

level, \$742 less at the associate professor's level, and \$1,119 less at the professor's level.

The litany of discrimination can continue into a consideration of women in professions in this country. Women presently comprise 3.5 percent of our Nation's lawyers, 2 percent of our dentists, and 7 percent of our physicians. The comparable figure for lawyers in Denmark is 24 percent and for dentists 70 percent. In Great Britain, 16 percent of the doctors are women, and this figure is 20 percent in Germany and 24 percent in Israel.

There are some who would say that much of this discrimination is caused by discrimination in previous years in the admissions processes of higher education, especially in graduate and professional schools. To an extent this is correct. The law school which nine other Senators and I attended, Harvard, did not admit women until after 1950. But the comparative figures I quoted above, for comparative ranks and salaries within educational institutions, and for comparative salaries even at the blue-collar level, belie such simplistic explanations. The problem of discrimination, as in other kinds of discrimination, forms that old vicious circle. The attack against discrimination against women, therefore, must come on a variety of fronts—to enact an equal rights amendment, to end discrimination in school admissions, to end job discrimination, and to act in yet other ways.

The question is not whether the EEOC should have jurisdiction over sex discrimination in employment, but whether EEOC is to have the tools needed to discharge its mandates effectively.

Whether S. 2515 is a civil rights bill or a women's rights bill should not matter. It should only further emphasize the importance of this legislation.

Once again, I urge my fellow Senators to heed the words of the Commission on

Civil Rights and act "promptly and vigorously" to remove the impediments from the effective functioning of the EEOC. The time to act is now. The place to begin is with passage of S. 2515.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT FROM TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, TO 10 A.M. WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1972

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business on tomorrow, Tuesday, the Senate stand in adjournment until 10 a.m. on Wednesday next.

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

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR RIBICOFF ON WEDNESDAY

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that after the two leaders have been recognized on Wednesday, the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. RIBICOFF) be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

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

PROGRAM

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the program for tomorrow is as follows:

The Senate will convene at 10:30 a.m. After the two leaders have been recognized, the Chair will recognize the distinguished Senator from Kansas (Mr. PEARSON) for not to exceed 15 minutes, following which there will be a period for routine morning business, not to extend beyond 11:15 a.m., with statements therein limited to 3 minutes.

At 11:15 a.m., the chair will lay before

the Senate the unfinished business, and the 1 hour, under rule XXII, will begin running on the motion to invoke cloture on S. 2515. At 12:15 p.m., the mandatory quorum call will begin. When a quorum has been established, the automatic roll-call vote on the cloture motion will take place. That rollcall vote will begin at about 12:25 or 12:30 p.m.

Additional rollcall votes can be expected tomorrow afternoon, especially in the event the cloture motion is adopted.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10:30 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10:30 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2:58 p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, February 22, 1972, at 10:30 a.m.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate February 21, 1972:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Peter G. Peterson, of Illinois, to be Secretary of Commerce.

IN THE COAST GUARD

The nominations beginning Andrew P. Durkee, Jr., to be lieutenant commander, and ending Gordon A. Tooley, to be lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record on January 21, 1972; and

The nominations beginning Blenvent D. Ables, to be ensign, and ending Eugene N. Tulich, to be lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record on February 7, 1972.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

SENATOR WILLIAMS CHARTS A LONG OVERDUE COURSE FOR HANDICAPPED LEGISLATION

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 18, 1972

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Handicapped Workers of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, I have become increasingly aware of the need for consolidation of programs and new initiatives on behalf of the Nation's nearly 30 million Americans who are handicapped in some degree. We have, over the past three decades, made noteworthy strides toward eliminating the discrimination in employment and educational opportunities for the handicapped.

Yet, the problems faced by these worthy citizens are not being dealt with directly in the myriad of special programs aimed at their relief. As an ex-

ample, only recently have we seen serious study given to the transportation barriers faced by handicapped persons.

Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, Jr., chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, spoke recently to the annual legislative conference of the New Jersey School Boards Association. His address delineated the scope of these problems. He outlined forceful goals to accomplish what is needed in alleviating the complex problems that exist.

Senator WILLIAMS stated:

I wish it to be said of America in the 70's, that when its attention at last returned to domestic needs, the afflicted and the helpers are in the front rank of a new commitment of compassion.

Each of us shares this concern. Chairman WILLIAMS has given us bold new emphasis and direction. His words constitute a statement of purpose and give legislative direction that Americans applaud. I urge that my colleagues read his words, for they contain new hope for the handicapped.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent

that the text of Chairman WILLIAMS' historic address be printed in the RECORD.

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

ADDRESS OF U.S. SENATOR HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

It is a pleasure to be with you today at your annual legislative conference.

These are difficult and exciting times for the education community here in New Jersey and throughout the Nation.

And we in the Congress are extremely concerned about the future of American education.

There are many problems which we must confront during the next several years if the strength of our education system is to be sustained.

There is the problem of school finances and how the States and local school districts are going to continue raising the funds necessary to meet the educational needs of their communities.

We know that we can no longer rely almost exclusively upon the property tax to provide increased revenues for our schools; and many people are beginning to look to the federal government to provide these resources.

There is also the continuing problem of equal educational opportunity.

The court decisions in California, Texas, Minnesota, and most recently, here in New Jersey, have made us look squarely at the issue of whether children in every school district are getting a substantially equal education.

And this raises the question of how we define the concept of an equal education.

And related to this issue also is the question of how we can best integrate our schools where we have found that there have been discriminatory practices.

These are indeed difficult problems which cannot be easily resolved.

And they are problems which are very much in the public eye and which will no doubt be the subject of a great deal of public discussion in the months to come.

But, there is another extremely important education matter which we have too long neglected.

It involves a subject about which we hear a good deal of sympathetic talk.

It concerns people whose plight always seems to touch the rhetorical heartstrings.

And no-one can ever quite bring themselves to openly reject the need to deal with this problem.

Yet, despite the sympathy, the heartstrings, and the lack of resistance, deeds simply have not matched words.

The problem I am speaking about is our neglect of the handicapped.

It is a stain on our collective conscience; an affront to what this great Nation is supposed to stand for.

I think we have not yet come to realize what it means to be handicapped in this society.

The handicapped live among us, and have the same hopes, the same fears, and the same ambitions, as the rest of us.

They are children and adults, black and white, men and women, rich and poor.

They have problems as varied as their individual personalities.

Yet, they represent a hidden population because they have certain problems in common which are different from most of ours.

Only the bravest of the handicapped risk the dangers and suffer the discomfort and humiliations they encounter when they try to live what we consider to be normal, productive lives.

In their quest to achieve the benefits of our society they ask no more than equality of opportunity.

But they are faced with continuing discrimination: Discrimination in access to public transportation and public communication facilities because they cannot make use of more normal modes.

Discrimination in pursuing advanced education—because they are often excluded from education altogether.

And, discrimination because they do not have even the simplest forms of special educational and rehabilitation services they need to develop to their fullest capacity.

Today, there are 7 million handicapped children in this Nation.

Sixty percent of these children are denied the special educational assistance that they need to have full equality of opportunity.

A full one million of these children are excluded entirely from public schools and do not go through the learning process with their peers.

Only 40 percent of America's handicapped children receive compensatory education, and these services vary widely within the 50 states.

In most cases, special programs are provided only if the local community is able to support such services entirely by itself; we are least likely to find special services in areas of population growth.

More tragically, special services and education for the handicapped are the first programs to be done away with during times of economic adversity.

In a very real sense, whether a handicapped person receives this kind of attention depends on where he lives, and not on the nature of his disability.

According to the best figures I can find, there are more than 22 million adults in the United States with physical handicaps severe enough to limit in some way their ability to work.

Of the 22 million with physical disabilities, an estimated 1 million could work if given the opportunity.

Actual employment figures are not so positive.

Again, according to the best estimates I could find:

There are some 150,000 blind persons of working age in this country—only one-third of them are employed.

There are some 60,000 paraplegics of working age, and 47 percent are employed.

Of the 400,000 epileptics of working age, the employment rate—according to best estimates—is between 15 and 25 percent.

And of the 200,000 persons of working age afflicted with cerebral palsy, only a small handful are employed.

These figures only account for a little over 800,000 of the 22 million adults with physical handicaps.

Other sources that I have examined have wildly differing statistics, including in some cases percentages for employment that are completely the reverse of those noted above.

Even HEW cannot fully enumerate or locate the handicapped.

The fact that this population is not accounted for accurately or consistently is shocking.

The individuality of the people with these conditions has been lost somewhere in the process.

We have lost track of them, lost the reality of their lives, and the pain and suffering of their disabilities.

There are more than 50 programs for the handicapped in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which include some aspect of assistance in meeting the problems of the handicapped.

Their funding levels over the past several years have increased—albeit too slowly.

And there are larger numbers of Federal personnel serving the handicapped than 5 years ago.

I question, however, whether these initiatives are adequately responding to the needs and wants of handicapped persons in our society.

The sheer diversity and separateness of the programs—the unreliability of the statistics—and the lack of information on accomplishments for the adult handicapped population, suggest that they are not.

And if the situation of handicapped adults in our society at all parallels that information that we have on the handicapped among our children, we know they are not.

All those children we excluded from education years ago are the adult handicapped population of today.

Their problems have not gone away, although we have lost sight of them.

It cannot be a question of the costs.

It would save us money to save the lives that we are wasting.

According to data for 1966, \$3.5 billion was obligated for the handicapped by the Federal Government.

But, \$2.65 billion of this money was for income maintenance.

The lifetime cost of educating an educable handicapped or retarded child is about \$20,000.

The lifetime cost of institutionalization is ten times that amount.

This does not even take into consideration the potential earning power of these individuals, if they receive the special education and other services necessary for them to realize their personal and economic potential.

Yet in 1970, out of a total of \$38.5 bil-

lion in federal, state and local dollars spent on public elementary and secondary education, only \$1.4 billion was spent on the handicapped.

This figure is well under their fair share, which should be 10 to 12 percent of total funds.

It does not even come close to the kind of investment we should be making.

The paradox of our national behavior is that we simultaneously do too much and too little.

Too many of our handicapped population are misdiagnosed, mislabeled, and hustled out of schools, jobs and other institutions of society.

They are tested with instruments that are either not relevant or not sensitive to their varied backgrounds.

We have failed to recognize the intrinsic rights of the handicapped.

For too long, we have been dealing with them out of charity.

It is time to recognize that the handicapped have rights which we have been denying for too long.

The mere fact that services for the handicapped are considered frills, to be reduced in times of economic adversity underlines a tragedy of our society.

This is medieval treatment of a very current problem.

Clearly, we should re-evaluate our national policy and national programming toward the handicapped.

In order to alleviate many of their problems we need an increased national commitment, and we need it now.

Some of the ingredients of this new commitment will have to include strengthened national leadership, greatly increased visibility for the problems of the handicapped, and integrated and consistent programming.

Foremost in this commitment, should be immediate re-examination of educational policies, and continuing training and education of adults.

For these reasons, I will move next week to initiate a change in our National perspective on the handicapped.

As Chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, I believe it is time that we revise the way that the Congress looks at problems of the handicapped.

For many years we have been doing this in a piecemeal fashion through separate Subcommittees on Labor, on Education, on Health and on Handicapped Workers.

And we have seen many fine accomplishments during this time period.

Senator Pell, as Chairman of the Education Subcommittee has shown deep devotion to solving the problems of providing vitally needed special educational services for handicapped children.

Indeed, he has been a leader in this effort.

Senator Randolph has shown his firm commitment to assuring that handicapped workers are given new and meaningful opportunities to secure the kinds of jobs which they are best suited for.

Senator Kennedy has through the years demonstrated his real concern for the mentally retarded.

He has consistently supported all Congressional efforts to provide greater opportunities for the handicapped.

But with all of this fine work, it is my view that we have come to a point in time when we must revise this piecemeal method of separate Subcommittees and individual effort to deal with the problems of the handicapped in a way that is comprehensive.

We must look for the full integration of all the handicapped into all aspects of our society.

For this reason, I am announcing today the establishment of a permanent Subcommittee on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee to be known as the Subcommittee on the Handicapped.

Senator Randolph has agreed to serve as the chairman of this subcommittee and Senators Pell and Kennedy will also bring their expertise to this body.

This will provide a congressional channel that will act as a full-time oversight and legislative panel to deal with all of the problems that the handicapped must face; including the myriad federal programs in HEW.

This is a commitment that I am making to the Congress and to the entire Nation.

But most important, it is a commitment which I am making to the handicapped.

In addition, I will be introducing legislation to create, within the Office of the Secretary of HEW, an Office of the Handicapped.

This Office will be charged with coordinating all programs for the handicapped within the Department.

It will advise the Secretary on policy and administration related to these programs, and will serve as a focal point for information related to the Department's program for the handicapped.

The effective coordination of Federal programs serving the handicapped has critical significance in attaining the objectives of many legislative proposals enacted by Congress.

In recent years Congress has authorized many new statutes designed to improve the educational services available to handicapped children; assist local communities to construct facilities for service programs directed at the needs of the handicapped; support research to uncover the causes of handicapping conditions; and provide medical, educational and behavioral diagnoses so that effective life planning for the handicapped might be undertaken.

None of these programs attain their full objectives as long as they remain isolated, single efforts.

Only when they are coordinated can they focus on the total needs of the handicapped.

Of course, organizational structures are not means in themselves—they are not panaceas for all our bureaucratic problems.

And, they certainly do not take the place of innovative programs and ideas which will bring the handicapped into full participation in this Nation.

But a coordinating structure such as the one I shall propose is a vital first step in the development of a total Federal program with the necessary range, comprehensiveness and impact demanded by the handicapped.

As a third step, I am introducing a resolution calling upon the President to convene a White House Conference on the Handicapped.

This conference will concentrate the attention of all concerned organizations, governmental and private, on the handicapped and their place in our society.

It will provide a forum in which all concerned persons can together plan a set of goals and establish a realistic timetable for achieving them.

It will also offer an opportunity for a critical review and re-examination of where we now stand.

Only through such a national endeavor can the necessary resources be marshalled to attack the problems which the handicapped face every day.

The call for a White House Conference on the Handicapped is a response to the call of the handicapped themselves.

They ask for recognition, for their rightful place in our Nation's life, and for a fair share of our resources.

It is time that we provide them with that recognition and with a forum with sufficient visibility and national prominence so they are no longer a minority lost within this Nation.

In addition to these actions, I will be introducing in the next few weeks a number of substantive programs which will begin to deal immediately with specific areas

where we know that special programming is needed.

We cannot sit back any longer knowing that one million children in this country are excluded from the educational system and receive no education at all—knowing that 60 percent of all the handicapped children are denied the special services they need to have an equal chance to live freely in this nation—and knowing that these children will grow up to be handicapped adults lost somewhere within this Nation.

We cannot and must not look upon these individual tragedies with an attitude of business as usual.

For, as Jacob Marley said to Scrooge in the immortal *Christmas Carol*: "Mankind was my business. The common welfare was my business. . . . The dealings of my trade were but a drop of water in the comprehensive ocean of my business."

It is that timeless spirit which we need in this country so that it can be said of America in the 1970's that when its attention at last returned to domestic needs, the afflicted and the helpless were in the front rank of a new commitment of compassion.

COMMUNIST THREAT

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 21, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is absolutely necessary, at a time when well meaning, but forgetful, liberals are again espousing total acquiescence of the free world to Communist diplomatic and economic demands, that we keep in mind the actual conditions that exist behind the Iron Curtain.

In my judgment, the threat to Western Europe by the Soviet Union is as great today as it ever has been. Only the most naive persons would disregard the aggressive, imperialistic foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

It is always necessary to keep in mind that the Government of the Soviet Union in every area oppresses its own citizens, and this is especially so as far as the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. are concerned.

In my judgment, the free world, more specifically the United States and its Western European NATO allies, should be more alert and better prepared than ever to deal with the constant threat imposed by the Soviet Union. At a time when the Soviet Union is propagandizing its participation in a number of pending treaties and planning to manipulate the European Security Conference, we should keep in mind the record of constant treachery and double-dealing by the Soviet Union and their historic pattern of disregarding the solemn obligations they have made in previous agreements and treaties.

However, the purpose of my comments this afternoon is, more specifically, to direct the attention of the Members to a lengthy letter from a group of unidentified Latvian Communist leaders to their comrades in a number of European countries. This letter has recently been smuggled out of the Soviet Union, and is considered to be completely authentic.

The letter follows:

LETTER TO COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS

(Please forward copies to Communist Party leaders in Rumania, Yugoslavia, France, Austria and Spain, as well as to parties in any other countries you choose. Please forward personal copies to Comrades Aragon and Geradi in France.)

DEAR COMRADES: We are seventeen Latvian communists, seeking your help. We are writing to you because we do not see any other way of affecting certain actions and events which cause great harm to the communist movement, to Marxism-Leninism, and to our own and other small nations.

Many communists have voiced in their party organizations the concerns we are expressing here, and some have appealed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Repressions have been the only results.

In order for you to understand us better, we would like to say a few words about ourselves. We are not opportunists, nor are we "leftists" or "rightists." We are communists and most of us became communists 25-35, or more, years ago. We wish only success for socialism, for Marxism-Leninism, and for the whole mankind.

All of us were born and have lived in Latvia, and most of us have personally experienced the deficiencies of a bourgeois regime. We joined the party at a time when it was still underground. We endured repressions, were confined to prisons, and suffered under the yoke of bourgeois Latvia. The struggle to establish Soviet power and socialistic order was our main goal in life. We all studied Marxism-Leninism. During the last World War, we were members of the Soviet armed forces or partisan groups and fought the Nazi aggressors. During the postwar years, we all actively participated in building socialism in our land.

With a clear conscience, we did everything in our power to carry out the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. However, it became painfully clear to us that with each passing year their ideas became more distorted, that the teachings of Lenin are used here as a cover for Great Russian chauvinism, that deeds no longer agree with words, that we are complicating the work of communists in other countries, that we are impeding this work instead of enhancing it.

Originally we believed that this was due simply to the errors of a few individual local officials who did not realize the harmful effects of their attitudes. With time, however, it became apparent to us that the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party had deliberately adopted a policy of Great Russian chauvinism and that the forcible assimilation of the small USSR nations had been set as one of the most immediate and important domestic policy goals.

Latvia is such a small country that its history, geography and economic situation probably is not known to many outsiders.

Already 2000 years ago the Indo-European tribes of Kursi, Seli, Zemgali and Letgali inhabited the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. Because they inhabited the shores of sea gulfs and the estuaries of navigable rivers, such as Daugava, Visla, Venta, and others, their territories attracted the attention of nations both to the east and west, principally Germany and Russia. Consequently, these tribes were conquered in the thirteenth century with the cross and the sword of the German Crusaders. The ancestors of the Latvian people lived for 700 years under the oppression of the German Crusaders and barons.

But the Russian czars always dreamed of capturing the ice-free ports of Ventspils, Liepaja, Riga, and Tallin.

Czar Peter I fulfilled this dream and our ancestors came under Russian domination. From time to time various areas of Latvia were also occupied by the Poles and the

Swedes. All these conquerors tried to assimilate the local tribes, but without success. Later these tribes evolved as the nations of Lithuania, Latvian, and Estonian, gaining their independence in 1918, after World War I.

The territory of Latvia covered 66,000 square kilometers, with 2,000,000 inhabitants, 76% of them Latvians. Latvia established a democratic bourgeois government with a multi-party system. A political class struggle took place and, according to the division of power, the system was more or less democratic. The trade unions and the Social Democrat Party from 1918 to 1934 functioned legally, but the Communist Party was underground from 1919 to 1940.

Before World War II the Soviet Union forced Uimanis, the head of the Latvian bourgeois government, to sign an agreement permitting the stationing of large garrisons of the Red Army in Latvia, but in 1940, with the help of the Red Army, the bourgeois government was overthrown and Latvia was annexed by the Soviet Union.

During the democratic bourgeois rule, Latvian economy and cultural life achieved significant progress. Latvia, along with Denmark and The Netherlands, supplied the world's markets with the highest quality butter, cheese, eggs, bacon, lumber and flax. It also exported electrotechnical equipment, optical goods and other industrial products. It had a national university with 9 faculties, 4 other institutions for higher education, opera, theater of music, several theaters of drama and many groups of performing artists.

During World War II, approximately 40,000 people were evacuated to the interior of the Soviet Union. Two Latvian divisions fought in the ranks of the Red Army. The rest of the indigenous population remained in Latvia. Some of the people that had remained in Latvia were annihilated by the German fascists. Some died on the front in battle against the Red Army, and, at the end of the war, some emigrated to Western countries (West Germany, Sweden, Australia, United States, etc.).

After World War II, the CPSU CC established as its goal to develop a permanent power base in the territories of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, and began the forceful colonization of these territories with Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians. It also began the forceful assimilation of Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians, as well as other minority nationalities, disregarding the fact that such actions clearly speak against the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Since we cannot sign this letter, you may think that the things we have said are not true, that we have exaggerated certain shortcomings that are unavoidable in any endeavor.

No, it is not so. Let the facts speak for themselves. Let us start with those truthful words that are written in the resolutions of the CPSU CC meeting on June 12, 1953 (the only such truthful resolution).

In his report about this resolution by the Presidium of the CPSU CC the member of CC and candidate of the Presidium of CPSU CC Janis Kalnberzins told at the Plenary Session of Latvian CP CC on June 22, 1953:

"The Presidium of CPSU CC resolved to:

"(1) Charge all party and state organs with the task to correct thoroughly the situation in the national Republics—to put an end to the mutilation of Soviet national policy.

"(2) to organize the preparation, education and wide selection for leadership positions of the members of local nationalities, to abandon the present practice of selecting leaders who are not of the local nationality, and to relieve individuals who do not have the command of the native language, and have them recalled by the CPSU CC.

"(3) All official business in the national

Republics should be conducted in native languages."

Latvian CP CC First Secretary Kalnberzins stated in this Latvian CP CC Plenary Session that CPSU CC Presidium's resolution is harsh, but in regard to the Latvian SSR it is correct. Stated in this ruling was that Latvian CP CC and Council of Deputies (obviously under pressure from Moscow) up until now have grossly overstepped Lenin's principles of national policy. He further stated that numerous Party, Soviet and economic executives, basing their actions on false vigilance, express their distrust of the local cadres, and for leading positions pick mostly non-Latvians. These people do not understand Latvian language and are ignorant of local conditions. Such position taken against the local cadres has resulted in a situation that in the Latvian CP CC only 42% of its members are Latvians, while among the Party Secretaries from cities and districts only 47% are Latvians. Besides many of them are Latvians in name only and do not know the Latvian language, having lived many years, or their entire lives, in Russia.

Who knows to what extent this action had been directed from above, but Kalnberzins (very loyal to Moscow) then correctly said that an especially unsatisfactory situation from a nationalistic group viewpoint is in the city of Riga Party organization. In the City Council division cadre there are no Latvians and from 31 instructors only two are Latvians.

The cadre policy and Party organization membership is set by the regional organization division and the Party's charter organization secretary. It is in these circles that there are the fewest Latvians—the regional committee divisions each have but one Latvian, and among the charter organization secretaries, only 17% are Latvians.

Such unfounded mistrust of Latvian workers, farmers, working intelligentsia, combined with the described Party cadre membership, has led to the situation that among Riga communists there are only 18% Latvians.

This gross distortion of Nationalistic politics and discrimination against Latvians mentioned in the Latvian CP CC plenum was acknowledged by such a sycophant of power politics as Arvids Peise, the then Latvian CP CC propaganda secretary, present CPSU CC policy bureau member and CPSU CC control Committee Chairman. Speaking about CPSU CC Presidency resolution, he said:

"The resolution gives clear and unequivocal instructions—first of all, to improve the basic situation in the Republic, to end distortion of Soviet nationalistic politics... to prepare, to train and to appoint Latvian cadres to leading positions in the near future, on a large-scale basis."

From this statement, it is obvious that it was officially acknowledged in 1953 (the only time since Lenin's death) that the Marxist-Leninist nationalistic policy in our country had been grossly distorted (and is still being grossly distorted today).

But did this distortion end after this Plenary session? No. The above-mentioned course continued but a short time. After that, even though the plenary resolution was never repealed, all intended changes were halted and everything remained as it had been before. Even more, in the national republics the determined program for the coercive assimilation of small nationality groups was enacted even more forcibly and consistently.

What is the main course of this program and how is it enacted? The first main task is to transfer from Russia, White Russia and Ukraine as many Russians, White Russians and Ukrainians as possible to Latvia (and to other Baltic states) for permanent settlement.

How is this first main task enacted?

The Soviet Union CPCC did not trust the national republic CPCC. Thus:

1. For the Latvian CPCC, and likewise for all other republic CPCC, a Soviet Union CPCC organizational bureau (orgbureau) was established for Latvian affairs. The bureau's function was to control and direct the Latvian CPCC and the republic's overall politics. Shatalin was chosen the orgbureau's chairman, but was later replaced by Rjazanov.

2. For the Latvian CPCC Second Secretary position Moscow appointed Ivan Lebedev and for the Latvian CPCC First Secretary in cadre affairs—Fjodor Titov. These positions are still held by appointed Russians. At present time the Latvian CPCC Second Secretary position is held by Belucha, a Russian sent from Leningrad.

3. "Orgbureau" and these "High-commissars" from Moscow have continually directed the republic's cadres politics so that all leading positions—and primarily all Party, state and economic department head positions—are given to Russian newcomers. These people in turn grant other newcomers preference for registration in cities, provide apartments, and appoint them to better jobs.

4. To guarantee a massive influx of Russians, White Russians and Ukrainians into the Latvian republic, federal, inter-republican and zonal government departments have been set up in Latvia, and the construction of new large industries, as well as expansion of existing plants has been undertaken, disregarding any economic necessity.

The construction personnel for these projects were collected and brought in from cities outside of the Republic; raw materials were brought in from the Urals or the Don basin (i.e. from places 3-4 thousand kilometers away); similarly, the labor force and the specialists were imported, but the production was exported from the Republic. For this reason a diesel equipment factory, a factory making electrical accessories for automobile (Autoelektropribor), hydrometric equipment factory (Gidrometpribor), and a turbine factory was built in Riga. Extensive synthetic fiber plants were built in Daugavpils. The imported labor force for these plants has formed a fair size town with almost no Latvian inhabitants. A large trikot garment factory and many other plants have been established in Ogre.

Literally, in every regional city new plants are, or have been built. The construction labor, specialists and production labor is imported, but the products are sent to the entire USSR.

Although Latvia had a sufficient number of generating stations which have provided electric power for the Republic, and Russia has many large rivers, imported workers have built a hydroelectric station in the river Daugava at Plavinas, and a city—Stučka—has been built for the construction forces, and consequently a new region has been formed in the Republic.

5. Although the depletion of forests has exceeded reforestation for every year since the war, forests are being barbarically destroyed, turning large areas into swamps and leading to the importing of raw materials for the local furniture industry. For the last few years lumberjacks have been and are still being brought into Latvia from Russia, White Russia and the Ukraine. The destruction of the forests continues and the imported lumberjacks settle permanently in the Republic.

This policy has led to the present situation where between 25,000-35,000 additional people each year become permanent residents of Riga. Total population has increased by a factor of 2.5. As a result, whereas Latvians in Latvia were 62% of the population in 1959, in 1970 they accounted only for 57% of the population. Similarly, population of Riga was 45% Latvian in 1959 and only 40% Latvian in 1970.

The further result of such a policy can be clearly discerned from the fate of the former Karelian Soviet Socialist Republic. It exists no more, because it has been liquidated because of the local nationals make up less than half of the total population of the republic. Now Karelia is a part of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. A similar fate awaits Kazakh S.S.R. and Latvia.

6. Absorption of the local population into the mass of arriving Russians, White Russians, and Ukrainians is also furthered by the establishing of large bases for the armed forces and border guards on Latvian soil, as well as the building of dozens of medical clinics, rest homes and tourist facilities for the use of the entire Soviet Union. Rīgas Jūrmala (the beach area on the Baltic Sea) is now an official Soviet Union resort and there remain few local residents.

This has been the policy ever since the end of World War II and in the last two years it has been further reinforced. In our republic there are already many large firms where almost no Latvians remain among the workers, technicians-engineers, or management (e.g. "REZ", Dīseleļstrōitēlnij zavod, Gidrometpribor and many others) and there are other companies where the majority of workers are Latvian, but management does not understand the Latvian language (Popov radio factory, Wagon Car Mfg., Autoelektropribor, Rīgasc Audums etc.)

There are bureaus and departments where few Latvians are employed. For example, in the Interior Department System of Riga there are about 1500 workers, but only about 300 of these are Latvians.

Among the employees in the Commerce Department, a majority (51%) does not speak Latvian and only 29% of the management positions are filled by Latvians.

There are very few Latvians in construction. Approximately 65% of the physicians who work in Riga's medical institutions do not understand Latvian and because of this there are often gross mistakes made in diagnosis as well as in prescribing treatment.

All of this naturally leads to rightful indignation among the local population.

In achieving the first basic aim, the increase in the number of non-Latvians in the republic, steps are also being taken to achieve the second basic aim which is to assimilate the Latvians and lead to the Russian way of life throughout Latvia.

To achieve this the following things already have been done and are still being done:

1. The arrivals' demands for increased Russian language radio and television programming have been met. Currently, one radio station and one television station broadcasts programs only in Russian, while the other broadcasts programs bilingually. Thus, approximately two-thirds of radio and television broadcasts are in Russian. Jelin-skis, the former director of Riga's broadcasting center resisted the arrivals' demands and was fired.

2. Regardless of the accessibility in Latvia of all newspapers, magazines and books published in the Soviet Union, approximately half of all periodicals issued in Latvia are in Russian. In Latvia there is a shortage of paper for publishing works of Latvians and for school books; however, works of Russian writers are published, as well as school books in Russian.

3. In the Republic's city, regional and most of the local municipal organizations, as well as in all enterprises, all business is conducted in Russian.

4. With the exception of such collectives as the Latvian newspapers and magazines, Latvian theaters and schools and partially the farm collectives, all gatherings and meetings are conducted in Russian.

There are many collectives where the absolute majority is Latvian; however, if there

is only one Russian in the collective, his demand that meetings be conducted in Russian are met. If this is not done, the collective is accused of nationalism.

5. In cities and villages the formation of the so-called "united" schools, kindergartens and children's homes continues. In practice this means that Russian language kindergartens and schools remained unchanged, but in all the formerly Latvian language institutions classes in Russian were instituted. Thereafter, in these cases, all pedagogical meetings, teacher and student meetings, as well as the meetings of the Young Pioneers are conducted in Russian. Excepting the rural districts of Kurzeme, Zemgale and Vidzeme, few Latvian kindergartens, children's homes and schools remain.

6. In all high schools, and institutions of higher learning there are extensive study programs in Russian.

7. In newspapers, radio and television broadcasts, meetings and books—everywhere, every day, friendship with Russians is encouraged, widely propagandized are cases where Latvian girls marry Russian or Latvian youths marry Russian girls.

8. In the production of consumer goods, everything national has been eliminated. Formerly in Latvia, as in any other country, there were unique foods, special brands of confectionary, chocolates, cigarettes, but now there are only brands of the Soviet Union: Belock, Lastocka, Kara-Kum, Kazbek, Belomorkahal and others. In cafeterias and restaurants food is prepared according to the Russian recipes. National foods are rarities.

9. The Latvian people have a very important festival called "Līgo", which has been celebrated for hundreds of years, even during the German Fascist occupation. Until last year, it was expressly forbidden to hold this festival. This year the festival again was not recognized, although it was not officially banned.

10. There are two approaches to our literary heritage. There are repeated editions of the works of such Russian authors as Tolstol, Turgenov, Dostoevski, Gogol, Pushkin, Lermontov, and others. However, of the Latvian authors who wrote in the pre-Soviet era, only Rainis, Paegle, and Veldenbaums are fully recognized, and partial recognition is given to Aspāzija, Blaumanis, and a handful of others.

11. Riga is divided into six administrative regions, none of which has a locally-derived name. They are named Lenin, Kirov, Moscow, Leningrad, October, and Proletarian.

12. Riga has streets which have been renamed after Lenin, Kirov, Sverdlov, Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, and Gorki. One street is named after Suvarov, who was a czarist governor. The street names that were dropped include "Aspāzija Boulevard" (named after the best known Latvian poet), and "Krisjāna Voldemāra Street" (named after an unrelenting exponent of Latvian nationhood.)

13. In Riga today there is a memorial museum not only for Lenin, but also for Peter I—the Russian czar who conquered the Baltic states.

14. Latvian soldiers, called "strēlnieki" played an important role in the October Revolution. Lenin himself gave them the important role of guarding the Kremlin during the most critical days of the revolution. During World War II, two Latvian divisions and a special aviation battalion heroically fought as part of the Red Army. Today, however, there are no separate Latvian military units; Latvian youths in the military are purposely not assigned to the Russian units stationed in Latvia, but are scattered throughout the Soviet Union as far from Latvia as possible.

15. Latvian professional and amateur theaters, ensembles, orchestras, and choirs cannot have a repertoire officially approved

unless it contains Russian plays or songs. However, the Russian collective repertoires almost never include Latvian plays or songs.

We could continue enumerating more such facts and conditions which all support the same point, namely, that all expressions of Latvian nationalism are suppressed, that there is a forcible assimilation and no equality among nations, cultures, and traditions.

One could ask: Why are the Latvian people and Latvian communists silent?

They are not silent. There have been attempts to oppose this political policy.

For example, the former First Secretary of the Riga Committee of the Communist Party, who later became the Vice Chairman of the Latvian Socialist Soviet Republic, E. Berklavs, always spoke out against this injustice. For a time he was also supported by other members of the Central Committee of Latvian Communist Party.

But when his support grew to include a majority of the Central Committee members, the then First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Socialist Republics, Comrade Chruschev made a personal trip to Latvia and later sent the Secretary of the CPSU, Muchitnov. As a result, E. Berklavs was dismissed from his post as Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers and expelled from the Central Committee Bureau and the Central Committee and was sent out of the Latvian Republic.

For supporting E. Berklavs and opposing the great Russian chauvinism and opposing the mutilation of Marxism and Leninism, the following persons were also removed from their posts:

K. Ozolins, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic and Latvian Communist Party's Central Committee Bureau member;

Straujums, First Secretary, (after E. Berklavs), of the City of Riga Communist Party Committee and Latvian Communist Party's Central Committee Bureau member;

Pizāns, Editor of the Latvian Communist Party official newspaper "Cīņa" and Latvian Communist Party Central Committee candidate;

E. Mukins, Deputy Planning Chairman for the Republic;

V. Kreitus, First Deputy Chairman of the City of Riga Party Executive Committee;

Bisenleks, Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau member and Secretary;

V. Krumins, Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary;

P. Dzērve, Director of the Economic Research Institute of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic's Academy of Science;

V. Kalpins, Minister of Culture and Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau member;

P. Cerkovskis, Deputy Minister of Culture;

Prombergs, Deputy Health Minister;

A. Nikonovs, Minister of Agriculture;

Vallis, Deputy Minister of Agriculture;

Darbin, Editor of the City of Riga official newspaper;

Ruskulis, First Secretary of the Communist Youth League Central Committee;

Valters, Latvian Communist Youth League Secretary;

Brenčis, Editor of the Latvian Communist Youth League official publication "Padomju Jaunatne";

Zandmanis, Director of the Cadres Division of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic's Council of Ministers;

J. Jacens, Supervisor of the Administrative Section of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee;

E. Līberts, Minister of Highways;

Plesums, Chairman of the Control Commission of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee;

E. Erenstreite, Senior Advisor to the Council of Ministers;

J. Giblets, member of the City of Riga Communist Party Central Committee and Supervisor of the Education Section of the City of Riga Communist Party Executive Committee;

M. Vernere and Duskina and many other principals of intermediate schools.

All the significant party and government posts have now been filled with non-Latvians and Latvians who have spent their entire lives in Russia and who arrived in Latvia only after World War II. The majority of them either do not speak any Latvian or speak very little. The facts speak for themselves.

The Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party are the following:

First Secretary Voss, Russian born Latvian; as a rule, he doesn't speak Latvian in public.

Second Secretary Belucha, born Russian. Knows no Latvian at all.

Secretary of Propaganda Drizulis, Russian-born Latvian.

Secretary of Agriculture Verro, Estonian from Russia. Knows no Latvian at all.

Secretary of Industry Petersons, Russian born Latvian. Speaks Latvian poorly.

Leaders of the Council of Ministers: Chairman J. Rubens, Russian born Latvian, speaks Latvian very poorly; vice-chairman Bondaleto, born Russian, speaks no Latvian at all.

Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Latvian Republic J. Rubens, knows Latvian only superficially, does not speak Latvian in public.

It is almost a law that leading positions are filled by men without principles, men without personal views or opinions, sycophants, opportunists, and flatterers. Men of principles who have opinions and express them openly are barred from important positions.

Such are the conditions in Latvia, under such conditions live the people native to their republics in their own land.

Those Lithuanians, Estonians, Jews, Germans, Poles, and other minorities (except Russians) residing in Latvian territory do not have their ethnic heritages at all respected. Until 1940 (until the establishment of the Soviet rule) in Latvia these minorities had their own elementary and secondary schools where they studied in their own language. They issued their own language newspapers, magazines, books; they had their own clubs, theaters, and other cultural and educational institutions. Now, in disregard of pertinent Marxism-Leninism principles dealing with ethnic questions, and, contrary to the statements of USSR leaders that ethnic problems in Soviet Union have been solved and that each nationality has been guaranteed complete freedom and equality, nothing of that kind is evident. In every republic the Russians have everything, people native to their republics have something, but others nothing at all. The 3.5 million Jews residing in Soviet Union have only one newspaper and only one magazine in their native language, and that only in their autonomous region. They are denied the right to have their own theaters, clubs, cultural, and educational institutions, even in those cities where they number tens of thousands.

Esteemed comrades! In this letter we briefly illuminated actual conditions in Soviet Union only from one viewpoint—that of the rights of ethnic minorities. Just as cruelly are mutilated in our midst Marxist-Leninist teachings about inalienable human rights and freedoms, freedom of speech, Lenin's work ethic, and other fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Why are we writing to you about all this? Why have we waited so long to write? What

are we asking you to do, what are we proposing?

As explained earlier in this letter, we became Communists a long time ago. We were acquainted with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the basics of the Socialist state in theory only while being active in the Communist underground, or while suffering in the prisons and forced labor camps of bourgeois Latvia, but we believed in these ideas unreservedly. When we first saw the socialist state (the only one in existence at that time) we immediately noticed the difference between theory and practice. But we firmly believed that the faults were of a transient character and that they could be overcome. At first, we did not recognize the seriousness of these faults. Through daily application of the socialist ideas we gradually realized that much of the official written and spoken output of the government was for display purposes only—deliberate distortions and outright lies. All Party conferences, meetings and assemblies are carefully prearranged and executed shows. They are convened only to create an illusion of democracy within the Party. In reality, these conferences, meetings and assemblies merely have to approve everything that has been dictated from "above", subsequently they expound the individual opinion of a single person—the head man in the government. Every attempt to object to these opinions is regarded as opposition to the ideals of the Party and Leninism. Those who dare to object not only lose their positions but also their freedom, and often end up, suffering subhuman conditions, in prisons and concentration camps, are deported, or sometimes, vanish without a trace.

Naturally, these conditions eliminate all arguments and discussions at Party conferences and assemblies as well as at the meetings of workers' councils. In this way, an apparent unity is achieved.

We suppose you have heard of the situation here or know part of it. However, knowledge of the conditions here based on information of official documents, or short visits to the USSR, is certain to be far from complete. That is why we are writing to you: we want to acquaint you with the facts.

We realize that no Communist Party has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another Communist Party. Nevertheless, for this very purpose, in order to safeguard this principle we must unite against any violator. You now have the facts. Besides, the world opinion judges the effectiveness of Socialism and Communism in general by our successes and failures here. Therefore, the actions of the USSR have a direct influence on your work. For this reason we feel that you should know the truth about the conditions here, so that you can take appropriate steps to sway the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We know that this will not be easy. These men are not used to opening their minds to outside ideas. They act from a position of power and recognize only force. But your Party plays an important role in the world Communist movement and your proposals cannot be taken lightly. We have no intentions of suggesting any methods you might use to influence the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, we are convinced that the high prestige of Marxism-Leninism cannot be preserved if the distortions of its principles are accepted silently, without protest. If the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decline to stop actions described above they have to be unmasked and boycotted.

The present policies of the Communist Party leaders in the Soviet Union are destroying the world Communist movement.

With a Communist greeting.

JOSEPH P. COSAND APPOINTED
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER FOR
HIGHER EDUCATION

HON. JOHN BRADEMAs

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 21, 1972

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to learn about the recent appointment as Deputy Commissioner for Higher Education in the U.S. Office of Education of Joseph P. Cosand.

Mr. Cosand is a man much respected by all those concerned with higher education and I know he will make significant contributions in this new and important responsibility.

I insert at this point in the RECORD an article about Mr. Cosand published in the March 1972 issue of Junior College Journal:

JOSEPH COSAND TO USOE

Joseph P. Cosand, a member of the AAJC Board of Directors, was appointed in early January as deputy commissioner for higher education in the U.S. Office of Education.

He was president of the Junior College District of St. Louis, Missouri, from the time it was organized in 1962 until last summer when he resigned to become director of the Center of Higher Education at the University of Michigan. Before going to St. Louis he was president of Santa Barbara City College in California. Mr. Cosand was elected to the AAJC Board in 1969 for a term of office ending with the 1971 annual meeting. He has also served on the governing boards of the American Association of Higher Education and the American Council on Education. Last year he served as chairman of A.C.E. He has also been serving as a member of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.

During his presidency at St. Louis, the Junior College District grew from a dream in the minds of local supporters to a multi-campus, nationally-acclaimed institution enrolling 20,000 students.

At U.S.O.E. Mr. Cosand will be one of five deputy commissioners. The post he fills has been open since Sidney P. Marland, Jr., Commissioner of Education, created the deputy commissioner offices. Peter P. Muirhead, executive deputy commissioner has served as acting deputy commissioner for higher education in the interim.

Other U.S.O.E. deputy commissioners deal with development, school systems, external relations, and management.

"There appears to be a turning point ahead in American higher education because of the government interest in seeing increased opportunity for those who wish to enroll in higher education," Mr. Cosand said. "I have hopes that Congress will adopt a program of institutional aid and, if they do, that will be a real moment in the history of education in our country. I took this job because I want to be a part of that effort."

"Also, I have great respect for Secretary Richardson, Commissioner Marland, and Executive Deputy Commissioner Muirhead," Mr. Cosand mentioned the good relations he had with these men during the past year when he served as chairman of the American Council of Education and he referred, too, to his high regard for Roger Heyns, the new president of the council.

Mr. Cosand said another reason he took his new job was he believed he could contribute to a close working relationship between O.E. and the higher education associations during what he termed "a crucial year for higher education."

Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., executive director of AAJC, said, "Joseph Cosand will bring outstanding credentials with him to Washington. He has a comprehensive knowledge of post-secondary education, including operational experience in community colleges. We are highly pleased to see a person of his competency move into this important new position in the Office of Education."

Included in Mr. Cosand's duties will be responsibility for the Bureau of Higher Education, the Institute of International Studies, and the Bureau of Libraries and Educational Technology.

THE CASE FOR LOCATING THE SPACE SHUTTLE BASE IN CALIFORNIA

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 21, 1972

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, upon the completion of Apollo 17 in late 1972, the United States will embark on a bold, new approach to continue our successful exploration of space.

In 1973, we will launch our first Skylab—a scientific mission directed toward an extensive study of the sun; a study of the application of space in surveying and monitoring the resources and environmental interactions of the earth; and the biomedical study of the effects of long-duration flight on man.

But, the real key to future space operations lies in the successful development of a space shuttle transportation system. This earth-to-orbit shuttle will provide a recoverable, reusable space vehicle for the placement and the retrieval of satellites.

In addition to radically reducing the cost of transporting satellites into space, the space shuttle is expected to produce significant savings in the cost of design, development, and operations of space payloads.

The 1973 Federal budget recognizes the need for the space shuttle and provides for proceeding with the detailed design and development of a space shuttle based on the definition studies which are now nearing completion.

When the Congress concurs in the decision to develop the space shuttle, the question arises: Where should the launch-retrieval base be located?

Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to present the case for locating the space shuttle base in California.

CLIMATE

Because shuttle landings will take place at 2- to 3-week intervals, and because the returning shuttle will have fuel for less than 15 minutes maneuvering before landing, weather will be an important factor in the selection of a site.

Both prospective California sites—Edwards and Vandenberg Air Force Bases—meet the climatic requirements.

Lightning activity is almost unknown at Vandenberg, which averages only 12 inches of annual rainfall, and Edwards has an arid desert climate.

Visibility at Edwards cannot be sur-

passed and, except for nighttime clouds, and seasonal fog at Vandenberg, visibility is excellent.

LOCATION

U.S. launchings are, generally, either polar—rotating over both poles, thus, passing over all sections of the rotating globe—or retrograde—in orbit synchronized with the sun so they can constantly monitor the day, night, or twilight sides of the globe.

The polar-orbiting satellite is launched south. Retrograde orbits are lofted south to southwest.

The California location at Vandenberg accounts for all of the previous 410 polar orbit launchings, and all but three of the 136 retrograde shots that took place by mid-1971, were lofted from Vandenberg.

The Vandenberg site overlooks the Pacific Ocean over a 210-degree span, thus permitting overwater launching southward without passing over foreign territory during suborbital flight.

An easterly launching from Vandenberg can take place without crossing population centers during the crucial first 100 miles of flight.

Due to its high elevation, the Edwards site offers a unique consideration. Obviously, the fuel needed to launch a satellite into space from 2,300 feet is much less than the fuel needed to launch a satellite from sea level.

FACILITIES

The site for the space shuttle launch-retrieval base must have first, navigational aids and weather equipment; second, a 10,000- to 15,000-foot runway; third, at least 65,000 acres in order to contain the noise of the shuttle rocket firing; fourth, facilities to prepare boosters and orbiters as well as equipment and fuel storage areas.

California sites potentially meet or surpass all of these requirements.

Vandenberg Air Force Base, the largest launch area in the Western World, has 44 launch sites on a 100,000-acre range, traversed by 327 miles of roads, and dotted with 3,500 buildings.

The 8,000-foot Vandenberg runway, which presently accommodates the 747 jumbo jet, can be easily extended to 15,000 feet.

Extensiveness visibility, unobstructed access, and existing facilities make Edwards Air Force Base the prime landing and testing facility in the Nation. It covers 300,000 acres and is probably the only U.S. military airfield that would not require strengthening for frequent booster and orbiter retrievals.

Edwards also maintains an assembly of tracking facilities; houses the Aerospace Research Pilot School, and has conducted rocket test firings since 1953.

MANPOWER

In order to operate the space shuttle and to manufacture the components that go into it, responsible, technically competent personnel must be hired. The larger the pool of potential aerospace workers in the vicinity of the launch site, the better the choice shuttle administrations will have of qualified applicants without paying costly inducements for relocation.

Fortunately, Vandenberg and Edwards

are surrounded by the largest pool of aerospace power in the Nation. Forty-two percent of those employed by U.S. aerospace industries live in California, most of them in the southern part of the State.

In addition to experienced, qualified manpower surpluses, California offers a scientific environment with more specialized and independent research and testing laboratories than any other State.

LOGISTICS

In addition to the need for qualified personnel to operate the space shuttle base, supplies, and materials will be needed to launch an estimated 54 shuttle rockets per year.

With the base close to the supplier, shipping times will be cut, and servicing will be more convenient.

In addition, an important factor in selecting a site for the space shuttle base is its access to plentiful supplies of liquid oxygen and hydrogen—the fuel used in launching.

The proposed California sites—Vandenberg and Edwards—are within easy driving distance of those aerospace manufacturers who are likely participants in the Shuttle development. Thus, shipping materials to either base would be relatively inexpensive, and servicing would be accessible.

To meet the shuttle fuel requirements of an estimated 75 tons of liquid hydrogen and 350 tons of liquid oxygen per day, California has an extensive natural gas network and the plant facilities for converting natural gas to liquid hydrogen. The present capacity is more than adequate to keep shuttle rockets burning during peak years of operation.

Plants within 150 miles of the proposed California sites can supply enough liquid oxygen and hydrogen by tank truck for initial shuttle operations, and natural gas and electric power are readily at hand for supplying any liquid hydrogen plants that may be erected at the launch site.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Speaker, obviously, the combined use of the existing bases located at Vandenberg and Edwards offers the ideal solution to the problem of where to best locate the space shuttle launch and retrieval base, as well as a flight testing center.

Existing facilities, and the natural advantages of climate and location make Edwards the perfect site for preshuttle flight testing and for alternate and emergency retrievals once the shuttle becomes operational.

Vandenberg, on the other hand, stands out as the best qualified site for launch and for most retrievals.

The proximity of the two bases permits an efficient interchange during testing and ultimately during operations.

With the selection of the California sites for the shuttle base, the Government will have easy access to the personnel, the manufacturers, and the contractors who have proven themselves over the years. The existing facilities, and the close proximity of suppliers will result in savings to the American taxpayer.

Mr. Speaker, as space pioneer Dr.

Wernher von Braun stated, the knowledge gained from space exploration "has great significance to man, to environment, and to the ecology."

We must continue our space program by conquering new frontiers with a retrievable, reusable, economic space shuttle which promises to get more payloads into space and more down-to-earth benefits from it at less cost.

The space shuttle must be fully funded by the Congress and, in order to get the most for our tax dollar, we must locate the launch-retrieval base in southern California.

LAKE COUNTY OBSERVES ANNIVERSARY OF LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 17, 1972

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, it is with special pride that I take part in the ceremonies honoring the 54th anniversary of Lithuanian independence.

The establishment of the Independent Republic of Lithuania on February 16, 1918, served to reinstitute a nation whose identity and sovereignty dates back more than 700 years—to 1251, when Mindaugas the Great unified the Lithuanian principalities into a single nation.

Mr. Speaker, I will not recount the tragedy of Lithuanian subjugation by foreign powers except to note that in 1944 the Soviets reoccupied the territory of the Independent Lithuanian Republic and established Lithuania as an annexed unit of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Speaker, this event represented the end of Lithuanian freedom. The occupation of Lithuania by the Red Army of Soviet Russia was followed by a reign of terror, by cruel and inhuman treatment of Lithuanian citizens, by imprisonment and liquidation of many brave patriots, and by the exiling of many tens of thousands to the slave labor camps of Siberia.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud that many Lithuanian nationals as well as a much larger number of Americans of Lithuanian descent have chosen my congressional district for their new homes—and as a refuge from Soviet tyranny.

Mr. Speaker, my longtime friend, Edward R. Skalisius, president of the Lake County Chapter of the Lithuanian American Community of U.S.A. Inc., has invited me to attend the commemorative ceremonies in honor of Lithuanian Independence Day. These ceremonies, to be held at the Lithuanian Auditorium in Waukegan, Ill., on Sunday, February 27th, will provide an opportunity for large numbers of the Lithuanian American community to gather in respect to Lithuanian Independence Day.

Mr. Speaker, I am confident that many expressions of courage and determination will be voiced on that occasion. In recognition of this event, I take this opportunity to publicly declare my support for a free and independent Lithuania and to commend in the highest possible terms the courage and perseverance of those sturdy sons and daughters of

Lithuania who are keeping alive the great heritage with which they are endowed.

Mr. Speaker, in paying this tribute, I wish to reiterate my support for House Concurrent Resolution 416 passed by the Congress in 1966 calling for self-determination and national independence for the Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Mr. Speaker, I wish also to express my agreement with the many other expressions of support for a free Lithuania which have been uttered on the floor of the House of Representatives under the special order of my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, the Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 21, 1972

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, today, in my continuing effort to provide my colleagues with information useful to them in devising community development programs intended to recognize the special character of nonmetropolitan areas, I would like to share statements by two men whose training and experience in this area particularly qualify them to address this problem.

These men are Dr. H. J. Meenen, chairman of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology at the University of Arkansas, and Dr. Bernal L. Green, agricultural economist with the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Economic Research Service, who is working with the University of Arkansas. Their statements were presented at the hearing on community development needs in the First Congressional District which I conducted in Batesville, Ark., on December 4.

Mr. Speaker, this is the 16th insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of testimony and other materials which I have gathered during my research into ways to assist community development in nonmetropolitan areas. Other materials on this subject appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 117, part 25, pages 32740-32741; part 26, pages 34505-34506; part 27, pages 35409-35410; part 28, pages 36133-36135 and 37358-37360; part 29, pages 38121-38123; part 30, pages 39156-39158; part 31, pages 40813-40817; part 32, pages 41882-41884; part 34, pages 44696-44699; part 35, pages 45963-45966; part 36, pages 47310-47312; and volume 118, part 1, pages 1225-1226; part 3, pages 3583-3586; part 4, pages 4739-4743.

The testimony follows:

STATEMENT BY H. J. MEENEN

Congressman Bill Alexander, I am Henry Meenen, Head of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology of the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville. May I express our appreciation for your invitation to present testimony concerned with Community Development. Economic and Social Development has been a concern of the members of our department since its organization in the 1920's. Although our research and teaching activities tend to be concerned more with the rural areas as contrasted to

the large metropolitan areas, we are very aware of the interrelationship of the two and realize that the problems of one area become the problems of both. The economic and social health of our nation is dependent upon a balance in the interrelated adjustments or changes in all sectors of our society.

The comments which I shall make today result from research which has been conducted by members of the department in recent years. I shall select those studies which may provide some basic background data that should be helpful when considering a source of funding for public and/or quasi public agencies. In the limited time available I should like to comment on five areas that we feel are worthy of consideration. These are public services, housing, medical services, a systems approach to development for the leisure industry and the need for planning and design service centers. We realize that informational needs essential for the design of a national credit organization are much greater than these areas but because of limited time we prefer to speak to these points which we have recently researched and for which we have specific facts.

PUBLIC SERVICES

A study which we have under way at the present time investigates a means of making more efficient use of the existing supply of water in an area by using a single supply and treatment facility for a two-county region, replacing existing municipal systems and numerous wells for rural residents. The resulting benefit will be to remove a dependable water supply as a limitation on industrial development. A uniform supply of water in a region should lead to a more even dispersion of industries in that region because of the direct demand for water by industry and because of the lowering of fire insurance rates as a result of the water supply. It is also possible that a water supply for the rural areas will tend to moderate the concentration of population in cities and towns.

Data have been gathered revealing the household usage and cost of providing water for the thirteen municipalities located in Washington and Benton, Arkansas. The cost of providing water ranged from 35¢ to \$2.68 per thousand gallons. The daily household usage ranged from 195 gallons to 2,681 gallons. This household usage includes the drafts for commercial and industrial use, thus the wide variation in household usage. The investment necessary for the regional system has been established and operating, maintenance, and repair costs are currently being projected.

Regional water systems which are economically sound will require large sums of money for long range financing. Public or quasi public water district organizations could well be served by a rural development credit institution.

HOUSING

The availability and quality of housing is an important element in economic and social development. These aspects of housing in an area have often been cited as an important indicator of the existing level of living of the occupants. Our research indicates that while progress has been and continues to be made in improving housing a high incidence of substandard housing still exists in Arkansas especially in the widely scattered rural areas and small towns. A sample taken in late 1966, which included 44 counties in Arkansas showed that 38 percent of the households lacked one or more of such essential items as hot and cold running water, a flush toilet, a bath, and adequate water supply and sewage disposal facilities or the minimum essentials for health and sanitation.

The underlying causes of poor housing are complex. Analysis of survey data show that the quality of rural housing was significantly related to income, the level of for-

mal education of the head of the household and of the wife and the type of employment of the household head—white collar, blue collar or service worker.

Farm housing was found to be of about the same quality as rural nonfarm housing. In addition, renters did not occupy significantly poorer housing than did owners.

Less than half of the rural homeowners had never mortgaged their present house and land. Those who had, occupied significantly higher quality housing. Half of all the loans made in the 1960 to 1966 period were for less than \$5,500. Local banks made 36 percent of the loans, individuals 26 percent and savings and loan associations 17 percent. Bank loans for residences indicate that 11 percent were made for farm residents compared to 89 percent for non-farm. The comparable number for savings and loan associations were 3 and 97 percent. Individuals were important sources of loans for farm residents. Findings suggest that the rural households scattered over the region have only limited access to some of the large "pools of credit" capable of making the more desirable long-term, low-equity, amortized loans. Although the loan-to-sale price ratio was 72 percent in the 1960 to 1966 period, among all lenders, the ratio was 63 percent for home buyers borrowing from a local bank.

A two-fold approach may be necessary in solving the rural housing problem in the region. Long-range goals must include upgrading household incomes and improving education and training. A sound development program for the area is required if these characteristics are to be modified. In the short run housing can best be upgraded by easing credit terms, increasing the participation of large institutional lenders and by greater effort by Government lending agencies. Some segments of the need for housing may be served by a rural development credit organization.

MEDICAL SERVICES

The following comments are based on the preliminary examination of the data from a study of medical care in rural areas of Arkansas. The sample population covers a hospital service area in each of three major subregions of the state—Delta, Coastal Plain, and Hills. Secondary sources provide the information on population composition and change, size of hospitals, and number of physicians in all counties of the state.

Several occurrences imply the rapid acceleration of the need for medical services in rural areas. First, the increase in the aggregate numbers of the aged and in dependency due to the aging of the population. In 12 counties of north central Arkansas 17.6 percent of the population was 65 years and older in 1970, and 19.9 percent was 50 to 64 years. Relatively a much lighter burden of medical services is implied in the figures for the nation: 9.9 percent 50 to 64 years, 14.4 percent 65 years and older. The aged was less than 10 percent of the population in 1950. Second, the introduction of social insurance for medical care among the aged. Third, the increase in nonfarm work among rural people and the provision of group coverage in industry has been the main factor in the increase of medical care insurance for persons under 65 years old.

The "supply" side of services evinces inflexibility in adapting to changing volume and nature of medical care demand. No change in the provision for services is noted in the three areas of study after medicare came into operation and numbers of aged increased. Earlier with federal aid there had been a spurt in the construction in rural counties of small hospitals, but the number of physicians to serve them has dropped off acutely. Using, for example, the 21 counties of no urban population, there were 87 physicians practicing in 1950 and 67 in 1970, and at the latter year the number of physicians per 1,000 of the population ranged from 1,500 to nearly 6,000.

Only one of the 21 all-rural counties had a local hospital in 1950, 12 had been established by 1970, ranging in size from 25 to 48 beds. A rather nominal hospital was reported for 3 other counties, 2 of 10 and 1 of 9 beds. Data in compilation will show variation among small county districts in physician-people and hospital-bed ratios, and implicitly the need for planning with both local and central services in perspective.

The differential need for services among categories of people is indicated by the presence or absence of symptoms of illness or ill health. Age, race, and income are among factors having association with the prevalence of ill health.

The poor are very much disadvantaged in acquiring services through prepayment by insurance. Three-fourths of persons of pre-medicare age and of annual household income of less than \$3,000 have no medical insurance of any kind; only one-fourth of persons in higher income households have no insurance. Of persons 65 years and older, 9 percent report no insurance in households with income under \$3,000, and only 2 percent report no insurance in households of higher income.

These data indicate an increasing demand for medical services both personal services in the form of doctors and nurses and hospital and clinical facilities. As indicated earlier, careful planning in terms of local needs and regional needs is essential. But regardless of whether the needs are for a local clinic or a large regional hospital, a dependable source of financing on a long term basis at reasonable rates is critical.

A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT FOR THE LEISURE INDUSTRY

The need for developing a systems approach is highlighted by the following statement:

"To many small (unattractive) outdoor recreation and related facilities have been established in unplanned strip developments. Consideration must be given to *shopping centers consisting of these facilities*. Collectively, these grouped firms will exert greater influence on travelers to come and/or to stop and participate. Such groupings will contribute materially in the effort for a favorable national (resource-based) image as a recreation area."

To the extent that the quality of the outdoor recreation experience is damaged by esthetically unattractive recreation firms in "neon strips", customers may choose to withhold expenditures or spend them sparingly under such circumstances. A necessary condition for an economically viable recreation sector is a system of carefully planned and well designed "shopping centers" of recreation and supportive facilities. The shopping center grouping permits what economists call economies of size. Second, the overall planning is especially significant for a viable outdoor recreation sector. This is because it is so vulnerable to "spillover effects". Spillover effects are where one operator's production and/or consumption activities affect one or more other operators. An example would be uncontrolled development around lakes. Each individual home occupant or businessman is locked into an unpredictable system of development.

The key point of this section is that investment both public and private in outdoor recreation should be committed to a spatial arrangement that will increase regional and national demand, and will involve comprehensive planning such that "spillover effects" do not result in overall calamity beyond the short-run. Or stating it differently, investment should not be spread piece-meal throughout the region; rather a coordinated massive investment at one or more growth points is the key to stimulating not only the growth-point center but the broader region around it. Investments by governments in certain key facilities leased to private operators may be a vital part of the total effort.

RURAL PLANNING AND DESIGN SERVICE CENTERS

Increasingly, we now recognize the important contribution of the visual scenic resource together with its relative fragility. The landscape is everyone's business, therefore, it tends to be no one's business. It is important that the esthetic value of the landscape be considered as a resource enhancing or enriching the more active visual experiences. This is true whether we are talking about an industrial area, a commercial agricultural area or an area with a wide panorama of natural beauty. Designers and ecologists list six key factors that affect the way an observer views and reacts to the landscape. They are: (1) distance, (2) observers position, (3) form, (4) spatial definition, (5) light, and (6) sequence of visual experiences.

Three of these, form, spatial definition, and light are concerned with the landscape directly, and man cannot easily alter them. The other three, distance, observer position, and sequence are concerned mainly with the observer in relation to the landscape and man can alter or manipulate these relations to his recreational (esthetic) advantage. All are fragile in that unplanned intrusions on a small scale can adversely affect very large areas of the visual scene. The design of revenue producing facilities is obviously an issue of some importance in their relationships to and effects upon this natural resource.

Based upon a research-extension project conducted by the University it was found that the professional physical planning and design capability needed to deal with the problems of developing a viable recreation sector in Arkansas can be placed into two categories: (1) architecture (the design of buildings and groups of buildings), (2) environmental planning (the design of the larger scale physical environment) including: (a) land development, (b) landscaping, and (c) relationship of buildings to the total environment.

Prime physical design problem areas identified by the study were: (1) the generally low quality of the man-made segment of the physical environment; (2) the lack of satisfactory examples (as compared with some other regions of this country) to use for comparative standards and as a basis for upgrading quality; (3) the lack of access to, and knowledge of, the role of the design professional; (4) the tendency to see problems as composed of sequential parts rather than in their entirety.

It is the collective judgment of the participants of this study that the esthetic and environmental design problems of adjustments in our agricultural industry, of the location of non-agricultural industry and of the leisure industry can be aided materially by a competently staffed rural design serving a given geographical area.

Rural planning and design service centers could perform a valuable service for a rural development bank. They could be asked to evaluate location, arrangement and design of buildings and facilities which governmental or quasi-governmental organizations submitted for funding through the rural development bank. The implementation of a total, quality, developmental program could be favorably influenced by lending agencies.

With this I must close. Thank you again for the opportunity to appear at this hearing. We will furnish you with any of our research results as you may request.

STATEMENT OF BERNAL L. GREEN

I appreciate the opportunity to discuss human resources in Arkansas, because they are a basic factor in any program of development. I wish to make three major points—that have been uncovered in our research:

(1) The somewhat unique characteristics of the people in the Ozarks need to be considered to improve the potential for programs designed to improve their condition.

(2) Many of the native residents in the Ozarks may not be employed readily in the

usual industrialization process—in-migrants may intervene or out-compete the natives for jobs.

(3) There is a vital need not only to generate the various programs for development with citizen participation, but also to coordinate them so that they are more effective.

A key assumption that I have made is that reduction in the incidence of economic poverty will be one among important variables you will consider when you evaluate the effectiveness of your program for development. Thus, reduction in poverty is the perspective from which I will consider the three points.

INCIDENCE OF POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

Data, based on 1,413 households in rural parts of the Ozarks region, indicate 25% of the households to be in poverty.^{1,2} And 79 percent, or 4 out of 5, of the low-income household heads cannot do much about their economic condition because of their advanced age, physical disability, sex, and/or functional illiteracy. Advanced age is the most prevalent poverty-related characteristic. The household heads of the poor in the Delta and Coastal Plain Regions are similarly handicapped, but with different distributions of reasons.

TABLE 1.—AVERAGE CHANGE IN HOUSEHOLD HEADS' INCOMES AT TIME OF MOVE INTO SELECTED COMMUNITIES IN THE OZARKS REGION BY MIGRANT CLASSIFICATION, MIGRANT STUDY

| Community | Average income before move | Average income after move | Change in income | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| | | | Average amount | Proportion, percent |
| New immigrant household heads: | | | | |
| Branson..... | \$7,501 | \$5,420 | -\$2,081 | -28 |
| Monett..... | 5,395 | 5,424 | 29 | 1 |
| Rogers..... | 4,644 | 4,650 | 6 | 10 |
| Springdale..... | 6,058 | 6,397 | 339 | 6 |
| Returnee household heads: | | | | |
| Branson ² | 5,766 | 4,231 | -1,535 | -27 |
| Monett..... | 5,476 | 4,114 | -1,362 | -25 |
| Rogers..... | 5,490 | 4,885 | -605 | -11 |
| Springdale..... | 5,614 | 5,420 | -193 | -3 |

¹ Less than 1 percent.

² Only 9 household heads' incomes considered.

A program, then, which offers a strong new source of capital for development might consider channeling a significant portion into economic sectors which can/will utilize these older household heads. Examples of such sectors are recreation; also related sectors such as arts and crafts, eating facilities, overnight accommodations, and Green Thumb projects. Users of the capital might be granted favorable terms provided they employed higher proportions of these elderly and poor household heads.

MIGRATION AND INCIDENCE OF POVERTY IN URBAN AREAS

This will provide an impression about in-migration into urban areas of Arkansas and the competition for jobs between non-migrant Arkansans and the in-migrants. One hypothesis tested was that job trickle down effectively benefits indigenous poor when industrialization is used as a poverty policy.^{3,4} In-migration of laborers with employment attributes superior to those of non-migrants was one of several hypothesized leakages that could occur. Two communities in northwest Arkansas (Rogers and Springdale) and two in southwest Missouri were involved in the study. A total of 2,900 households were screened for migrant status, and in-depth interviews were provided by 423 household heads. We found that in-migration into the Rogers community, 1960-67, was 18 percent of the households, and 16 percent in Springdale. Compared with non-migrants, the in-migrants typically were better educated and younger, had a history of more job mobility, and had comparable incomes despite their

lack of seniority. We noticed that returnees, especially, accepted income decreases as they moved back to the study communities (Table 1). These findings prompted us to take another look at the previous study of 1,413 households, in terms of migrant status and possible advantages that in-migrants to the rural parts of the Ozarks might have for new jobs. We found that the same pattern of advantage held. The attributes of the in-migrants who were in the labor force suggest initial advantages over non-migrants in competing for jobs. In addition, the in-migrants indicated more willingness to accept job training or to move and thus widen these advantages over time. We noted again that many families accepted lower incomes when they moved into the Ozarks. Our data indicated that 55 percent of the in-migrants in the labor force experienced an income decrease by moving to the Ozarks.⁴ Their mean family income before the move was \$6,314, but it was \$3,343 after the move (Table 2). About 45 percent had relatively small income increases—\$5,178 before and \$6,055 after. Overall, their income before the move was \$5,809, and \$3,838 after the move. Based upon the definition for poverty used by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, 13 percent were considered in the poverty class before the move compared to 24 percent after the move. Of those not in the labor force (retirees), 22 percent were in poverty before the move, but 54 percent were after the move. The point is this: in-migration into the Ozarks, a designated low income region, is fairly high; many of the in-migrants (especially retirees) move into poverty level incomes; even so, the in-migrants have a competitive advantage for new jobs over the non-migrants. Such in-migration, then, has contributed, at least in an absolute way, to the poverty population. It appears that programs, such as credit, to speed industrialization and thereby to reduce the incidence of poverty needs manpower development programs designed for non-migrants especially.

TABLE 2.—AVERAGE CHANGE OF INCOME OF MIGRANTS AT TIME OF MOVE INTO RURAL OZARKS (1,413 HOUSEHOLDS IN SAMPLE)

| Head of household | Mean family income | | Percent in poverty | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|------------|--------------------|------------|
| | Before move | After move | Before move | After move |
| In labor force..... | \$5,809 | \$3,838 | 13 | 24 |
| Income decreases..... | 6,314 | 3,343 | 5 | 37 |
| Income increases..... | 5,178 | 6,055 | 24 | 2 |
| Not in labor force..... | 5,522 | 2,713 | 22 | 54 |

Source: Reference No. 4, p. 40.

THE ABILITY TO GENERATE AND COORDINATE PROGRAMS FOR DEVELOPMENT⁵

These concerns, shared with my colleagues in rural sociology, point out the increasing complexity encountered with our social structure as we attempt to redesign it to meet new needs. One of the problems facing city and county governments is where to obtain knowledge and how to gain experience to work with the various organizations or social systems, and to carry out a program for development. In the Space Program, for example, many thousands of man-hours were spent in teaching people to understand the various systems involved and their relationships to each other. Each person was taught his own role and responsibility. Each operation was practiced to be certain that each person and each system would function and that all systems supported each other properly. Another example, for purpose of contrast, is the Pruitt-Igoe housing project in St. Louis. Apparently the needs for self-esteem and information about how to utilize the facilities effectively were under-emphasized relative to the needs for bricks and mortar.

When we create a new social system, such as a Planning and Development District, the people and their leaders need new knowledge and new skills to operate it and coordinate it into the other social systems—communities, towns and cities, counties, and states, as well as the other federal, state, and local agencies and organizations.

A second and related need facing local governmental units is to learn how to coordinate the available resources and human energies into a meaningful set of programs. Dr. Thomas R. Ford⁶ has said, "It would be ironic, indeed, if the economic development of the Appalachian region should founder, not from a lack of efforts but from an overabundance of competing development programs that are poorly conceived, organized, coordinated, and executed—yet this possibility looms as a real danger."

And this is a potential danger in all programs for development in our Nation. Basic planning is needed, and there must be coordinated efforts from the local communities to the county, district, state and national level. The people and their leaders need to understand the objectives of an overall plan, so they can help determine priorities, assist in public decisions, and actively participate in the development of their own communities and areas. It is important that they learn new skills and new knowledge for these new responsibilities. Your series of hearings is a good example of an element in this essential learning process.

As you work to formulate and implement programs for development, we believe that you will join us in the hope that the knowledge and experience of the several inter-related disciplines will be focused on assisting people and their leaders to gain this necessary new knowledge and experience, especially to work with the Planning and Development Districts.⁷

Perhaps this might best be begun in a "pilot project." And perhaps a project should be planned in each of the major regions of the U.S. The project could be attempted only in a state that would devote all of the resources necessary for a thorough test. Then as useful knowledge and experience are gained in one district or area, such information could be transferred to additional areas.

FOOTNOTES

* A very "casual" interview with the "man on the street" in one community seemed to indicate that the public had little knowledge about the Planning and Development District. Also, even among the "officials" there is confusion as to the role and responsibility of different planning units.

¹ Herbert Hoover and Bernal L. Green, *Human Resources in the Ozarks Region . . . with Emphasis on the Poor*, Economic Research Service in cooperation with the Universities of Arkansas and Missouri Agricultural Experiment Stations, AER No. 182, May, 1970.

² John L. McCoy, *Rural Poverty in Three Southern Regions—Mississippi Delta, Ozarks, Southeast Coastal Plain*, Economic Research Service, AER No. 176, March, 1970.

³ Bernal L. Green, Lloyd D. Bender, and Rex R. Campbell, *Migration into Four Communities in the Ozarks Region*, Agri. Exp. Sta., Univ. of Ark., Bul. 756, June, 1970.

⁴ Lloyd D. Bender, Bernal L. Green, and Rex R. Campbell, "Trickle-down and Leakage in the War on Poverty," *Growth and Change, A Journal of Regional Development*, Vol. 2, No. 4, Oct. 1971.

⁵ Unpublished research results and ideas about this topic may be obtained by request from Dr. Gerald Hudson, Department of Agri. Econ. and Rural Sociology, Univ. of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas, 72701.

⁶ Thomas R. Ford, Prof. of Sociology, Univ. of Kentucky, "Adapting Social Institutions," *Research and Education for Regional and Area Development*, Iowa State University Press, Ames, Iowa, 1966.

RADICALS THE SAME, ALL OVER THE WORLD

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 21, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in a period in which radical groups periodically attempt to create havoc in many nations of the free world, an understanding of what this pattern represents is necessary.

One of Washington's most astute observers is Dumitru Danielopol, the distinguished international correspondent of the Copley Press, whose experience in many facets of foreign affairs is such that he can very properly analyze current radical activities. His column, which appeared in the Joliet, Ill., Herald-News of January 31, is, I believe, pertinent to our times.

The editorial follows:

RADICALS THE SAME, ALL OVER THE WORLD

WASHINGTON.—Radical faculty and students who are trying to take over campuses in Europe and the United States are forged in the same pattern.

Despite their slogans, there is nothing democratic about them.

Whatever they call themselves—Weathermen, SDS, New Left Maoist, Castroite, Spartacus or pure and simply Communist—they are totalitarian. They reject honest debate, opposition or controversy. They must silence any argument before it starts.

Recently at the University of Caen in France, Jacques Soustelle, a scientist and writer, former member of cabinet in the DeGaulle government and once governor general of Algeria, was severely beaten when he prepared to deliver a lecture.

He was scheduled to speak on "Israel, peace or war?" under the auspices of the International Study Circle, a non-political group of law students.

The 1,000 people who had gathered to listen to Soustelle were held in check with fire hoses, while a band of some 50 youths—helmeted, masked, wearing boots and armed with crowbars, blackjacks, cycle chains and butcher hooks shouted "Ho Chi Minh," "Che Guevara," and other similar slogans—attacked Soustelle and his small group.

He received severe injuries. For awhile it was thought he would lose an eye.

The attack on Soustelle was organized by the two Communist organizations on campus called "Secour Rouge" and the "Front Rouge."

The accusations hurled at him of "fascism" are ludicrous. Soustelle was an active member of the DeGaulle movement during World War II that fought both the Fascists and the Nazis.

But we've heard the song before. It happens all the time, in Tokyo, in Berlin, in Rome and closer home.

Remember for instance what happened at Stanford University on Jan. 11, 1971, when a similar bunch of goons stopped Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge from delivering a lecture at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. They called the ambassador "pig" and "war criminal," and made such a ruckus that the lecture had to be cancelled.

A member of the faculty, H. Bruce Franklin, an avowed Maoist revolutionary, was among the rioters. He has been finally dismissed from Stanford.

I was in Paris during the student revolt in May 1968 and saw the types that form this minority of trouble makers. Wild eyed, brutal bullies, completely ruthless fanatics, with no other idea in their head but to take over

and destroy a university, overthrow a capitalist system and install a totalitarian regime.

They are the exact replica of Hitler's goons whom I saw in Berlin in the winter of 1932, rioting, burning, looting and killing.

Hitler's gangs formed the cadres of the Brown Shirts, the SS, the bookburners and the Gestapo, the torturers and exterminators.

If our free society is to survive, weakness on campuses cannot be tolerated. The firing of Prof. Franklin is a healthy precedent. President Dr. Ruckard Wyman of Stanford is to be commended.

In England, too, reaction is setting in.

When the warden of Wadham College, Oxford, was faced with a list of "no negotiable demands" from revolutionary students he answered this way:

"Dear Gentlemen:

"We note your threat to take what you call 'direct action' unless your demands are immediately met. We feel that it is only sporting to let you know that our governing body includes three experts in chemical warfare, two ex-commandos skilled with dynamite and torturing prisoners, four qualified marksmen . . . two ex-artillery men, one holder of the Victoria Cross, four karate experts and a chaplain . . . we look forward with confidence to what you call a 'confrontation' . . ."

Nothing more was heard from the revolutionaries.

INFLATION BEGINS AND EXPANDS HERE IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 21, 1972

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Inflation is a matter of grave concern to the folks back in Texas. Most of them are beginning to understand that our votes for spending and more and more spending represent the cause of inflation.

Congress must shoulder the responsibility for our unsound fiscal policy. The budget deficit grows larger every year and these are prosperous times. What would happen if we had a bad year?

This year the deficit that we are overspending may exceed \$50 billion. We have the United States greatest Secretary of the Treasury in John Connally. There is no smarter finance man than we have in Arthur Burns heading up the Federal Reserve. But what can Connally and Burns do when we continue to spend this country into an uncertain future.

Yesterday I began my Sunday morning by reading the Dallas Times Herald. The weekends I am home I really enjoy reading well-written, factual papers. The editor of the Herald, Felix McKnight, can tell you more commonsense factual news in two paragraphs than you can find in the Washington Post in 2 years.

And in the business section they have a good column by Dr. Arthur A. Smith. Many years ago Dr. Smith headed up the economics department at Southern Methodist University. He then went on to serve many years as the senior vice president and economist of the large First National Bank in Dallas. On Sunday, February 20, in the Dallas Times Herald he wrote this concise statement on debt and deficit. Here is what Dr. Arthur Smith said.

The statutory limit on the federal debt has been raised again, this time by \$20 billion to a new ceiling of \$450 billion.

The limit had to be raised. We were fast approaching the old limit of \$430 billion which was set in March last year.

The debt limit has been raised nine times since 1962—so many times that whatever restraint Congress seeks to accomplish by the process seems rather farcical. It has not checked the mounting federal debt one bit. The debt continues to go straight up. The new limit is \$150 billion above the limit set in 1962.

Within a matter of a few months Congress will have to lift the limit again so that Uncle Sam can pay his bills, including salaries of Congressmen and Senators.

Actually President Nixon and Secretary of the Treasury Connally requested Congress to put the new limit at \$480 billion, or an increase of \$50 billion. But Congress, apparently playing politics, would approve only a \$20 billion hike, knowing full well that red ink in the budget would send the administration back about October, just before election, asking for another increase.

Where is the debt going anyway? No one knows for sure; but as long as the current economic and political philosophy prevails in this country, we surely have not seen the debt's peak by any means. My guess is a trillion-dollar federal debt by the year 2000.

Can the debt continue to climb indefinitely? Not indefinitely, but it can reach rather astronomical figures if the dollar gets cheaper and cheaper at the same time.

Since the dollar's value is affected greatly by Federal fiscal policy and hence is largely a function of the debt, the amount of the debt and the value of the dollar will move inversely. As the debt climbs, the dollar will fall in value.

The debt could ultimately reach a point where both it and the dollar would be repudiated and a new monetary unit be created to exchange at a ratio of one new unit for every million old units (maybe every billion old units).

This is not a new thing. It has happened several times, even once in our history. After the American Revolution, we had both an inflated debt and an inflated paper currency, which were almost entirely repudiated by two exchanges—the first was 1 for 40 and the second was 1 for 100. In Germany in 1924 the exchange was 1 for a trillion.

Certainly the present level of the Federal debt is no cause for worry about repudiation, but its magnitude does create a management problem. Since the chances of repaying any of the debt are meager, the Treasury must be constantly engaged in refinancing operations. The average length of maturity of the marketable part of the Federal debt is only 3 years and 4 months, and about \$120 billion of the debt matures within one year. This means that the Treasury is in the money market much of the time.

Since Uncle Sam uses the same kind of money as the rest of us, his financial operations can and do become a major influence in the economy. Because of the size of Treasury borrowings, the Federal Reserve System must act as a stabilizing force from time to time, supplying funds sufficient to absorb the new issue without unduly depressing the money market or the economy.

Unfortunately the Fed's role too often simply results in an expansion of the money supply which becomes as permanent as the debt itself.

The larger the Federal debt becomes, the greater the cost required to carry it. For example, the annual interest charge on the current debt amounts to about \$22 billion. In these days of big numbers this sum might not seem very much, but it is more than twice all Federal expenditures in 1940. Interest cost of the national debt is now the third largest item in the Federal budget, being exceeded only by expenditures of the defense Department and of the Health, Education, and Welfare Department.

**ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE RE-
CALLED IN WOODSTOCK, ILL., OB-
SERVANCE**

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 21, 1972

Mr. McCCLORY. Mr. Speaker, in paying tribute on the occasion of the 54th anniversary of Estonian Independence, I wish to commend those sturdy citizens of Estonian descent who honor the great heritage of their country and who continue to work and pray for liberation of families and friends who remain in the territory of occupied Estonia today.

Mr. Speaker, I had occasion to attend ceremonies sponsored by the Estonian Association of Northern Illinois, Inc. in Woodstock on Saturday evening, February 19. The event was organized by my friend Olaf Tammark, and he and his wife Marga developed a program of Estonian entertainment and cuisine, as well as appropriate remarks for the occasion. The keynote address was delivered by Vello Koger. Other Estonians participated actively in the proceedings, and it was a spirited and highly impressive evening in which all in attendance rededicated themselves to freedom and independence for Estonia.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include my own remarks delivered to those gathered at Woodstock and to again express my support for the objectives of House Concurrent Resolution 416 passed by the Congress in 1966 urging self-determination and national independence for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. My remarks at Saturday night's meeting were as follows:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN ROBERT McCCLORY

It is especially good to have the opportunity to meet with leaders and members of the

Estonian community in this celebration of the 54th Anniversary of Estonian independence.

I recall that February 24th is the precise date of your nation's independence from Russia which was decreed in 1918.

However, I am also aware that Estonia experienced a much longer history dating back a thousand years or more, and that Estonian independence includes liberation from the Poles, the Danes and the Germans, as well as the Soviets.

It has been my privilege to meet with you on several earlier occasions and I take this opportunity to salute you as a great people who cherish the highest qualities of citizenship. I salute you on your persistent quest for human freedom, for independence from all types of domination, suppression and absorption, and for the industry which you as a people have typified. I honor you for preserving the great traditions of your culture, your language, and your independence which you cherish and respect in a manner unsurpassed by any other people of the world.

While my review of events during the past year is not too encouraging, still, there is strong evidence that Estonian nationalism remains strong despite the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union to destroy or assimilate Estonia as a nation.

The Russian language is still about as unpopular in Estonia today as it was in 1940 when your nation was first occupied by the Soviets. The Estonian population continues to enjoy the highest standard of living of any of the area which has been occupied by the Soviets. In dress, in language, in free expression and in many subtle and effective ways, the Estonian character penetrates the veil of Soviet domination. While more than 30 years have passed since the Soviets overran Estonia by force, the people's will to be free appears to be as widespread now as it was at that time.

I am proud that our country continues to maintain a position which provides recognition and respect to free Estonia.

Just a few months ago, our President, by Executive Order, authorized the transfer of funds to support several Estonian officials in exile. While these individuals are quite

elderly at this time, both Mr. Bahter and Mr. Raamot—the former Chairman and Treasurer of the Committee for a Free Estonia—are beneficiaries of this Executive Order issued by President Nixon in November, 1971.

In addition, I want to report another bit of good news. Just before leaving Washington, I was informed by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration that on the Apollo 16 flight to the moon—on April 16—our astronauts will carry with them the Estonian flag as well as other independent nations.

I know that this has been one of the objectives of the Committee for a Free Estonia, and I am pleased that our nation is taking this step in behalf of all the freedom-loving people of Estonian citizenship and descent, and in recognition of the fervent hope which we all have that Estonia will soon again be free.

**PROPOSED PUBLIC ACCESS AMEND-
MENT TO H.R. 12931**

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 21, 1972

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the bill H.R. 12931—Rural Development Act of 1972—was recently reported by the Committee on Agriculture and will be considered on the House floor later this week. At that time I shall offer an amendment to the bill which reads as follows:

Public access for the purpose of fishing, hunting, or other recreational use shall be provided or reserved at any reservoir constructed pursuant to the provisions of the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act (68 Stat. 666), as amended, where the Secretary of the Interior determines that such reservoir has potential value for such use.

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

SENATE—Tuesday, February 22, 1972

The Senate met at 10:30 a.m. and was called to order by Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Alabama.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Lord, our God, touch our minds with light, that having a right understanding, we may have wisdom, courage, and patience, working with Thy help for a better order of men and nations. Create in us a clearer insight, a just and true spirit. So temper our minds and emotions that we may be led to sound conclusions. Grant us mutual trust and good will. Lead us in the ways of peace and honor, in paths of truth and brotherhood until we are delivered from fear and hate into the love of Thy kingdom.

Be with all who serve the Nation here and with all who carry its message abroad.

And to Thee shall be all glory and praise. Amen.

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**DESIGNATION OF THE ACTING
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE**

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. ELLENDER).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., February 22, 1972.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
President pro tempore.

Mr. ALLEN 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 Mon-

day, February 21, 1972, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**VITIATION OF ORDER RECOGNIZ-
ING SENATOR PEARSON TODAY**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order which the Senate granted on yesterday that the distinguished Senator from Kansas (Mr. PEARSON) be allowed to proceed for not to exceed 15 minutes today be vitiated.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING
SENATE SESSION TODAY**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.