteria to determine when and under what circumstances environmental impact statements should be

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prepared. GAO believes that BLM should revise its procedures to comply with Council guidelines. (See pp. 28 to 31.)

BIA has not developed any procedures for the preparation of environmental impact statements under the environmental Act, and GAO believes that BIA should develop procedures for the preparation of environmental impact statements for those cases in which the statements are required.

RECOMMENDATIONS OR SUGGESTIONS

The Secretary of the Interior should clarify the requirements of the Department's regulations by providing guidance as to:

The timing and scope of technical examinations and the submission and approval of exploration and mining plans,

The required amount of performance bonds,

The need for adequate documentation of the results of the activities conducted under the regulations, and

The need for documented periodic reviews of the administration of the regulations. (See p. 27.)

The Secretary should appraise the adequacy of the fee associated with processing an application for a coal permit or lease. (See p. 27.)

The Secretary should also require BLM to revise its procedures to comply with Council guidelines and BIA to adopt procedures for the preparation of environmental impact statements for those cases in which the statements are required. (See p. 31.)

AGENCY ACTIONS AND UNRESOLVED ISSUES

The matters in this report were discussed with Department officials who stated that appropriate actions would be taken by BLM, BIA, and the Survey to develop procedures which would clarify the requirements of the regulations and to require adequate documentation of the results of the activities conducted under the regulations.

Department officials agreed to make a study to determine the costs associated with processing applications for coal permits and leases and indicated that fees would be adjusted, if warranted.

BLM and BIA officials stated that they would issue procedures for preparation of environmental impact statements to meet the requirements of Council guidelines.

MICHAEL BERNSTEIN, GENERAL COUNSEL FOR LABOR, RETIRES

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, this past week, Michael Bernstein, our general counsel for labor, after a long and successful career of contribution to our Federal Government, left for retirement in the city of London. I think it is the time that we recognize him as one of the most loyal and competent of public servants. Too frequently the general public is unaware of the contribution made by all of the counsel for the various committees of Congress and the Senate. Mike Bernstein has made that type of contribution. For both the House and the Senate committees, his record is one of dedication and contribution.

I came to know Mr. Bernstein when I first arrived with the 90th Congress in 1967. My new colleagues and I quickly found that there were few in the Federal Government who possessed such a fund

of knowledge pertaining to labor law, as well as the perception to analyze contemporary issues within the context of the history of labor legislation. Those qualities made Mike Bernstein's contribution throughout my term of service a most significant one. He will be missed, not only by the members of the Education and Labor Committee on both sides of the aisle, but more significantly, by the entire professional community dealing with labor legislation. Our one wish is that his years may continue to be productive, as we know they will be—filled with the reading that he "never quite got to" as well as, hopefully, that writing he intended to do.

THE NECESSITY OF NUCLEAR POWERPLANTS

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, during the course of this year, evidence has been rapidly accumulating to prove conclusively that we face an electric power crisis in the very near future—perhaps as soon as next year in some areas, almost certainly within 3 to 4 years. The demand for electric power in the United States is doubling every 15 years, while the construction of new powerplants to meet this accelerating demand has virtually ground to a halt.

Electric power generation alone now takes one-quarter of all the oil, gas, and coal consumed in the United States—and the demand for oil and gas is rising almost as fast as the demand for electric power. It is generally predicted that 10 years from now only half of our oil and gas needs can be supplied from American sources. For the other half, we will have to depend on imports from foreign sources which could be cut off in time of war or for political reasons.

Many Americans have become so accustomed to the constant availability and use of electric power that they have never stopped to think about what would happen if there was no longer enough of it to go around. But when a nationwide coal strike closed down all the coal-fueled powerplants in Great Britain last winter, the English people found out just what it meant. Electric power could be supplied to homes and business for only a few hours each day, or on alternate days. Millions of workers were laid off; millions of homes went unlighted and unheated for long periods; enormous traffic jams occurred because traffic lights and rapid transit could not operate.

The construction of the new powerplants necessary to prevent all these things from happening in the United States has been blocked by environmentalist groups. Their vehement objections to the air pollution caused by coal-fueled and oil-fueled generating plants have some basis, and the Clean Air Act of 1970—for which I voted—placed tight new restrictions on emission of air pol-

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

lutants by these plants. The most obvious available substitute is to use atomic energy for generating electricity in the breeder reactor or nuclear powerplant, which does not pollute the air at all.

Yet environmentalists have managed to block the issuance of siting and construction permits for nuclear powerplants as completely as they have blocked such permits for coal-fueled and oil-fueled powerplants—with far less reason. They put so much pressure on the Atomic Energy Commission that it bowed meekly, without even an appeal, to a court decision last year—Calvert Cliffs Coordinating Committee and others against AEC—requiring months or years of additional hearings and review before granting new construction permits and operating licenses for nuclear powerplants. The Commission has even cast doubt on whether the few existing nuclear powerplants will be allowed to keep operating.

Despite fantastically exaggerated popular fears, reliable studies show that dangers to the environment from a nuclear powerplant are very light. An atomic explosion in such a plant is absolutely impossible. Protective systems make any major accident with the reactor exceedingly unlikely, and none has ever happened. The amount of radioactive waste is small and can be safely disposed of. The only significant environmental effect is a slight raising of the temperature of the water used for cooling the reactor, which affects water life in only a very small area.

The construction of a greatly increased number of nuclear powerplants is clearly necessary if we are to meet our electric power needs without more severe air pollution. The "environmentalists" who are fighting construction of these plants do not seem to realize that the availability of ample electric power is indispensable for achieving their own primary goal of cleaning up pollution. Obstacles to nuclear plant siting and construction should be removed and their construction should be encouraged rather than discouraged by the Government.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE GEORGE THOMAS DELAP

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I rise to announce with profound sorrow to Members of this House the death of a good friend, respected labor leader, and trusted member of my district staff, Mr. George Thomas Delap.

Mr. Speaker, this is the second death among my staff within the past month. I have lost two irreplaceable friends with the passing of John Griffin and, now, George Delap, who passed away on Friday, October 6, 1972.

George Delap was a man widely known and widely admired in Hudson County, N.J. He served as business agent to locals of the International Longshoremen's As-

sociation. In fact, only last Friday, just a few hours before his sudden and tragic death, I had called him on the telephone to discuss the pending Longshoremen's and Harbor Worker's Compensation Act which is pending business tomorrow on the House floor. As my adviser and consultant on labor matters, George was vitally concerned with the passage of this bill and in large measure, its passage will be a memorial to this fine man.

Mrs. Daniels joins with me in expressing our sincerest sympathy to George Delap's lovely widow, the former Eleanor Swift, and their three children, George, Muriel, and Edith, in this time of sorrow. Rest in peace, dear friend.

SOUTH COAST AIR BASIN IN JEOPARDY

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, an article from the Los Angeles Times has come to my attention, and I would like to share it with my fellow Members. I find it highly encouraging that citizen groups are actively involving themselves in the fight to control auto emissions. Mr. David McDonald is to be commended for using his talent for organizing effective groups by organizing the Desert Peoples United.

Residents in the Southern California Air Basin need no one to remind them of the critical state of their air. Concerned citizens, such as those led by Mr. McDonald, can be instrumental in implementing such programs as he proposes to alert citizens of high oxidant levels in the air.

The tragic death of Paul Patmore, mentioned by Mr. McDonald, only serves to focus both California's and the Nation's attention on the severity of the problem. Unfortunately, the problem of smog had long been ignored—until the cumulative evidence of its destructiveness could be seen. Now, sadly, we are seeing human lives adversely affected by smog, seeing the destructive effect of smog on tree and plant life, the accumulation of smog's "grit" on buildings of all kinds. Unfortunately this is just the beginning of a long, long list of effects smog has on our total environment.

The article follows:

EX-UNION CHIEF BATTLES A NEW OPPONENT—
SMOG

(By John Dreyfuss)

PALM SPRINGS.—David J. McDonald is organizing again. Now his rally cry is to combat smog—a far cry from his efforts on behalf of steel workers as one of America's leading union officials in the 1950s and 1960s.

In a passionate speech here, the former United Steel Workers' president outlined an antismog program for the South Coast Air Basin.

The program was well received by Riverside and San Bernardino county politicians, but they reserved final judgment pending study.

Most drastic of the actions proposed by McDonald, who heads a 1,000-member antismog group called Desert Peoples United, was to sound air raid sirens and stop motor

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vehicle traffic when smog reaches levels well below current alert limits.

Sirens should wail when oxidants reach 2 parts in a million parts of air, said the 69-year-old DPU president.

Current alert levels are .5 ppm in Los Angeles County, .35 ppm in San Bernardino County, and .27 ppm in Riverside County.

A Civilian Antipollution Warden Corps would be created to report license numbers of vehicles driving after the air raid siren sounded.

Drivers violating the vehicle ban could be fined or their licenses temporarily rescinded, McDonald suggested.

He also urged setting a low cost automobile tuneup rate to be identical throughout the South Coast Basin, which includes all or part of Los Angeles, Riverside, San Bernardino, Orange, Ventura and Santa Barbara counties.

McDonald, who has seen smog develop into a threat to Palm Springs tourism since he moved here seven years ago, began his talks to politicians, DPU members and newsmen with a tragic anecdote.

Beginning quietly, McDonald said: "At five o'clock yesterday morning, a young friend of mine, Paul Patmore, died in his mother's arms just a few blocks from where we are now assembled."

McDonald spoke a little louder. "Why did Paul die?" he asked. And he answered the question by blaming air pollution.

Patmore had emphysema, and because of smog's effect on the disease, "... Paul's lungs suddenly broke, and the blood smothered him and he died in his mother's arms."

McDonald's voice rose to a loud, rasping query:

"How many more Paul Patmore's must die before a job is done, not only here, but throughout America?"

When McDonald began his speech his flawlessly groomed silver hair was swept carefully back from his forehead.

But in the end it hung over his eyebrows, his face was florid and his voice rose from a near whisper to a waterfall crescendo.

"It's gonna be tough," he said, his eyes ranging across the audience of about 50 persons.

TOUGH FIGHT

"But you know if we work, and we work; and we work and we fight and we fight and we fight, by God, we can win."

McDonald had finished organizing for the day. He left the speaker's podium to loud applause.

W. R. Holcomb, mayor of San Bernardino, was one of those applauding.

He called the DPU recommendations "feasible," but said that they should be "beefed up," and that certain voluntary aspects should be made mandatory.

Al McCandless, Riverside County Supervisor, said "no one could quarrel" with the concept of McDonald's proposal, although implementation might be a problem.

William Shuz, mayor of Desert Hot Springs, said he would present the DPU plan to the city council.

PLANS STUDY

Mayor Howard Wiefel of Palm Springs said he was not so sure the city could mandate parts of the proposal, but he said he would study it.

And Jack Green, president of the Southern California Assn. of Governments, and executive director of the Regional Anti-Pollution Authority, an agency formed by Palm Springs, Indio, Indian Wells and Desert Hot Springs to prevent increased smog, said of the program: "RAPA will have to look at it, but it looks good."

Perhaps it wasn't much compared with organizing more than a million steel workers, but McDonald had apparently done all right with his first public effort as president of a citizens' antismog group. "And remember," he said, "when we started to organize the

steel workers in 1936, there were only 11 of us at the first meeting. We're already ahead of that."

L. B. J.'S VISION OF AMERICA

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

MR. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the political season is upon us and as the winds of oratory blow they are sometimes filled with rhetoric that breeds cynicism.

It seems to me that cynicism is an inevitable byproduct when some politicians describe their opponents and while others describe their own accomplishments.

Fortunately, not all of the remarks by our political leaders generate such dissolution in our governmental processes and our national aspirations.

Former President Lyndon B. Johnson recently spoke at Scott and White Hospital in Temple, Tex. His purpose was to restate where America is and where he thinks it is going and where he feels it ought to proceed.

His message was one that society is measured by its accomplishments and its opportunities more so than its failures.

The Albany, Ga., Herald editorially found strong merit in President Johnson's remarks and commented on them. I believe their editorial merits our thoughtful consideration and I am therefore including it in today's RECORD.

The editorial follows:

[From the Albany, Ga., Herald, Sept. 25, 1972]

L. B. J.'S VISION OF AMERICA

If he were that type of man, it would be relatively easy for Lyndon Baines Johnson to feel abused, politically speaking, at the hands of his countrymen.

After all, as the 36th President of the United States, he presided over the enactment of more on-going social legislation than had his idol, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in the storied 100 Days of the New Deal.

Moreover, President Johnson had succeeded, legislatively, in almost every area in which his vigorous predecessor, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, had failed, quite possibly because Congress hastened to act out of a sense of shock and grief in the aftermath of that horrifying afternoon in Dallas. But the Johnsonian aegis was the factor, whatever the motivation, which carried the day in civil rights, in voting rights, in Social Security expansion, in the War on Poverty, in all of the other undertakings of Big Government to enhance the lives of widening numbers of Americans.

Even so, a President of this towering stature was pulled from his pedestal and sent packing to his native Pedernales River country within three years after having won the greatest percentage majority of the vote accorded a Presidential candidate in an election in modern times. He had won all of his battles on the domestic front. But a rising majority of the country rejected his massive intervention in the Vietnam War.

Faced with the unmistakable evidence of his spreading unpopularity on this sensitive score, witnessing the rise of opposition candidates whom he could have mastered only yesterday with the wave of his hand, and grieving over the riot-torn campuses and streets of a nation reeling from internal disorders, Lyndon Johnson, quite uncharacteristically, bowed from the scene. It must

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have cost him a total effort of will, this John Wayne of the political wars, this man who relished his Isaiah philosophy of "reasoning together" but who, given a choice, actually preferred a good fight or even its prospect. But he bit the bullet.

From overseeing the nation and the world, he returned to his acres and cattle and memories.

But he has not, thankfully, permitted bitterness to permeate his being, nor cynicism to cloud his always-bright vision of his country and its citizens. His current thinking is exposed in an address he made a couple of weeks ago at the Scott and White Clinic in Temple, Tex. His purpose was to re-state where America is and where he thinks it is going and where he feels it ought to proceed:

"For too long, we have permitted the dark perception to pervade our midst. Day after day, month after month, the portrayal of America as unclean, unjust and unworthy has been ground into the consciousness of our people.

"We no longer see the blooming flowers for we are searching for the litter. We no longer celebrate the many fresh triumphs of justice for we are lingering over the residue of yesterday's shortcomings. We no longer measure the miles we have come toward a more humane, civil and peaceful world for we are too busy calibrating the remaining inches of times we are trying to escape and leave behind.

"This is our clear and present challenge."

Where will it lead? "Whatever may be your own perception of where we are and where we may be heading, let me say for myself that I see little today suggesting that our system is failing—but I see all too much which convincingly argues that by our doubts and hesitations we may be failing the promise and potential of our system. We are not living in times of collapse. The old is not coming down. Rather, the troubling and torment these days stems from the new trying to rise into place . . .

"The essentials of a new America—a better America—are all on hand and within our reach . . . Our real challenge lies not in suppressing change but in utilizing it to vitalize and energize our society. Change is not our enemy. On the contrary, this society has no deadlier danger than refusal to change . . . The most frightening thing that could happen to us today would be for us to close our eyes to new ideas, and to close our ears to those . . . who are trying to tell us how they would go about perfecting the visions of America."

This is the Lyndon Johnson that still stands tall in the affections of his countrymen.

YESHIVA TORAS CHAIM TALMUDICAL SEMINARY RECEIVES ACCREDITATION

HON. JAMES D. (MIKE) McKEVITT

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

MR. McKEVITT. Mr. Speaker, this past week I had the privilege of attending a dinner at the Yeshiva Toras Chaim Talmudical Seminary in Denver, Colo. The Yeshiva is the only fully accredited high school/college Talmudical Seminary between Chicago and the west coast. Eighty of its students work at the high school level, while 40 more young people receive instruction in college-level courses.

Recently the Yeshiva was recognized

and accepted for equal credit toward a bachelor of arts degree by the State accrediting agent, the University of Colorado. I am sure that my esteemed colleagues will agree that this is a most impressive achievement, for which the seminary can be justifiably proud.

DEDICATION OF NEW TAMPA, FLA., VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, October 7, 1972, I was privileged to participate in the formal dedication ceremonies of the newest Veterans' Administration hospital to be added to the world's largest hospital system. This new 702-bed facility is symbolic of our Nation's resolve to provide the best possible care to those who have defended the freedom we cherish. I hope that its future service to the needs of these brave Americans will reflect in full measure the generous service they gave and are giving to America.

Mr. Speaker, the dedicatory address was delivered by the Honorable Donald E. Johnson. His address fully describes the many unique medical treatment facilities which are available in this new hospital, and for the benefit of my colleagues, I include the text of Administrator Johnson's address.

REMARKS OF HON. DONALD E. JOHNSON, ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS

Your Excellency, Bishop McLaughlin . . . Dr. Tremmel . . . Dr. Musser . . . Senator Gurney . . . Congressman Teague . . . Congressman Haley . . . Congressman Gibbons . . . Congressman Young . . . Mayor Greco . . . representatives of America's Armed Forces and veterans organizations . . . distinguished guests, which all of you are . . . and my Veterans Administration associates:

We are met this morning not just to dedicate this magnificent new Veterans Administration Hospital here in Tampa, Florida . . . but to set it apart for a very special purpose: to be the finest hospital and provide the best care possible for very special Americans . . . the quarter-of-a-million veterans in Central and West Florida whom this newest of VA's 168 hospitals has been built to serve.

Mr. Webster tells us that dedication means devotion to some work or cause.

I submit that today we are devoting ourselves to the most unselfish and important cause possible . . . quality health care for ill and disabled veterans.

We do so with full understanding that this dedication ceremony commits us to meeting new challenges . . . and accepting new opportunities for needed service to our veterans.

The first challenge is to be worthy of the vote of confidence which the American people have given VA medicine.

They have said to us:

We want our veterans to have the best hospital and medical care in the world . . . and we think that VA medicine can provide such care.

By their continuing support . . . they have demonstrated the depth of their concern for the welfare of this nation's 29 million veterans.

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For example, this year's \$2.7 billion budget for VA's hospital and medical care program is the largest in history.

In providing record-high budgets for VA medicine . . . and each year's budget has been higher than the year before . . . the American people have proved that they have accepted . . . fully and freely . . . Abraham Lincoln's charge and challenge "to care for him who shall have borne the battle."

The second challenge we face in dedicating this 702-bed medical, surgical, and neurological hospital is to ensure that VA's hospital and medical care program will continue to improve, strengthen and expand its capabilities for contributing to adequate health care at reasonable cost for all Americans.

We can be certain that VA's new Tampa Hospital will play a key role in the future growth and progress of VA medicine.

Let's take a closer look for a moment at this hospital.

The first thing we see . . . or should see, certainly . . . is that this handsome modern medical facility is far more than a \$24 million structure of brick and glass and steel.

It is more than a planned, orderly mix of medical, surgical, psychiatric, spinal cord injury, physical medicine and rehabilitation, and hemodialysis beds . . . 702 in all . . . which will be in full operation by the end of Fiscal Year 1974.

It is more than 32,000 net square feet for medical research with laboratory space to accommodate a wide range of research efforts.

Our Tampa VA Hospital is people.

That's right . . . people . . . its patients and their families . . . its staff . . . affiliated medical school personnel . . . medical trainees . . . volunteers . . . local suppliers . . . and the citizens and officials of this great community.

For it will be people who will operate or support the operation of this hospital. And, of course, it is people who will be the beneficiaries of this hospital's planned special medical programs . . . including a cardiac catheterization laboratory, drug dependence treatment unit, electron microscopy, hemodialysis and home dialysis training, coronary, medical and surgical intensive care units, day treatment and hospital center, mental hygiene clinic, orthopedic shop, nuclear medicine, pulmonary function laboratory, respiratory care center, speech pathology, and spinal cord injury center.

A moment ago I referred to affiliated medical school personnel.

America's veterans . . . but especially the thousands upon thousands of veterans who will be treated in this hospital in years to come . . . are indeed fortunate that our Tampa VA hospital is affiliated with the University of South Florida Medical School here in Tampa.

I know that Dr. Donn L. Smith . . . Dean of the Medical School . . . and Mr. George R. Hiskey . . . Director of this VA hospital . . . share my confidence that this affiliation will prove to be mutually beneficial.

I can tell you now that this affiliation is unique . . . since the University of South Florida Medical School like our hospital is also in the process of being activated . . . with its initial class of 24 medical students now in its first year of training.

Having opened its doors to its first patient this past August 21st . . . our Tampa VA hospital is already making its presence felt in this community and this part of Florida.

The worth of this hospital's health care mission can never be measured in dollars and cents . . . but the cost of carrying out this mission can be . . . and must be . . . calculated.

VA's annual expenditures to operate our Tampa Hospital . . . once it is in full operation . . . will be in excess of \$20 million. There will be 1400 employees serving here on a full-time basis.

I know that all of us in the Veterans Administration are pleased that in carrying out

its priority health care mission . . . our Tampa VA Hospital also will be contributing significantly to the economy of this area.

It will also be complementing the service of the Bay Pines Hospital, in St. Petersburg, an institution that has for so long been a source of pride to this area and that has for so long provided quality care for the veterans of the area.

Bay Pines will continue to provide that service and will continue to occupy its place of importance to veterans and to the general citizenry of this section of Florida. It is now being greatly improved and will be rebuilt and refurbished in accord with plans and programming. Bay Pines will work closely with its new sister facility.

Now that we have taken a closer look at the hospital we dedicate today . . . let's step back to get a broader view and a truer perspective of this institution.

We find that this newest and most modern VA hospital is more than a single hospital . . . more even than being the 168th Veterans Administration hospital now in operation.

It is part . . . a vital part, I need not add . . . of VA's nationwide health care delivery system.

And when I say "system" . . . I mean exactly that.

In addition to its hospitals . . . VA's health care delivery system . . . which is the largest under single management anywhere in the free world . . . comprises 18 domiciliary homes, nine restoration centers, 83 nursing care units, and 203 outpatient clinics . . . organized into 37 "regional" Medical Districts . . . and operated directly by VA.

I make this latter point by way of introduction to a fact that is not widely known. The VA hospital system utilizes . . . and will continue to do so . . . non-VA facilities . . . such as other Federal, State and private hospitals, community and State nursing homes, State domiciliaries for veterans, and a variety of other extended care arrangements.

Many members of Florida's medical community can tell you . . . from personal experience . . . that the VA hospital system also relies heavily on "home town" or fee-basis physicians and dentists . . . as required or desirable.

The magnitude of the VA hospital system offers other advantages . . . such as:

1. Transferring patients . . . readily and with no red tape . . . to the most appropriate treatment modality and location.

2. Fostering the most efficient use of both medical and administrative personnel . . . and promoting optimum utilization of medical personnel in scarce categories.

3. Saving substantial expenditures in the purchase of supplies.

4. Encouraging avoidance of excessive duplication of expensive equipment.

5. And speeding up problem-solving processes in both the management and medical field.

Permit me to cite two examples of the ability of our VA hospital system to cope readily and effectively with new demands and changing circumstances.

The first concerns VA's drug treatment program.

In June 1971 . . . President Nixon asked Congress to increase VA's drug treatment budget by an additional \$14 million to assist "in the immediate development and emplacement of VA rehabilitation centers which will permit both inpatient and outpatient care of addicts in a community setting."

When we received our marching orders from the President . . . VA had only five special drug treatment centers. In less than six months' time we accomplished a six-fold increase . . . expanding to 32 such centers.

We are adding 12 more centers this year . . . bringing to 44 the number of such specialized drug treatment centers . . . and enabling us to care for 40 percent more veter-

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ans than the 20,000 cared for in the last fiscal year.

A second example of the ability of the VA hospital system to cope readily and effectively with new demands and changing circumstances can be found in the tragic San Fernando, California earthquake of February 9, 1971.

We effected the wide scale redistribution of patients . . . with minimum disruption of their care requirements . . . following this earthquake . . . which destroyed our San Fernando VA Hospital . . . and which subsequently led to the reconstruction of our Wadsworth facility in Los Angeles.

Immediately after taking office as Administrator of Veterans Affairs . . . I started using the word "quality" . . . in referring to VA's hospital and medical care program.

That word was appropriate then . . . but is even more so today.

I have already noted the affiliation of VA hospitals with the Nation's medical teaching schools.

Permit me to list some of VA medicine's other positives.

All of our hospitals are accredited.

Nearly one-half of VA's full-time physicians are board-certified specialists . . . and nearly one-half hold active faculty appointments at medical or dental schools affiliated with our hospitals.

In addition . . . VA hospitals have active affiliations with graduate departments of psychology, graduate schools of social work, occupational as well as physical therapy schools, pharmacy schools . . . plus universities, colleges, junior and community colleges, and technical and vocational schools having courses for professional or technical allied health workers.

The staffing picture in our hospitals is constantly improving. Our total average employment in VA's medical care program in this fiscal year will be 153,627 . . . an increase of more than 10,000 employees over 1972 . . . and more than 20,000 over 1971.

On an average day in Fiscal 1973 . . . VA will be providing some form of patient care or support to more than 167,000 beneficiaries. During this year we will provide inpatient care for nearly one million veterans . . . an all-time high . . . and handle almost 11 million outpatient visits . . . the highest number in history.

Here at our new Tampa VA Hospital . . . the average daily patient census at the end of September was 77. This will climb to 358 by the end of the Fourth Quarter of Fiscal 1973 . . . while planned operations call for an average daily patient census of 600 before the end of Fiscal 1974.

We will add 248 new medical units to VA's hospital system this year . . . including the specialized units here at Tampa which I mentioned a few moments ago.

I think you will agree that . . . for VA medicine . . . this fiscal year will be a busy one, indeed.

The VA medical care program is more than patient care . . . of course. It encompasses . . . in fact . . . the triad of modern medicine . . . requiring the operations of extensive programs in research and education.

On any given day . . . VA medical investigators are involved in nearly 6,000 research projects.

You are familiar with many of VA's medical research accomplishments . . . and shared triumphs . . . such as the elimination of tuberculosis as a killer disease . . . the perfection of kidney transplants . . . the development of portable hemodialysis units for home use . . . the laser cane for the blind . . . the heart pacemaker . . . and the first atomic-powered pacemakers in the Western Hemisphere were implanted at VA's Buffalo, New York Hospital . . . and clinical proof that the early treatment of hypertension will lessen the incidence of death or crippling strokes from blood disease.

And you know that the results of VA medical research are quickly made available to all of our citizens.

The point I want to emphasize is VA's unique capability for conducting wide-scale cooperative research projects in clinical settings . . . our ability to conduct simultaneously the same research effort in many hospitals.

I submit that this research technique is proof that the VA hospital system offers great potential for reducing the time necessary to test new medical treatments or theories.

We believe that we can apply this same approach successfully in establishing . . . and demonstrating . . . new models or patterns of health care delivery . . . particularly with the appropriate utilization of "para-professionals."

With the enthusiastic support of President Nixon and the Congress . . . VA medicine is making rapid gains in helping to meet the Nation's medical manpower needs.

We will train 62,000 persons . . . an all-time high . . . in health care delivery this year . . . an increase of nearly 10 percent over Fiscal 1972 . . . and more than two-thirds again as many as we trained just four years ago.

VA's medical education and training program includes trainees in some 60 professional and technical categories. To illustrate the national importance of this program . . . permit me to point out the following facts.

Nearly one-third of all physicians now practicing in the United States . . . and approximately one-half of those entering practice each year . . . have had some or all of their postgraduate training in VA hospitals.

VA contributes directly to the education each year of over 1,000 dental students, over 20,000 basic nursing students, 23 percent of all social work graduates, 32 percent of all dietetic interns, 20 percent of all PH.D. candidates in clinical psychology, and 25 percent of all pharmacy interns and residents.

Finally . . . I tell you that the VA health delivery system is especially well suited to assist in increasing medical resources in scarcity areas. We are already at work on the development of eight Area Health Education Centers . . . using VA hospitals as a nucleus in localities that are removed from centers of higher medical education.

We can and should expand this effort . . . as well as our authority to share scarce medical equipment with other hospitals.

Our program of exchange of medical information . . . especially with medical personnel in rural areas . . . can be greatly extended.

VA hospitals have demonstrated their ability to help new medical schools get started at relatively low cost . . . and to speed up the development and production of new categories of health care personnel . . . such as Physicians Assistants. But more can and should be done in both of these areas.

Calendar 1972 has been made more eventful for me by my participation in the 50th anniversary observance at three of our VA hospitals.

The great success stories written by each of these hospitals were . . . first and foremost . . . the stories of people.

And so it will be with our Tampa, Florida, Veterans Administration Hospital.

When this newest VA hospital observes its Golden Anniversary . . . whoever is then privileged to serve as Administrator of Veterans Affairs can speak of the tens of thousands of veterans who will have been cared for in this hospital during its first-half century.

He can speak of the skilled, dedicated, and compassionate care provided them by the unselfish men and women who staffed this hospital during its first half-century.

He can attempt to find words that adequately express the gratitude of the Veterans Administration to the thousands of volunteers in this and surrounding communities who offered their compassionate hearts and capable hands in selfless service to the veteran patients at this hospital.

And . . . hopefully . . . he can cite as a fact the pledge I now make.

Recognizing that to have a friend . . . one must be a friend . . . I now pledge to you officials and good citizens of Tampa, Florida that my Tampa VA Hospital associates . . . and indeed all of us in VA . . . will try to earn your coveted friendship . . . and, in turn . . . to be a worthy friend, a good neighbor . . . and a constructive force for good.

Thank you for joining with us on this dedication.

October 10, 1972

S. 2507—TO CONTROL THE "SATURDAY NIGHT SPECIAL"

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD copies of a letter just received by me from an old friend, Mr. William Loeb, president and publisher of the Manchester Union Leader, and a letter to him from the able chief of police of the city of Indianapolis, Ind., Mr. Winston Churchill. This correspondence, regarding S. 2507, the Bayh bill which supposedly is to control the so-called Saturday night specials, sets out the defects of that bill and suggests a better course of action in the view of an able and respected law enforcement officer:

MANCHESTER UNION LEADER,
Manchester, N.H., September 19, 1972.
Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOHN: Just to show the sort of individual we should have as Chiefs of Police all across the country, I enclose a photocopy of a letter from the Chief of Police of Indianapolis.

Regards,
Very sincerely,
WILLIAM LOEB, President.
Enclosure.

POLICE DEPARTMENT,
CITY OF INDIANAPOLIS,
Indianapolis, Ind., September 7, 1972.
Mr. WILLIAM LOEB,
Publisher, Manchester Union Leader,
Manchester, N.H.

DEAR MR. LOEB: Thank you for the opportunity to express myself on the subject of Federal Gun Control Laws, and more specifically, Senator Bayh's recently proposed so-called "Saturday Night Special" Gun Control Bill.

As a career police officer, I have dedicated my life to the principles of law and order. As a policeman I function within the Justice System. I would point out here that the Justice System in America was founded as the basic unit of Protection and Equity for each of us. I have no doubt that our Founding Fathers, even in their wildest flights of fancy, could have imagined the America of the world of today. But, bless their European hearts, they did build a foundation for Freedom, and Justice which has withstood the test of time and the re-modeling of the above ground structure by many subsequent architects. In short: in America the Justice System exists to meet the needs of the people.

The quickened pace of life today has in

some measure caught our Justice System in a squeeze. Lack of funds, shortage of available court facilities, qualified judges, and grossly overcrowded jails and dockets have given rise to the thwarting of Justice through unwise and increased use of plea bargaining. All of these things have had a hand in contributing to the problem which faces us today in the area of hand guns. In an effort to take up the slack, Congress has chosen to enact new laws, rather than to provide the money necessary to assist the Justice System in bringing itself equal to the task.

In my judgment, this past decade has subjected the law-abiding, God-fearing citizen to pressures from the criminal element unequalled in our history. Not because the laws to protect them are lacking, but because the Justice System cannot react quickly enough to keep even with the case load given them through good police work. All this may seem a round-about logic, but I believe I can support my contention which is: We don't need new laws, we need a better Justice System!

I would be one of the first to agree that far too many people are illegally carrying weapons. The arrest records of this department certainly bear this out. The important issue is: What was done as a result of the arrest?

Indiana, as most states, has an eminently workable statute on gun control. We've had it since 1935. It provides that anyone caught with a pistol concealed on his person, or in his car, not having a proper license or permit; or being a bona fide law officer, shall, upon conviction, be sentenced to not less than 1 nor more than 10 years!

We have our gun control law . . . it is on the books . . . we don't need a new one. Yet hundreds of people walk the streets of our cities and towns carrying concealed weapons. Where then is the problem. Is it with the Police work? I think not, we arrest hundreds of people every year on a violation of our 1935 Firearms Act. What happens after the proper arrest is, in my opinion, where the problem lies.

Court disposition records tell the story. More often than not, the 1935 Firearms Act is nolled! A new misdemeanor affidavit is prepared—for Carrying a Concealed Weapon. The case is then disposed of with a small fine—most of which is often suspended! I recently conferred with our County Prosecutor, and asked that all firearms violations be filed as felonies and left that way. That they be tried as FELONY cases not as Misdemeanors. This places them into different courts. He agreed to do so, but admonished me that my purpose would most probably fail because in all likelihood the courts would not affix the penalty prescribed by the law.

I watched the next month's disposition reports—he was right!

Truly, how can we believe that the solution to the problem lies in a new law, an addition to the one we already have, if we refuse to make use of the one we already have? Is it correct thinking to assume that the Courts will use the new law any more vigorously than they did the old one? I think not.

My profession has required of me that I carry a weapon—everyday for 17 years. A good many of those years have been spent in "civilian" clothing, and consequently I used as my weapon a revolver with a standard 2" barrel. As Chief, I continue to employ this weapon today. I would point out here that this weapon is pretty much standard issue to plainclothesmen of police departments all across this country. They are high quality weapons, manufactured by Smith & Wesson or Colt, etc. Senator Bayh's Gun Control Bill would eliminate this weapon from the market—even prohibit its sale to police departments. Senator Bayh seems to equate deadliness and concealment to the length of the barrel. I would gladly take the good Senator

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on a tour of our property room gun security spaces and show him the large number of sawed-off shotguns which we have confiscated for one reason or another, all of which have been at one time or another successfully concealed by their owners. It is self-evident to me that the length of barrel has very little to do with concealment.

Realistically, would the good Senator's Bill really accomplish anything? Let's examine the ramifications: His bill would remove all revolvers with a barrel length less than 3" from the market. This means that policemen would be prohibited from possessing them as well. As I understand the proposal, Senator Bayh would have the Government buy up all presently issued weapons of the 2" variety—a highly questionable suggestion in view of the tremendous cost to the taxpayer. And we would have one more law on the books which in all likelihood would not be enforced at the court level any more than the good laws we already have in effect covering gun controls. Would it do what it purports to accomplish, i.e., the removal of concealable handguns from the criminal element. The one word answer is *No*. It would succeed in removing them from good law-abiding citizens, but not the criminal element of our society. Just as with anything that is declared illegal, there will always be someone willing to provide a supply. So what have we accomplished? Well, we will have one more relatively useless law on the books, a lot of good citizens outraged and inconvenienced, and we will have done absolutely nothing toward gun control within the criminal element!

Is there a better way—a solution? I think so. As I have pointed out before, we already have laws on the books covering control of weapons. They are good laws and were well thought out and simple in their application. Where then do they fail? The uncontrollable evidence clearly shows that the laws are NOT at fault—the system is failing in its obligation at the prosecutor and court level.

I like to compare the Justice System to a three legged milk stool—one leg being the police work, the second the prosecution, and the third the courts. Each must be strong and function properly or the stool will fail and be cast aside for something better. As I see it, we have two weak legs on our stool today, the prosecution and court legs are weak. I say they are weak, but not necessarily through their own culpability. But through lack of attention from the Federal level.

Each month, police agencies all across America are required to report their activities to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This report is required by Federal laws, and covers every level of crime at the local level. This is good. It amounts to public scrutiny of the police work in this country. I'm all for that. But no such reporting is required of the offices of prosecution nor the Courts in this country. Dry rot has set in on two of the legs of our milk stool—and had the reporting requirement been extended to the prosecutor and court levels as well, we would not be in the fix we are today, and Senator Bayh would not be proposing yet another Federal law.

I would urge the Congress to turn its attention to the Justice System in total, and to that end, I would propose that they consider this program.

1. That the Police Departments of America continue to report to the F.B.I. just as they do today.

2. That Prosecutors Offices at the State and Local levels be required to make a similar report each month. This report to show: Name of Accused, INITIAL CHARGE placed by the Police; any reduced charges as a result of plea bargaining; and disposition of the case.

3. That all Criminal Courts of this country be required to report to the Justice Department. Their report to reflect Accused,

Charge, Disposition with particular attention to SENTENCING.

I would further urge that these reports be assembled by the Justice Department for study and publication. The F.B.I. publishes the results of their monthly reports now. I see no reason why the Justice Department should not hold Prosecutors and Judges similarly responsible.

Far from becoming a burden upon all concerned, it should serve to provide a readily apparent index of trouble spots within the System, and to provide a basis for the Federal financial and other support these offices need.

I come back to my original premise that the Justice System exists to provide the public good through protection and equity. As a Part of that system Police work is open to public accountability and well it should be! Is there any reason to be brought forward which would indicate that the Prosecutors and the Courts should not also be held similarly accountable to the public? I can think of none!

The entire system of elective office in America is based upon the principle that the governed have the right to accountability from the government.

I recognize that as a professional policeman that I am not immune to being a bit one sided at times—each of us who counts himself a professional, be he a Lawyer, Doctor or Minister has this tendency. But I would point out with all candor that the job a policeman must do is made all the more difficult when he has worked long and hard to build a case which will remove a bad egg from the innocent public, only to have the charges reduced for the convenience of the prosecutor and to help speed along the case load of a judge. When this happens the public is not served, and the policeman begins to look upon the justice system with a jaundiced eye. Of course the end result of all this is that the citizenry believes that the policeman is not doing his job because that bad egg keeps getting back on the street.

The public has a right to better than that!

Very truly yours,

WINSTON CHURCHILL,
Chief of Police.

ROBERT PERATROVICH
OUTSTANDING LEADER

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to eulogize, if only briefly, a great Alaskan who was recently lost from the Alaskan scene, Robert J. Peratovich, Sr.

Robert Peratovich, an outstanding leader of a truly great Alaskan family, will be remembered for the significant and lasting contributions he made, not only to his native Klawock, but to rural Alaska as a whole. Not only did he establish the first department store, motion picture theater and motion picture sound system in Klawock, but he also founded the Bayview Packing Co., which was one of the major economic bases of the community. One of his primary achievements was the establishment of the first light plant and water system in an Alaskan Native village.

The enduring monuments of this self-

educated Alaskan Native leader are the achievements he attained for his family, his people and his State.

NEW LONG BEACH WOMEN'S HOSPITAL

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Long Beach Obstetrical and Gynecological Society in my congressional district and the Memorial Hospital Medical Center have joined together in an exciting new undertaking.

A special ob-gyn task force has recommended and the board of directors has approved plans to create a new regional hospital for women in Long Beach, specializing in the care of mothers and new born infants.

This is a unique and remarkable program for several reasons:

First. Private physicians on the staffs of several hospitals taking the initiative to come together and delve into area-wide needs, develop a solution and carry it to fruition while placing personal and hospital interests secondary to what is best for the public.

Second. Physicians concerning themselves with the wastage inherent in duplication of facilities, the economics of regional consolidation for patients and their private or governmental insurance plans, and the benefits for quality made possible by bringing together all resources in one location.

Third. Private practitioners taking the initiative to commit an entire medical society to providing for the needs of the indigent and near-indigent rather than waiting for governmental directive or looking the other way.

I take this opportunity to commend the Long Beach medical community for its farsighted approach to a very real problem.

A statement by the hospital describing this project follows:

PATTERN FOR FUTURE—LONG BEACH PHYSICIANS ANTICIPATE NEW NATIONAL DIRECTIONS IN SPEARHEADING PROPOSAL FOR PROTOTYPE OF WOMEN'S HOSPITALS

Long Beach Obstetrical and Gynecological Society members have anticipated new national directions in regional care for mothers and their babies with what might well be the prototype for other women's hospitals, according to Chicago's Dr. Ervin E. Nichols, associate director of the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists.

In a letter to the local society's women's hospital task force, Dr. Nichols noted that the American College has had two special conferences this year toward development of an official policy for regional obstetrical and gynecological services.

He reported that a month ago the National Foundation (March of Dimes) called a high level national meeting of representatives of the obstetricians and gynecologists, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Academy of Family Physicians and the American Medical Association to focus thinking on guidelines for facilities and staffing for meeting needs of women and their babies.

"If I were to project the future in hospital

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care for maternity and newborn services," Dr. Nichols wrote to task force member Dr. Keith White, "I would project the following patterns:

"1. Small community centers, which will be hospitals with minimal obstetrical facilities. These will be in areas where volume is low and distances are great. They will not have 24-hour laboratory, nursing or anesthesia coverage. They will have a modern transport system for newborns ranging from mini-ambulances to helicopters.

"2. Regional hospitals where the major bulk of the deliveries will take place. These hospitals will not necessarily be regulated by the size of service but rather by the range and quality of services offered. This means 24-hour laboratory, nursing and anesthesia coverage and it is presumed that the majority of these hospitals will have a full-time director of education.

"These regional hospitals will offer a full range of services and will be staffed in a fashion to provide all major consultations. We are seeing today many examples of this kind of service being provided in communities through the mechanism of hospitals merging their obstetrical services . . .

"It is my understanding that what you are considering in Long Beach is the regional hospital which in fact gives total support to maternity and newborn services with an intensive care unit. You would, in fact, be the referral hospital for most of the small hospitals in your geographic area . . ."

Within the past year, a statewide meeting of specialists serving on the Ad Hoc Study Group on Maternal and Fetal monitoring met in San Francisco and concluded in its report that "at the present time, an insufficient number of obstetric units in California are adequately equipped and staffed for the optimal care of high risk pregnancy."

A New York State study was cited which said that at the present level of obstetric care, an obstetric unit is not efficient unless there are 2,000 or more births per year.

"Under this definition," the Californians concluded noting that some feel that the number should be higher, "only 17 of 102 hospitals offering obstetric care in Los Angeles County could be termed efficient. If the increased costs of high risk obstetric care are added to this calculation, the necessary number of births for efficient operation might be considerably greater."

"Because it is clear that a significant percentage of high risk pregnancies cannot be identified in advance of the onset of labor, optimal care for all high risk pregnancies cannot be assured unless all pregnancies receive high risk care (before, during and after birth).

"Our objective should be to establish high risk obstetric units whenever economically and wherever geographically feasible . . ."

The report recommended that "every hospital with a high risk obstetric unit must also contain a high risk newborn unit and vice-versa."

The guidelines drafted by the group parallel those recommended by the Long Beach task force for the development of the women's hospital at Memorial.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 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?"

October 10, 1972

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,758 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

BIG BUSINESS, BIG LABOR, BIG GOVERNMENT

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, in recent years whenever a problem has come to public attention the answer which most legislators, academicians, and journalists have arrived at has been a simple one: create a new government agency, regulate the "problem" area involved, and appropriate additional funds.

This easy and simple answer has one major flaw: it has not worked, will not work in the future, and can never solve our problems.

Far from solving our problems, government intervention has compounded those that already existed, and created a host of new ones.

Today, there appears to be an increasing unwillingness to learn from the lessons of history. We hear many allegedly "new" problems being discussed: consumer affairs, environmental pollution, population control, and so forth. There are, however, no new "answers" presented, only the same old response: create new regulations, new bureaucracies, and new enforcement powers.

During the progressive era, and ever since, government has sought to regulate the economy, with the stated purpose of fighting monopoly and increasing competition. What has happened, writes Dr. George Roche III, the president of Hillsdale College in Michigan, is that,

The actual result of such agencies as the Federal Communications Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and similar regulatory commissions has been to retard competition, thus penalizing the consumer.

In his recently published book, "The Bewildered Society," Dr. Roche declares that—

The classic symptoms of monopoly have been (1) an absence of price competition, and (2) inability for new competitors to enter the market place. What could be a more accurate description of a government-regulated monopoly. The FCC permits the already established giants in the communications field an absolute monopoly of the area by means of government licensure. The Civil Aeronautics Board does precisely the same thing for the airlines industry, and so on throughout American life. Not only are new competitors thus prevented from entering the field, but those non-competitors privileged to hold government licenses in various areas of the American economy are further privileged by means of government rate-setting policy which removes all price competition.

Discussing the interlocking relationship which has developed between big government, big business, and big labor, Allan C. Brownfeld, writing in his "Roll Call" column, notes that—

The close partnership between big business, big labor and big government makes it clear that the answer to our problems is not to be found within the political process, for that process is what has produced the larger portion of our problems. Government has stifled initiative and competition and has deprived the average American of many of the real choices which were once available to him.

Mr. Brownfeld declared that—

The question Americans have to face is whether or not they prefer freedom to regulation. Regulation has failed to solve our problems. Perhaps we should give freedom another chance.

I wish to share with my colleagues the following column by Allan C. Brownfeld, which appeared in "Roll Call," the newspaper of Capitol Hill, of September 28, 1972, and which is a discussion of the important new book by Dr. George Roche III, "The Bewildered Society." The column follows:

BIG BUSINESS, BIG LABOR, BIG GOVERNMENT
(By Allan C. Brownfeld)

For many years Americans who have been concerned with problems ranging from racial discrimination, to environmental pollution, to business monopoly, to urban housing, have advanced a single answer to the difficulties they sought to correct: government regulation.

Today, "consumer" advocates such as Ralph Nader point to what they consider to be a host of vital concerns; unsafe automobiles, impure foods, improper working conditions. Their answer is the same answer given, for example, by Progressives in the early part of this century who sought to fight big business, men who called themselves "trust busters." That response, and the response today, is simple: form a new government "policing" agency, pass new laws and new regulations.

During the early part of this century a host of new governmental bodies were formed, allegedly to fight monopolies and to insure competition. The result of the actions of these bodies has been the opposite and, although we are frequently told by political spokesmen that businessmen oppose government intrusion into their affairs, the fact is that government intrusion has helped a certain group of businessmen very much, and harmed the average citizen in whose name such intrusion was initially entered into.

In an important new book, "The Bewildered Society" (Arlington House, 1972), George Roche III, the youthful and articulate president of Hillsdale College in Michigan, sets forth the thesis that big government, big labor, and big business have, in effect, joined hands, to the great disadvantage of the average American.

With regard to the regulatory agencies started during the Progressive Era, and continued and expanded under the New Deal, Dr. Roche states that, "The original intent of the various regulatory agencies was to protect the consumer by encouraging competition among those serving the public. The actual result of such agencies as the Federal Communications Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and similar regulatory commissions has been to retard competition, thus penalizing the consumer."

He notes that, "The classic symptoms of monopoly have been (1) an absence of price competition, and (2) inability for new competitors to enter the marketplace. What could be a more accurate description of a government-regulated monopoly? The FCC permits the already established giants in the communications field an absolute monopoly of the area by means of government licensure. The Civil Aeronautics Board does pre-

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cisely the same thing for the airlines industry, and so on throughout American life. Not only are new competitors thus prevented from entering the field, but those noncompetitors privileged to hold government licenses in various areas of the American economy are further privileged by means of government rate-setting policy which removes all price competition."

Government regulation, initially called for by those who expressed concern for the consumer, has resulted in an end to all choice-making by that very consumer. It is a continuing illusion that businessmen, who gain their own monopoly position because of government oppose that government regulation. Many businessmen prefer to maximize profits through a political arrangement rather than to take their chance in a free-market economy. It is particularly ironical to hear those on the left criticize "capitalism" and "free enterprise" for the monopolies we face. They are not the result of capitalism. They are, instead, the result of the very government regulation which those on the left advocate as a "solution" to the problem it has actually created.

This same view has been presented in some depth by Professor Yale Brozen of the Graduate School of Business of the University of Chicago. He points out that, "The regulatory agencies not only prevent those in transportation from competing with each other—they also protect those in the industry from the entry of additional competitors. You cannot get into the trucking business, the airline business, the bus business, as you would enter retailing or manufacturing. You must be certified by the CAB if you wish to enter the airline business. The CAB has not certified an additional scheduled airline in continental U.S. since it began operating in 1938. The ICC will certify an additional common carrier truck company to operate on a given route only if it can be demonstrated that adequate truck service is not available on the route in question. The only major city in which you can start a taxi business simply by applying for a taxi license and demonstrating that you carry the necessary public liability insurance and have safe equipment and drivers is Washington, D.C. All other major cities stop any additional taxi operators from entering the business. They even prevent taxi operators from increasing the size of their fleets. Transportation regulation very effectively protects transportation companies from new competition and produces the exact opposite of the situation which our antimonopoly laws were designed to produce. . . ."

In our present political life there is much discussion of corruption and "influence peddling." The Republicans, it is said, are too closely tied with business, and the Democrats are too closely affiliated with labor. People are "paid off" to secure legislation favorable to the interests who are doing the paying. This is nothing new. The same was true in the 19th century. What is unfortunate is that we have not drawn the proper conclusions from such a situation.

In an article prompted by the Credit Mobilier scandal, E. L. Godkin, the first editor of "The Nation" magazine, warned that the only possible lasting answer to bribery and corruption would be an end to the power of congressmen to bestow great privilege upon private individuals and corporations. Godkin wrote: "The remedy is simple. The Government must get out of the 'protective' business and the 'subsidy' business and the 'improvement' business and the 'development' business. It must let trade and commerce, and manufacturers, and steamboats and railroads, and telegraphs alone. It cannot touch them without breeding corruption."

All of the significant scandals of the late 19th century were closely connected with the exercise of political power over the economy, and the same is true of our own period. Dr. Roche writes that, ". . . there evolved the

dichotomy which saw businessmen preaching laissez faire doctrine for everyone else, while asking for government assistance in their own particular case." Today, the same is true. Businessmen oppose welfare payments, but support subsidization for their own businesses. Farmers oppose assistance to business, but favor subsidies for themselves. Teachers want more money spent for education, and less for everything else. Each group is against all subsidies but their own. Somehow, this is called "political principle" when high-minded men propose it in high-sounding phrases. It is, however, little more than the traditional feeding at the public trough.

The arguments between business and labor, teachers and defense contractors, self-proclaimed "liberals" and self-proclaimed "conservatives" is usually about who will profit by control of the state machinery. In his volume, "The Memoirs of a Superfluous Man," Albert Jay Nock commented that, "The object of the tussle is the material gains accruing from control of the state machinery. It is easier to seize wealth than to produce it; and as long as the State makes the seizure of wealth a matter of legalized privilege, so long the squabble for that privilege will go on. As John Adams so correctly had foreseen, the few more sagacious mass-men will be continually trying to outwit the many who are less sagacious, and the many will in turn be trying to overpower the few by sheer force of numbers."

The close partnership between big business, big labor, and big government makes it clear that the answer to our problems is not to be found within the political process, for that process is what has produced the larger portion of our problems. Government has stifled initiative and competition and has deprived the average American of many of the real choices which were once available to him.

The question Americans have to face is whether or not they prefer freedom to regulation. Regulation has failed to solve our problems. Perhaps we should give freedom another chance.

BURGER AIDE LINKED TO BID TO WEAKEN PRODUCT SAFETY BILL

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to read on the front page of the October 6 New York Times that an aide to Chief Justice Burger has lobbied against the Consumer Product Safety Bill, H.R. 15003, which passed the House last month.

The Times article states that Thomas G. Corcoran, an attorney with several drug industry clients lobbied extensively against this bill. He visited Speaker ALBERT in August and discussed H.R. 15003. On this visit he was accompanied by Rowland F. Kirks, Director of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts. Mr. Corcoran has circulated a memorandum attacking this bill and he includes Chief Justice Burger's criticisms of consumer bills.

The Congress is finally moving to protect the American consumer. Now we find that not only is the administration against that effort, but so is the Chief Justice of the United States.

What is particularly appalling is that

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Mr. Kirks joined Mr. Corcoran in an effort against a bill designed to protect the rights of the individual. And, it seems strange that the Chief Justice of the United States is more concerned with judicial efficiency than with the preservation and extension of rights given by the Constitution and the Congress. These actions severely strain the non-partial image of the courts and its officials.

I insert the Times article in the Record at this point:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 6, 1972]

BURGER AIDE LINKED TO A BID TO WEAKEN PRODUCT SAFETY BILL
(By Fred P. Graham)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 5.—The chief administrative officer of the Federal courts under Chief Justice Warren E. Burger has worked with a Washington drug industry lawyer in an effort to weaken the product safety bill now pending before Congress. He said he was doing so to avoid an increase in Federal court cases.

Representative Carl Albert of Oklahoma, Speaker of the House, acknowledged today that a man "associated with judicial administration" came to see him last August with a Washington lawyer, Thomas G. Corcoran. The man was subsequently identified as Rowland F. Kirks, the director of the administrative office of the United States Courts.

Mr. Corcoran, a former New Deal official widely known as "Tommy the Cork," has several clients in the drug industry, which is leading the fight against the products safety bill.

Mr. Albert said the two men urged him to remove some of the court remedies from the bill on the ground that the provisions would generate too much new litigation in the Federal courts.

The bill, which is designed to protect consumers from dangerous products, contains provisions that give the public broad rights to bring suits in Federal courts to force companies to follow safety standards or to pay damages if their products cause injuries.

Mr. Corcoran was quoted today by Jack Anderson, the columnist, as stating that Mr. Kirks, saying he was acting for Chief Justice Burger, asked Mr. Corcoran to see the Speaker about watering down the bill.

Chief Justice Burger has warned in speeches against enacting consumer legislation that he contends would create more cases and clog the heavily burdened Federal courts. In a speech before the American Bar Association four days before the approach to Mr. Albert, the Chief Justice called upon Congress to refrain from passing any bills without first considering their impact on the courts.

Today, Chief Justice Burger's office and Mr. Kirks' office referred all questions about the incident to the Supreme Court's information officer, Banning E. Whittington. Mr. Whittington responded to questions by saying that neither the Chief Justice nor Mr. Kirks "would have anything to say about it." Mr. Corcoran was said by his office to be out of town.

MEMORANDUM TO CONGRESSMEN

A Congressional source close to the incident confirmed today that Mr. Kirks' office acknowledged several weeks ago that he was the man who accompanied Mr. Corcoran. Several weeks after the visit, Mr. Corcoran sent key Congressmen a memorandum with his professional card, attacking the sections of the bill broadening the public's right to sue, and quoting Chief Justice Burger's critical statements about consumer bills.

Representative John E. Moss, Democrat of California, who is the chief House sponsor of the bill, said today of the incident, "If this is true, and there is very little evidence that

has surfaced that it is not true, it is a shocking and offensive intrusion by the Chief Justice into the legislative process, bordering on judicial misconduct."

UNCERTAIN ROLE

Mr. Albert said that he did not know whether Mr. Corcoran was speaking as "a lobbyist or a lawyer" when he came to Capitol Hill with the man who has been identified as Mr. Kirks. Mr. Albert said he did not catch Mr. Kirks' name or title, but the Speaker added that he understood him to be an official "associated with judicial administration" who was there "to verify what Tommy was saying."

"He said a provision in the bill would throw a lot more cases upon the Federal courts than they were prepared to handle," Mr. Albert said in an interview today. "So far as I can remember, the name of Burger was never mentioned—they didn't come to me as representatives of Burger."

Mr. Corcoran was said to have done all the talking, with Mr. Kirks nodding his agreement.

Mr. Albert said he passed along Mr. Corcoran's views to "two or three members of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee," which was then considering the bill.

No action was taken in the committee as a result of Mr. Albert's message, but the bill was modified on the House floor by a voice vote to permit personal injury suits only if \$10,000 in damages were alleged.

Mr. Kirks, a 58-year-old former colleague of the Chief Justice when both were in the Justice Department during the Eisenhower Administration, was appointed to his present position by the Chief Justice shortly after he took office in 1969.

There have been intermittent reports of informal lobbying at social functions by Chief Justice Burger with Congressmen about legislation affecting the judiciary. But this is the first time that an allegation has been made that Mr. Burger expressed his wishes through an intermediary.

THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY AND THE FEDERAL POLICYMAKING PROCESS

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, historically, the American scientific community has remained somewhat aloof from governmental decisionmaking. This is not an indictment however; the fact of the matter was that until the Second World War, few governmental decisions had major scientific or technological implications. But with the advent of such major programs as the Manhattan project, increasingly it became necessary for the Federal Government to seek scientific and technical counsel.

The early success of this relationship is clearly documented by the global domination of the United States in World War II. But within relatively few years, praise for our scientific capabilities turned to doubt and in turn to fear as so many of the brilliant discoveries we had heralded became weapons of awesome destruction.

The development of atomic energy and subsequently the production of the atom bomb represented one of the most strik-

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ing examples in the transformation of the scientist from hero to scapegoat. Clearly, the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki brought the morality of scientific inquiry under severe scrutinization. And the public began to wonder whether the scientist did not have a greater responsibility to society not only to produce the scientific foundation for future progress but also to control the Jekyll and Hyde characteristics of his research so as to safeguard society.

The reaction of the scientific community to this public disillusionment subsequently led to greater insistence by the scientist and engineer to participate more directly within the Federal decisionmaking structure. Since then, we have witnessed a steady proliferation of scientific and technical advisory bodies working in direct support of local, State, and National Government.

I offer one preliminary observation however. Today's world has come to expect nothing less than the miraculous from the scientific community. This "overexpectation" or overreliance on technology, coupled with the widespread abuse of much of our scientific knowledge, has created a new credibility gap between the technical community and society.

The point I am making is that where the level and nature of previous inputs may have been adequate—where the working relationships of the past between the scientist and the Government may have served our needs—the Nation today faces a major crisis in developing a better way to integrate the talent and knowledge of the scientific and technical community into public policy decisions.

CURRENT DISILLUSIONMENT WITH SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

American society is presently faced with two closely related domestic problems which I feel can be solved through the joint effort of science and Government. On the one hand, there is the growing demand for improved civilian services and for a reorienting of priorities in favor of pressing societal problems. On the other hand, there is the need to revive both the spirit and productivity of the technical community.

So many times I hear these two problems discussed as if the former were a governmental problem, and the latter, a problem peculiar to the scientific and engineering community. But I am convinced that both these problems have much in common.

In particular, I ask why should we not be able to furnish more and better civilian services through technology? It appears just as obvious that the many scientists and engineers who are presently unemployed or underemployed due to cutbacks in defense and space should be able to be converted or retrained for work in major civilian-oriented technologies. The result would be the marriage of the scientific and engineering community to the Government in order to solve our pressing domestic problems.

A few of the many areas which might particularly benefit from more scientific and technological attention include: public health care, mass transit, urban renewal, energy resource development,

and environmental control. These are just a handful of the many opportunities which could be explored by the scientific community given adequate Government support. And by Government support, I refer not only to actual funding for civilian research and development, but in addition, to the stimulation of academic, community, and private industry groups by new and innovative Government incentives. I will address this thought later.

INTEGRATING SCIENTIFIC INPUT

Let me return now to my original thrust concerning how we can better integrate the counsel of the scientific and technical community into public policy decisions.

At present, the primary inputs to the Congress take the form of ad hoc advice elicited through testimony, through task forces such as the energy task force on which I serve, through special committees, and, through studies by the National Academy of Science, National Science Foundation, and Library of Congress. The weakness in these methods however is the rather haphazard manner in which the scientific resources are aggregated and communicated. In other words, there is no particular means by which the needs and talents of the scientific and technical community as a whole can be integrated for use by the Congress. Thus, our inputs tend to be sporadic and single-issue oriented.

Furthermore, by the time an issue of major scientific import reaches the Congress, it frequently has critical and quite far-reaching dimensions which require immediate attention. The very urgency of the problem then leaves little time for the extensive study, evaluation, and recommendation necessary for sound policymaking.

Very simply, therefore, we need improved inputs—as well as a better system of inputs—to enhance the effectiveness of our congressional programs. If the system is to operate efficiently, this process of input and output must be more evenly balanced.

THE NEED FOR A CONGRESSIONAL AGENCY TO COORDINATE INPUTS

It is my opinion that Congress needs a permanent body to coordinate and translate the inputs of the scientific community so that policymaking can better respond to the needs of the country. Such a group would also keep Congress aware of emerging issues so that, if and when a policy decision is required, the Congress would be informed and prepared.

I might point out that this idea is not new. In 1965 Congressman GEORGE MILLER, chairman of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, of which I am a member, asked the National Academy of Sciences for an advisory report to Congress on the support of basic scientific research by the U.S. Government. The key word is "advisory." This was not an ad hoc issue assignment—rather it was a request for a thoughtful analysis on the status of Federal research. The Academy produced a detailed and very valuable study compiled by leading people in the field. However, this was a temporary committee and after completing the study the body was disbanded.

More recently, my Subcommittee on

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Science, Research, and Development within the House Science Committee became interested in technical information for Congress. In 1969 we requested that the Library of Congress prepare a report on "Technical Information for Congress." It is interesting to note that the one overriding finding of this study was that the communication between scientist and policymaker needs immediate strengthening. Specifically, the Congress was told that it needed a more regular source of inputs from the scientist and engineer if it was to produce sound policies on technological matters.

This is not to discount, however, the contribution of a number of existing advisory bodies. Such offices as the Federal Council on Science and Technology and the Office of Science and Technology do function to provide scientific input. But their point of contact is basically with the Executive Office of the President.

Two years ago the Library of Congress was expanded in order to better advise and assist congressional committees. However, the Library is only equipped to perform limited research.

An imaginative and more recent approach to assist the Congress in this area is found in the current legislation to create an Office of Technology Assessment. Bills to create this Office have passed both the House and the Senate, all conflicts in the bills have been resolved, and the legislation should be signed into law very shortly.

This Office will closely approximate the approach suggested in the "Technical Information for Congress" report. The proposed Office will be an information gathering agency within the legislative branch directed by a policymaking body composed of Members of Congress. The basic responsibilities of the Office will be to provide an early appraisal of the probable impacts—positive and negative—of the applications of technology and to develop other coordinate technical information in support of the Congress.

I personally consider the Office of Technology Assessment to be the first major step in supplementing the existing systems of acquiring information such as the hearing procedure.

II. INCREASING THE LEVEL OF BASIC AND APPLIED RESEARCH

Of major interest to the scientific and technical community is the level of funding for basic and applied research. I would like to comment on one aspect of this issue—federally supported R. & D.

I personally know of no easy way to determine the proper level of Federal funding for research and development. In fact, when the National Academy of Sciences Committee studied this same problem for the Science Committee, the Academy came up with as many answers as it had members.

But while I have no specific answer as to the "proper" level of R. & D. in dollars and cents, I do believe the level should be sufficient to produce the scientific foundation to permit us to address society's most urgent technological problems. I think there will be no disagreement, however, that the current level of civilian-oriented R. & D. is not

as high as it should be. A rough comparison our investment and that of other nations provides the proof.

In terms of total R. & D. funding, the United States does not employ scientists and engineers in civilian R. & D. on anything even approximating the scale of Western Europe or Japan. Our Department of Commerce indicates that Western Europe, with a population 30 percent larger than that of the United States and a gross national product one-third smaller, has a third more technical people engaged in civilian and industrial research. Japan, with only half the population of the United States and one-seventh of its GNP, has 70 percent as many researchers in the civilian area as we have.

One issue intimately tied to this discussion of course, concerns the actual allocation of our federal R. & D. dollar. Approximately 7 percent of our national budget is presently allocated to R. & D. of which at least half is committed to defense. Perhaps it is not our level of R. & D. per se which is too low, rather it might be that portion allocated to civilian research. Although the percentage of Federal expenditures spent on military related research and development has decreased in the past few years, our response to these changes has not adequately provided transference of skills to the civilian sector.

In the past 5 years thousands of scientists and engineers have become unemployed because of shifts in Federal spending on research from the military sector. We have all heard nuclear physicists driving taxis because they could not find other employment. This seems an illogical waste of resources.

The contribution which these scientists and engineers could make toward helping to solve our environmental and urban problems seems limited only by the depth of our commitment. This spring I had the opportunity to meet with several doctoral students in nuclear physics. These scientists are working on a project using high force magnetism to purify water. Their experiments could lead to a technology which would be able to clean up our nation's lakes and rivers to a better standard and at a cost considerably below present systems.

The Federal Government's role in encouraging this kind of transference can be to fund additional civilian research and development projects and to create a national conversion mechanism which will encourage highly skilled persons to seek alternative modes of employment. Hopefully, the Science and Astronautics Committee will assume the responsibility in the next Congress to take this on as a major task.

Assistance to those interested in the social sciences has also been seriously lacking in the past few years. Many in Congress have been reluctant to fund research projects in the social sciences because of their lack of exact answers to the kinds of questions they have been trying to answer. This type of logic would have prevented development of the first jet airplane merely because the technologies were not yet available to present a complete answer to a complex problem. We must realize that many of

the problems which we ask government to solve involve the social as well as the physical sciences. Denying funding to research and development in the social sciences then leaves many jobs only half done.

There have been a number of major proposals for the reallocation of federal R. & D. resources. This past year the President appointed a high level task force to review Federal research policies and to formulate a comprehensive research focus for the Federal Government. The task force was headed by William McGruder. Its proposals were far-reaching and should help to redirect and reestablish our research efforts toward pressing domestic problems.

Under present policy, the U.S. pursues most of its civilian-oriented R. & D. through the so-called mission agencies such as Housing and Urban Development, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Department of Transportation, and a number of others.

One popular approach which involves reprogramming Federal support for R. & D. is the National Science Policy and Priorities Act of 1972. This act passed the Senate in August and is now before the Science Committee in the House.

The bill would raise the total investment in scientific and technological R. & D. with the spending level tied directly to the gross national product. The legislation would also raise Federal funding for civilian R. & D. to a parity with Federal obligations for defense research and engineering activities.

The focal point of the bill's funding would be in high-priority societal needs—urban decay, mass transportation, environmental control, and other similar areas. The act would also create a Civil Systems Administration, much like a civilian NASA, to operate within the National Science Foundation.

I would like to comment briefly on this particular bill. While I favor a reallocation of existing R. & D. funds in favor of civilian research, I am seriously concerned over several aspects of the bill.

First, I do not feel the GNP is an adequate index for comparison since its growth is not always a qualitative one. Second, I am troubled at the prospect of undermining the traditional science education and basic research mission of the National Science Foundation. I am also fearful that the creation of another bureaucracy, such as the Civil System Administration, might only serve to drive the Federal Government and the scientific community further from the problems and needs of the individual citizen as well as his local and State government.

Personally, I would rather encourage programs geared to developing healthy and productive innovation rather than those dependent upon massive Government grants and "make work" solutions. Furthermore, the present administration is working in that direction.

Specifically, the administration introduced an experimental incentives program last year which commits the National Science Foundation and the National Bureau of Standards to a joint effort for stimulating technological in-

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novation. The program for the first year includes a rather modest budget of \$40 million but the aim of the Experimental Incentives Program is to develop new technologies that will in themselves create new jobs rather than commit vast sums of money to vague and untested areas.

III. CONCLUSION

I have focused on what I feel to be two key issues of mutual concern to the scientific community and the Congress. On the one hand, I feel the Congress needs to more effectively integrate inputs from the scientific and technical community. On the other hand, the Nation is demanding a reallocation of research and development in favor of civilian technology. What we are really seeking therefore is a reorientation of science priorities through the development of a coherent national policy.

The Committee on Science and Astronautics has been exploring this very complex issue for the past several years. We have held hearings on an annual basis related to this topic with the product of our work being reflected in the March 1972 presidential message on science and technology.

I personally believe there is an urgent need for a coherent national policy, one that would call for a reordering of priorities, for a higher level of civilian R. & D. and one that would focus on the human needs of society.

I would conclude on the theme of humanistic science policy and the scientist. What can the scientific community contribute? My best answer is to repeat the words of a member of the science community, Robert Andrew Milligan:

The most important contribution that we scientists can make is to go on with our own research and teaching in science, to follow where curiosity leads and to take the small steps that culminate, once or twice in a generation, in those great universal syntheses like quantum mechanics . . . the genetic code, and the theory of the evolution of the stars.

CHICAGO'S 1972 COLUMBUS DAY PARADE

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, yesterday Chicago celebrated the discovery of America 480 years ago by Christopher Columbus. Our annual Columbus Day celebration and parade, now a tradition in Chicago, was a spectacular success and I was honored to serve as grand marshal for the parade.

The theme for this year's parade was "America—Nation of Immigrants." It was especially appropriate because Columbus Day is a truly American holiday celebrating the courage, foresight, and intrepid fortitude of a man who dared to follow his ideals.

This spirit of Columbus symbolizes the dedicated idealism and the combined efforts of all ethnic groups which have

made our city and our Nation great. Our national spirit, like the spirit of Columbus, is one of innovative independence and courageous perseverance, and it was the immigrant groups which proved their dedication to the ideal of freedom by beginning anew and contributing together to the growth and development of our great country. Chicago's Columbus Day event was a celebration of the success and achievements of all ethnic groups in their contributions to our national heritage.

Chicago's parade is the culmination of a series of specially planned events to mark the discovery of America. Yesterday the celebration began with a con-celebrated mass at Our Lady of Pompeii Church in Chicago. Presiding at the mass was most Rev. Michael R. Dempsey, auxiliary bishop of Chicago. The chaplains at this sacred occasion were Rev. Armando Pierini, C.S., and Rev. Peter Rigo, C.S. The concelebrants included Very Rev. Edward M. Pellicore, Rev. John DiVito, C.S., Rev. Laurence Cozzi, C.S., Rev. Gino Dal Piaz, C.S., Rev. Angelo Gargin, and Rev. Leonard H. Mattei. The homily was given by Rev. Paul J. Asciola, coeditor of *FRA NOI*.

Special wreath-laying ceremonies took place at 11 a.m. at the Columbus Statue in Vernon Park, and at 3 p.m., following the parade, the Order, Sons of Italy in America laid a wreath at the Columbus statue in Grant Park.

The main event of our celebration, Chicago's gigantic Columbus Day parade, began on State Street at 1 p.m. Seventy floats, depicting the theme of the parade, and 79 units, representing every branch of the U.S. Armed Forces, participated in the procession. Women and children wearing authentic native costumes of Italy rode on the floats and John Rago, 5744 West North Avenue, a senior at DePaul University, portrayed Christopher Columbus. In addition, various school bands, core of marchers, and a number of drum and bugle corps took part in the parade.

This year our special guest was Mrs. Pat Nixon, our President's wife. Leading the parade was honorary chairman of the parade, the outstanding mayor of Chicago, Hon. Richard J. Daley; General Chairman John C. Porcelli, Anthony Paterno, Dr. Giuseppe Avitable, the distinguished consul general of Italy in Chicago; as well as Mr. Michael Balzano, Special Assistant to the President; Charles C. Porcelli, president of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans; Mrs. Richard B. Ogilvie; Congressman ROMAN C. PUCINSKI; Senator and Mrs. Charles Percy; States' Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan; Hon. William F. Cellini, director of the Illinois Department of Public Works and Buildings; Hon. Michael Howlett, auditor of public accounts; Hon. Lawrence X. Pusateri, Illinois liquor control commissioner; Hon. Matthew Danaher, county clerk; Hon. Robert J. Quinn, commissioner of the Chicago Fire Department;

Hon. William J. Laurino, State representative for the 15th District; Hon. Ralph C. Capparelli, State representative for the 16th District; Hon. Thaddeus Lechowitz, State representative for the

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17th District; Hon. Vito Marzullo, alderman for the 25th ward; Hon. Elmer R. Filippini, alderman for the 30th ward; Hon. Anthony Laurino, alderman for the 39th ward; Hon. Thomas Lyons, 45th ward committeeman; Dan Walker, Democratic candidate for Governor of Illinois; Michael Galasso, Democratic candidate for Congress from the Sixth Congressional District; and John LaSpisa, mayor of Melrose Park. Following them in the line of march were many political dignitaries, too numerous to mention, civic leaders, members of the judiciary, businessmen from the community, and labor leaders.

Sponsor of the Columbus Day parade and other related activities honoring Christopher Columbus was the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, comprised of more than 40 Italo-American civic organizations in the Chicago-land area. Many local groups cooperated with the Joint Civic Committee in this communitywide tribute to Columbus, and John C. Porcelli served as general chairman of the 1972 parade, and Anthony Sorrentino, consultant to the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans helped to coordinate the various activities.

One of the highlights of Chicago's Columbus Day celebration is selection of the queen of the parade. This year, Peggy Pilas, 5901 North Sheridan, Chicago, was chosen to reign as queen of the Columbus Day parade. The prizes awarded to the queen included a free trip to Italy, courtesy of Alitalia Airlines; a weekend trip for two to Las Vegas, courtesy of the Nick Nitti Travel Bureau; and a \$100 gift certificate from John C. Porcelli, chairman of the Columbus Day parade.

The queen will also be the guest of the Italian-American Police Association of Illinois at the man-of-the-year dinner-dance, honoring Anthony Paterno, on November 12; meet June Havoc at the Pheasant Run Theater; meet the aerialist queen of the Ringling Brothers' Barnum and Bailey Circus; meet the ice queen of the Ice Follies at the Chicago Stadium; and toss the first basketball for the season opener of the Chicago Bull's basketball team at the Chicago stadium. The wardrobe for the queen and her court were from Alden's Department Store.

Members of the queen's court were Regina Panarese, 1016 North East Avenue, Oak Park; Marian Maggiore, 5154 South Newland, Chicago; Rosalie LoGalbo, 3606 Hawthorne, Franklin Park, and Mary Lois DoCurro, 4853 North Neva, Chicago. The members of the court each received a \$25 check from John C. Porcelli. Other prizes included gowns, trophies, and bouquets of flowers.

Judges for the queen's contest were Hon. Lawrence Di Prima, Illinois State representative; Carmen Fanzone of the Chicago Cubs; Linda Lucatosto, former Columbus Day queen; Judge Philip Romiti, Cook County Circuit Court; Louis Seno, president of Seno and Sones; Anthony Sulla, art director at WGN-TV; and Grace Zolicke, sales manager at Alden's Department Store.

The Columbus Day parade in Chicago

is one of the highlights of the year for residents of the area and yesterday the parade attracted over 1 million people on State Street. An additional 2 million people viewed the procession on television, which WGN-TV televised again this year as it has in the past. Sponsors of the telecast were Anthony Paterno of the Pacific Wine Co., Dominick Di Matteo of Dominick's Finer Foods, and Frank Armanetti of Armanetti Liquor Stores.

The Columbus Day extravaganza closed with a reception at 4 p.m. at the Chateau Royale, 5743 West Chicago Avenue, Chicago. Mrs. Serafina Ferrara and Mrs. Jean Abbott were the official hostesses at the reception which was held in honor of all of the officers, subcommittee chairman and members who participated in making the 1972 Columbus Day parade the greatest parade ever, and bringing the attention of the entire Nation to our city of Chicago. Leaders of the Italo-American organizations from Illinois were present at the reception as well as officials from the city of Chicago, from Cook County, and from the State of Illinois.

On Thursday evening, October 12, the Joint Civic Committee will present a cuisine and culture program on Genoa and the surrounding province of Liguria at the Como Inn, 546 North Milwaukee. Father Armando Pierini will show slides of this area of Italy and Gino Secco will give the narration. The event will draw special attention to the city of Genoa where Columbus was born.

I was honored this year to be the grand marshal of the Columbus Day parade and to participate in the second celebration of Columbus Day as a national legal holiday. The members of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans are to be commended for their steadfast dedication and the genuine hard work that goes into the planning of an event as varied and monumental as the Chicago Columbus Day parade. These efforts are a credit to our city of Chicago and attest to the diverse creativity of all of our people.

Mr. Speaker, the officers and members of the 1972 Chicago Columbus Day parade committee are as follows:

COLUMBUS DAY PARADE COMMITTEE, JOINT CIVIC COMMITTEE OF ITALIAN AMERICANS

John C. Porcelli, General Chairman 1972; Congressman Frank Annunzio, Grand Marshall.

HONORARY CHAIRMEN

Honorable Richard J. Daley.

Dr. Giuseppe Avitabile, Counsul General of Italy.

OFFICERS

Charles C. Porcelli, President; Anthony J. Fornelli, 1st Vice President; Dr. James F. Greco, 2nd Vice President; James Coli, 3rd Vice President; Joseph U. Bottalla, 4th Vice President; Dr. N. J. Bruno, 5th Vice President; John G. Rovetto, Treasurer; Ettore DiVito, Secretary; Achille J. Chiappetta, Sgt. at Arms; Anthony Sorrentino, Consultant.

PRESIDENT EMERITUS

Anthony Paterno.

PAST PRESIDENTS

Peter R. Scalise, Dr. Mario O. Rubinelli, Victor J. Failla, Anthony Bottalla.

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANTS TO GENERAL CHAIRMAN

Anthony J. Fornelli, Jack G. High.

SPECIAL ASSISTANTS TO GENERAL CHAIRMAN
Joseph DeLetto, Dominick P. Dolci, Peter C. Ingraffia, Marshall Anthony R. Pilas, Joseph J. Scilbra, Joseph Tolitano, Jerome Zurla.

COCHAIRMEN

Frank Armanetti, Fred Bartoli, Anthony Bottalla, Martin R. Buccieri, James Coli, Dominick DiMatteo, Victor J. Failla, Nello V. Ferrara, Anthony Paterno, Dr. Mario O. Rubinelli, Anthony Terlato.

SUBCOMMITTEES

Public officials

Hon. John D'Arco, Co-Chairman; Hon. Louis Garippo, Co-Chairman; Hon. Anthony Laurino, Co-Chairman; Hon. Vito Marzullo, Co-Chairman.

Chaplain

Reverend Amando Pierini, C.S.

Television & radio sponsors

Anthony Paterno, Chairman; Frank Armanetti; Dominick DiMatteo.

Finance & souvenir book

Joseph DeLetto, Chairman; Frank N. Catrambone, Sr., Co-Chairman; Sam Cerniglia, Co-Chairman; Mrs. Serafina Ferrara, Co-Chairman; Mathew J. Alagna; Mo. Cav. Domenick M. Alberti; Anthony Apa; William Boschelli; Sam Canino; Frank Cacciatore, Jr.; Charles Carosella; Joseph Comella; John D'Arco, Jr.; Louis Farina; Joseph Fusco; Peter Lavorata; Ralph Massey; Marino Mazzei; Joseph Nicoletti; Louis H. Rago; Michael R. Rosin; George Salerno; Benny Zucchini.

Program & arrangements

Hon. Victor A. Arrigo, Chairman; Dr. Joseph H. DiLeonardo, Co-Chairman; William Fantozzi; Rosario Lombardo; Dr. Joseph J. Sirchio; Peter Tatooles; Amedeo Yelmini.

Queen contest

Fred Mazzei, Co-Chairman; Mrs. Josephine Bianco, Co-Chairman; Anita Louise Bianco, Special Assistant; Domenick Difrisco, Advisor; Sam Bruno, Photographer; Joseph Alagna; Bernard J. Fiorito; Stephen Fiorentino; Charles Cannon Giannone; Joseph Lucania; Frank Mariani; Robert Napoli; Vincent Saverino; William Capraro; Jerome Zurla.

Religious program & organizations

Joseph DeSerto, Chairman; Louis Moretti, Co-Chairman; Carl Ferina; Michael R. Fortino; Michael J. Mento; John Spatuzza.

Bands, marchers & transportation

Dr. James F. Greco, Chairman; Jordan Canzone, Co-Chairman; Mo. Cav. Dominick M. Alberti; Frank Bottiglieri; Hon. Lawrence DiPrima; John Epifanio; Michael R. Galasso; Dr. Joseph J. Sirchio.

Labor

James Coli, Co-Chairman; Victor J. Failla, Co-Chairman; Thomas Siracusa; Edward Coco; Angelo Fosco; John Parise.

Parade Marshalls

Marco DeStefano, Chairman; Louis H. Rago, Co-Chairman; Sam Canino; Louis Del Medico; Ettore DiVito, Michael Epifanio; Neil Francis; Henry Jenero; Guido H. Melone; Marshall Anthony Pilas; Vito Scilliano; Joseph Tolitano; Frank J. Tomaso.

Business and Professional

Carl DeMoon, Chairman; Anthony Terlato, Co-Chairman; Vincent Lucania, Co-Chairman; Tom Ardino; Joseph Bottalla; Dr. N. R. Bruno; Jack Cerone; Achille J. Chiappetta; Dominic Chirchirillo; Carl Cipolla; Charles P. DeVito; Joseph Fontana; Albert Litterio; Andrew B. Loiacono; Vincent F. Lucchese; Vincent Lupo; Arthur Monaco; Dr. Frank Motto; Anthony Partipilo; John Paterno; Paul Paterno; Anthony Pellicano; Alex Puccillo; Hon. Philip Romiti; Gerald L. Sbarboro; Peter R. Scalise; Hon. Anthony Scottillo; Louis Seno; Anthony Sulla; Horatio Tocco.

Authentic Italian Costumes

Dr. Mary Ellen (Mancina) Batinich, Chairman; Mrs. Tena Amico, Co-Chairman; Mrs. Maria DeSerto, Co-Chairman; Mrs. Elena Frigoletti, Co-Chairman; Mrs. Josephine Lavatorta, Co-Chairman; Mrs. Norma Battisti; Mrs. Stella Boschelli; Mrs. Mary Ann Cervi; Mrs. Judith Guzaldo; Miss Barbara Inendino; Mrs. Ann Menconi; Mrs. Ann Parisi; Mrs. Marie Pedi; Mrs. Annette Salvatore; Mrs. Mary Spallitta; Mrs. Dorothy Tardi; Mrs. Ange Tufano; Mrs. Ann Yelmini.

Floats

John G. Rovetto, Chairman; Sam Canino, Co-Chairman; Joseph Rovetto, Co-Chairman; Joseph Pope.

Float Personnel

Lawrence Spallitta, Chairman; Tom Ardino; Nick Bianco; Russell Bonadonna; Stephen Florentino; Joseph Pantaleo; Mrs. Mary Spallitta.

Cuisine and Culture

Liguria Region (Genoa), Como Inn—Oct. 12. Ann Sorentino, Chairman.

THE HERITAGE OF COLUMBUS**HON. FRANK J. BRASCO**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, in marking the holiday now known nationally as Columbus Day, we do more than honor the memory of one man. America has a tendency to encapsulate her heroes in a cocoon of admiration that all too often shields the person and his or her motivation from the sight of adoring future generations.

Columbus was an Italian sailor with a vision, and he was willing to risk his all, including his reputation and life, on that dream. The discovery and exploration of this hemisphere is the monument to his faith. Yet this is just the start of it all.

This New World has served as a safety valve for the Old World for more than four centuries, and to a significant extent is still serving that purpose. From scores of ancient lands the dispossessed came, seeking the same dream, but for different reasons.

Today, that dream still glimmers brightly across the world, perceived at times dimly through the mist of oppression, barbarism, and dictatorship.

From that first voyage of Columbus sprang a mighty series of accomplishments, including a series of individual freedoms unheard of in the Old World and still rare across the face of our globe.

Our way of life, in spite of all the deviations of history and efforts of those who seek the easy path of no liberty at all, is still sought after and admired by hundreds of millions of human beings.

Columbus perceived only dimly the consequences of his voyages of exploration. He could not accurately predict what the wonders of man's technology would bring into being.

Yet he did understand clearly what he sought and what could come from the successful prosecution of his efforts. He foresaw a vast agglomeration of new jurisdictions, bursting with vitality and endeavor. He understood toward the end of his life that he had opened men's eyes

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not to an extension of an old world, but rather to the discovery of a new one, with all that this entailed.

His fate was that reserved for so many truly outstanding persons: disappointment, nonrecognition and a death in the humblest of circumstances.

Among his greatest accomplishments was throwing open a new world to settlement, making available brand new lives to millions, including so many from the land of his birth: Italy. Today, America claims millions upon millions of citizens of Italian ancestry, descendants of those who followed Columbus' dream to these shores. They still believe as he did, that this new world was and is bright with promise, brimming with opportunity and vibrant with the spirit of freedom.

Just as he found fulfillment of his dream through the voyages of exploration, so we, descendants of those who followed, have found a similar fulfillment in the lives we lead here in this country.

It behooves us to understand Columbus as a man, rather than a shadowy, heroic figure who "sailed the ocean blue in '92." Even a cursory reading of the definitive biography of the man, "Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the Ocean Sea," by Samuel Eliot Morison, reveals him to be a many-faceted individual, worthy of his dream, his heritage, and his accomplishments.

NINE HUNDRED ADHERENTS PAROLI IN ESPERANTO**HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, ever since the time of the Tower of Babel, language differences have been a key barrier to understanding between men and nations. Throughout history, individuals have devised languages that could be spoken by peoples across the globe. This objective is still being pursued by the world Esperanto movement.

The language of Esperanto was first hailed by its adherents as a means by which to achieve international peace. Today it is spoken for more pragmatic objectives; to enable greater cooperation internationally in such matters as tourism, trade, diplomacy, and scientific communication.

The 57th World Esperanto Congress was held in the United States this past summer. This marked the first time in over half a century that the movement has met in this country where, because of the almost complete predominance of English, there has been little pressure on American citizens to learn a universal language. However, Esperanto has gained many thousands of followers in those countries of Europe and Asia within which several tongues coexist. The director of the World Esperanto Association estimates that 100,000 citizens of various countries are fluent in this universal language, while several million more may be familiar with it, due to its simple and concise rules of grammar.

The history of Esperanto and the pro-

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ceedings of the recent World Congress are detailed in a feature article by Robert Reinhold which recently appeared in the New York Times. This thoughtful analysis of the movement has recently come to my attention, and I believe that it merits the consideration of all of us.

I am therefore submitting Mr. Reinhold's article for inclusion in today's RECORD.

NINE HUNDRED ADHERENTS PAROLI IN ESPERANTO

(By Robert Reinhold)

PORTLAND, ORE., Aug. 3.—The strange but vaguely familiar sounds of Esperanto rang through the lobby of the Portland Hilton the other day and a burly bellman strained to make out the melodious words. "I guess it would be a good idea if everybody learned to speak it, but I don't know . . ." he mused, then dismissed the idea with a shrug.

It was the kind of shrug that the irrepressible "Samideanoj," or adherents, of the Esperanto movement have come to know all to well. For the seemingly appealing and sensible notion of a neutral auxiliary language to bind peoples together has not progressed very far despite decades of confident predictions that success was just a generation away.

Still, undaunted by stubborn international apathy and encouraged by only a few modest successes, 900 Esperantists from 40 nations gathered here this week to talk among themselves, at least, and to try to devise new tactics to convince the rest of the world that what it really needs is a common tongue.

FIFTY-SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS

The occasion was the 57th World Esperanto Congress, which ends here Saturday. It was the first time the congress has been held in the United States, where the artificial language has had much less impact than in Europe and Asia, since 1915, when 163 intrepid souls made it all the way to San Francisco.

In the years since, the movement has been buffeted by the vicissitudes of two world wars and a growing disenchantment with the idealistic notion that the world's problems would evaporate if only the language barriers fell.

"In the infancy of Esperanto, this idealism was its life-blood—but world friendship is not the primary goal of the movement today," said Victor Sadler, director of the World Esperanto Association, the Rotterdam-based organization that sponsors the congress. Rather, he said, the goals are much more practical and down to earth—to provide a common linguistic currency for expanding world tourism, international trade, diplomacy and scientific communication.

LECTURES IN ESPERANTO

Here in Portland, one could see elderly Dutch and Swedish matrons chatting easily with Arabs in burnouses and Franciscan monks in flowing brown robes, or delicate Japanese women in colorful kimonos in animated conversation with Americans in business suits.

All wearing the green star that is the movement's symbol, they shuffled purposefully from room to room, attending discussions and lectures—almost all in Esperanto—on such topics as comparative literature, religion, peace, science, linguistics and vegetarianism.

Twenty-five persons showed up for an esoteric talk by a Polish scientist, Alois Wenclewski, on "The Influence of Oxalates on the Activity of Aril-Sulphuridrolase on Serum and Histine Homogenizations." Almost nobody understood him, but it was not because they did not know the language. The lecture was to prove that Esperanto was effective for scientific communication.

Esperanto is probably the best known of several synthetic tongues devised to solve a communication problem as old as the Tower of Babel. Invented in 1887 by Dr. L. L.

Zamenhof, a Polish Jew who was a physician, it is a mélange of European languages glued together by a very simple grammar. Unlike natural languages, which are laced with maddening irregularities, Esperanto is almost scientifically precise and consistent.

ONLY 16 RULES GOVERN LANGUAGE

Governed by only 16 rules, it can be learned in a fraction of the time needed for any modern language. Fluency is possible in a few months. Thousands of books are available in Esperanto, including such staples as Shakespeare's "Rigo Lear" and "Hamlet," "Winnie-La-Pu," and such unlikely fare as the "ABZ de Amo," an explicit encyclopedia of sex printed in Denmark. There are also many original novels, plays and poems written in Esperanto.

The idea is not to replace national languages but to supplement them. Esperanto has a ring similar to that of Spanish. For example, "Estas plezuro paroli kunvi!" would mean it was nice talking to you.

In a linguistically homogeneous country like the United States, the idea has not caught on so well as in such countries as Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Japan, the Netherlands and Brazil. There are said to be more Esperantists in Hanoi than in the entire United States. Throughout the world about 100,000 are fluent, while several million may have some familiarity, according to Mr. Sadler.

Esperantists in the United States and Canada are a diverse, mostly older, group. They range from such figures as George Lockhart, an 80-year-old piano tuner from Detroit who learned Esperanto 40 years ago and never used it again until a few months ago when he discovered he had not forgotten a word, to Alic Tuch, a 19-year-old student from Toronto.

Just why it has not caught on is a matter of wide speculation among Esperantists. One widely held theory was expressed by Gunther Becker, a language teacher from Germany who is secretary general of the World Esperanto Association. He attributed the resistance to "linguistic imperialism" on the part of the major powers, who he said have a vested interest in maintaining the supremacy of such languages as English, Russian and French.

But another theory was advanced by David Jordan, an anthropologist at the University of California, San Diego. He said that a major deterrent was that nobody had to learn Esperanto to get a job or to deal with tourists, which is the reason so many persons have learned English.

Still another stumbling block has been the academic community. Only a few schools, such as Southern Illinois, the University of Portland, San Francisco State and Fort Lauderdale University give courses, mostly non-credit.

"I avoid saying very much about Esperanto in professional circles," conceded Professor Jordan. "People snicker because the possibility of teaching the same language seems to them about as likely as levitating the Pentagon."

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the thousands of others who have contributed to our ventures into space.

Dr. Kurt Debus, affectionately known as "The Boss," has guided the energies and resources of the Kennedy Space Center for some two decades and has given unflinchingly of himself.

It was my pleasure to read in the October 8, 1972, issue of the Florida Accent magazine of the Tampa Tribune-Times a moving chronicle written by Judy Hamilton about Dr. Debus' efforts at the space center. I would like to share this outstanding article with those who recognize the importance of our space program.

We owe a debt of gratitude to this outstanding man. The article is as follows:

DR. KURT DEBUS

They call him "The Boss."

They call him that because Dr. Kurt Debus is the only director the Kennedy Space Center has ever known. He is 63 years old, and he has been there for 20 years. Every manned U.S. venture into the inky depths of space has been launched under his precise direction. There has never been a failure.

The boss of the Kennedy Space Center can be found, when he is not in Washington explaining and persuading and figuring, on the fourth floor of the stolidly government-style administration building on Cape Kennedy.

His office is behind one of those heavy wood doors which glide open silently and dramatically. High windows wrap around two walls. Binoculars and telescopes are ready on the sill. When the big door eases open, there is Dr. Kurt Debus, touching his heels together and bowing slightly. The Boss.

His accent is German, and while he is a man of mathematics, physics, computers—a master of management and bureaucracy—he is an eloquent humanist. He'll begin a conversation about the space program with the flat assumption that it needs no justification, now, or ever.

"I look at space as not something new. It's part of the total environment, and we've been looking for the total environment ever since we looked out of caves at the stars," Debus said. "The search for truth is one of the oldest instincts. There is a desperate need to explore. It is a must, given to us by nature.

"If you look at man's basic needs, space is just another part of this. It is just there. You can't say you are for it or against it. You cannot say, 'I will stop here.'"

In December, Dr. Debus will preside over the last Apollo launch, Number 17, which is probably the last American moonship in the century. The launch will embody a certain nostalgia, because the excitement of space is paling for many of the everyday people who pay the immense everyday costs of the space program.

No one feels this more than Kurt Debus, and the lessening public enthusiasm is ironic to him. Ironic because it is now that the great space adventures are just beginning to unlock the doors to much knowledge that will enable us to continue clinging to our weary mother earth.

Mindful, perhaps, of the need for public relations, Debus will present, in meticulous outline form, some of the benefits to humans and to nature which can be gleaned from experiments in space. Then, he'll say, "The public must understand it."

Asked if the public does understand, he'll pause and sadly say, "No. But that's all right . . . that's understandable. People start to feel cold only in winter."

But here's what the boss of the Kennedy Space Center thinks the space program is doing to make the future brighter:

Communications satellites: "People take them for granted now. They don't think what a wonderful thing it is to be able to watch Nixon in China or the Olympic games on television. I'm just a deep believer, and I'm

not talking science now, that if people are forced to talk to each other, they can learn to live together."

"We've furnished India a satellite that will be used as an educational means. They can set up 30 to 40 centers and educate people with just a few teachers, using television and the satellite. Eventually, education will raise the living standard in India."

Weather satellites: "Once we understand the weather, and its complexities, we can perhaps influence it. This has unprecedented consequences. We could save lives and damages from floods. We could direct water to the areas where it is needed. Once you understand it, you can work it. Very carefully."

Earth ecology: "We have satellites now which can study our areas of pollution. We can see where the soil is depleted, or where beach erosion is threatening. We can study from space the inner functions of the causes of the problems. This is of overpowering importance to the future of mankind."

Manufacturing: "Zero gravity opens up whole new fields of manufacturing. We can grow big crystals, we can make new materials. We can cast perfect spheres for ball bearings. The Skylab project will be doing some of this."

Energy: "By the year 2000 or 2010, our fossil fuels may be used up. Our living standard will either have to go down or we will have to get new energy. We can identify oil deposits to the last drop by looking from space. We can check the availability of fish and shellfish. We can see disease invading agricultural fields. We can see mineral deposits. We're developing a system where from space we can take an exact inventory of the earth's population, so we can tell where the energy will be needed."

"A process which takes place on the sun was our key to developing atomic energy. So, astronomy and space research will help us to discover a process for controlling atomic energy. If you have energy, you can do anything you want."

Dr. Debus believes there is life on other planets. He believes that the dark side of the moon would be an ideal place to erect a radio listening post to try to pick up signals from other intelligent beings in the universe. But, he also believes that man's future, for a long, long time to come, lies right here on earth.

"A colony on the moon. It will be there, but not to get away but to make use of what's there. To make colonies on other planets to solve overpopulation requires that we find a planet like earth."

"We can't modify man now. With molecular engineering, we could, but I doubt that we will be able to do it in enough scale to enable man to live on other planets. Mars is the only one I know that is tolerable. Inviting, no, Tolerable, yes."

It was a novel about a manned trip to that tolerable planet Mars which headed Dr. Debus for a space career. The novel was a Christmas present when he was a child in Germany. "I was just learning to read in school. I must have read that book 50 times," he recalled. "It intrigued me all my life."

He studied electrical and mechanical engineering, hoping to use his skills in the aviation industry. During the 1930s, he earned an engineering doctorate from Darmstadt University, and was talked into working with an experimental rocket program by a young man named Wernher von Braun. At that time, the only countries conducting rocket research were Germany and the Soviet Union.

By 1942, Debus was hooked on rockets, and was flight test director for Von Braun at the Peenemunde Rocket Center in Germany. At first the rockets were little more than big firecrackers. But, eventually the group there developed the V-2, the guided missile which wreaked so much havoc on London during World War II.

At the close of the war, Von Braun, Debus and other members of the Peenemunde crew

DR. KURT DEBUS: OUT OF THE CAVES AND INTO THE STARS

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, when we think of the majestic and overwhelming nature of this country's efforts in space, we too often forget the men and women who have made our advances possible. There is one man who stands out among

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fied to the United States. Others from the group went to the Soviet Union.

In 1952, the U.S. Army decided to step up its Redstone missile program, and Debus was dispatched by Von Braun from the fledgling space center at Huntsville, Ala., to a Florida beach called Cape Canaveral. His mission was to launch the first Redstone.

The 50-man missile crew brought all the Redstone parts with them, and set up an oil derrick from which to launch the metal tube into the heavens. The beach was a deserted, mosquito-infested, strip of sand backed by acres of harsh, low-lying scrub. Day and night, Debus directed his men as they worked on the Redstone in a leaky hangar.

The launch was on Aug. 20, 1953. The Redstone was America's first ballistic missile, and Debus has been at the Cape ever since.

From that first leaky hangar and that first crew of scientists and technicians, Dr. Debus has obviously come a long way. "I remember when we only talked about satellite behind closed doors, because you would be considered a nut," he said.

There must be scrapbooks somewhere in his office, or maybe in his home on Cocoa Beach canal, which chronicle the rise of U.S. space technology: our first satellite, Explorer I; the first U.S. manned space flight, Alan Shepard and his Freedom 7 space ship; John Glenn's earth orbit; and, finally, the ringing acclaim from the first manned landing on the moon. There is nothing, it seems, which Dr. Kurt Debus has to talk about now behind closed doors.

"It has all been very exciting," he said, looking out the window.

What it has meant to him privately, that little kid now grown up who once read and re-read a book about going to Mars, is difficult to know. Maybe it seems like it all happened so fast. Scientists did not figure out how to keep a missile from burning up during re-entry into the earth's atmosphere until the early 1950s. It is only 1972, and already the public seems bored with men on the moon.

The father of the U.S. space program, the man who has received most of the publicity and credit, is Debus' old friend and colleague Wernher von Braun, who now works for a private aerospace firm. But it was Debus who masterminded the fantastically complicated send-offs for the missiles entrusted to him by Von Braun. Debus made them fly.

To do that, he has had to assemble an intricately-meshed management team. He's created a team which can take the products of dozens of contractors, huge parts manufactured thousands of miles apart, and make them one, make them fly.

In 1961, there were 250 government people working at the space center, and 2,000 employees of contractors. Now, there are 26,000 people working there, 3,000 government employees and the rest, 23,000, contract personnel.

One of the worst parts of Debus' job is attempting to cushion the blow when budgetary or program cuts force big employment layoffs. "I remember how we set up a lot of groups to ease the big boom when it came here," Debus said. "Now we're doing that in reverse. Having to get someone off a job ... that's hard."

Then there are the problems of dealing with unions; the problems of costs; the almost daily budget messages from Washington; the problems of planning two to three years in advance, down to the smallest detail; the problems of maintaining morale.

There are even headaches involved in maintaining much of Cape Kennedy as a wildlife preserve. In June, 140,000 acres were officially designated as a preserve, a move Debus called "a dream come true."

"I always loved nature," he said. "In my old country, I hiked a lot, and when I came here I insisted that the trees be left. We've tried to preserve the area and make it useful to the people. We could have just said 'This

is a government area. Keep out.' But we didn't. But even this has created problems of beach maintenance and patrol and so forth."

Dr. Debus will confess to a personal feeling of loss among all the space program's achievements. "There is very little left," he said recently, "of that which used to be so much fun. Out in the field, working on a rocket on a beach all night long, and then finding the problem and solving it and going to bed happy—that has all stopped.

"That deep down happiness of working with the hardware—that is all lost."

But ask him if he ever suspected that the tinny big firecrackers he and Von Braun fired over three decades ago in Germany would lead to the enormity of the space program today, and he will say, "Yes, yes, yes, yes."

Debus' strong point as an administrator, his colleagues say, is his concern with the human element. During his weekly staff meeting, he will probe at each problem, trying to learn how it is affecting the people involved, not just its solution. And, he is known to feel that too much credence should not be put in computers as the means of solving all technical difficulties.

Debus also feels strongly about opening up the possibilities of space flight for more people, men and women. The upcoming space shuttle program is likely to include some females, he said.

"There is absolutely no reason why women cannot fly. There is no question in my mind that they will," he said. The one Soviet woman cosmonaut, Debus said, was very ill during her space flight, because she was not well prepared.

"Right now, we use people with test pilot or similar backgrounds. There have not been women with this background. In the future, we will not need test pilots, and it will make no difference whether the astronauts are men or women."

When the director of the Kennedy Space Center is not thinking about missiles or orbits or jobs or money, he retreats to his canalfront Cocoa Beach home where he fishes or tinkers with his stereo equipment. A music fan, he finds the four Bs, Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, and Bartok, "very exciting."

Debus recently bought his home, after many years of living in base housing at nearby Patrick Air Force Base. The purchase has given rise to speculation about his retirement, which, according to government regulations, is not mandatory until he turns 70. Debus will be 64 in November.

"One always thinks about retirement," he said. "If the job gets too tough or I feel there is no further contribution I can make, I will. But as long as I feel I can be of real use, I will stay on."

Kurt Debus is a man who has spent his life sending other men into outer space, and he has not lost his fascination with those inky unknowns. The depths of that relentless intrigue can be felt when he talks about the "stunning consequences" of discovering other intelligent life through a moon radio listening post: "Yes, that is something I'd like very much to see done. But, then, I like it all." Or, as he said earlier, "You cannot say 'I will stop here.'"

FAIR INTERNATIONAL TRADE BILL

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, a great many trade bills have been introduced by Members of this body in the past few

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years. In 1970, indeed, a bill known as the Mills bill passed by a vote of 215 to 165. The bill failed, however, to clear the other body even though it was favorably reported by the Finance Committee. It was too late in the session for floor action, and the bill died.

Since that time our trade position in the world has steadily deteriorated. In 1970, we still had a trade surplus, according to the official statistics of the Department of Commerce. In 1971, however, we had a deficit of \$1.9 billion, the first annual deficit since 1888.

This year, Mr. Speaker, we have already mounted a deficit of \$4.3 billion through the month of August. Quite surely the deficit will reach \$6 billion, even in the face of the recent huge wheat sales.

The official picture is bad enough, but, as it is slowly becoming known, the statistical practice of the Department of Commerce, going back a number of years, has been deceptive—not wittingly so but nonetheless deceptive. The explanation is quite simple. Since Foreign Aid came on the scene we have treated the heavy shipments of goods made under that program as exports. Technically, to be sure, they were exports, but as evidence of our competitive standing in the world, the surplus thus achieved was illusory and spurious.

A similar practice deflated our imports. As one of a few countries in the world we tabulate our imports on their foreign value—not on what they actually cost us landed at our ports. It is much the same as saying that the automobile you bought cost you, not what you actually paid for it, but the f.o.b. price, Detroit.

Thus our imports, according to a tabulation made by the Tariff Commission a few years ago on a sample basis, are under-valued by an average of some 10 percent.

If we then remove from our exports the shipments the taxpayer pays for under Foreign Aid and other programs, our exports shrink some \$2 1/2 to \$3 billion. Imports for 1971, on their part, will rise from \$45.53 to \$50 billion, thus leaving a real deficit for that year, of about \$8 billion instead of one of \$2 billion, as officially reported.

During the first 8 months of this year our deficit would be some \$8 billion in place of the official figure of \$4.3 billion.

The fact of the matter is, Mr. Speaker, that we are in a deficit position in our foreign trade in most of the items of trade. The great exceptions are in the machinery category, including such items as aircraft and computers. Industrial machinery, both electrical and non-electrical, and automobiles are the principal machinery exports. In the latter item; that is, automobiles, we have in recent years also turned to a deficit position from a handsome export surplus.

The great increase in the export of machinery in recent years, not matched by other export classifications, was caused largely by our heavy investments in foreign manufacturing facilities. Even that surplus is being eroded substantially, which is to say, by rising imports. Chemical exports have also remained in

a surplus position, but imports are also gaining in that sector.

Thus even the sectors in which our exports have been growing are no longer secure. In nearly all other items we are increasingly in deficit position. This includes textiles, automobiles, steel, footwear, petroleum, typewriters, household electronic goods, cameras, optical goods, components of items such as bicycles, and much else. This deficit is now high enough to swamp the surplus in the narrow sector of machinery and chemicals.

As for the overall deficit, the recent sale of wheat to Russia and China, though of record proportions, will be offset by rising imports of petroleum and petroleum products and other items.

Unless steps are taken very soon we will see our competitive position still further eroded.

The big question is how we can hope to reduce our unemployment to acceptable levels unless a halt is called on the undermining of the investment base in this country by imports.

Mr. Speaker, the trade bill I am introducing, along with other Members, is addressed specifically to halting the ruin of our investment base and, therefore, the base of increasing employment by the device of bringing imports under control.

Specifically, the bill would protect growth industries, including new industries and the innovations that bring new life to established industries, from imports that skim the cream from our market and thus turn the investment outlook into a gloomy prospect.

It would do this by holding imports of products that enjoy patent protection, now or in the future, in this country, to a specific share of the market. For example, during the first 5 years of a patent imports could not supply more than 5 percent of our national consumption. During the second 5 years of the patent imports of the product would be held to 10 percent of the market, and during the third 5 years to 15 percent. Thereafter, imports could grow only in proportion as the growth in our own market.

In this way, Mr. Speaker, venture capital seeking to develop new products or innovations of established products would have assurance that if they performed as in past years, bringing down the cost within reach of the mass pocketbook, such capital would be rewarded with a national market; and it would in great part—85 percent or more—belong to the patent owner, the developer of the product, and the market builder. The consumer would benefit as he did in the past when great new industries were developed by application of technology, improvement of production techniques, and cost-lowering installations, all of which led to the opening of national markets, to be supplied by mass production.

It was in this way that we greatly widened our employment base even in the face of ever-increasing productivity and temporary displacement of workers.

In recent years unfortunately we have exposed this system to onslaught from abroad by opening our market to goods that are being produced by a foreign technology that we gave to the world but

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with the disadvantage to us, of being put to work to the accompaniment of wages that have remained far below our levels. The result has been the exploitation of our manufacturing techniques and patents abroad to the advantage of higher employment abroad and less of it here.

This loophole must be appropriately narrowed so that our development of new industries and the promotion of growth industries, many of which are now blighted by a discouraging outlook, may again proceed in a favorable climate.

The bill that I am introducing will go very far toward accomplishing this objective if it is enacted. It is essentially a moderate bill. It would not interfere with foreign investments but would shield our market against the unhappy results that in many instances are seen as a deterrent to greater employment in this country. By limiting imports of products that have already captured an undue share of our market and also those that have demonstrated their ability to do so by deep penetration hand in hand with an upward trend, our industries can plan ahead, expand as was customary in the past, and give employment to the army of additional workers who come on the labor market each year.

FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1972

HON. H. JOHN HEINZ III

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, October 6, I wired President Nixon urging him not to veto H.R. 11896, the Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972. This legislation recently passed the House by a vote of 366 yeas to 11 nays.

Sharing the President's concern over the high cost of this measure and the increased pressure to spend beyond our means to pay, I proposed that he ask the Congress to enact companion revenue-raising legislation along the lines suggested in the Pollution Control Tax Act of 1972, which I recently introduced.

I believe the substance of this telegram may be of general interest. The text is as follows:

TELEGRAM TO THE HONORABLE RICHARD M. NIXON

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I urge you to carefully consider the significant impact the Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972 will have on efforts to conquer the threat posed by pollution to this nation's environment.

I share your fiscal concern over the cost of this bill and attempted to amend it on the floor of the House of Representatives to raise a large portion of the necessary revenues. As now constituted, the bill will cost \$24.6 billion, to be borne by each and every taxpayer. This is an unfairly distributed burden.

My amendment would have levied effluent charges against polluters but additionally provide, as an incentive, a 50 per cent rebate of those charges after installation of proper equipment to abate pollution.

While this amendment was unsuccessful, I am still convinced that the best course of action now is to sign this bill into law. What

will be needed next, is to enact into law appropriate revenue-raising legislation such as my Pollution Control Tax Act of 1972, which will help pay its cost.

I have found that response to this approach among my colleagues has been encouraging and I plan to circulate the bill early next week for co-sponsors. I have also taken the liberty of sending copies of my bill, along with a full explanation of its intent, to both the Treasury Department and the Environmental Protection Agency.

The Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972 are essential to the preservation of our nation's environment. I respectfully urge your full support so that this legislation may be enacted into law.

H. JOHN HEINZ III,
Member of Congress.

A more complete discussion of the Pollution Control Tax Act may be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 20, 1972, on pages 31430-31431.

EMIGRATION OUT OF THE SOVIET UNION

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, last week I joined with Senator JACKSON and about 60 Senators and a large number of distinguished Members of the House of Representatives in introducing a bill designed to cope with the Soviet Union's policy with regard to emigration out of the Soviet Union.

We have been hearing reports for quite some time that the Soviet Union is extracting exorbitant sums—blackmail amounts, in effect—from people wishing to emigrate out of the Soviet Union. This is a deplorable situation that should be stopped.

In fact, my distinguished colleague, Congressman VANIK of Ohio, reports evidence of one emigrant being required to pay \$37,000 in order to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

The measure that I have introduced would require that the President make three determinations before he certifies any non-market-economy country for most-favored-nation trade treatment—including the Soviet Union. It would require that the President find:

First, he would be required to find that they are not denying any citizen the right to emigrate;

Second, that they are not imposing more than a nominal tax upon any emigrant; and

Third, that they are not, in any indirect way, extracting an exorbitant amount of money from an emigrant leaving the country as the price for his being allowed to leave the borders and emigrate to another country.

The bill would become effective as law October 15, 1972, if passed. I think from what I have heard of the backing it is getting in the House and Senate that it has an excellent chance of passing and of giving us an effective tool to stop the unfair practice now being carried out by the Soviet Union against citizens who wish to emigrate out of that country.

THE WASHINGTON PAPERS: TIMELY INFORMATION ON THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, a new series of papers on international affairs, called the Washington Papers, has just begun publication by the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Georgetown University and the Library Press. I commend the series to the attention of the Members of Congress, because of the timeliness of its subjects which are treated at manageable length and are germane to the international concerns of Congress.

Of particular interest is the second paper in the series which addresses "American-Japanese Relations in a Changing Era." It was written by an internationally known expert on Japan and the Far East, Dr. Robert A. Scalapino. At this point I would like to share Dr. Scalapino's views on the possible effects of Japanese nationalism and Japanese relations with non-Communist developing states on her ties with the United States:

AMERICAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS IN A CHANGING ERA

(By Robert Scalapino)

JAPANESE-AMERICAN TIES

As Japan views the great triangle formed around here, there remains the United States, a nation with which for more than a quarter of a century she has been far more closely related than with any other foreign state in her entire history. Certain factors now operate to weaken the Japanese-American alliance. Doubts regarding reliability or credibility have arisen on both sides. In Japan, the earlier, strongly favorable image of the United States in the public mind has been tarnished—partly as a result of efforts by segments of the influential media and intelligentsia, where anti-Americanism has never been more in vogue. Above all, the Japanese have no desire to be tied to a faltering power, a leader that sometimes appears to lack the will to lead and under whom, in recent times, failures have been as conspicuous as successes. Perhaps more than most people, the Japanese want to be associated with success at this point.

These mainly subjective factors have helped to shape the new Japanese nationalism. So far, this nationalism is without a fixed political expression, available to any group on the political spectrum and used on occasion by everyone. Thus, an imprecise phrase like "autonomous diplomacy" can evoke near unanimous support, symbolizing as it does a commitment to reassert Japan's full independence and authority in the international arena, but binding the nation to no specific tasks, burdens, or risks.

There is a strong element of frustration among Japanese leaders at present, however, for while "subjective" factors are propelling Japan in the general direction of a more forceful, independent policy, "objective" factors are, for the most part, operating in a countervailing fashion. A bold opening to either China or Russia can have limited meaning at best, because the critical economic, political, and strategic factors that would underwrite it are largely absent. Equidistant diplomacy or neutralism suffers from similar liabilities, and pan-Asianism in any exclusive sense would be sheer madness.

Thus, barring some major disaster to America at home or abroad, Japan's own

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

interests would appear to be best served by working within the broad perimeters of a policy already established, that of an alliance with the United States. As has been suggested, that alliance can be modified in a variety of ways: by moving away from an exclusive reliance upon bilateralism via a number of multilateral commitments and guarantees; by a broadening of diplomatic and economic contracts, including a normalization of relations with most, if not all Communist states; and by the use of economic power to defend wider Japanese interests, developing in the course of such use certain policies different from those of the United States. Increasingly, the term, "alliance" may become less appropriate than a looser term such as "special ties." U.S.-Japan relations, moreover, are likely to be affected more and more by a series of multilateral commitments that surround and interact with them. In economic affairs, as we have noted, such ties will be both with the "advanced" Western world and the developing states. In the strategic arena, hopefully, multilateral agreements regarding arms reduction and control will encompass Communist and non-Communist states alike.

Nevertheless, if Japan chooses a nonmilitary approach in her quest for an international role and the protection of her interests, and seeks to rely mainly upon her economic power in these respects, the strategy of united front operations with the non-Communist developing states, particularly those of Asia, could have an increasing appeal. For the weak states of Asia, the choices in international politics are those of a client-patron relation, a gamble on neutralism, or some form of regional cooperation which may not go beyond the economic or political realm, but which represents an effort through aggregation to turn weakness into strength.

Current development offer enhanced opportunities for regional political groupings of smaller states. In an increasingly multipolar world, such regional groups would be able to exercise meaningful political pressure upon the major actors, given the narrow and shifting power balances that will prevail. Under certain circumstances, indeed, such pressure might become crucial since power today involves access to the domestic political processes of a state in addition to sheer military capacity. To date, the great advantages in this respect have lain with the closed, authoritarian societies which have near-total control over internal communications and organization. It will become more difficult, however, to exclude completely the collective political pressure emanating from a regional group of states, especially neighboring states. Their role in an international forum like the United Nations would also be much more meaningful than that of a single adversary. Thus, an important new aspect of international politics may now be unfolding, one with special significance for Japan. Already, that nation has taken an active role in organizations like ASPAC (Asian and Pacific Council) and ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations).

It would be wise not to minimize the obstacles faced by Japan in this respect, however. The smaller states of Asia are aware of Japan's enormous economic power, and many of them fear Japanese domination. Hence, progress is likely to be slow, with opposition frequently encountered.

How will the United States react to the developments sketched above, and to the wider political alternatives presently confronting Japan? It scarcely need be said that it is extremely hazardous at this point to predict American attitudes and policies. We are in a period that is at once dangerous and promising, hopeful and potentially disastrous, and all of this is reflected in the uneasy, volatile public mood that currently dominates the American political landscape. Events could transpire in Asia that would thrust the United States ever more rapidly down the withdrawal route, and sharply re-

duce her credibility. Let us assume, however, that the broad premises upon which the Nixon Doctrine are based continue to be valid, and that the path now charted can be maintained.

In such an event, the United States would have every reason to support a modified alliance with Japan, one flexible enough to encompass both multilateral agreements that strengthened the prospects for international peace and regional groupings that increased the leverage of the smaller and nonnuclear states. In this fashion, burdens could be more widely shared and at the same time, the international political climate could be tested step by step, with "alliance" gradually transformed into "special ties" if conditions warranted such a development.

PROJECT POLE AGAINST SUPER POLE

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable attention given to "Project Pole", an excellent endeavor initiated by a Philadelphia businessman, Edward Piszek.

In a recent column in the Washington, D.C., Post, Nicholas von Hoffman discusses the overall subject. I include his commentary as part of my remarks:

PROJECT POLE VERSUS SUPER POLE: WHO'S JOKING NOW?

(By Nicholas von Hoffman)

In the year of the ethnic, it figures that Super Pole would arrive among us. He is on NBC, he is a private eye (this is also the year of the cop), his name is Banacek and being driven around by a liveried chauffeur in a Cadillac limousine that is twice as long as Nixon's, he is the most implausible detective since Nero Wolf.

Banacek, who lives in a house with "oil paintings and antique furniture," makes Ironside and Mod Squad look like *cinéma vérité* documentaries. But there mustn't be a hint of the pink plastic lawn flamingo in Super Pole, who has oak paneling in the living room and chamber music coming out of the Muzak. He shrieks of *TASTE*, as that word is defined by the decor of a Union League Club or the insides of a Christian Science reading room.

In case you don't get it that Super Pole—that's what they call him in the script—is both smart and *rafine*, they have the other actors throw him lines like, "You don't look like a plumber."

The arrival of Banacek in his big, black Caddy isn't to be taken to mean that at long last Poles will be given full recognition for their part in the fight against crime. On ABC's *Streets of San Francisco*, police lieutenant Mike Stone is played by Karl Malden who would find it a professional handicap to be billed by his real name of Mladen Sekulovich.

No, Poles have yet to make it as a respected group of people with feelings. Even before the film was put out on the televised Olympic torch, there were guys standing around office water coolers telling the newest Polish joke: Did you hear about the Polack who won a gold medal? He took it back to Warsaw and had it bronzed.

No other group in America has to put up with this sort of thing. Sure, there still are anti-Negro and anti-Semitic jokes going the rounds, and anti-other people jokes also, but nothing like the Polish joke. Just about anybody who isn't Polish or at least Slavic thinks nothing of cracking one of these belittling, invariably un-funny, cruel jokes.

"If you complain, people tell you, 'You're being too sensitive. Can't you people laugh?'" says Barbara Mikulski, a Baltimore city councilwoman who reports "there is tremendous resentment against it in the Polish community."

Mikulski is one Polish-American who talks up. Most don't. The only time you ever hear the word Pole is when somebody is telling one of those damn jokes or, on Pulaski Day, when the politicians come around to say, "I love to eat your kielbasa and see you dance in those nice costumes." For the rest, Poles of whom there are a mere 10 or 11 million in America, go ignored.

Even the professional anti-bigotry fighters don't figure the Poles are worth a go-around. Recently the World Publishing company started putting out a series of books under the general title of "Ethnic Prejudices in America" with an explanatory note saying blacks were being omitted because there are enough books on that subject. The first two titles, "Kike!" and "Chink!" are out and they are scheduled to be followed by "Mick!" "Wop!" "Spick!" and "Kraut!" There is no "Polack!" coming through the pipeline.

It may say something about Polish-American culture that they don't have an anti-defamation league or some tough sounding civil rights organization. What they do have is Project Pole, an endeavor started by Edward Piszek, the head of Mrs. Paul's Kitchens, to tell Poles and other Americans that the folks on the banks of the Vistula haven't spent the last millennium in cafish, perspiring imbecility. "The blacks have taught a lot of second and third generations to learn about their own heritage," says Msgr. John Wodarski, a New Britain, Conn., priest of some note in Polonia, as the Polish-American community is sometimes called.

Knowing that Tadeusz Kosciuszko was a friend of Thomas Jefferson's and that Joseph Conrad was really Konrad Korzeniowski may help a few individual psyches, but it isn't going to make that much difference. Be it among blacks, Poles and Italians, this going back to revivify the traditions and history of what lies in the past across the oceans is too artificial.

This is particularly the case of the largest majority of Poles who descend from those who immigrated here before World War II. They were unschooled peasants who had no contact with their literary or upper class cultivation when they were in Poland. That was one of the forms of privation that led them to leave for America.

Yet they did bring both a culture and a special set of virtues with them, not least of which is a law-abiding love of stability and quiet community life. The only time in the Polish experience in America when a really large number got rambunctious was in fighting the arrogance of the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy. But today there is a Polish-American archbishop, John Cardinal Krol of Philadelphia, so why now in 1972 should Poles be getting the business? Maybe their virtue has made them our victim.

The rest of us, unable to express our inter-tribal hostilities, may dump on the Poles because we know they're too orderly and law abiding to retaliate.

Whatever the reasons for our behavior, Poles do deserve better than either moron jokes or Banacek.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

naire the vast majority of my constituents indicated their strong opposition to the abolition of capital punishment. Front page murders and attempted political assassinations helped trigger this reaction.

The following editorial from the Knoxville Journal provides a most vivid illustration of why my second district constituents oppose any tampering with the capital punishment provisions of the U.S. Constitution.

The editorial follows:

QUANDARY OF JUSTICE

The case of Richard Speck, the wanton slayer of eight Chicago nurses in 1966, is a glaring example of the confused uncertainty which has resulted from the somewhat indecisive ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court on capital punishment. Without laying down strict guidelines, the highest tribunal determined that the death penalty is unconstitutional in most cases. Now it is up to lower courts to attempt to decide whether or not specific cases are among the "most cases."

This past Wednesday the Illinois Supreme Court, caught in this indecisiveness, said Speck must not be executed and ordered a new hearing. In the words of the opinion: "The death penalty cannot be reimposed on the defendant, and the only remaining question is the procedure to be followed in sentencing him to a sentence other than death."

In the view of some observers the wobbly decision of the U.S. Supreme Court was another in its train of "wishes thinking" actions that by strained interpretations have succeeded in circumventing the letter of the law and have replaced it with notions of social progressiveness. Too often these have been to the advantage of the criminal over the victim.

The court looked to the 8th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which states: "Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted." But it ignored the 5th Amendment, which provides: "No person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime unless upon a presentment or indictment of a grand jury." Now by definition a capital crime is one "punishable by death." So the framers of the Bill of Rights did recognize capital punishment as being constitutional. It seems likely to us that by "cruel and unusual punishments" they meant torture.

Be that as it may, how is justice to handle Richard Speck? Is the answer life imprisonment with its possibilities of escape, parole or pardon? Is there hope to reform so vicious a man as one who savagely slew eight women in a single bloody rampage? And if there is, would society accept a man with such a hideous multiple offense in his past? Would he not have to change his identity, assuming he could change his character?

We will not essay to give the answers. The purpose here is only to show how the Speck case is a salient example of the perplexing predicament the Supreme Court has put the nation in. One thing seems clear: The sanctity of the life of so cruel a killer is protected while the sanctity of the lives of his eight victims is forgotten.

ADVERTISEMENT FOR AMERICA

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, in response to my 1972 legislative question-

about the faults and deficiencies of America. That the Government permits and sometimes welcomes scrutiny, challenge, and criticism is a tribute to one of the most unshakable bulwarks of democracy, freedom of speech. Decrying the Nation's drawbacks, however, has become so habitual in some quarters that the critics forget to acknowledge the basic integrity of the institutions whose failings are under attack.

Sometimes it takes a foreign viewpoint to restore our own perspective. Ironically some of this country's stanchest defenders were not born here but came as immigrants, poor and homeless, lacking in the advantages taken for granted by native-born Americans. These people did not find the streets paved with gold, but they found something they valued even more highly, the opportunity to make their own way to prosperity. Despite the handicaps under which they labored, many have been strikingly successful, and most are extremely grateful to their adopted land.

Following is the text of a full-page advertisement taken in the Council Bluffs, Iowa, Nonpareil by a man of German birth who arrived in America just 50 years ago this month. For him the golden anniversary of his immigration is an occasion for thanksgiving. His simple testimonial would shame the most sophisticated critic of the United States to recognize the goodness of the basic values underlying our way of life. I commend Frank J. Hecht's "advertisement for America" to the attention of all my colleagues.

ON MY 50TH ANNIVERSARY IN THE UNITED STATES—A SINCERE "THANK YOU" NOTE TO MY UNCLE FRANK AND MY UNCLE SAM (Fifty years ago this month, October 1922, at the age of 11, I—a hungry German immigrant—came to the Council Bluffs to my Uncle Frank Hecht.)

In Germany, I was the oldest child and we were starving, but receiving occasional food parcels from Uncle Frank in Council Bluffs, which motivated me to write and ask if he would let me come to the United States to live with him. These packages were all the evidence I needed that he lived in a better place than I did. He applied for an immigration permit to Uncle Sam which was granted and Uncle Frank sent me the ticket.

My first banana, which he bought for me at the Peoples Store the morning after I arrived, convinced me that I now lived in the right place. I could call this my Golden Anniversary, but it would not properly express my feelings. Every anniversary has been a Golden one—yes all fifty of them.

I can't help but tell you how fortunate I am to be an American. Freedom of speech, freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of religion, freedom of the press. Yes, freedom to swim across any river without being shot to death. Freedom to cross any American border and return. My only hope and wish is that every American would cherish these things more. If we only did that, then no thinking American would want to change any part of our system or our way of life.

So again, my deepest gratitude to my Uncle Frank and my Uncle Sam for letting me be an American. I shall cherish it to my dying breath and trust that my children and my children's children will do likewise.

FRANK J. HECHT.

QUANDARY OF JUSTICE

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, in response to my 1972 legislative question-

CXVIII—2190—Part 26

WILLIAM RASPBERRY DEFINES
QUOTA ISSUE

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, columnist William Raspberry is currently involved in a very courageous and controversial project. On an almost daily basis, he is exploring different aspects of the debate on quotas in Federal programs. In so doing, he is pounding home to his readers exactly what the elimination of quotas means to black Americans. At the same time, he is challenging the underpinnings of hypocrisy, an unfortunate characteristic of the debate.

His work is important for many reasons. The President eliminated quotas quietly—with an interoffice memorandum. But because of Mr. Raspberry's perseverance, black Americans are not going to have to stand quietly by while equal opportunity is abandoned by the Federal Government. By keeping the issue alive in the daily press, Mr. Raspberry gives life to the possibility of other individuals speaking out.

On October 6, 1972, in the Washington Post, Mr. Raspberry reported on a Government official who disagrees with the President's action. The column, "A WASP Backs Quotas," explored the fact that the merit system, in a racist context, can be highly discriminatory.

On October 9, he reported on "Good Guy Semantics." This article contained an extremely necessary definition of terms. Mr. Raspberry compared the American Jewish Committee's adherence to affirmative action with its opposition to quotas. He found, as many other observers have discovered, that affirmative action alone is not going to be enough.

I call my colleagues' attention to both of these excellent articles and I urge them to continue to watch for Mr. Raspberry's column in the Post.

The two articles follow:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 6, 1972]

A WASP BACKS QUOTAS

(By William Raspberry)

Another look at quotas, this one from a person in the government who has to deal with the subject at first hand, a person whose name and title I know but, for obvious reasons, won't use.

"Although your column on hiring 'quotas' in the federal government was very good, I feel compelled to write because even you did not get to the real horrors of that presidential statement..."

"To place my remarks in the proper perspective, let me describe myself. I am the perfect example of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant success. I went to the very best schools. I served as an officer in the Air Force. I have been president of clubs and captain of teams. I am over 30. I make over \$22,000 a year. I work in the bureaucracy. I have the 'perfect' family and live in the 'best' neighborhood.

"And I am frightened of the implications of the actions of a man who would, as President, end the quota system in federal hiring.

"First of all, it is obvious that in an ideal world, quotas would be a racist and irrational mechanism for any institution, causing people to be reduced to percentages of this and

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that. In an ideal world, hiring, advancement, etc., on individual merit would be the only just method of decision-making . . .

"Our society is not 'ideal' for several very specific reasons, all of which can be improved by a 'quota' system that is sincerely designed and effectively implemented.

"Flaw No. 1 is that we do hire, promote, etc., on 'merit'—but the opportunity to achieve that 'merit' is systematically denied to minority groups, and even the definition 'merit' is biased to reward the elite.

"Let's look at how an individual achieves 'merit' points in the civil service—no matter what the nature of the job to be filled. 'Merit' is determined by a combination of education, experience, test scores and the ability to make an SF-171 look attractive to a selection panel.

"Unless all people have an equal opportunity in education and other hiring procedures; unless qualifying tests are not culturally biased (which they are), and unless the selection panel consists of people from various backgrounds (which they do not), there is no way in hell for members of racial and ethnic minorities of this country to attain 'merit.'

"The fundamental reason for these contributory elements of gaining merit being so biased is that they too, just like the federal government, do not have enough minority group representatives in their decision-making processes to eliminate the inherent racism. This elitist racism pervades the system, and the implications within the context of the federal government are tragic.

"Guess who makes decisions regarding the expenditure of federal funds for 'disadvantaged' communities of blacks, Chicanos, Indians and Puerto Ricans? Usually me, or people just like me, with all kinds of impeccable 'merit' and not one whit of real understanding or knowledge of what those people need, want or should have.

"Guess who evaluates proposals from a Sioux tribe to improve its community educational facilities, or from a young Puerto Rican group in New York City to combat the drug problem? Me again, because I have 'merit.'

"These communities have been so totally screwed for so long by the system that most of their efforts are rejected because they have been unable to decipher the guidelines, regulations and format (designed by those with 'merit') to be eligible for funds.

"Of course we should attack all the institutions which deny certain groups the opportunity to achieve merit. Education, for example. But just consider the dynamic moral leadership shown by Mr. Nixon and friends on one of the key devices designed to do something about education—busing, which, like quotas, would be foolish in a perfect world.

"We need quotas. I need quotas so that I can work alongside blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians, etc., and maybe learn something about people and maybe even teach something. As long as I am isolated with the sterile environment of an institution full of people with 'merit,' I do not exist in a real world."

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 9, 1972]

"Good Guy" SEMANTICS

(By William Raspberry)

One reason the whole quota-preference/affirmative-action debate drags on is that the 'good guys' keep insisting that the argument is essentially a semantic one.

Define terms, they insist, and most of the argument will disappear. It won't.

It may be useful, as its spokesmen have been trying to do, for the American Jewish Committee to make clear that its objections to "quotas" are not to be mistaken for antagonism toward employment progress for blacks and other minorities. To them, "quotas" describes slots held aside to be

filled only by minority members, thus making membership in the appropriate minority an absolute requirement for employment or promotion.

The AJC is against that sort of thing. So is nearly everybody else, although there may occasionally have been an overzealous, under-intelligent bureaucrat who has misinterpreted his agency's affirmative action plan.

But a good many people who are against quotas as defined by the AJC are very much for "goals and timetables" for upgrading blacks in government employment.

The difference is less one of semantics than of the degree of rigidity. The quota approach looks at an employment situation in terms of the available manpower and says: X per cent of the jobs and/or promotions must go to minority Y or be left vacant. The goals-and-timetables approach looks at the same situation and says: If the employment of minority Y fails to approach X per cent by such and such date, there will have to be a convincing explanation.

It won't be enough to say 'we couldn't find any qualified applicants.' You'll have to say where and how you looked, and how you propose to improve your technique. The emphasis is not on good intentions but on results.

But even that isn't the problem. If by opening up your recruitment practices you find you can staff your agency with the very best applicants and still have a staff that generally reflects the sexual, racial or ethnic make-up of the community, then fine.

Suppose taking the cream of the crop gives you a work force that is 95 per cent white male. What then?

That, really, is what is behind the whole debate. For Americans like the idea of a meritocracy, where every consideration except merit becomes extraneous, where every personnel officer is color-blind.

Now many people who consider themselves moderate-to-liberal will acknowledge that color-blindness is too slow a remedy in a society that was until recently consciously anti-black.

If a tree has grown crooked because it has been deliberately pushed in one direction, it isn't enough just to stop pushing. You'll have to exert some pressure in the opposite direction if you think it important to have a straight tree.

A lot of people who will accept that analogy still will argue over the amount and the timing of the counter pressure. The argument grows more furious the closer it approaches the employment office.

There is almost no argument against such preferential treatment as Head Start for minority youngsters, and only a little against extra financing for disadvantaged public school pupils. In those cases, the disadvantaged get more but the advantaged get no less.

That starts to change when it comes to preferential college admissions, and it changes absolutely when the question is preferential hiring or upgrading, by whatever name it is called.

Not even the proponents of "affirmative action" want to take preference to such lengths as to require the hiring or promotion of idiots. What is advocated is preference among components, and that only as a stop-gap corrective. There are two primary justifications.

First, ranking of qualified applicants is not nearly the exact science it is sometimes thought to be, and to the degree that intangibles (personality, motivation, character, etc.) become a part of the ranking process, they tend to work against minorities.

Second, insistence on pure "merit" overlooks the social good that comes from having a society that is racially inclusive in fact as well as in theory.

Or to put it negatively, denying social and economic mobility to a large segment of the

population is like planting a timebomb. And protestations of theoretical fairness and good-will to make it no less explosive.

THE BANKRUPTCY FAD

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, much oratory and hot air has been expended in the House today discussing fiscal responsibility and who is or who is not responsible for excessive Government spending—the President or the Congress.

The one thing that most of the Members seem to agree on is that Federal spending should be limited; but what confuses me is how this House can in one breath support a ceiling on Federal expenditures and then turn around and approve legislation which would, in effect, give the President an additional \$48 billion to play around with.

The \$250 billion spending limitation is \$18 billion more than the total appropriated by the Congress during the last fiscal year; then the debt ceiling increase authorizes him to borrow \$15 billion more, and to that total could be added the \$15 billion set aside in S. 3001, legislation which would create a Federal financing bank to handle the financing shortages for the executive departments—without the need for congressional approval. The obligations of this new bank, like those of the Export-Import Bank, are to be exempt from consideration in determining the level of the national debt.

It would seem, then, Mr. Speaker, that the President in conducting our fiscal matters must share in his charge of irresponsibility. But, then, if we are to believe what we read in the papers, his conduct is not unlike many Americans, who, in attempting to get out of debt, have found that "bankruptcy filing is simple, painless." It has become "an everyone's doing it" fad to escape responsibility. It is doubtful, however, that the U.S. Government will find filing for bankruptcy "simple, painless." After all, how does a country go bankrupt?

I would comment, Mr. Speaker, that private bankruptcy proceedings may be simple and painless to the individual; but in reality, its effect on the public is pronounced. If a merchant suffers losses from bankruptcy, he can be expected to pass this cost on to his next customer—or, if the bankruptcy qualifies as a tax writeoff, the taxpayers are penalized by having to make up another loss.

So, in reality, those who suffer from "simple, painless" bankruptcy proceedings are the producing Americans.

Private bankruptcy is but another tax on the consumer; public bankruptcy by Government results not only in more taxes but causes more inflation—the cruelest tax of all on earnings and savings.

I insert a related news article in the RECORD at this point:

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ONE WAY TO GET OUT OF DEBT; BANKRUPTCY FILING IS SIMPLE, PAINLESS

(By Paul G. Edwards)

Early in August, Carl Denham began to worry about his debts.

One day, as he went about his duties as a respiratory therapist at Alexandria Hospital, he started adding up the monthly payments he had to make. The total was more than \$400. His take home pay was about \$380.

"It was very distressing to realize that I didn't make enough to cover my monthly payments," he said in a recent interview. "I didn't know what I was going to do. "Then a woman who works at the hospital told me about filing for bankruptcy. She said that she and her husband went through it and got rid of all their debts."

"It sounded like the only way to me. The collection people were beginning to give me a hard time. I knew I had to move fast. If I didn't, I was afraid they would really hurt me, hit me with a garnishee and hurt my employment record."

Denham did move fast. Within a month he filed a petition with the U.S. Bankruptcy Court in Alexandria, declaring that his debts—about \$4,000—were more than he could pay and asking the court to release him from making any further payments.

Barring an unlikely legal snag, Denham has a fresh start in the world of consumer credit.

Filing for bankruptcy is a relatively painless way to clean the slate—almost as painless as going into debt in a society that provides such easy access to credit buying.

Divorce and illnesses that run up huge medical bills are principal paths to bankruptcy, says lawyers, and so is the proliferating credit card. The bankruptcy court in Alexandria handles about 500 cases a year of people who find their debts have gotten out of hand.

The process is simple. The person lists all his debts, income and assets in the petition. He is allowed to declare \$2,000 of his personal property as exempt from liquidation for repayment of debts. The bankruptcy referee (to be called bankruptcy judge after Nov. 1) can order all other assets to be turned over to a court-appointed trustee for sale. The bankruptcy referee in Alexandria is Martin V. B. Bostetter, a private attorney who spends half his time hearing bankruptcy cases.

The proceeds of the sale and one-fourth of any wages due the bankrupt when he filed his petition can be taken by the court and portioned out to creditors.

The bankrupt is free to earn, spend and borrow again without fear of collection agencies, salary garnishments or court judgments. For six years, he is barred from availing himself of the federal bankruptcy relief. But after seven years, should he fall behind again, he can repeat the process.

Denham said that his lawyer warned him that bankruptcy could hurt his ability to get credit in the future, but another recent bankrupt, Penny W. Pietz, of Reston, was optimistic.

"Actually," she said, "I understand that people are anxious to give you credit again after you go through bankruptcy. Why shouldn't they be? They know you haven't got any debts and they know you can't declare bankruptcy again for another six years."

Like many who file for bankruptcy, Mrs. Pietz's financial problems were tied in part to a divorce. She said her former husband wouldn't pay some debts that she considered his. Then she started a small business, a gift shop in Reston, that failed.

"When it rains it pours," she said. "Every day I would come home and find another summons." Finally, Mrs. Pietz decided to jettison her \$5,000 in debts through bankruptcy, and now she's starting over with an \$8,000 a year job at the National Letter Carriers Association.

George L. Freeman, a lawyer who said he handles three or four bankruptcies a year in the Alexandria court, said in an interview that divorces and unusual medical bills are frequently behind personal financial collapses.

"People break up and then they find that two people can't live apart on one man's salary," he said. "Divorce and medical problems are behind a lot of bankruptcies, but if I had to put my finger on one thing, I would say it's our credit society."

"The stores have a mark-up that figures in credit losses. Consumer lending is pretty loose. People get in over their heads, not much, maybe \$2,500 to \$5,000 on the average. Then they file for bankruptcy."

Denham, the respiratory therapist, told how he got caught in the credit web.

"I saved up a lot of money while I was in Vietnam. I applied for some credit cards to use when I got home, all of them oil company cards—Humble, Texaco and Shell.

"We were doing fine while I was in the Army. I was taking home \$700 to \$800 a month with my E-5 (equivalent to a buck sergeant) pay and part-time job at the hospital.

"About April we began to fall a little behind. The credit card balances ran up to about \$1,300. It was all for gas and car repairs and some motel bills from trips we took."

"Then on July 14, I got out of the Army and went to work full time at the hospital. I want a career in health services, but, well, you know we don't make much. I began to miss more payments. When you miss one, it's compounded. It's such a massive amount, you just give up."

In addition to his oil company credit card bills, Denham said he owed two loan companies—Household Finance and Beneficial—about \$1,300. He was making payments of \$91 a month on his car, a 1969 Pontiac Catalina, and paying \$180 a month rent for an apartment at 8495 Madge La., Fairfax County.

Denham also makes a \$76 payment monthly to his former wife for child support, an obligation that bankruptcy does not wipe out.

Once he decided to file for bankruptcy, Denham immediately stopped making all loan payments. He paid his lawyer a \$200 fee and \$58 for court costs out of two paychecks. After receiving the cash in advance, the lawyer filed the bankruptcy petition.

"I told all my creditors I was filing," Denham said. "None of them said much, but the man at Beneficial urged me to try to work something out. He tempted me with more money, but I just couldn't see starting it all over again."

KENTUCKY FFA MEMBER RECEIVES HIGHEST AWARD

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article was sent to me by Mr. Jack M. Pedigo, who is a teacher of agriculture at Metcalfe County High School in Edmonton, Ky. The article is about the excellent achievements of Mr. Joel Bowles, who has established an outstanding record as a member of the FFA.

I am pleased to submit it for the RECORD:

JOEL BOWLES OF SUMMER SHADE, KY., RECEIVES HIGHEST FFA AWARD

Joel Bowles of Summer Shade, Kentucky, has been selected to receive the American

Farmer Degree, highest degree presented by the National FFA Organization. Joel was nominated for the degree by the Kentucky FFA Association and the nomination was approved by the National FFA Board of Directors in a recent meeting held in Washington, D.C. He was one of 471 FFA members nominated to receive the American Farmer Degree which is presented at the National FFA Convention in Kansas City. The presentation will be made today, October 12, with the approval of 114 student delegates who represent FFA members in Convention business sessions.

Joel is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Joe F. Bowles of Summer Shade and is currently farming for himself and with his father.

He earned the American Farmer Degree on the basis of the outstanding Supervised Agricultural Work Experience Programs carried out during his 4 years of Vocational Agriculture at Metcalfe County High School, the many leadership; and cooperation development activities which he participated in as an FFA Member.

Joel was chapter winner in Hay Production, Farm Mechanics and the FFA Chapter Contest and went on to represent the Metcalfe County FFA Chapter in the South Central FFA Federation Contest 2 years in a row for the Farm Mechanics and FFA Chapter Contest sponsored by The Courier Journal & Louisville Times. Joel served as Chairman of the Scholarship Committee 2 years, a member of a Superior rating Chapter Meeting and Parliamentary Procedure Team and many other FFA Chapter and district activities too numerous to mention.

Joel's own farming program this year consists of 7600 pound tobacco base, 25 acres of soybeans, 12 head of Registered Shorthorn cattle, 21 head of Holstein heifers, 2 Yorkshire sows and litters, 7 acres corn, 10 acres hay and 20 acres of pasture. In addition to the above, he works with his father in carrying out an outstanding farming operation on approximately 50 acres of owned and rented land.

Not only has Joel been an outstanding FFA member, he is also active in other school, church and community activities. He is a member of the Summer Shade Christian Church, American Softball Association, Young Adult Sunday School Class. He is very active in the Summer Shade Softball League.

Joel's high school vocational agriculture instructors and FFA advisors are Mr. Jack M. Pedigo and Mr. Russell Fraser. To say the least, you can be sure they are very proud of Joel for this outstanding accomplishment as they have been the other two fine young men from Metcalfe County to receive the American Farmer Degree.

The American Farmer Degree is a highly coveted award because it is presented to only one tenth of one percent of the total of 432,000 FFA members. It is presented only by the National FFA Organization of the FFA to members who have demonstrated exceptional agricultural and leadership ability.

Each American Farmer Degree recipient will be presented a gold key and a certificate by the National FFA Organization. Recipients who attend the convention will also be presented a check from the National FFA Foundation to help pay their travel expenses.

To qualify for the American Farmer Degree FFA members must have advanced through a system of degrees unique to the FFA organization. FFA members begin as Greenhands and after one year of membership may be advanced by the local chapter to the degree of "Chapter Farmer." The third degree, that of "State Farmer", is presented by the State FFA Association and is presented to two percent of the State's FFA membership in any one year. Only students who have earned the State Farmer Degree are eligible for the American Farmer Degree.

The National FFA Convention is an annual event of the Future Farmers of America and is carried out in cooperation with the U.S.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Office of Education, of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This year over 12,000 FFA members, vocational agriculture teachers, parents and guests are expected to take part in the 45th National FFA Convention.

The convention is conducted entirely by student members all between the ages of 14 and 21. Six National FFA Officers take charge of all business sessions and 114 official delegates represent the membership in voting on all issues of business.

In addition to the American Farmer Degree many other FFA awards are presented during the convention. Contests are held in dairy, livestock, poultry, meats, dairy products judging, agricultural mechanics, as well as public speaking. Several guest speakers of national prominence address the convention audience and entertainment is interspersed with the business. The convention is the largest annual youth convention in the nation. It closes on Friday evening with the installation of six new National FFA Officers.

When you see Joel, congratulate him for receiving this high honor. He is living proof that all our young people have not turned to drugs and the hippie style of living. Joel is an example of the product the FFA tries to produce in every member with the cooperation of the parents, churches and schools.

Although Joel will shortly hang up his Blue and Gold FFA Jacket which he has so proudly worn during the past 4 years, if there should be a call to the service of our country after the first of the year, Joel expects to put on the Olive Green Uniform of the U.S. Army. We know he will proudly wear this uniform also.

MONTHLY CALENDAR OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege each month to insert in the RECORD the monthly calendar of the Smithsonian Institution. The October Calendar of Events follows:

OCTOBER AT THE SMITHSONIAN

FILMS AND LECTURES, TOURS, CLASSES

Sponsored by the Smithsonian Associates; by subscription only—Call 381-5157.

Classes and workshops

Beginning the first week in October, Registration still open in some subjects for both adults and young people.

American filmmakers series

Organized by the Whitney Museum of American Art. Offered as a series or individual showings. 10 weeks beginning October 10. Series tickets: \$6 members, \$10 non-members. Single tickets (available at the door one-half hour before showing): 75 cents members, \$1.25 non-members. Student rates \$8, \$1. Special Bonus for Series Subscribers: Reception and private showing of the film *Ruby* on Oct. 9. Series is offered at three times: 7 to 9 p.m. Tuesdays; 5:30 p.m. Sundays.

Women at work

Luncheon/Lectures. Oct. 5, *Women in Science*—Caryl Marsh; Oct. 26, *Women in Literature*—Abigail McCarthy; Nov. 15, *Women in the Arts*—Adelyn Breeskin, 12 noon. \$25 members, \$30 nonmembers.

Day tours (please call for cost).

Along the Brandywine: Oct. 4 or 11.

Winterthur—comprehensive tour. Oct. 14.

Winterthur—furniture and silver. Nov. 4.

John F. Kennedy Center for Performing Arts. Oct. 7.

October 10, 1972

National Arboretum/Botanical Gardens. Oct. 8 (deadline Oct. 2).

Chesapeake Bay Center. Family camping and ecosystems study weekend. Oct. 20-22 (deadline Oct. 12).

Domestic study tours (Call Mrs. Kilkenny, 381-5910).

Arizona Astronomy Weekend: Oct. 6-9.

Blockade-Runners' View of the Carolinas: Oct. 12-27.

Sanibel Island, Florida: Nov. 5-10.

Nature's Past (Florida's West Coast): Nov. 12-19.

Sunday 1—Exhibition: *Countryside/Inner City*. A contrast of rural and urban landscape and people shown through the photographs of Roland Freeman of George Washington University, Jeff Weiss of Goddard College, and their students. National Collection of Fine Arts, through November 13.

Wednesday 4—Man and Cosmos: *The Planets*. Lecturer: Carl Sagan, Cornell University. Third in a series of lectures in astronomy sponsored by the National Air and Space Museum and the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory for the Washington academic and professional community. The series provides a comprehensive and current survey of man's past, present, and future concepts of the solar system, with particular emphasis on the results of space science research during the past decade. 7:30 p.m., History and Technology Building. Free admission; limited seating. The public is invited. Additional lectures: Oct. 12, 18 and 25, Nov. 1, 8 and 15.

Free film theatre: *The Holy Ghost People*—A look at a West Virginia Pentecostal congregation whose fundamentalist philosophy encourages a literal interpretation of the Bible including handling of live snakes and talking in tongues. Beginning of the fall season of films presented by the Smithsonian Women's Committee, and shown every Wednesday and Thursday at 12:30 p.m. in the Natural History Building auditorium.

Design film: *Glas-leerdam*. A Dutch film on the design and manufacture of glass (11 minutes). Continuous showings from 11 a.m.; last showing 2:30 p.m. The Renwick Gallery.

Thursday 5—Free film theatre: *The Holy Ghost People*. Repeat. See Oct. 4 for details.

Sunday 8—Jazz heritage concert: *Lee Konitz*, modern alto saxophonist, with his quintet and special guest trumpeter, *Doc Cheatham*. First in a series of six monthly jazz concerts representing all styles and periods of jazz. 8 p.m., Natural History Building auditorium. Associates \$4, non-members \$4.50, students \$3. For ticket sales call 381-5395.

Exhibition: *Co Rentmeester's Indonesia*. Details of daily life, as well as the wild life, pictorial beauty and the patterned richness of the land of Bali, Java and Sumatra, shown through a series of color photographs produced by Co Rentmeester of *Life* magazine. Museum of Natural History, through November 8. Under the patronage of His Excellency Sjarif Thajeb, Ambassador of the Indonesian Republic.

Tuesday, 10—Oriental art lecture: *The Tomb of the "Living King" at Samarkand*, by Dr. Lisa Galombek, Royal Ontario Museum. Opening program in the 20th annual series of illustrated lectures sponsored by the Freer Gallery of Art. 8:30 p.m., Freer Gallery.

Wednesday, 11—Free film theatre: *The Real West*. Narrated by Gary Cooper, the film explains many of the reasons and debunks many of the myths of why men risked phenomenal hardships for the lure of the golden West in the last half of the 10th century. 12:30 p.m., Natural History Building auditorium.

Design film: *Design and Man*. A filmed look at industrial and commercial design and the design process. Continuous showings from 11 a.m., last showing 2:30 p.m. The Renwick Gallery.

Illustrated lecture: *Central Italian Gunmakers in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries*. Lecturer: Nolfo di Carpegna, Curator,

The National Odascalchi Collection, Rome, Italy. 7:30 p.m., History and Technology Building auditorium.

Wednesday and Thursday, 11 and 12—Music of South India: Two shows of music, song, and dance of India. Wednesday, India's greatest dancer, *Balasaraswati*, will perform *Bharata natyam*. Thursday, the musicians will present an evening of Indian music. Both programs began at 8:30 p.m. in the Natural History Building auditorium. Admission per concert: Associates \$4, non-members \$5, students, \$3. For ticket sales call 381-5395.

Thursday, 12—Man and Cosmos: *Planetary Atmosphere*. Lecturer: I. Rasool, National Aeronautics and Space Administration. 7:30 p.m., History and Technology Building auditorium. See Oct. 4 for series details.

Creative screen: *This Is Ben Shahn*—the artist discusses his personal philosophy and explains the impulses and events that promoted some of his creations; *A Sculptor Speaks: Chaim Gross*—the life work and ideas of this American contemporary artist; *Calder's Circus*—the mastery of craftsmanship and fantasy of Alexander Calder's miniature circus. Complete program begins at 11:15 a.m., 12:15, 1:15, 2:15 p.m. National Collection of Fine Arts.

Free film theatre: *The Real West*. Repeat. See Oct. 11 for details.

Saturday, 14—Exhibition: *American Pieced Quilts*. Forty-five pieced quilts, most from the 19th century, showing the artistry and beauty of this again-popular folk craft. From the collection of Jonathan Holstein and Gail van der Hoof. The Renwick Gallery, through January 7. In connection with this exhibition, quilting demonstrations will be given at the Renwick Gallery throughout the month. (See *Demonstrations*).

Lecture: *Quilts and Quilt Collecting*, by Jonathan Holstein. 3 p.m., The Renwick Gallery. Free admission. Tickets are required and are available from The Renwick Gallery information desk in person or by mail. Limit: two tickets per person.

Concert: *Country Guitar*. Featuring the pride of Deep Gap, N.C. Doc Watson, and his son, Merle Watson, 8:30 p.m., Natural History Building auditorium. First concert in the American Guitar Series. Admission \$3.

Creative screen: *This Is Ben Shahn: A Sculptor Speaks: Chaim Gross; Calder's Circus*. Repeat program. See Oct. 12 for details.

Tuesday, 17—Lecture: *The Preservation of England's Industrial Heritage at Ironbridge Gorge*. Lecturer: Neil Cossons, Director of the Ironbridge Gorge Open Air Museum, Shropshire, England. The Ironbridge Gorge was one of the principal seats of the Industrial Revolution. Mr. Cossons will describe the preservation of the many remains of the industrial milestone. Sponsored by the Division of Mechanical and Civil Engineering, NMHT, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and the Latrobe Chapter, Society of Architectural Historians. 8 p.m., The Renwick Gallery. Free.

Illustrated lecture: *The Dutch as They Saw Themselves*. Lecturer: Bas Kist, Acting Head of the Department of Dutch National History, The Rijksmuseum. Dutch material culture as seen by Dutch artists. 7:30 p.m., History and Technology Building auditorium.

Wednesday, 18—Free film theatre: *The West of Charles Russell*. A view of the West portraying the cowboys and Indians in heroic and romantic terms, seen through the eyes of the 19th century artist. 12:30 p.m., Natural History Building auditorium.

Man and Cosmos: *The Moon*. Lecturer: John Wood, Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory. 7:30 p.m., History and Technology Building auditorium. See Oct. 4 for series details.

Thursday, 19—Free film theatre: *The West of Charles Russell*. Repeat. See Oct. 18 for details.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Friday, 20—Exhibition: *Solon Borglum* (1868-1922). Eleven sculptures and sixteen drawings by this American sculptor who was principally noted by his sculptures of Indians, cowboys and other Western figures. Drawings of the West and European scenes are part of a collection given to the NCFA by the artist's daughter, Mrs. A. Merwyn Davies. National Collection of Fine Arts, through December 3.

Illustrated lecture: *The Need for Coastal Wetlands*, by Dr. John M. Teal, Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. *Cry of the Marsh*, a film by ecologist filmmaker Robert Hartkopf, will be shown. 8 p.m., Natural History Building auditorium.

Saturday, 21—Concert: *Les Menestriers*. A performance of earthy, warm and romantic music of the Middle Ages, by a young group that has recently won the French Grand Prize for recording. Sponsored by the Division of Musical Instruments and the Friends of Music at the Smithsonian. 8:30 p.m., Hall of Musical Instruments, History and Technology Building. Admission \$3; student tickets \$1 with presentation of student ID.

Wednesday, 25—Man and Cosmos: *The Outer Planets*. Lecturer: John Lewis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 7:30 p.m., History and Technology Building auditorium. See Oct. 4 for series details.

Free film theatre: *Pumpkin*—A contemporary film, produced by noted anthropologist John Marshall, about the relationship between the police and those they are trying to protect and/or convict. *A Legal Discussion about the Investigation of a Hit and Run*—A Harvard Law School class discusses the salient legal points about the film *Pumpkin*, including the rights of witnesses and suspects. Complete program begins at 12:30 p.m., Natural History auditorium.

Concert: *Gustav Leonhardt*, renowned Dutch harpsichordist, in a program of 17th and 18th century keyboard music, playing 18th century instruments from the Smithsonian's collections. Assisted by James Weaver, harpsichordist, in works of Francois Couperin for two harpsichordists. 8:30 p.m., Hall of Musical Instruments, Museum of History and Technology. Seating is limited. For free tickets write Division of Musical Instruments, Smithsonian Institution.

Thursday, 26—Free film theatre: *Pumpkin: A Legal Discussion about the Investigation of a Hit and Run*. Repeat program. See Oct. 25 for details.

Design film: *Preservation and Design*. A two-hour program of films, titles to be announced. 11 a.m., 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. The Renwick Gallery. Cosponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

National Capital Shell Club: *Informal discussion*, conducted by staff members of the Smithsonian's Division of Mollusks. 7:30 p.m. *Monthly meeting*. 8:15 p.m. Room 43, Natural History Building. Public is invited.

Saturday, 28—Music from Marlboro: First in a series of three chamber music concerts presented by the Division of Performing Arts. Works by Brahms and Dvorak will be performed by Felix Galimir and Ronald Copes, violin; Nobuko Imai and Kim Kashkashian, viola; Miklos Perenyi, cello; and Richard Stotzman, clarinet. 5:30 p.m., Natural History Building. Admission: \$5 individual concerts, \$3 students (available at the door only). Series subscription: \$11 Associates; \$12.50 non-members. Remaining concerts will be held February 3 and April 7. For further information call 381-5395.

Monday, 30—Concert: *Jeunesses Musicales*, first in a series of performances by young international artists. Rudolph Werthen, violinist, from Belgium, appears in recital. Sponsored by the Division of Musical Instruments in cooperation with the Washington Performing Arts Society. 8:30 p.m., History and Technology Building auditorium. For ticket information call 393-4433.

Exhibition: "Pop" Hart Prints. Not to

be confused with pop art, the works of this little-known turn-of-the-century graphics master, George Overbury (Pop) Hart have been likened to the caricatures of Daumier. Hart's prints portray the ordinary people he encountered in a restless life "on the road," from his birthplace in Cairo, Ill., to Tahiti. Museum of History and Technology, through January, 1973.

Concert: *Music of the Nineteenth Century*, presenting The Camerata Chorus of Washington in the atmospheric setting of the Grand Salon of The Renwick Gallery. Tickets \$2.50. For reservations call 381-5395.

Tuesday, 31—Informal concert: *Judith Norell*, harpsichordist, performing works of Couperin, Rameau, Gaspard le Roux, 3 p.m., Hall of Musical Instruments, Museum of History and Technology. Free, no tickets necessary.

Dial-A-Museum—737-8811 for daily announcements on new exhibits and special events.

Dial-A-Phenomenon—737-8855 for weekly announcements on stars, planets and worldwide occurrences of short-lived natural phenomena.

HOURS

Smithsonian museums are open seven days a week from 10 a.m.-5:30 p.m. Cafeteria, MHT, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

National Zoo buildings are open from 9 a.m.-6 p.m. seven days a week. Beginning October 29, 9 a.m.-4:30 p.m.

Anacostia Neighborhood Museum is open 10 a.m.-6 p.m. weekdays, 1-6 p.m. weekends.

RADIO SMITHSONIAN

Radio Smithsonian, a program of music and conversation growing out of the Institution's many activities, is broadcast every Sunday on WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5) from 9:30 p.m. The program schedule for September.

1st—*A Pair of Anniversaries*. John Kinard, Director of Anacostia Neighborhood Museum, talks about the Museum's first five years. And Roger Stevens, Chairman of the Board of the Kennedy Center, looks at the Center's past and future after its first year.

8th *Drilling for the Past*. A look at the Deep Seat Drilling Project, which has led to some startling discoveries about changes in the earth's surface.

15th—*Songs of Stephen Foster*. Some familiar and unfamiliar songs by Foster, recorded at the Smithsonian, capturing an almost forgotten part of the American past.

22nd—*Reading Is FUNDamental*. A look at a program designed to bring books to all people, with its founder, Mrs. Robert McNamara, and its new president, William Mullins.

Counterfeiting in History—with Mrs. Elvira Clain-Stefanelli, Curator of Numismatics at the Smithsonian.

20th—*Recent Developments in Jazz*—with Martin Williams, noted jazz critic and Director of the Smithsonian's Jazz Program.

FOREIGN STUDY TOURS

For members of the National and Resident Association. For further details on tours listed below, write Miss Schumann, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560.

1972

Antique Tour in London: Nov 2-10, \$475. 1973

Peru: Archaeological sites. Feb. 8-March 5. Waiting list only.

Morocco: March 6-27.

Cave Paintings: April 2-24.

Middle East: April 21-May 16.

Baroque Tour of Germany and Austria: May 13-June 4.

African Safari: July 17-Aug. 8.

International Aerospace Tour: Sept. 10, 2 wks.

Site of Civilization: Oct. 6-28. Waiting list only.

PUPPET THEATRE

The Hullabaloo Election of Osbert or Jess. The story of Osbert Peabody Wright and Jessica Sweetwater as they campaign for the top prize in puppetland—President of the Puppet Theatre. All the trappings and a real-world campaign abound—parades, rallies, rumors and image-making—and each show ends with children in the audience voting for the candidate of their choice. Performances are in the auditorium of the History and Technological Building, 10:30 and 11:30 a.m., Wednesday through Friday, and 10:30 a.m., 12:30 and 2:30 p.m. Saturday, Sunday and holidays through November 12. Children's admission is \$1; adults, \$1.25; groups of 20 or more, 75 cents (S.I. Employees and Resident Associates admission, 75 cents). Reservations are recommended. Call 381-5395. The Puppet Theatre is presented by the Smithsonian's Division of Performing Arts.

SPECIAL ATTRACTIONS

A treat for the entire family—The Darwin Adventure. Premier showings November 4, 1972, in the Baird Auditorium, National Museum of Natural History, 10:30 a.m. and 1:30. The classic debate concerning the evolution of man is brought to the screen in a manner both sophisticated and humorous in this 90 minute film. Tickets available after October 15 through the Reception Center, S.I. Building, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560 or by calling 381-6264. Donations of \$1 per person are requested to benefit the Darwin Foundation and the Smithsonian Visitors' Services.

The Washington Art Scene—a new weekly radio program. Produced by Radio Smithsonian and radio station WGMS. Benjamin Forsey, art critic for the *Evening Star-Daily News*, will host the show, comment on exhibits and other events in the Washington art community and give a schedule of openings at public and private galleries in the area. Wednesdays at 4:30 p.m. WGMS-AM (570); WGMS-FM (103.5).

DEMONSTRATIONS

Museum of History and Technology

Music Machines—American Style. Mechanical and electronic music machines. Monday through Friday, 1:00 p.m., 2nd floor.

Spinning and Weaving—Wednesday and Thursday, 1-2 p.m.

Machine Tools. Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, 1-2 p.m.

Hand-Set Printing Presses. Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, 2-4 p.m., 3rd floor.

Musical Instruments. A selection of 18th and 19th century instruments, and American Folk instruments. Keyboard demonstration Monday and Friday, 1:30 p.m. Lutes, guitars and folk instruments, Wednesdays, 1:30 p.m. Hall of Musical Instruments, 3rd floor.

The Renwick Gallery

Quilting. In conjunction with the exhibition *American Pieced Quilts*. October 14 and 15, by Total Action Against Poverty in Roanoke Valley. October 16-18, 23-25, 27-29, by the National Quilting Association.

MUSEUM TOURS

Walk-in tours are conducted in the Museum of History and Technology beginning October 16 as follows:

Highlights—weekdays, 10:30 and 11:30 a.m. (1 p.m. by advance request); weekends, 10:30 a.m., 12 noon, 1:30 and 3 p.m.

First Ladies Gowns—Monday through Friday, 10:30 and 11:30 a.m.

THE WINNER CAN LOSE

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article appearing in the Washington, D.C., Evening Star of September 29, 1972, by Mr. Norton Mockridge regarding an unfortunate event which transpired in New York City, the home of gun control:

THE WINNER CAN LOSE

(By Norton Mockridge)

NEW YORK.—When a burglar invades your apartment at 3:45 a.m., and starts stealing your stuff, and stabs you repeatedly when you tell him he oughtn't to be doing it—don't shoot him!

It ain't fair! It's illegal! And you could get yourself in serious trouble!

That's what happened to a dancer with the Joffrey Ballet. Dennis W. Wendiken, 27, who performs under the name of Dennis Wayne, was asleep in his Greenwich Village apartment when some jerk got in and began ransacking it. This disturbed Dennis (dancers need their rest, you know), and it also disturbed a young lady, another dancer, who also was sleeping at the time.

The intruder, later identified as Lancelot Holmes, 20, who said he couldn't seem to remember his address, got pretty nasty when Dennis woke up and said politely that he was annoyed by the whole thing. Lancelot, charged by police with having forced his way into the apartment with a nine-inch screwdriver, was equally annoyed at being disturbed in his prowling, and he attacked Dennis with the screwdriver.

There was a bit of embroilment, and the loyal lady tried to aid Dennis. During the embroilment, Dennis got stabbed six times, and the lady once.

Dennis then made his way into another room of the two-and-one-half room flat, got his .22-caliber rifle, and returned and let old Lancelot have a couple of slugs in his belly. Meanwhile, his friend phoned the police.

Here's where we get to the point of the story. The fuzz saw to it that all three wounded participants got taken to St. Vincent's Hospital, and then they socked the charges to old Lancelot: attempted murder, felonious assault, reckless endangerment, burglary and possession of burglary tools.

But—and you'd better brace yourself, kiddies—they also charged dancer Dennis with second-degree assault and possession of a dangerous weapon!

Now the least I can do is to advise you against falling into the same mess in which the stabbed and burglarized Dennis found himself. There are simple rules he should have followed. Here are some of them:

1. Never shoot anybody who breaks into your apartment unless you get his permission, it can be interpreted by the police as an unfriendly act.

2. Never shoot him more than once. Dennis shot him twice, and that's very unfriendly.

3. Never shoot any burglar, rapist, maniac, fire bomber or vampire with your own weapon. (If someone should walk into your apartment at the time of the burglary, rape, etc., and hand you a weapon, you could argue later in the court that you fired at the invader, acting on the spur of the moment, under duress, without thinking and without realizing that the weapon might injure the intruder. In a case like that, you might get off with only one to three years in jail.)

4. Never wrest a weapon away from the invader. This could be construed in the courts as felonious assault upon his person, indication of attempt to commit atrocious assault and, in cases where the weapon is worth less than \$100, petty larceny. If the weapon is worth more than that—with an inlaid pearl handle, for instance—you could be charged with grand larceny and go to jail for 10-to-20.

5. Never permit any one to assist you in resisting the invader—as dancer Dennis did—on the ground that you and the other person then would be charged with conspiring to de-

prive the said intruder of his right to freedom, health, happiness, choice of worship and voting privileges.

6. Never stay in your own apartment at any time when you think it might be invaded by a burglar. THERE ARE TWO REASONS FOR THIS: The law might well take the position that you should not be present when an American wants to demonstrate his right of entry and, also, you might be an unstable person who gets excited and decides to take action against him. You could get yourself into a lot of trouble!

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POSTAL SERVICE WASTE PUT AT \$8 MILLION, FOR 20 USELESS ARCHITECT DESIGNS

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point the second in a series of articles by Mr. Ed Zuckerman on waste by the Postal Service as uncovered by my subcommittee in our year long hearings on the postal construction program.

This particular item covers the cancellation of 20 postal projects from Atlanta, Ga., to Tacoma, Wash. A list of these projects appears in the article.

This article appeared in the following newspapers; the New York Journal of Commerce, St. Paul Pioneer Press & Dispatch, Duluth Herald & News Tribune, Long Beach Independent & Press Telegram, 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, on or about September 11, 1972.

We feel that we have just started our work. The troubled program that this particular waste springs from is a billion dollar program. My subcommittee will continue hearings on this bulk mail program during the next Congress and on the preferential mail program which is \$4 billion program.

The Zuckerman article follows:

POSTAL SERVICE WASTE PUT AT \$8 MILLION

(By Ed Zuckerman)

WASHINGTON.—The U.S. Postal Service wasted more than \$8 million when it decided in mid-1970 to scrap design projects for 20 buildings, according to a recently completed government investigation.

While architects were planning the buildings, postal officials ordered a study to determine specifications for a nationwide system of highly mechanized mail processing centers. The study, which brought the decision to abort the design projects, recommends major changes in mail handling techniques rather than the minor adjustments that postal authorities were hoping for.

The study suggested that greater economy and faster delivery could be accomplished by processing first class letters and bulk mail in separate buildings. The buildings on the drawing boards at the time would have put all types of mail into a single building.

Total value of the 20 contracts for design and related services was \$12.3 million. The payment was reduced to slightly over \$8 million, based on the amount of work completed. In some cases, architects received ad-

ditional fees for premature termination of their contracts.

The investigation, completed in June by the General Accounting Office (GAO), was sent to Rep. Robert Nix, D-Pa., the chairman of a House post office and civil service subcommittee who requested it. Copies of the full GAO report haven't been made public. However, Nix inserted the GAO conclusions into the Congressional Record.

Although the government auditing agency confirmed the \$8 million value of the terminated contracts, some congressional observers fear the loss is much higher than reported.

That fear has two bases. First, there is reason to believe that the number of terminated contracts is more than 20. Secondly an earlier GAO probe of contracts awarded for the planning of a postal facility in Pittsburgh, Pa., uncovered more than \$900,000 in wasted spending—significantly more than the \$239,000 which GAO reported when it examined the same facility as part of its more recent investigation.

The 20 locations confirmed by the GAO coincided exactly with a list that was developed by the House subcommittee which had relied on the assistance of a former postal service employee. A subcommittee aide later learned from the House Public Works Committee about 19 more postal projects which were cancelled. None of the 19 which were to be built in cooperation with the General Services Administration (GSA), were duplicated on the subcommittee's 20-project list.

"We gave 20 locations to the GAO and they confirmed every one of them . . . If there are others, as we suspect, the Postal Service isn't volunteering them," said Thomas Kennedy, the subcommittee aide.

The earlier investigation of the Pittsburgh facility was completed in 1971 at the request of another subcommittee member, Rep. H.R. Gross, R-Iowa. The recent probe, limited only to architectural fees, reported the same \$239,000 that was included in the 1971 investigation. But the 1971 probe, which wasn't as limited, uncovered an additional \$665,000 in waste—almost threefold—at the one location. In its most recent probe, GAO concentrated on five of 20 supplied locations and concluded, on the basis of interviews with the architects, that "The Postal Service will receive little, if any, benefit from the work performed by the contractors."

A spokesman for the firm that was hired to design a facility at Atlanta, Ga., was quoted by the GAO as saying, "The only benefit that could be derived from the work his firm had performed . . . was the experience his firm had obtained in designing a postal building and in learning about postal operations."

All of the design contracts were either suspended or terminated by May 1970—a month after postal officials received a study from the IBM Corp.

Some of the terminated design projects related to buildings that will become part of a nationwide system of preferential mail-handling centers. The 177-building system, to cost an estimated \$4 billion and to be operational in 1978, is expected to save \$1 billion annually in postal costs.

Several of the other terminated projects were designed for inclusion in a national bulk mail processing system—to consist of 21 major and 12 satellite installations. To cost an estimated \$950 million and be operational in 1975, the highly mechanized system is expected to trim \$300 million annually in mail processing costs.

The Pittsburgh facility will be part of the bulk mail system.

GAO's investigation of that project showed how the Postal Service went through a series of transactions—awarding contracts, initiating new studies, then rescinding contracts and awarding new ones and, after re-

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ceiving a second study, terminated the second contracts.

Work on the Pittsburgh bulk mail facility was started in January, 1969, when an architectural contract worth \$1,535,600 was awarded for the design of a building that would house facilities for both preferential and bulk mail.

In July, while the design work was continuing the Postal Service ordered a study to determine if work on the combined facility should continue. The study, completed in a month by Drake Sheahan Stewart Dougall, Inc., recommended the idea of separating preferential and bulk mail into separate buildings. The first architectural contract was suspended and Sheahan-Dougall was given a second assignment, this time to prepare general specifications for a separate bulk mail building.

While Sheahan-Dougall was working on its national study, the Postal Service executed a contract with IBM to determine the size, interrelationship and general specifications to be utilized in the establishment of a national bulk mail processing system.

After receiving Sheahan-Dougall's version of a national system, the Postal Service awarded a \$100,000 contract to Lester B. Knight and Associates, Inc., to begin equipment layout design work for the Pittsburgh facility. The Knight firm was to use the Sheahan-Dougall study as the basis for its design work.

In May 1970, the original contract for the design of a combined mail facility was formally terminated and the architects were paid \$239,763. It was at this time that all the other post office design projects were either *** suspended.

In November 1970, the Knight firm was awarded \$642,000 contract to complete its equipment layout design. Also, the architects who had been terminated were given their second contract, valued at \$693,000, to begin designing the building on the basis of Knight's equipment layout. Postal Service was forced to withdraw the architectural and equipment design contracts. IBM, working on the national system, determined that the Pittsburgh facility wasn't large enough to cope with an anticipated increase in mail volume and to coincide with the plans under development for the entire network. Knight's equipment layout design was worthless, IBM further pointed out, because the increased size of the Pittsburgh facility would require major changes.

The Knight firm was paid \$493,000 for the work it had performed. The architects, terminated for a second time, were paid \$113,000.

When the GAO completed its 1971 investigation, another company had been awarded a Postal Service contract to prepare equipment layout designs for several of the bulk mail centers.

The firm was utilizing the IBM study as the basis for its work.

As part of its investigation of the Pittsburgh facility, the GAO sought comments from H. F. Faught, assistant postmaster general in charge of the department of research and engineering.

"(Faught) indicated that the Postal Service was aware that awarding these contracts, prior to receiving the results of the nationwide bulk mail facility study, carried with it some risk," the GAO said.

The risk involved a trade-off between time and money.

According to Faught, the Postal Service seems to have favored speed in an effort to put the new system into operation as quickly as possible to begin realizing the savings it is supposed to bring. While the risk of losing money was great, postal officials were willing to gamble because the lost money will be recouped anyway.

POSTAL CONTRACTS

Facility location	Contract 1 amount	* Payment
Atlanta, Ga.	\$1,340,800	\$560,163
Carbondale, Ill.	128,974	95,728
Chicago, Ill. (South Suburban)	389,120	185,544
Chicago, Ill. (North Suburban)	756,015	593,917
Dallas, Tex.	1,155,000	858,805
East St. Louis, Ill.	314,000	237,382
Gary, Ind.	213,794	167,762
Inglewood, Calif.	334,758	252,152
Jacksonville, Fla.	397,358	238,943
Madison, Wis.	410,000	329,025
Morgan Station, New York City	2,538,000	2,043,346
Murray Hill Station, New York City	504,000	* 351,382
Pittsburgh, Pa.	1,535,600	239,763
Rapid City, S. Dak.	112,200	90,026
Riverside, Calif.	201,600	148,818
Salem, Ore.	270,929	169,681
Salt Lake City, Utah	404,729	281,456
San Antonio, Tex.	456,488	358,892
Syracuse, N.Y.	578,175	389,061
Tacoma, Wash.	315,292	227,599
Total	12,356,832	8,019,445

¹ Includes design fee, construction services and supervision fee.

² Includes design fee, subsoil investigation and suspension or termination costs.

³ Payments consist of \$402,827 for design, \$119,555 for subsoil tests and other expenses, and \$29,000 in termination fee.

VIETNAM, INSUBORDINATION, AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, at this time I include the following article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It was written by Mr. George Anastaplo, lecturer in the liberal arts, the University of Chicago; professor of political science, Rosary College. I feel this article touches on several issues raised by the Vietnam war.

This being an election year, makes the understanding of this issue all the more important.

The article follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune, June 25, 1972]
VIETNAM, INSUBORDINATION AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

(By George Anastaplo)

I

What do Dr. Daniel Ellsberg and Gen. John Lavelle have in common besides their evident willingness to engage in acts of insubordination, the former by disregarding security regulations with respect to certain classified documents (known as the "Pentagon Papers"), the latter by disregarding orders with respect to the deployment of bombers in Viet Nam?

Is it not prudent to assume that both men are patriotic Americans?

How should these two kinds of patriotic insubordination—leakage of classified documents and disregard of bombing directives—be treated by us? The White House evidently takes one far more seriously than the other.

That is, vigorous attempts were made in June, 1971, to keep the press from publishing the Pentagon Papers; attempts are now being made to imprison the men alleged to have distributed those papers to the press.

On the other hand, the general who [upon exposure] admitted his deliberate and repeated disregard of bombing directives has been permitted to escape court martial, (but not, it is salutary to believe, the enduring censure of his fellow officers) and to retire with a generous pension.

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II
Are not the "priorities" of the White House misplaced? We are accustomed to, and even depend upon, the unauthorized disclosure of classified documents in order to help the press make the government behave itself.

But we cannot permit generals (and certainly not in a nuclear age) to conduct war as they choose.

Thus, we cannot know what we [as a sovereign people] are doing if vital information is systematically kept from us; nor can we control what is done in our name if our public servants [whether military officers or their civilian superiors] may act as they believe best and thereafter attempt to conceal from public inspection and public discussion what they have done.

There are obviously circumstances in which information should be kept secret; there are also obviously circumstances in which a soldier should refuse to obey an order given to him.

But should not the presumption be both in favor of full disclosure of information and in favor of compliance with orders (especially when the orders are of a restraining character)? However that may be, we simply cannot allow military men to determine how [or if] a war is to be fought; nor can we allow the Executive Branch of the government to dictate what [if anything] will be revealed about its policies and its conduct.

Both military insubordination and government secrecy usually subvert efforts by Americans to govern themselves.

III

American self-government depends not only on adequate information in the electorate and sufficient control by the electorate of what public servants do. It depends, as well, on the moral sobriety of our people. Indeed, no people which is impassioned or corrupted can truly govern itself, for it is so crippled morally that it cannot be said either to know or to choose what it is doing. (In such circumstances, chance rather than rational public discourse determines events.)

The most important revelation of the Pentagon Papers, therefore, may have been their confirmation of the moral obtuseness, if not even simple callousness, of the men who have tried to act on our behalf in Indochina.

There is little to be found in the Pentagon Papers indicating any day-to-day awareness among our public servants of the serious moral problems posed by our willingness (and, at times, even eagerness) to sacrifice to our supposed long-term security interests the lives and property of the Vietnamese.

We were willing to inflict considerable immediate damage upon a distant (and much weaker) people in order to spare ourselves some possible damage in the remote future. Let us hope that the American people went along with what was done there in its name primarily because the threat to "us" was exaggerated and the damage to "them" was played down.

It remains to be seen how critically we have damaged the American soul in the process.

IV

The physical damage we are visiting upon Viet Nam, North and South, has again been intensified in recent months. The North Vietnamese government can be said to have brought much of this damage on its people by launching its current brutal offensive. But such an observation, comforting as it might be to some, still leaves open the fundamental question of whether we should be in Indochina at all.

The most troublesome aspect of what we are now doing in Indochina is that the American public has again allowed itself to be lulled into acquiescence, partly because of spiritual fatigue and disillusionment, partly because of its traditional reluctance to question the judgment of its

President in his conduct of foreign affairs (at least not before election day) and partly because of the virtual elimination of American casualties by the withdrawal from Viet Nam of almost all our combat ground troops.

It is a pity that the North Vietnamese do not realize that it is in both their interest and ours that they release immediately and unconditionally, into the custody of a neutral country, all their American prisoners of war.

It would then be difficult for the basically good-natured American public to continue to believe that we are entitled to inflict upon Viet Nam the devastating aerial punishment we have unleashed.

Even so, do we not already know enough, without waiting either for more revelations or for the parole of American prisoners, to be able to recognize our present conduct in Viet Nam as bordering on the barbaric, however "successful" it may eventually be in promoting what is likely to be no more than a temporary cease-fire in Indochina?

V

We cannot survive as a vital body politic without the integrity which comes from a public respect for old fashioned civility. It is that integrity which makes self-government possible among us and which keeps public servants in their place even when we cannot watch them. We must take care, in any event, lest partisan success in one "confrontation" encourage everyone to become reckless elsewhere (the theatrical Cuban missile crisis of 1962 comes to mind). We have the duty, that is, to study and supervise what is happening and what is likely to happen in the conduct of our affairs abroad.

Is it not the duty of the press and of Congress to examine what is being done in our name and to do what they can to shield from government persecution those who make conscientious efforts to expose to public inspection what the Executive Branch tries to keep concealed from the American people (especially when what is concealed from us, and even from Congress, is known to the enemy)?

Is it not also the duty of Congress and of the press to insist that there be no compromise with the constitutional principle of civilian, and ultimate public (and hence rational?), control of our awesome military power?

VI

Self-government depends on both self-confidence and self-criticism. We should not forget that a war has been prosecuted by us for a decade without the constitutionally-required declaration of war.

Such radical insubordination by the President, in which Congress has improperly acquiesced, makes both the disclosure of classified documents and the disregard of bombing directives seem rather modest by comparison.

Indeed, the wonder is that we have not, in our prosecution of this misconceived war, subverted even more than we have the political morale of the country. What we have subverted profoundly is the necessary confidence in the institutions of this country on the part of both our more articulate youth and our more conscientious military officers.

That confidence must now be reestablished, beginning with our willingness and ability to face up to the facts of the past decade—including the attractive but dangerous illusions of President Kennedy's Crusade.

VII

Need it be added that to question the morality of what we have allowed to be done in our name in Indochina does not excuse what the North Vietnamese and their allies have been doing and may intend to do there and elsewhere?

In fact, it is still another argument against what we have been doing in Indochina that

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we have become, in the prosecution of this war, too much like the enemy we have conjured up: devious, ruthless, and implicitly contemptuous of constitutional principles.

EDUCATION: ADJUSTING OUR NEEDS TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THE SEVENTIES

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 10, 1972

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, the Second Congressional District has a deep interest in education. It has more university students in it than any other district in the country. Its teacher training and educational research are rivaled by few places in the country. As a former university professor and a member of the Education and Labor Committee, I have shared this interest in education. I am taking the opportunity to communicate my views on the education problems which face our Nation. Four areas are in the forefront in Congress in the discussion of Federal aid to education. They are: First, appropriations for education; second, the changing role of higher education; third, elementary and secondary education issues, including school finance and program revisions; and fourth, improving the quality of education for all schoolchildren.

APPROPRIATIONS

Federal support for education and training has increased by \$6.2 billion—or 65 percent—since 1969. In Congress two serious attempts have been made to raise the level of spending over the requested levels. Both initiatives were sponsored by Representative WILLIAM HATHAWAY and a bipartisan coalition of Congressmen. In 1971 we attempted to add \$728.6 million to the education appropriations measure. Although our efforts were unsuccessful on the House floor, a second attempt was made to instruct the conferees to accept the Senate provision which amounted to \$816 million over the House figure. The final appropriation for education was \$346 million over the original House bill.

In 1972 a new attempt was made to increase education appropriations. After an intensive lobbying campaign our efforts were successful. We were able to add \$363.8 million. In spite of the Labor-HEW veto, I am hopeful that we can retain those hard-fought-for increases when the final appropriations bill is passed.

One area where we have fallen considerably short has been in funding the Environmental Education Act. I proposed the Environmental Education Act in the hope that it would encourage our schools to develop environmental curricula which were integrated into other subject areas. The act established school and community related projects. In the 2 years since passage of the act it has been short of funds to implement even a minimum number of projects. The level of interest nationally demonstrates that the program could yield significant re-

sults if it were adequately funded. Our efforts to bring funding up to a reasonable level will continue.

The long-range problems of education will not be solved with the single strategy of funding increases from the Federal Government. Systematic reform of our educational system is also essential. Additional funds will allow our districts adequate funds to carry these reforms. New programs of Federal aid and revisions of older programs must recognize that local districts can best control their educational and spending decisions.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The Education Amendments of 1972—Public Law 92-318—have been hailed by many as the most important education legislation passed by the Congress in the last decade. The \$16 billion measure created new programs which will aid low and middle income students in being able to afford the cost of higher education. It establishes a new program of opportunity grants guaranteed to every student equal to \$1,400 less the expected family contribution toward the cost of education.

The bill also will increase the availability of loan funds for students. It creates a secondary market mechanism which will increase the student loan liquidity by allowing banks to resell student loans to a government corporation. A similar system is used in home mortgage loans quite successfully. The Student Loan Marketing Association will assure that adequate levels of student loans will be available for those who must borrow to attend school. The impact of the aid and loan revisions in this bill will be the realization of the goal that "no student be denied access to higher education for financial reasons."

In the past few years Members of Congress have become painfully aware of the desperate financial situation which faces many of our Nation's colleges and universities. Many colleges have been forced to cut services and programs to survive. The Education Amendments of 1972 established a general aid program which will help put the schools on a firmer financial foundation by providing direct aid to institutions on a formula basis with no strings attached.

The bill also creates a new National Institute for Education based on the principle of the National Institutes of Health. The role of the Institute will be to conduct basic research on educational policy.

Job opportunities in our economy are constantly changing. If our education system is really going to perform its job it must provide training in new careers as the job market changes. The Department of Labor recently estimated that only one job in five will require a college education by 1980. The section of the education amendments which brought me the most personal satisfaction was a proposal I authored for occupational education. The \$1 billion program will provide training in technical fields, for students who want to continue their education after high school, but may not be interested in academic training.

The 150-page bill deals with many other problems in higher education. I

would be glad to provide you with a detailed discussion of the bill's other items.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ISSUES

The authorization for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act expires next year. Although there will be a 4-percent drop in enrollment in our elementary and secondary schools by 1980, the problems facing school districts across the Nation will not diminish. In the past 2 years court dockets have been filled with cases of equity on school finance. The role of the parochial school in our educational system remains an unresolved problem. Many of our urban school districts are on the brink of financial collapse. For these reasons and many others several Members of Congress have started to review the broad range of Federal aid to elementary and secondary education.

In August of last year the California Supreme Court handed down a landmark decision on school finance which will have nationwide impact. The Serrano decision simply stated that "Education should not be a function of wealth." Serrano found that different school systems in the State had wide variations in their property tax base, assessment rates, and number of students. This caused a wide disparity in the per pupil expenditure between districts with similar characteristics. The property tax, which finances 84 percent of local expenditures for schools, was thus causing problems for school districts in spite of a genuine effort by citizens to pay the necessary education costs.

A second and related problem becomes obvious after a study of votes on millage increases in the past 10 years. In 1962 school bond issues passed at a rate of 73 percent. By late last year this rate had dropped to 41 percent. There was talk of a nationwide taxpayers' revolt. The property tax, which is the most inelastic of our taxing structures, had been stretched to the limit. This means that some additional alternative must be presented to help lift the burden off the property taxpayer. Two types of suggestions have been made. First, to fit into the guidelines established by the Serrano decision some form of State equalization of expenditures either through an "add on" to less wealthy districts or through the use of 100 percent State funding should be devised. These alternatives are still being discussed and debated in the States.

The second solution is to provide for an increasing percentage of educational expenditures to be funded from the Federal level. Currently, the Federal Government supplies 6 to 7 percent of all expenditures for education. Local revenues supply 53 percent and States supply 41 percent. Some of the proposals call for as much as 30 percent Federal assumption in the next 10 years.

I think it is important that as we move toward greater Federal spending in elementary and secondary education we attempt to decategorize that money which goes back to the States and local districts. Federal legislation must recognize that Federal aid should not include the heavy hand of the Federal bureaucracy in determining what programs will continue in local districts.

Flexibility and local control are the main rationales behind education revenue sharing which I cosponsored last year. The idea of this proposal is to eliminate 33 categorical programs in favor of five broad program goals, including education of the disadvantaged and the handicapped, vocational education, aid for schools in federally assisted areas and support for educational materials and services. If our education system is to do an adequate job we must decategorize. There are now 440 programs at the Federal level in 31 agencies and 53 bureaus which deal with education. It is not surprising that school districts are confused by this hodgepodge. Decategorization will bring spending decisions back to the local level so that local schools can start to make education fit the needs of the student, rather than fitting the student to the program.

In the beginnings of our school system standardization of curriculum and materials was adopted so that a minimum level of accomplishment could be expected. Education has become a right for all our citizens so the job has become more complex. Our society has grown more mobile and diverse. We have accepted the task of educating all our children. Standardization no longer serves the interests of providing relevant education for our citizens.

My education revenue sharing proposal provides programs for groups in our educational system which need special consideration. The groups with special needs include the handicapped—ESEA Title VI—and the disadvantaged—ESEA Title I. The Federal commitment to these groups must continue but I think it is important that we periodically review these programs to make sure that they are meeting the needs of those they are intended to help.

Compensatory programs in education have had an uneven record. Where title I funds have been used well, substantial benefits have become apparent on a long-range basis. Achievement scores for cognitive development have shown steady increases. However, some of our title I programs have purchased equipment or services which did not meet the needs of their students. In our review of title I we should seek out those programs which have been successful and determine why they have been successful. This will make sure that our Federal dollars are targeted to those most in need. With scarce funds this seems essential.

Several States have had suits brought against them for not providing adequate services and educational opportunities for handicapped students. I am sure that our discussions of title VI next year will center on the so-called handicapped bill of educational rights. The long-range goal of our educational system should be to insure that all students are educated and challenged to the limits of their abilities.

Our Nation's nonpublic schools now enroll 12 percent of our students. The cost of nonpublic education has risen at a slower rate than public education, however, its cost will soon be prohibitive for many of the families that now enroll their children in nonpublic schools. If our nonpublic schools were forced to close

the public schools would have to find spaces for 5.5 million students. It should be recognized, however, that there is a basic question of separation of church and state, and that the Federal court has ruled present delivery systems of support of nonpublic schools unconstitutional. Our role should be children centered. We should make sure that those children who are attending nonpublic schools receive the same services as those children who are attending public schools. That is an issue which Congress will be faced with in the coming year.

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION
FOR ALL SCHOOLCHILDREN

In the past year or so the intensity of feeling on the busing issue has somewhat overshadowed two problems in our educational system which may be subject to mutual solution, that is, one may be solved by solving the other.

The first problem concerns teacher load factors in many of our school districts with high concentrations of economically disadvantaged students. Many of these districts carry pupil-teacher ratios of 50 to 1. Although the research on the effects of changing pupil-teacher

ratios is decidedly mixed when talking in general statistics it seems clear that additional skilled personnel concentrating on children in these areas will encourage significant gains in cognitive development. The experts do agree that children in these schools have substantially lower achievement results than students from more advantaged areas.

The second problem was brought to light in a recent study by the National Education Association. Their conclusion was that currently 250,000 recent graduates in education are either unemployed or not employed in the field they were trained for. This paradox seems strange in light of the needs for more teachers in so-called inner city schools. The solution to these two problems is proposed in the Teacher Utilization Act of 1972.

My proposal calls for a federally funded program of \$400 million to put up to 60,000 teachers in schools with high concentrations of economically disadvantaged students. The teachers' positions would be federally funded, but other details of organization and placement would remain with local school

districts. The proposal also includes funds to help sensitize the new teachers to the type of student they will be dealing with. These in-service training programs will assure that teachers hired under the act will be aware of the range of problems facing students in these schools. The Teacher Utilization Act could make a real contribution toward solving the complex educational problems facing these students.

The problems facing our educational system are many and complex. In many ways this system has not been able to meet the needs of its diverse and mobile clients. During the last school year many educators adopted the slogan of quality education. I cautioned then that I hoped that this slogan would not become another one of those annual educational shibboleths which we use for a time and then discard. The level of interest and thoughtful analysis in the problems facing our educational system and the depth and range of proposed solutions coming from all levels has been heartening. The rewards from this critical self-analysis will pay off for many years in the future.

SENATE—Wednesday, October 11, 1972

The Senate met at 8:30 a.m. and was called to order by Hon. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, a Senator from the State of Michigan.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O God, our Father, we pause once more in this place of work and worship to turn from our striving, our contention, our industry, and to shut out the tumult of the world and the confusion of many voices that we may "be still and know that Thou art God." Grant us the stillness not of inactivity or passiveness but the stillness of serenity and power. Preserve in our inmost souls a quiet area of peace which only Thou canst give and which no power on earth can take from us. With renewed strength, sharpened minds, and warm hearts send us to our tasks to serve nobly the welfare of the people.

In the name of Him who went about doing good. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. EASTLAND).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., October 11, 1972.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, a Senator from the State of Michigan, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
President pro tempore.

Mr. GRIFFIN thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, October 10, 1972, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONSIDERATION OF TWO MEASURES ON CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate turn to the consideration of Calendar Nos. 1222 and 1224.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIBERALIZATION OF DISABILITY AND DEATH PENSION

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 4006) to amend title 38, United States Code, increasing income limitations relating to payment of disability and death pension, and dependency and indemnity compensation, which had been reported from the Committee on Veterans' Affairs with an amendment, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That (a) subsection (b) of section 521 of title 38, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"(b) If the veteran is unmarried (or married but not living with and not reasonably contributing to the support of his spouse) and has no child, pension shall be paid according to the following formula: If annual income is \$300 or less, the monthly rate of pension shall be \$140. For each \$1 of annual income in excess of \$300 up to and including \$1,000, the monthly rate shall be reduced 3 cents; for each \$1 of annual income in excess of \$1,000 up to and including \$600, the monthly rate shall be reduced 1 cent; for each \$1 of annual income in excess of \$600 up to and including \$1,900, the monthly rate shall be reduced 3 cents; and for each \$1 of annual income in excess of \$1,900 up to and including \$3,000, the monthly rate shall be reduced 4 cents. No pension shall be paid if annual income exceeds \$3,000."

excess of \$1,000 up to and including \$1,500, the monthly rate shall be reduced 4 cents; for each \$1 of annual income in excess of \$1,500 up to and including \$1,800, the monthly rate shall be reduced 5 cents; for each \$1 of annual income in excess of \$1,800 up to and including \$2,200, the monthly rate shall be reduced 6 cents; and for each \$1 of annual income in excess of \$2,200 up to and including \$2,900, the monthly rate shall be reduced 7 cents; for the annual income of \$2,900 up to and including \$3,000, the rate shall be 10. No person shall be paid if annual income exceeds \$3,000."

(b) Subsection (c) of such section 521 is amended to read as follows:

"(c) If the veteran is married and living with or reasonably contributing to the support of his spouse, or has a child or children, pension shall be paid according to the following formula: If annual income is \$500 or less, the monthly rate of pension shall be \$150 for a veteran and one dependent, \$155 for a veteran and two dependents, and \$160 for three or more dependents. For each \$1 of annual income in excess of \$500 up to and including \$900, the particular monthly rate shall be reduced 2 cents; for each \$1 of annual income in excess of \$900 up to and including \$3,200, the monthly rate shall be reduced 3 cents; and for each \$1 of annual income in excess of \$3,200 up to and including \$4,200, the monthly rate shall be reduced 5 cents. No pension shall be paid if annual income exceeds \$4,200."

(c) Subsection (b) of section 541 of title 38, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"(b) If there is no child, pension shall be paid according to the following formula: If annual income is \$300 or less, the monthly rate of pension shall be \$94. For each \$1 of annual income in excess of \$300 up to and including \$600, the monthly rate shall be reduced 1 cent; for each \$1 of annual income in excess of \$600 up to and including \$1,900, the monthly rate shall be reduced 3 cents; and for each \$1 of annual income in excess of \$1,900 up to and including \$3,000, the monthly rate shall be reduced 4 cents. No pension shall be paid if annual income exceeds \$3,000."

(d) Subsection (c) of such section 541 is amended to read as follows: